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CONTENTS

Session 1. Submerged conflicts. Ethnography of the invisible resistances in the quotidian	p. 3
Session 2. Ethnography of predatory and mafia practices	14
Session 3. Young people practicing everyday multiculturalism. An ethnographic look	16
Session 4. Innovating universities. Everything needs to change, so everything can stay the same?	23
Session 5. NGOs, grass-root activism and social movements. Understanding novel entanglements of public engagements	31
Session 6. Immanence of seduction. For a microinteractionist perspective on charisma	35
Session 7. Lived religion. An ethnographical insight	39
Session 8. Critical ethnographies of schooling	44
Session 9. Subjectivity, surveillance and control. Ethnographic research on forced migration towards Europe	53
Session 10. Ethnographic and artistic practices and the question of the images in contemporary Middle East	59
Session 11. Diffracting ethnography in the anthropocene	62
Session 12. Ethnography of labour chains	64
Session 13. The Chicago School and the study of conflicts in contemporary societies	72
Session 14. States of imagination/Imagined states. Performing the political within and beyond the state	75
Session 15. Ethnographies of waste politics	82
Session 16. Experiencing urban boundaries	87
Session 17. Ethnographic fieldwork as a “location of politics”	98
Session 18. Rethinking ‘Europe’ through an ethnography of its borderlands, peripheries and margins	104
Session 19. Detention and qualitative research	111
Session 20. Ethnographies of social sciences as a vocation	119
Session 21. Adjunct Session. Gender and culture in productive and reproductive life	123
Poster session	129

SESSION 1

SUBMERGED CONFLICTS. ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE INVISIBLE RESISTANCES IN THE QUOTIDIAN

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ARTS OF RESISTANCE. THE EVERY-DAY LIFE OF STREET ART AND THE NORMS IN URBAN CONTROL

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By illustrating some preliminary results of a research underway, which is developing through ethnographical observation and visual research methods, this paper aims to describe the street artists' performances within the city of Padua, examining their exhibition strategies and reading them as a repertory of daily resistance in the urban background. The city is a multiple, splintered space and a social process which takes shape in a plurality (Amin and Thrift, 2002). In this multiplicity the citizens' life goes beyond institutionalized forms of control and it shows a continuous experimentation in forms of expression and sociality. This "porosity" (Stavrides, 2010) of times and places allows to consider the urban dimension as a place in which resistances are built up.

From this viewpoint, the unconventional artistic activities carried out by jugglers, buskers, mimes and street musicians, allow us to analyze the forms of material and symbolic demand, showing how everyday life creates ways of re-appropriation of the space. With their shows, the street artists catch gaze, show off their identities (Frers and Meier, 2007) and contest other people's image of the place they live in, and also of their presence in it. In this way, the artists renew the public dimension of the city: their exhibitions permit to highlight the public area as a space open to contrasts and accessible through activities that turn out to be asymmetrical forms of resistance (Saitta, 2015).

Padua shows itself as a crucial case-study and a profitable field for the sociological investigation: the "academic city" dimension makes Padua appealing for a large amount of students who request the access and the use of the public space, and promote desires and motions of diversion, entertainment and spontaneity. On the other hand, a management of the territory grounded in the rhetoric of security is supported, aiming to pathologize those behaviors which do not comply with the definition of decency (Pitch, 2013) – the driving force of the governance activity.

Among the various by-laws directed to the limitation of unwanted forms of use and appropriation of the public space, also the street artists' activities have been subjected to restrictions: their opportunities to perform have decreased, due to the imposition of limits both in terms of space, with a reduction of allowed areas, or of time, with a reduction of time slots. Faced with this institutional and juridical ruling, the buskers have manifested different reactions. We will introduce an interpretation of these artists in terms of opposing activities, forms of smuggle and of unspoken and personal subversion (Scott, 1990).

In particular, the subject matter of this article will focus on the following aspects: after an overview on the administration deeds and on the forms of control and repression put in place by security forces and county police, we will consider different ways of contrast. Some of these have evolved as arranged mobilization, as actions of explicit claim of the freedom of expression and of the right to the city. Other forms of opposition are minute and hidden.

We will put serious attention exactly on these latter actions, describing common and widespread practices, individually achieved in everyday situations that, as an "art of the weak" (De Certeau, 1980), move between the matrix of control. Within this framework, the mere presence of the artists on the streets becomes a violation of the rules, and, at the same time, it represents a way of resistance which takes shape in the reinterpretation of the city as a stage. Through their exhibitions, the buskers take back areas which have been denied to them, producing both an accident and unwanted relation with the material aspects of the space. They suspend the imposed representation of that space, portraying it aesthetically and emotionally. The presence and the uses of the bodies, the imprinted signs and the identity feature that spot them as street artists, allow to show how disruptive the corporeal expression is (Bizzaglia, 2014). The artists' bodies have the ability to explore the power's limitations in its visible and invisible configuration (Derrida and Roudinesco, 2001). Thanks to the sensations that the bodies gives both to the actors and to the audience, being publicly visible implicates not only the taking back of the space through the corporal practice, but the chance to create daily opposing resistances towards the definition of what can be seen, experienced and felt (Manzo, 2015).

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THE FOREST POLICIES OF THE EXCLUDED. AGRICULTURAL ENCROACHMENTS AND ILLEGAL FELLING IN SEFWI FOREST RESERVES (GHANA)

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Colonial and post-colonial forest legislation and policies in Ghana have systematically excluded forest-fringe communities: legislation has vested timber property in the State and chiefs; these have rented out concessions to large

private enterprises. Creation of forest reserves in the Sefwi area, where the ethnographic research was carried out, continued from the 1920s to 1970s and covered almost half of the total district's surface. Reserves were constituted to protect timber for export: the industry produced a major source of tribute for the State and profits for entrepreneurs but provided very little benefits to forest-fringe communities. Local residents were impeded access to reserved areas which often fell in the immediate vicinity of settlements. Relations between farming communities which had their agricultural expansion hampered, on the one hand, and the State and timber firms, on the other, have been tense.

From the 1990s the submerged conflicts began to surface when local residents challenged the State's monopoly of forest resources. I focus on two dynamics. First, agricultural encroachments in protected areas. Since the demarcation of forest reserves, farmers have entered reserves, cut down timber and started planting cocoa; however encroachments intensified in the last three decades. In the 1980s hundreds of hectares were farmed yearly in reserves; villages were constituted within protected areas. In the second half of the 1990s soldiers burnt down settlements, cut down thousands of cocoa trees and planted timber seedlings, which were killed by farmers. In 1996 "rapid response units" were created to monitor encroachments which however continued in the latter part of the 1990s and in the new millennium with large clearing in most reserves. In 2009 and 2013 violent military actions, again, tried to intimidate farmers. Being constant monitoring impossible, agriculturalists who are the permanent presence on the ground, find ways to sabotage undesired policies and avoid repression, led through spectacular but inefficient operations. Second, illicit chain-saw felling. Since the 1980s chain-saws have been the technology that allowed small entrepreneurs to fell timber illegally within concessions purchased by large firms. The government first tried unsuccessfully to control chain-saw operators and then outlawed the use of chain-saws to cut timber. Laws did not stop the illegal harvesting of timber which, notwithstanding evident chain-saw's marks, has been sold in urban markets. Operators work deep in the forest at night and within a couple of days timber is fell, cut and transported on foot to the vans that manage to pass through police road blocks to reach urban outlets. Illegal felling is managed largely by local communities who collaborate in the search of timber, work as chain-saw operators, assistants, carriers, sentinels. Moreover, illegal operations, in comparison to legal ones, distribute more benefits to local communities, especially to the chief and, in off-reserve operations, to the farmer on whose farm timber is fell. At the beginning of the third millennium about half of the timber fell in Ghana was illegally cut and marketed, with a yearly loss in State revenue collection of 12.8 millions dollars.

The ethnographic enquiry is focused on the social and moral context that promotes and defends illegal dynamics of such scale: the moral arguments of farmers, exasperated by prolonged political and economic alienation from local resources; the web of solidarity that renders illegality feasible through the involvement of various social actors in the illicit production, with the sharing of benefits with community members in felling operations and the participation of entire villages in agricultural encroachments; the villagers' capacity to neutralise, at least in part, the State's repressive policies, eluding controls, organising efficient surveillance of police movements, exercising anti-institutional moral suasion and, if necessary, menaces on private and public guards.

The analysis intends illustrating how illegal management of forests generates agencies, codes, values and practices which are alternative to those implemented by government and economic institutions. First, agencies in the illicit use of forests resources are widespread and grounded in local communities while large capitalist-oriented production concentrates power and benefits on high level public officials and large firms. Second, illegal activities imply a large use of informal negotiations with several actors rather than the pre-determined hierarchical relations characteristic of firms and government. Third, the sovereignty of the State is questioned with illegal operators arming themselves and refusing to be passive targets of fear. Fourth, the production of widespread consensus for illegal activities as these involve numerous actors and provide wood at affordable prices, renders State repression ineffective. Fifth, forest communities have proven capable of generating a moral economy which subverts the social credibility of the State's invocation of legality as a collective value, this is evident in the comparison between the elitist corruptive strategies of large firms (which concentrate corruption on high level officials) while illegal production uses bribes and compelling moral suasion to bring low and middle rank public officials on their side. When legality is the cause of structural inequality, illegality is a viable alternative to advance forms of peripheral re-appropriation of power and benefits. Illicit felling and agricultural encroachments, however, do not guarantee sustainability nor equality: the enterprises are inserted in local hierarchies and have a predatory approach to the extraction of natural resources.

THE GEORGIAN BIRZHA: AN INFORMAL SOURCE OF RESISTANCE?

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In the past ten years, informality has become an increasingly debated phenomenon within the social sciences. Scholarly contributions on the topic have taken on two main approaches. On the one hand, informality, largely associated to criminal activities such as corruption and bribing, was considered as an overtly negative phenomenon, substantially responsible for the gap in social, political, and economic development that separated "transitional" countries from their Western counterparts ((Kaufmann, Kraay & Mastruzzi 2011, Rothstein & Theorell 2008, Acemoglu & Verdier 2000). On the other hand, more nuanced perspectives have focused on informality as a variety of multifaceted practices embedded in specific historical, cultural, social, political, and economic conditions, in a relation of both tension and exchange with formal structures and norms (Morris & Polese 2014, Polese 2014, 2008, Aliyev 2013, Ledeneva 2013, 2011, 1998, Hann & Hart 2011, De Sardan 1999).

The post-socialist space has been a preferential area of exploration for informality studies since the end of socialist regimes in the late 1980s – early 1990s. The restrictions and deficiencies of planned economy, joined to political

authoritarianism, allegedly made socialist countries a fertile field for the proliferation of informal practices (Fitzpatrick 2000, Ledeneva 1998, Mars & Altman 1987, 1983). Yet, optimistic previsions considering informality as a by-product of socialist systems' inefficiencies, therefore doomed to disappear in these countries' "transition" towards democracy and market economy, have somehow proved wrong. The social and economic costs of post-socialist reforms, largely informed by a "shock therapy" approach underpinned by neoliberal principles, have urged informal practices to adapt to different conditions in the form of changing "coping strategies". In this regard, informality has been framed as a – more or less unconscious, more or less passive – resistance towards formal social, political, and economic systems (Hayoz & Giordano 2013, Polese 2010, Smith & Rochovská 2007).

The Republic of Georgia is recognised as one of the most "informal" geographical, socio-political, and economic contexts of the post-socialist space (Aliyev 2014, 2013, Rekhviashvili 2013, Suny 1988). With an entrenched second economy which, in Soviet times, was estimated at over 25% of the GDP, informal practices in this country have proved particularly resilient inasmuch they are embedded in Georgian moral, cultural, and social bases (Mars & Altmann 1983). Throughout Georgian history, the strength of kinship and friendship ties, the role of honour as a social currency, along with a widespread mistrust towards official institutions, endowed informal practices and networks with more legitimacy and accountability than the official system (Frederiksen 2015, Aliyev 2013, Tuite 2005, Chatwin 1997). This deeply rooted "culture of informality" has often been pointed out by politicians and analysts as a pivotal cause for the spread of corruption and organised crime, which, de facto ruling national politics and economics in the 1990s, was energetically fought by the leadership coming to power after 2003 Rose Revolution (Engvall 2012, Kupatadze 2012, Kukhianidze 2009).

In this paper, I analyse the form of male street socialisation referred to as *birzha* as a potential source of informal resistance in Georgia's recent history. *Birzha* defines a group of young men who meet regularly in open spaces of urban neighbourhoods. Partly considered as the initial step of a criminal career, belonging to *birzha* is a mark of identification with one's local group (Curro 2015, Frederiksen 2013, Zakharova 2010). On a comparative basis, *birzha* can be associated to "street corner societies" in North-American ethnically defined urban areas and in Mediterranean countries (Garot 2007, Anderson 1999, Whyte 1943). Drawing upon literary sources, media, and fieldwork data collected in 2008-2009 and 2014, I focus on *birzha* as a form of socialisation, networking, and exchange, which has been alternative (and often opposed) to official narratives in Soviet times, the 1990s, and after the Rose Revolution.

Birzha has always been unpopular within formal institutions for two main reasons. First, the "socio-political" structure of *birzha*, based on ties of trust and mutual responsibility, envisages a source of authority and loyalty which is other than the state. Second, economic practices of reciprocity and (re)distribution unfolding within *birzha*, although in different ways, are in contrast with both socialist centralised economy and free market capitalism introduced after the end of the Soviet Union. In addition, *birzha* has been particularly targeted in the fight against informality and crime carried on by President Saakashvili's political leadership (2003-2012), inasmuch this kind of practices clashed with images of good governance and transparency informing narratives of modernisation in post-revolutionary Georgia (Curro 2015, Frederiksen 2015).

However, to what extent (if any) can we refer to *birzha* as a practice of resistance? Does *birzha* actually challenge established social, political, and economic relations? If so, in what ways? Is *birzha*, with its symbolic production of alternative power, capable to stand for "real" opposition, spreading discourses and practices of resistance at the local and national level? Or does the highly hierarchical, conservative, and exclusive structure of *birzha* (especially in terms of gender and age) mirror and reproduce power relations which underpin the official system? My ethnographic analysis of *birzha* investigates the ambivalence of this practice in a relation of both support and subversion of formal power structures. These considerations can be extended to a discussion on the role of informal practices as forms of resistance, and on the relation that links these practices, on the one hand, to established forms of power, and, on the other hand, to "formal" expressions of resistance and opposition (political organisations, activist groups, trade unions, and so on).

EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES AND ROUTINE WORKPLACE RESISTANCE TO CHALLENGE GENDER INEQUALITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF AN ONLINE COMMUNITY

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The study I am carrying out is aimed at understanding the reasons that led architecture to be perceived and therefore organised as a gendered sector, characterised by a lack of women in the profession. Women in architecture experience both horizontal and vertical segregation, namely a clustering of women in different types of occupation compared to men (Bradley, 1999), and a clear difficulty in reaching higher positions (Bolton and Muzio, 2008). Gender inequality at work is an existing problem in many scientific sectors, and I am investigating a method of resistance that is comprised of two different main phases: arising awareness in order to create a community able to perform small routine acts of subversion in the workplace. I found the *blog* to be the most convenient and broader means to create this community (www.womeninarchitectureblog.wordpress.com).

Raise awareness. The first step needed to create a community is to encourage a group of like-minded people to interact. After setting up the blog (and related social media profiles), I started to write posts aimed at informing women in architecture about the current uneven situation. I then shared my personal experience of sexism in the workplace, according to principles drawn from feminist theory about reflexivity (Naples, 2003) and the non-exploitative relationship between researcher and respondents (Oakley, 1981), and I asked the community to contribute to the debate with their

own accounts. Also, according to current feminist methods in qualitative research, the study of everyday experiences is taking an increasingly important role in sociology (Back, 2015), these experiences being able to highlight hidden problematics and therefore raise confidence in the community members, and to offer the possibility of framing issues using participants' own terms (Hill-Collins, 1990).

Routine workplace resistance. While the problem of gender inequality in the workplace is gradually being framed by the community itself, the next step to be taken is to introduce the need for small acts of personal subversion in the workplace (Prasad and Prasad, 2000; Powell and Sang, 2015). Almost everyone can perform these, being not disadvantageous for the employee, and neither violent nor offensive to anyone. These acts may consist of refusing to volunteer for tasks that are usually perceived as feminine duties and that are not related to the job (such as tidying up the office's common room after a staff meeting, or offering to bring coffee to a male colleague while doing one for themselves), or in imposing themselves to be more assertive (e.g. applying for promotions even if not holding all the requisites - men's usual way of acting, or joining after-work informal gatherings, often avoided by women themselves). The way women are perceived in the workplace is the result of traditional gender stereotypes learned in centuries of male domination and female segregation to secondary tasks (Bourdieu, 2001). However, women need to stop seeing themselves under these specific gender rules, and they need to teach men to see them as equal, through small but powerful acts of resistance to gender assumptions.

Ultimately, I will be carrying out an *ethnography of an online community*, which will be focussed not only on gathering direct data from users' comments, but also on observing the interactions between users and the processes that acted as catalyst of interaction. I will also monitor the different levels of engagement according to different topics (in order to understand which issues have been framed, shared, or commented on most), and I will gather information about resistance tactics that the community has proposed and employed.

The qualitative data collected will then be analysed and coded: the creation of modest generalisations (Mitchell, 1983) would hopefully lead to the construction of a theory able to explain why the social event under investigation occurs, in turn allowing for a broader field of application. (Williams, 2000).

This specific ethnographic method presents some advantageous strengths: a global and large dataset, the possibility of collaboration with users in the analysis of the data (participatory action research, as illustrated by Fals Borda, 2001), transparency in presenting research aims and methods, and variety of types of data (Postill and Pink, 2012). However, the method may present some potential limitations: the participation of users in the blog is likely to be lower than desired, and specific online ethical issues may arise, especially about informed consent.

"Only political action that really takes account of all the effects of domination that are exerted through the objective complicity between the structures embodied in both women and men, and the structures of the major institutions through which not only the masculine order but the whole social order is enacted and reproduced [...] will be able [...] to contribute to the progressive withering away of masculine domination" (Bourdieu, 2001: 117).

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THE HEROES OF RESISTANCE. SELF-PRODUCED DWELLINGS OF THE BRAZILIAN NEW MIDDLE CLASS

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This paper proposal presents and discusses the information got in the fieldwork of the ongoing doctoral research entitled *How do Brazilian battlers reside? The rise of a new middle class seen through dwellings and neighbourhoods*. The investigation is about the self-production of dwellings made by the Brazilian new middle class and its consequences in the socio-spatial configuration of peripheral neighbourhoods and *favelas*. The methodology of the research presents a strong empirical approach and comprises qualitative data collection, decoding and systematisation as well as qualitative analysis.

Since 2002 in Brazil, several social welfare programs have contributed to improve the income of the poor and placed around 37 million people one degree higher on the national social stratification. Nowadays about 104 million Brazilians are considered part of the so-called new middle class, most of them residents of peripheral neighbourhoods and consolidated slums of big cities. They have been resisting to the heteronomous *modus operandi* of the conventional forms of architecture, home acquisition and urban planning, using their recently increased purchase power to informally plan, build and renovate their homes themselves, with a limited technical knowledge and no access to architects, engineers, or any other formal technicians. The problem is that, despite the general increase of income and of housing conditions, several administrative and technical problems are taken for granted by dwellers and neglected

by the government, reverberating also through neighbourhoods. Despite useful and creative spatial solutions in dwellings, there are massive waste of resources, precarious building conditions, illegality in the land ownership and the aggravation of urban problems like privacy, security, drainage and thermal comfort. This type of housing production has consolidated a large proportion of Brazilian outskirts and *favelas*, responding a demand poorly attended by the government which has not been able to control the informal growth of cities.

Immersed in such an intense conflicting situation, how has the Brazilian new middle class expressed its resistance? The forms of this resistance are though not invisible, but tangible and material - they are its homes.

The core of the doctoral research was a 3-months fieldwork, which took place in ten peripheral neighbourhoods and in four *favelas* of Belo Horizonte, a 5,7 million people southeastern Brazilian metropolitan area, the third largest of the country. 35 dwellings were picked up as examples of homes, which have been self-produced by new middle class' families. The fieldwork sites have offered a remarkable source of primary information, not yet available in the literature. Fifty documented meetings yielded over one thousand photos and almost one hundred videos, besides an unaccountable number of notes and sketches.

As qualitative research methods, unstructured interviews and participative observation were used. The work was organized by clusters of dwellings of same neighbourhoods, to visualise and to understand the consequences of the economic rise of the Brazilian new middle class also in the space of neighbourhoods. The information got in audios, videos, sketches and notes has been then "threshed" in detailed topics and then classified and grouped in investigation categories. Besides, origins, socioeconomic environment and the educational and the professional background of dwellers will also be registered for each case study, as well as personal observations. In the next steps of the work, the systematised information will be used together with theoretical sources to formulate a critical analysis, by means of the interpretation, discussion and description of how the Brazilian housing self-production reverberates in the socio-spatial configuration of dwellings and neighbourhoods, mainly regarding financial and technical logistics, technical know-how and socioeconomic relationships.

This paper aims to critically describe the above mentioned conflicts and to exemplify forms of resistance of the Brazilian new middle class while they self-produce their homes and indirectly build neighbourhoods and cities.

"LET PEOPLE BE PEOPLE": THE EVERYDAY PRACTICE OF DRINKING, DRUG USE, AND WORK IN A PUBLIC MARKETPLACE

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This paper draws on four years of ethnographic research among artists, vendors, and performers who earn an informal living in a public marketplace to locate three relationships between "working"—earning money—and "intoxicating"—drinking alcohol, smoking marijuana, and doing drugs. Throughout the analysis I show how each of these relationships become interrelated, how they emerge on a continuum of compatibility, and how they lead to different social and material consequences. First—*taking a break from work*—reveals the way people work to pay costs of living and utilize workplace intoxication as a way to construct temporary social barriers between themselves and their work. Second—*working to intoxicate*—highlights the way people utilize income drawn from work to feed directly into an ongoing and stable process of intoxication. And third—*intoxicating out of work*—demonstrates the way intoxication can tip out of balance with work such that people become trapped in a rotating door in and out of jail and on and off the Boardwalk. The situated interactional data reveal the everyday ways in which conditions of worker autonomy can lead behaviors that are often constructed as problematic for work organizations to become compatible with—and even integral to—a broader ecology of work. Findings therefore strengthen our understanding of the everyday ways marginal and economically vulnerable social groups manage informal work arrangements where there is little formal control over worker behavior, in order to carve out a daily living. Furthermore, this research supplements individual-level approaches to drug and alcohol use—often ill-equipped to expose the ways intoxication gains meaning in daily life—to explain the ongoing emergence of alcohol and drug use in the marketplace, irrespective of individual biography.

COMPLIANCE AND RESISTANCE TO TREATMENT. THE CASE OF EATING DISORDERS

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The label of "eating disorders", appeared for the first time in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, only in 1980. It classifies a number of illnesses characterized by gross disturbances in eating behavior due to a strong fear of gaining weight or becoming fat. All of the above entail serious medical and psychological consequences to the extent that anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa have the highest mortality rate among all of the psychological illnesses. Biomedicine considers the phenomenon as something that requires treatment and its "sufferers" as people who need to be healed. This however does not necessarily conform to the world-view of the patient.

This paper aims to analyze and understand the meanings embedded with compliance and the tactics of resistance adopted by the patients in an Italian residential treatment centre for eating disorders. It is based on a qualitative research conducted between September and December 2012, that involved participant observation, semi-structured interviews, structured questionnaires and focus groups. Nineteen patients, all women, and fifteen professionals working at the residential treatment centre were involved. Treatment resistance and resistance to medicalization is considered a

common feature of eating disorders as well as the main reason leading to low success rates of psychological and medical treatments. From the biomedical and psychological perspectives this is due to the fact that patients with an eating disorder, especially anorexics, mostly deny their own condition as a consequence of their mental disorder. In contrast with the biomedical perception of the phenomenon I consider eating disorders as the result of a self-transformative process, in which people with an eating disorder actively engage themselves in a project of moral self-transformation, where control over hunger, bodily needs and pleasure are core values and in which the body becomes the physical symbol of such a change.

Different diagnostic categories represent, therefore, a different reaction to the attempt at achieving these new values. The level of coherence between values and behaviors of different eating disorders, reveals the presence of unofficial moral hierarchy, where anorexics embody an ideal moral-selfhood. None of the informants who described themselves as bulimics or binge eaters were satisfied with their condition. All the patients admitted at the residential treatment centre where I was conducting my research, sign a contract before their stay at the treatment centre, in which they commit themselves to take part in all the centre's activities as well as to follow the centre's rules. In this way, patients acknowledge the authority of the staff members as well as their knowledge.

It is important to remember that the authoritative discourses on eating disorders are the medical/psychological ones. In this sense, people diagnosed with an eating disorder often comply with treatments due to the moral implications of the sick role. The will to heal is part of the role obligations that come with the sick role. As a consequence, ill people are expected not only to seek professional help, but also to show a will to get better. Those patients who did not follow the centre's regulations as well as those who behaved in dysfunctional ways, were isolated and criticised by the other patients. The anorexic patients in particular manifested a greater degree of non-compliance with the treatment and were often ostracized by the other patients for not manifesting this will to heal. While it is certainly hard for all patients to follow the rules, bulimics and binge eaters are in general more motivated to change their behaviour when compared with anorexics. In this sense, although the findings of my research actually reinforce the general idea that anorexics tend to be most resistant to their pathologization, I do believe this is due to the fact that they hardly can associate the idea of illness with their "new" satisfactory personhood. On the other hand, for bulimics and people with binge eating disorder, to be labelled as "ill" is experienced as a relief. Their actions become interpreted by them and others as the result of some form of disorder rather than in terms of a failed attempt at a moral redefinition.

The fact that anorexics are more likely to refuse their pathologization than bulimics and binge eaters does not imply, however, that people with an eating disorder other than anorexia nervosa do comply to the residential treatment centre rules in order to heal from their eating disorder. As a matter of fact, a number of patients involved in my study, regardless of the eating disorder they were diagnosed with, actually conformed to the centre's disciplinary techniques in order to achieve objectives others than those for which the power is exerted over them making these techniques into tactics. In this sense, these are practices through which the imposed power is subverted not because rejected but, as pointed out by De Certeau, because accepted and used "with respect to ends and references foreign to the system". It is precisely due to the biomedical authority that, in the case of eating disorders, biomedical power is oftentimes subverted from within, by displaying a will to heal and complying with treatment aiming however to become anorexic (in the case of bulimics), take advantage of the sick role or escaping from the everyday environments and problems. Differently from the biomedical and psychological approaches, that perceive people with an eating disorders as patients, passive victims of their disorder, I do believe people with eating disorders actually have an active role in the onset and evolvment of their disorder. Similarly, they actively resist medicalization in different ways, including subversion from within medical power and institutions, not as a consequence of their own psychological condition, but out of their own volition and depending on their satisfaction in relation with their moral-self transformation.

TRANSGRESSIVE DWELLING. HOUSING INFORMALITIES AND LOW POLITICAL PRODUCTIONS BETWEEN MILAN AND LISBON

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The dwelling process is constituted by a variegated set of activities, for example the choice of a place to set-in, the evaluation of local access to transport infrastructure, material disposition of the cardboards or wooden boards, construction of mutual aids and resistance network. According to La Cecla, the setting-in process "expresses – in the censorships that block, in the attempts to get ahead, in the elaboration of the 'minimum available' – a practical intelligence that anthropologists named 'local knowledge'" (2011: 12). The concept of local knowledge is very useful to explore the historical and geographical inscription of every peculiar *dwelling perspective* (Heidegger, 1971; Ingold, 2000). This concept can be easily related to James C. Scott's definition of *mētis* or *savoir faire*: "Mētis is typically translated into English as 'cunning' or 'cunning intelligence'. [...] Broadly understood mētis represents a wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly changing natural and human environment" (1998: 313). To my account, the self-building processes and the occupation acts can be considered based exactly on these types of competences (local knowledge, mētis) determined and modified by the continuous conflict with the institutions and the precariousness of everyday life practices.

Through this paper I intend to create a critical dialogue between heterogeneous practices of informal dwelling and low political praxis analyzing two different ethnographic cases. The first case examines the creation of an occupied *social residence* for evicted families in Milan. Since March 2014, an heterogeneous group of citizens has been living in an abandoned building – previously owned by the national airplane company Alitalia – in Sesto San Giovanni – a post-industrial municipality of the Metropolitan City of Milan. The *social residence*, as it is called by the inhabitants, is

mainly composed by evicted families, activists, trade-unionists and former homeless related to three different groups active in Milan as part of a wider and local “right to the city and to adequate housing movement”. The Association *Clochard alla Riscossa*, composed by homeless and former homeless people, the Milan Inhabitants Union, and the Right to The House Committee – composed by women living in occupied houses in the Niguarda neighborhood.

According to the ethnographic data, nowadays two hundred and twenty one residents – from different Countries – are living in this occupied building: all of them are in list for the assignment of a public housing in Milan, Sesto San Giovanni or other closer municipalities. I am deeply interested in understanding the heterogeneous transgressive practices (Foucault, 2004) adopted by the inhabitants to create a new and collective dwelling perspective inside the building and the political implications of these actions.

The second ethnographic case is based on the ethnographic observation, the study and the analysis of complex political practices emerged in conjunction with the implementation of a governmental rehousing programme in an informal neighborhood in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, Portugal. The ethnographic research, carried out between December 2013 and May 2014, focused on the Santa Filomena Bairro, Municipality of Amadora. The *Programa Especial de Realojamento* (D-L n. 163/93 7th of May) offers the opportunity to the municipalities situated in Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas to eliminate/to destroy/to flatten clandestine neighborhoods providing to the residents the reallocation in social houses. The current process implementation, more than twenty year far from the original formulation, has produced complex adaptation, resistance and fighting dynamics. An organized resistance movement has been supported by a Right to the City Collective, that promoted a Resident Commission formation: this Commission spread the fighting “from below” for almost a year. Generally, alternative and informal adaptation forms prevailed, based on the consolidation of neighborhood, familiar and transnational networks.

Through a dwelling perspective that incorporates the building and inhabiting processes as subordinate to the principal human faculty of producing and living space and spatiality, I propose to consider the practices of informal self-building and occupation not as a clandestine or illegal social practice, but as an anthropopoietic locus of local governance and transgressive political praxis. I consider that, in contests of global crisis of national economies and welfare state ideologies, these productive practices could represent plausible and stimulant hypotheses for the emergence of an active and diffuse model of citizenship.

THE PACIFICATION OF THE POLICE: THE CASE OF RIO DE JANEIRO

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Over the past four decades Rio de Janeiro’s government normalized police brutality inside the favelas and criminalize the city’s poorest residents through the use of the “war” metaphor against drugs and crime. During this period, an exponential military-grade strategy was implemented to fight drug gangs that exerted an armed territorial control over the favelas. Far from being the solution, this strategy provoked an ascending spiral of violence. In fact, favelas continued to be ruled by gangs and police brutality reached impressive proportions: between 2001 and 2011 more than 10.000 people were killed by the police in Rio de Janeiro, most of whom were poor and black residents of the favelas. However, in a period of global competitiveness between cities, local authorities understood that, in order to attract global capital, it was necessary to clean up the “urban brand” of Rio de Janeiro as a dangerous and violent city. So, as the image of a “safe city” became central for the capitalistic accumulation, the moment came for authorities to reconsider the strategy employed in the War on Drugs. Indeed, high homicide rates and police brutality against disadvantaged populations do not behove a global and competitive metropolis. The 2008 implementation of the Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) program was the solution conceived by policy makers to contend with the security and image issues that the city faced. The UPPs program involves permanent police units that allegedly implement community and proximity policing in some of the favelas previously ruled by drug gangs.

Traditionally, critical studies of the police have focused on how the State, through its armed branch, pacifies civilian populations, which means to reduce them to “peaceful submission” (Neocleous 2013) in order to facilitate capitalistic accumulation. Even with the recent increase of police ethnographies there is still a tendency to prioritize the analysis of the police as a homogenous authority that aims to impose the State’s power.

In other works I have examined how the UPPs program aims to pacify favela dwellers by neutralizing their resistance to the construction of a new social order based on the global competitiveness strategy embraced by the city. Here I want to demonstrate how this security program aims also to partially pacify the police, or at least, to create an image of a pacified, modern and democratic law enforcement corp.

Police ethnographies should also contribute to a new understanding of the dynamics of state power by looking at the internal contradictions between police forces. In this way is possible to understand how the police can be a threat and an obstacle, rather than a tool, to accomplish State’s aims. In order to do so, it is important to analyse how different kinds of police subjectivities challenge and contest official State’s will.

The UPPs program have been promoted as a democratic policing strategy. Trough data collected during a five months ethnographic study conducted together with police officers of the UPPs based on the Magueira, Andaraí and Santa Marta Favelas, I will show why and how police officers resits to this tentative of changing by trying to maintain a violent and oppressive policing model.

SOSYUDAD CONTRA SOCIEDAD: INDIGENOUS VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AND COMMUNITAS IN THE PHILIPPINES

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In Virac, the capital town of the island province of Catanduanes in the Philippines, the folk has continually reproduced, and indeed transformed an indigenous form of voluntary association called the *sosyudad* as a practice of what Victor Turner termed *communitas*. As such, it is a means of generating a regular dose of anti-structure, albeit fleetingly, to the prevailing dissymmetry of a “developing” society that is increasingly getting mainstreamed into the global order. As currently practiced, the *sosyudad* is a small group (average of eleven members) engaged in 1) a weekly congregation over alcoholic liquor aimed at the enactment of egalitarian camaraderie, and 2) a saving-and-lending scheme.

Sosyudad's pedigree harkens back to the subsistence farming economy of Spanish colonial times. In those days, neighboring farmers would constitute themselves into labor-exchange circles called *cumbinyu* that took turns working their farmlands during planting and harvesting seasons. After work, they would gather around a gallon of *tuba* (coconut wine) engaging in intoxicated socializing. Typically, they would do this regularly even outside of the labor-exchange engagement. By the late 19th century, the abaca (hemp) boom in the region brought the first large scale capitalist enterprise in the province, creating an army of wage earners who worked the presses. During weekends after collecting their wages, work gangs would congregate around liquor and some fish stew (taking after the *cumbinyu* practice) and make deposits of small amounts to a common saving fund intended to be withdrawn on an annual basis during some important dates, say the town fiesta. This was the precursor of *sosyudad*'s contemporary modality. After the Second World War, local economy became more and more cash-based which increasingly rendered labor-exchange into obsolescence. This period also saw the saving fund of *sosyudad* groups being made available for lending to members in need at an interest.

Today, *sosyudads* are organized according to various lines of affinity such as trade (divers, butchers, vendors, etc.), neighborhood, officemates, or high school batch mates. Non-practitioners, especially the “educated” ones sporting the hegemonic “social progress” orientation, regard the *sosyudad* as decadent preoccupation of the rural poor and ignorant, never mind that membership cut across the social classes.

Even while *sosyudad*'s essential features are the regular drinking session and the saving-and-lending scheme, the former takes priority. Members insist that it is the egalitarian camaraderie facilitated by the partaking of liquor and food that they are after. The *sosyudad* they say is an escape from the drudgery of everydaylife. Closer look at the practices of the *sosyudad* reveals that more than being a homeostatic mechanism, it is a reversal of the configuration of the social structure at-large characterized by dissymmetry of social, political and economic entitlements. Organizationally, the *sosyudad* is fluid, there are no formal designations of positions and functions. It can go by with only a kind of secretary-treasurer that keeps tab of contributions and borrowings, and an informal leader. It shuns registration with the government or any institutional overseer. It prefers to be invisible to the ng (drinks, food) formal society; it exists in the margins and interstices.

The *sosyudad* therefore is a practice devoted to the value of egalitarian fellowship. For this, the main strategy is the weekly drinking session. For one thing, the alcoholic intake removes inhibition and encourages freer expressions. In addition, a set of strategies are employed re the norms of partaking, of both 1) the materials for ingesting (drinks and food) and 2) the conversations, banter and antics. The latter, which may be called the “*sosyudad* talk” is particularly characterized by tolerance, daring and fun that push the boundaries of what the normal and formal structures allow. As a whole, the weekly congregation becomes both a leveling off of what inequalities there may be among them outside of the *sosyudad* circle, and the engagement in the forbidden. Aside from having the time and resources one must invest, competence in the “*sosyudad* talk” is required to be able to be practitioner.

TARANTELLA WITHOUT MANDOLINS. RESISTING NEOLIBERALISM IN THE SHADOW OF VESUVIUS

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This essay attempts to explore the concept of resistance from the specific point of view of our everyday activities, showing how – sometimes unwittingly – these hide a subversive use of space and time. Even if often addressed as a pre-political (or non-political at all) form of action, as authors such as De Certeau and Scott had shown, the everyday resistance by which most of us just survive everyday life represent a radical challenge to neoliberal values just daring to question them. Thus, experimenting an alternative and unforeseen usage of the urban space, or broadening break opportunities within working time, may be considered not really revolutionary acts (in fact, they aren't), but nevertheless they could actively contribute loosening market's and State's death grip on our lives. Research will focus on informal economy and street vending practices in the city of Naples, the first metropolis of the Mezzogiorno and, at the same time, the paradigmatic representation – within italian public discourse – of the “Southern Question”. Along this path this contribution aims to enlighten the complex relationship between space, power and everyday resistance showing how little, noiseless and invisible acts can turn places of exploitation and subjugation into spaces for the satisfactions of the needs, the improvement of living and working conditions and even social mobility. A knotty plot of practices and knowledges that, deeply rooted in the heart of the city, reshapes urban landscapes and our social and spatial relations.

LIVING AND DWELLING IN PIANA DEL SELE (CAMPANIA)

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I e le migranti/e, abitando nei territori in cui da anni vivono e lavorano, *resistono al potere*. Resistono in modo per dir così “*elementare*”, affermando il proprio diritto a restare contro condizioni, quelle imposte dal capitale finanziario, che si fanno sempre più dure. Spesso gli stessi tentano di “strappare la maschera dell’ipocrisia dalla faccia del nemico, smascherare lui e le sue astute macchinazioni e manipolazioni che gli permettono di esercitare il potere senza far ricorso a mezzi violenti, cioè provocare un’azione anche a rischio di essere annientati affinché la verità possa emergere” (H. Arendt, 1970, pp. 70-71). Ciò avviene con le continue denunce che i migranti effettuano contro faccendieri (non è difficile imbattersi nella piana del Sele, ad esempio, in avvocati che si fanno pagare fior di quattrini per un permesso di soggiorno falso, in personaggi che, sulla pelle dei migranti, impostano la propria carriera professionale) e *imprenditori dell’oppressione*; ma ciò avviene anche con lo stesso frequente *sconfinare nella città dei bianchi*, una pratica che diventa difatti una prassi di resistenza e afferma che quel corpo martoriato dalla fatica e dalle intemperie esiste, è pulsante e non può essere cancellato o gestito come un banale sacco dell’immondizia.

Ecco come, per esempio, i migranti della piana del Sele vivono tale situazione: “per strada non riceviamo e non chiediamo il saluto. Anche se percorriamo strade affollate, ci sentiamo fuori da tutti i luoghi, spaesati. Quando passiamo, anche se non le sentiamo con le nostre orecchie, intuiamo le voci e le parole dietro le nostre spalle. E non sono benevole. Sette chilometri di strada e di freddo, una breve sosta in pizzeria e prima delle dieci saremo sotto le coperte. Ci viene in mente quando c’era Brimila [la mediatrice culturale N.d.A.] [...]. È stato grazie a lei se le nostre relazioni sono migliorate. La sua curiosità sui dettagli delle nostre vite, la sua mania di raccogliere informazioni per scrivere i suoi racconti, ci manca. Brimila è stato con noi poche stagioni. Ci ha insegnato a non perdere mai di vista il rispetto per noi stessi. Ha lasciato un segno profondo nell’anima di ciascuno di noi.” (A. Botte, 2009, pp. 130-131). Il poter riportare e raccontare le storie dei migranti della piana del Sele mette in azione un moto di resistenza che ha comunque prodotto effetti “traumatici” nelle maglie del potere. Il paper vuole analizzare dunque il rapporto che esiste tra la presenza dei migranti e le pratiche e i discorsi del potere, prendendo in considerazione in special modo le pratiche dell’abitare. D’altronde le dinamiche dell’abitare possono essere intese come processo biopolitico, (M. Foucault 2005) che restituiscono all’etnografo le assenze e i silenzi delle biografie migranti (A. Sayad; D. Borca; R. Kirchmayr 2002). Le peculiarità comprese nell’analisi delle pratiche dell’abitare migrante permettono inoltre di restituire gli effetti di disposizioni tardo-liberali che affondano le proprie radici nella distribuzione di norme e saperi (M. Foucault 2001). Il dolore e la sofferenza dei migranti sono pertanto celati da potenti apparati discorsivi che generano “geometrie” (A. Petrillo 2011) del sociale e agiscono come potenti distorsori di realtà, mostrando alla stregua di “dati oggettivi” fenomeni che appartengono alla narrazione simbolica e dimostrando così che “quelli che per noi *occidentali* [Nda] sono dei problemi, si sono fatti carne e sangue nei giovani” (H. Arendt, 1970, p. 21).

Queste storie hanno come obiettivo: “Il ‘diritto’ alla vita, al corpo, alla salute, alla felicità, alla soddisfazione dei bisogni, il ‘diritto’ a ritrovare, al di là di tutte le oppressioni o ‘alienazioni’, quel che si è e tutto quel che si può essere” (F. Foucault, 2001, p. 128). Non è questo dopo tutto lo sfondo su cui si *muovono* i/le migranti/e?

THE POLITICAL NATURE OF THE ITALIAN RIOTS: AN ANALYSIS OF 14TH DECEMBER, 2010 AND 15TH OCTOBER, 2011

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On December 14, 2010 and October 15, 2011 Rome was the centre of the most intense level of urban violence that Italy has experienced since the days of the Genoa G8 (2001). The main goal of this research is to study this urban riots in order to understand if this phenomenon of “collective resistance” could be identified as phenomenon of “organized political resistance”.

First, we focused on the path towards constructing the dates of mobilization, spontaneity and the role of a trigger, composition of the people involved, type of policing, and the use of violence. Starting from the observation that in Italy riots are an internal phenomena to protests organized by a network of political groups, we assume that they portray a clearer fragmentation of their political nature compared with other European riots.

Second, we assume that, with respect to the legitimate use of violence, different sensibilities are expressed but without condemnation.

To analyse the main features of these two major events we selected a sample of nine in-depth interviews because we wanted the complexity of those riots to emerge directly from the perspective of those that have lived from the inside. The 9 young interviewees have all contributed to the organization and have attended both dates, they are part of diverse political realities and represent the different components that have animated those days. In these perspective they could be representatives of the whole Italian social movements that around those dates have given life to an important debate.

AT THE BORDERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL LABOR. RAVE PARTIES, A RESISTANCE TO DECLINE

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Dans les années 1990 les voyageurs anglais, organisateurs de free parties, fêtes techno clandestines, débarquent au Havre, fuyant la répression mise en place par la politique thatcherienne. Suivant ce modèle, les jeunes français s'approprient les anciennes usines, les docks abandonnés, les champs en friche pour y organiser des fêtes regroupant des centaines de personnes de façon clandestine, gratuite et autogérée. La musique techno résonne contre les parois de tôles ondulées, l'ambiance est néo-punk, industrielle, *hardcore*.

Le mouvement des free parties occupe les espaces abandonnés par l'industrie et la production qui a déserté le Havre. C'est dans ces fissures que s'installent les déviances envisagées ici comme autant de formes de résistances à l'effacement dans un monde en crise. Les jeunes squattent, réinventent les lieux, diffusent une musique techno qui suit le principe punk du « do it yourself » et rassemblent des centaines de participants. Ces fêtes accompagnent souvent un mode de vie, celui des *travellers*. Il ne s'agit plus alors, pour les participants, d'un loisir festif mais d'une véritable résistance aux normes sociales, celles qui prônent un mode de vie réparti entre le temps du travail et le temps du loisir.

Ce mouvement au Havre prend un sens très fort car le taux de chômage y est extrêmement élevé et en particulier pour les jeunes. Le niveau scolaire est un des plus faible de France. Certains préfèrent alors l'errance zonarde à l'usine, la vie sur les routes, dans les squats, de *teufs en teufs*, à l'attente immobile.

Pour ma thèse, j'ai mené un travail de terrain ethnographique sur un temps long autour de ce phénomène qui m'a permis de suivre les trajectoires de ceux qui s'investissent dans ce mode de vie pendant leur jeunesse et d'analyser les façons dont cette forme de résistance invisible au travail institué va s'inscrire dans les modes de vie adoptés à l'âge adulte.

En m'appuyant sur cette recherche et en montrant quelques extraits du film réalisé dans ce cadre, j'interrogerai, ici, ce mouvement éphémère, ambivalent, entre destruction et création, entre autodestruction et production collective que sont les free parties. Je questionnerai également le passage entre une forme de résistance invisible, puisque hors-institution, au phénomène de mode lorsque on l'institutionnalise et par là, qu'on le visibilise. Ceci mènera à une pensée réflexive sur le fait de réaliser un film dans le cadre d'une recherche socio-anthropologique sur un phénomène déviant en questionnant les risques de faire perdre son sens à une résistance en marge en la médiatisant.

VIOLENCE AND RESISTANCE: EXPLORING IDENTITY AND DOMINANCE IN NORTH INDIA

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In this paper I look at how the everyday violence is articulated in order to re-assert the dominance and how resistance respond to it in post-colonial settings? In order to understand this I will see how does post-colonial settings fuelled this situation and how are they different then colonial settings?

To deal with these questions, I take up the case of a dominant¹ landowning agrarian community/caste, *Jats* in North India in order to study the challenges to their dominant position vis-a-vis the source of conflicts and how the Jat identity assertion is based on inherent culture of violence. This violence is perpetuated not only on Dalits² and lower castes, but on women from their own community as well. Moreover, I ask how Jats are substantiating this violence on everyday level in order to deal with these challenges in their everyday lives. And, how the resistance to it, is articulated in post-colonial settings?

While, understanding the violence within the community this paper focuses on two different kind of violence perpetuated by the dominant community in their everyday practices. One, which is based on gender and majorly happened on the women of their own community due to increasing rate of defiance in community's marital norms, which is crucial for community's cohesion and second, based on Caste, majorly occurred on backward castes, OBCs (Other Backward Castes³) and Dalits due to their mobility and decreasing dependence on the dominant Jats.

In response to this quotidian violence the resistance emerges in various forms. On the one hand the resistance has been on rise in form of women defying the martial norms which are considered sacrosanct and major ideology for the "coherence" of the community. On the other hand the OBCs and Dalits successfully resisting Jat dominance by moving out of the shackles of dependence over Jats and moving out of the traditional occupation which is based on their lowest social status. These acts of resistance challenge the year long Jat dominance and met with violent response by the male members of the community.

The post-colonial changes in neo-liberalisation era contributing to the slipping away of land ownership, the material basis of Jat dominance in Haryana. With the crumbling of the earlier system of land ownership in the agrarian context as the basis of Jat dominance, economically as well as socially and politically, these changes have also disrupted the established social "cohesion" of the community. While, land served as the material base to maintain their dominance, marriage serves as a key institution for maintaining the community's cohesion by the regulation of social relations among Jats. Therefore, there exist strict norms around marriage and marriage relations are closely surveilled by the community⁴. The implementation, maintenance and reproduction of marriage norms are undertaken by their *Khap Panchayat* (Clan Council of Jats). These *Khap Panchayats* are instrumental and crucial in regulating the members of the community and in defining its norms and customs. The defiance of these marital customs invites punitive action by them.

These forms of violence, which include even the killing of the couple, are termed honour crimes⁵. Though, there is no official data for this, various sources report that in 2010 alone there were more than 900 cases of honour killings in this region⁶ while many more go unreported. There has been an increase in cases of honour killings in the recent years, an increase that coincides with the changes in the shifting material base and land ownership patterns.

The resistance emerges and develops through the rise of consciousness movement among OBCs and Dalits which reject the Jat dominance, which is inherently based on quotidian violence based on gender and caste. The paper will explore such possibilities by looking at where violence, resistance and re-assertion of dominance intersect each other. This paper is based on extensive field work which is ongoing for two years in North Indian state of Haryana, which is centre of this struggle. The fieldwork is engaged with interviews (formal and semi-formal) with the leaders and community members, attending Clan Council's meetings, interviews and meetings with the families and individuals who survived the violence and active in resistance movement against the Jat dominance at many fronts.

Notes: 1. Jats are economically and numerically stronger than any other caste in the region and own extensive cultivable land, even in social hierarchy they possess higher status. / 2. Traditionally they are considered untouchables and outcaste by the upper castes. According to the *Varna* System of Hindu society, which is divided into four categories of people, *Brahmins* (Priestly caste), *Kshatriyas* (warrior), *Vaisyas* (traders), *Shudras* (Untouchables). / 3. Other Backward Castes (OBCs) is a constitutional category in India, consists of the castes which are socially and economically weak. Indian State runs reservation (affirmative action) to uplift their social and economical status. / 4. Jats strictly follow the Caste endogamy and Clan exogamy. And breaking these marital norms is seen as breaking away not only from immediate family but against the ethos of whole of community. / 5. Honour killing are premeditated murder of the women of the community who has allegedly impugned the 'honour' of the family by opting for marriage by her choice, elopement or marrying outside the caste or within the same clan group. / 6. The Hindu (Newspaper), July 11, 2010, Chennai Edition.

THE COUNTY OF SOUND. AMBIGUITY AND CONFLICT IN THE CZECH UNDERGROUND CULTURE

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The purpose of this intervention is to highlight the ambiguity and conflict in the Czech Cultural Underground movement, paying particular attention to the commemorative concerts, and moreover, the openings that the underground developed in front of the politicization of the movement as a result of oppressive dynamics of the secret services. A further object of consideration will be the collective process of transition, from a totalitarian regime to a post totalitarian one, which has underlined some interpretative nodes.

The ethnographic research, conducted in the current Czech Republic in 2011, has resulted in a long period of participant observation, characterized by a direct approach towards the context to be analysed and by the study of materials released from the secret services available at The Institute for Study of Totalitarian Regime. It presents organized Underground concerts, in honour of the anniversary of the death of key figures. These concerts, with their own repetitiveness, are very similar to the commemorative rituals, which create "New Myths" in society.

Whilst not wishing to demonstrate, a situation of ambiguity emerges with the conflict of "to remember"/ "to hide" meaning that to recall some realities and not others, alludes to the fact that the conflictual reality memories from the past are tarnished.

The occasion sparked by the study of the Czech Cultural Underground, has not only been used to comprehend the historic roots of the phenomenon, but it has also created an investigative tool for the deep dynamics of Czech society. What characterizes the so-called "Czech Underground" is specifically the lifestyle, the various initiatives, reports of resistance in lifestyles and cultural production. Traditionally, the dimension of the "anti-culture" was born as a form of protest against the classic categories and prudish society. This kind of art is considered by the totalitarian system as a voice of resistance and as such, it is pushed to the extreme and is strongly contested. On the basis of the request to respect human rights and with the occasion of the process which was carried out against members of the musical bands (1976) comes the most important initiative of the Czechoslovak dissent called Charter 77. The greatest exponent is Václav Havel, who later became the president of the Czech Republic.

The following efforts of power structures to push out of the Czechoslovakia uncomfortable people and control of the situation carried out by the secret services were significant. Many of the people were registered as secret service agents, some of them only because they were defenceless against the power. The contacts established between the members of the underground, dissidents and the secret service are illegible. The files detailing some key characters, written by the secret services, were the first ones to be destroyed. The shadow which hides the affair relating to the documentation, and in particular the members of the Underground is truly thick.

From the research it becomes apparent, with a certain clarity that the almost existential ambiguity of the Underground, in order to survive, had to collaborate with the regime. Nonetheless, some Underground exponents still managed to exercise real power, only after the fall of the totalitarian regime, whilst still remaining an Underground spokesman. The significance of the "anti-culture" is challenged and loses its meaning, when we believe that the anti-culture excludes the power's forces.

The weight of a society, which hasn't recognised the victims of the totalitarian regime, has created an air of distrust. The internal difficult relations inside the community, have produced an atmosphere of mutual criticism. However, the *liminal* characteristics of the Underground, have given origin to the new system, with an alternative potential to what it was born as. The recent form, which comes from the union of the Underground with the normalising sphere of the dissent, leaves a particular mark inside the Czech society. The possibility persists, that despite all the changes, which have marked the passage of society, there is a substantial continuity of deep dynamics, including the infiltration module.

HOUSING AND RESISTANCES, CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND SPATIAL INTERPRETATIONS

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L'articolo analizzerà una dinamica di resistenza abitativa presente nel quartiere di Maregrossa (Messina) e la metterà in relazione con il complesso processo di ricostruzione che ha coinvolto la città in seguito al grande terremoto del 1908. La coincidenza temporale del terremoto, la prima grande emergenza nazionale, con il massimo prestigio della scienza urbanistica moderna ha generato a Messina un modello urbano isotopico, acriticamente modernista che non ha previsto, ad esempio, all'interno del suo perimetro storico le classi popolari. Un'intera fascia sociale è stata proiettata in un'infinita emergenza abitativa ed un'emarginazione spaziale. Il quartiere di Maregrossa che ha subito il fenomeno dei primi baraccamenti postterremoto, si è trasformato in una zona di transizione rimanendo urbanisticamente prigioniero di tale imprinting emergenziale.

Questo scenario ha generato la vicenda del cementiere Giovanni Cammarata che ha trasformato la sua baracca abusiva in uno straniante parco urbano a metà tra una cattedrale e una Disney dialettale, iconograficamente connessa con il patrimonio culturale popolare siciliano e il paesaggio circostante. Sdoganando tale "opera totale" dalle interpretazioni meramente artistiche (*Outsider art*) ne verrà proposta una lettura connessa con la storia sociale della città e come risposta culturale a un modello spaziale modernista. Di tale geroglifico sociale verranno analizzati i processi sociali retroattivi che stanno trasformando quello che resta della casa di Giovanni Cammarata nel *Landmark* di un quartiere altrimenti invisibile. Tale vicenda verrà messa in dialogo categoriale con la ricerca antropologica di Gabriele Mina sulle costruzioni irregolari. Lo studio e la mappatura delle architetture senza architetti, presenti in Italia (e nel mondo), suggerisce che le "costruzioni babeliche", intrise spesso di un enigmatico materiale simbolico, riescono a presentarsi come degli "acuti sensori territoriali" capaci di raccontare pezzi di storia sociale e aprire lo spazio in cui insistono ad altre interpretazioni, relazioni e visioni.

SESSION 2

ETHNOGRAPHY OF PREDATORY AND MAFIA PRACTICES

convenors: Marco De Biase (Université Libre de Bruxelles), mdebiase@ulb.ac.be
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THROWAWAY WORKERS: TEMPORARY FOREIGN WORKER PROGRAMS AND VIOLENCE IN CANADA

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State immigration policies have a main role in the supply and control of a diversified agricultural labour in Northern countries, to grant the competitiveness of their agriculture economies. Since 1960s, in Canada the "Temporary Foreign Worker Program" is the response to agriculture labour demand. This kind of hiring expanded exponentially in different provinces of Canada over the last 25 years, in contemporary to agri-good significant changes. In Quebec, the francophone province of Canada, each year over 7,000 Seasonal Agricultural Workers enter the Quebec workforce. Two programs have been using to hire agricultural workers in Quebec:

1. The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) operates according to bilateral agreements between Canada and the source countries (especially Mexico for Quebec). In this case, the source countries are responsible for recruiting the workers and are signatories to the workers' employment contracts;
2. The Agricultural Stream operates without bilateral agreements. In this case, employers are responsible for the recruitment and selection of the workers (especially from Guatemala), involving local and informal organizations.

We assume that the informal dynamics of the Agricultural Stream favorise vulnerability of workforce. Through "Observant participation" in a social justice organization and interviews with Guatemalan workers employed as chicken catchers, this paper focuses on the violence against temporary migrant workers in the extraction of value. The aim of the communication is to understand in which way the informality of the Agricultural Stream creates conditions for the violence in the discipline and control of labour.

CAPITALISM, PREDATORY PRACTICES AND ENTREPRENEURIAL NETWORKS IN THE GREY LAND ITALIAN FOOD SECTOR

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This research is inscribed in a socio-anthropological perspective and based on the technique of participant observation to investigate the relationship between some Italian entrepreneurs, certain economic activities and predatory practices of wealth accumulation in the Grey Land food market. Grey Land is a fictitious name to identify the European country where the field research took place and where I analyzed a series of entrepreneurial activities in the food sector concerning the import/export of Italian products. My research hypothesis aims to show that these predatory practices are not the result of violent dynamics of exportation through migratory flows and cultural ties, they are rather rooted in certain transnational economic and social mechanisms. In this context, these entrepreneurial careers are - or are trying to achieve - economic success and social mobility using violent methods of accumulation and specific relational strategies that involve a number of legal and illegal actors both in Italy and Grey Land.

DRUGS AND CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MICHUACÁN, MEXICO: LAND, MARKETS, FORMS OF PRODUCTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF MARGIN TERRITORIES IN THE 1980-90S

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This work aims at studying the social, economic and political impact of criminal organizations in the state of Michuacán *through* the role of drugs within their activities. In fact, by analyzing drugs as a multiple resource, it is possible to grasp the effects of their integration within the structuring of contemporary criminal organizations.

These effects are particularly visible in terms of production and labour-force, being legal or illegal, but also in terms of reconfiguration of political relationships and interactions. In Michuacán, the region I study, the issue of drugs shall be articulated to several rural dynamics going from land tenure and property; structural evolutions of the agricultural production; land grabbing and, more broadly, the control of the territory by articulated actors, such as farmers, land owners and criminals. The areas that are studied therefore constitute paradoxical margins, being simultaneously close and distant from the centers of power.

Moreover, the extremely high profitability of drugs, as well as the use of violence, allow the criminal organizations to transform and manipulate the reciprocity that traditionally rules political interactions. Therefore, by analyzing drugs as a *manna*, following the work of Christian Geffray in Brazil, we will be able to expose them as a resource that “creates an impossible reciprocity, submitting the beneficiary to the desire of the obliging agent”, canceling the “obligation of reciprocity”.

SHADOW NETWORKS VERSUS TRANSNATIONAL CAPITALIST CLASS. PREDATORY ACCUMULATION WITHIN THE BUSINESS ELITE IN POLAND

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Intensive accumulation of wealth in institutionally created historical moment plays a central role in becoming a member of economic elite (Mills). It is often performed within the official institutions, treated as an tool to create a financial “opportunity” for business. The continuous accumulation of wealth within official institutions is at least equally important as inheritance and meritocratic criteria for elite reproduction. To facilitate that process, top entrepreneurs create flexible nets of unofficial, mutual relation, allowing them to evade the control from the and institution of nation state.

The presentation, focused on predatory practices within the economic elite during its recruitment, circulation and reproduction. The research combines qualitative analysis (IDI with members of Polish economic elite) and quantitative analysis of graphs of relation between wealth of the most prominent entrepreneurs, based on research of Polish business elite in Poland.

Qualitative part of presentation shows how predatory practices are identified and described in interviews by elite members themselves. Two kinds of structural analysis (Propp) (Levi-Strauss) are used. Legitimate conversion of social and cultural capital (Szelenyi) allows elite to explore and exploit the business “opportunity” to get top level position. Distinctions (Bourdieu) in economic elite, appearing during the discussions on “opportunities”, between cosmopolitan top managers, members of transnational capitalist class (Sklair) and local, national entrepreneurs, members of shadow elite (Wedel) can be identified as one of the sources of a tensions and conflicts in economic elite.

To stabilize and reproduce their position, acquired by multiple conversions of capital, entrepreneurs create a network, cohesive and structured graphical representation of their mutual relations. Quantitative part presents the results of analysis of those graphs. Determining entrepreneurs graphs mathematical structure: scale-free or random has important social, economic and political implications. The business elite might be either structured and hierarchical or random on polycentric. The research presents, on the case of Poland, the influence of political and economic changes on the mutual, cooperative and competitive relations in business elite, describing how symbolic and non-symbolic violence is distributed at the highest levels of capitalist society.

AGENCY OF OLIVE PICKERS IN WEST SICILY

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This essay is based on ethnographic analysis in work place and everyday life of seasonal pickers of olives in the west of Sicily. I spend three periods in the field and in particularly in this essay I use field notes of the main period during the work season of Autumn 2014. I made 50 interviews, 30 to seasonal workers, 20 between different actors of the olive chain production as wholesaler, packers, olive growers, institutional representatives.

The aim of this paper is analyse how the agency of migrant seasonal workers on three levels: first on me as researcher, second on their condition, third on the context. The contribution I am going to talk is part of my phd thesis; the aim of my research is to analyse the agriculture in Sicily, his trends and changes and the role taken in the building of its economic development model.

For the first aspect I use the reflexivity approach in ethnography. I analyse my field notes written during my staying in Autumn 2014, from 20 September to 20 December, in the ghetto where workers lived and during my period of work as a picker of olive of one week. I stress out how the field and this actors can change my perception and my certainties, not only referring my position related to the subject of my research, but also about some main topic: as the condition of life in a shantytown, the condition of work, the role of the gangmasters.

The second aspect is analysed through my field notes and some in depth interviews. I stress out the seasonal workers' possibility to change and improve, according to their aims, the condition of work. To choose to work in piece-rate rather than for daily salary, to protect and respect their gangmaster, to organize strike to obtain the payment are effect of their agency. This kind of power is often hidden for two main reasons. The first is just because they don't want share with any outside person their aim and their way to get it. The second one is the difficulty for me as researcher to discover and recognize this kind of power.

The third aspect is focused on the capability, beyond individual will, to change the "landscape of the agrarian capitalism". In particularly I stress out how just the material presence of a ghetto of hundreds of people causes a political change in this rural context.

In the autumn 2013 there was a ghetto 1 km far from the town where migrant workers live waiting for a daily work as picker of olive. An autonomous political group was born at the beginning just to understand how it was possible a ghetto so close to a town, after some months they start to reflect about effects of agrarian capitalism produces in their territory and in their life, at the same time they started building a new way to conceive the relationship between resources and their life. The agency of seasonal workers make people starting to think in an different way about their own territory. They are promoting, after several meeting, a new field of knowledge exchange between the weakest actors of the chain of olive oil production and as migrant workers, growers and also young precarious of western Sicily. They are reflecting and acting in order to find a new way to conceive their rural context, building possibilities transforming traditional production way toward a model based on good social and economic relationship, a new way to generate knowledge and new way to produce welfare and income.

SESSION 3

YOUNG PEOPLE PRACTICING EVERYDAY MULTICULTURALISM. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC LOOK

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URBAN SPACES AS BOUNDARIES OF EXCLUSION AND SYSTEM OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: THE CASE OF ROMA OF CAGLIARI

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The different policies of European countries and local practices show that - despite the European legislative framework for the protection of minorities and promotion of their rights - there is a growing fear and impatience with the proximity of urban Roma groups, which are culturally and morally perceived far from "us". The European Parliament resolution of the 31st of January 2008, on a European strategy for the Roma, shows that there are still common perceptions, affecting approximately ten million people in Europe: these are stereotypes that, cyclically, as a result of waves of media interest related to current events, feed a circuit of moral panic that seeks exclusion of Roma who are perceived as "*the most enduring of suitable enemies*" (Cohen 2002).

According to data released in 2014 by an authoritative American research institute that investigated the existence of anti gypsies feelings in 7 European countries (Italy, United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, France, Greece and Poland), Italy won the primacy. The research conducted by the Pew Research Center shows that in Italy the 85% of the respondents have expressed a negative opinion about Roma people.

According to Bauman, we are living in a climate of fear in which foreigners are the “product,” but also the “means of production” (1999), of the incessant and never defined process of identity construction. In relation to issues related to the construction of identity, and moral order of society, Bauman identifies the fear of all that is strange, as constant character of our time. Within this existing order Bauman recognizes foreigners - visible as assembled and held together due to their “viscosity” (impurities), able to transmit the idea of disorder, danger, and then build a problem that requires control, and resolution. Mary Douglas teaches us that what we perceive as dirt is the ambiguity, or the anomaly. In *Purity and Danger, An analysis of concept of pollution and taboo* (1966) the anthropologist examines the conceptions of impurities elaborated in different cultures, arguing that believing certain things impure, plays an important role in supporting existing social structures. According to his analysis, the system of taboo which is arising from the impurities is reconnected to the need to resort to two categories: what is acceptable and what is not, because it is a contaminant, and has the effect of structure - through a symbolic system – the moral order of society.

The aim of the paper is to examine the practices of social construction of exclusion of Roma in Italy. In particular, the goal is to clarify why today the camps in Italy set the boundaries of social exclusion.

Nomad camps are separated places from the rest of the city, aimed to physically connected a group of people and, at the same time, to protect citizens from the contamination and to preserve them in disgust. Planned in the eighties as fields of “temporary camps” to meet the need of housing who led an itinerant life and to guarantee some basic rights (such as education for children), these places have become in many cases - especially following the intensified migration since the nineties - in real slums, and becomes areas of segregation.

In these pages I will focus attention on two key issues: the role of “*moral entrepreneurs*” (Becker 1963) in the construction of camps as a container of what is called “*emergenza Rom*” in Italy, and, on the other hand the criteria for recognition of Roma themselves into the space of “nomad camp”.

Specifically, I will focus my ethnographic study on Roma Xoraxané that lived in Cagliari, with the intent to show the perception of space according to their own identity, to the daily life and the kinship system; also I will focus attention on the changes of identity, the changes in the practice of daily life and the use of home spaces following the eviction of the camp, which took place on July 2, 2012. The aim is to focus attention on how urban spaces can serve as boundaries of exclusion and construction and re-construction of identities.

ENGAGING WITH TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: YOUNG PEOPLE OF ARAB MEDITERRANEAN ORIGINS AND THEIR VIEWS ON THE ARAB UPRISINGS

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The paper will illustrate the preliminary results of a qualitative research on young people of Arab Mediterranean origins living in Milan. The research engages with the views of these young people – young women and young men - on the Arab uprisings and their aftermaths, their transnational practices of participation to these key events and their views on the current affairs unfolding in Arab Mediterranean countries. It aims at examining the different ways through which these young women and young men take part in the social, cultural and political change of their contexts of origins, through a gendered perspective.

The paper will discuss the effects of the Arab uprisings on the biographical constructions of these subjects, on their political and cultural values and orientations, as well as on their identity construction and sense of belonging. Particular attention will be devoted to the construction of a transnational sense of belonging and to the quotidian experiences of cultural diversity characterizing these young people born and living in Italy.

The case study involves interviews to young men and young women aged 18-24. It is part of the EU-FP7 research project “Empowering the new generation: towards a new social contract in South and East Mediterranean countries (SAHWA)”.

SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES CROSSERS. ETHNOGRAPHIC LOOKS ON THE EVERYDAY MULTICULTURALISM OF BANGLADESHI YOUNG PEOPLE IN ITALY

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This paper is part of a broader research aimed to analyze the social and urban transformations occurred due to the international immigration in a local urbanized country-side of the Veneto Region (Della Puppa and Gelati, 2015). The case study considered is that of Alte Ceccato, hamlet in the Province of Vicenza, and its large Bangladeshi community. In Alte, immigrant residents account for about a third of its 6,804 inhabitants, more than 50% of which is native from Bangladesh (Ibidem).

Here, we focus on the daily experiences of young people of Bangladeshi origin facing differences in the hamlet and, specifically:

- on their crossings and intersections of multiple boundaries;
- on the relationships they play and reproduce with other socio-cultural groups in their daily life;

– on their strategic use of the multiple identities which they practice in order to gain recognition, to redefine the modalities for their inclusion and exclusion and to distinguish themselves in the urban context of Alte Ceccato. The biographical paths of Bangladeshi young adults of Alte, arrived in Italy through family reunification, are different than those of their parents' generation and than those of their younger brothers, born and socialized in Italy. So, they express multi-sited identities and their narratives are characterized by a reference to the "culture of origin" mixed with "values and styles of the host society". Different from their younger brothers, as well as from their parents and from their native peers, Bangladeshi young people represent a "minority within a minority".

This leads to a cultural boundary crossing and a dynamic of "transgression within the conservation", emblematically arising during the "western" new year's eve celebration which offered to the Bangladeshi young people an opportunity to transgress the rules imposed by adults about styles of mundanity (alcohol consumption, specific musical styles, such as metal, and dancing). This desire for transgression associated and put them in relation with their Italian peers; however, it is inserted within a larger frame of conservation. Actually, they have not preferred to celebrate the new year's eve in a public place, but rather with their Bangladeshi friends coming from other cities, because – as they told – "our culture is different". The reference to their "cultural and national origin" is also reflected in the activities that they organize to gain visibility within the neighborhood when they animate the gatherings of the Bangladeshi community no more as metal music performers rather than "traditional" Bengali music.

Apart from the crossing of cultural boundaries, some dynamics due to the generational boundaries take shape. In the intergenerational relationships, their attitude towards the younger generation is primarily protective, supportive and defensive from the discriminatory and hostile social context. At the same time, this open and understanding attitude is not found in their relationship with the Bangladeshi adults. The excessive surveillance exercised by these adults and the continuity with the values of "tradition" they claimed weigh on the Bangladeshi young people which are configured, in this case, as a group of "dominated among the dominated". Actually, for the generation of their parents, "traditional Bengali values" constitute "something static that needs to be protected and reproduced without modifications" (Colombo, 2009) and, unlike the Bangladeshi young people, every form of transculturation is interpreted as a threat to the stability of a achieved balanced life.

It is especially in the uses of spaces of Alte Ceccato and the management of the public visibility of the Bangladeshi young people which is possible to read the tension between their request for recognition and their forms of self-segregation, whose functions are firstly self-defensive. If for the generation of adult Bangladeshis the central spaces of the hamlet acquire an important symbolic and community value, for the Bangladeshi young people such places represent "spaces of control". So they prefer to spend their leisure time in other places and/or in other cities and to roam freely without being recognized and judged in expressing their transcultural and intersectional identities. To avoid the gaze of the elder Bangladeshis, they take refuge in "spaces of anonymity", such as an abandoned house just outside the hamlet: an isolated place, suited for forms of transgression and freedom, but at the same time a "space of self-segregation".

However, it should be emphasized that the self-exclusion practices and the requests for inclusion constitute opposite, but complementary processes. The symbolic appropriation of public spaces shows these ambivalences: it is the case of the cricket game played in a square of Alte Ceccato. It is not only to play the national sport of Bangladesh: through the appropriation of a central space of the hamlet and an "ethnically connoted" practice in front to the host society, young Bangladeshis gain their own physical and symbolic space in Alte. They also affirm a form of socio-cultural distinction from their native peers and claim a form of recognition as Bangladeshis towards the community of compatriots and the entire host society (Zoletto, 2010).

This desire to be part of Alte leads Bangladeshi young people to redefine the urban spaces, in a game of selective visibility that converse with the crossing of multiple boundaries (Brighenti, 2008). Their cultural, temporal, spatial and generational suspension represents a form of marginality, but a ductile, strategic and dynamic one. They affirm their "cultural and national belonging" in the way they use their free time. At the same time, they refuse the rigidity of the identity schemes proposed by elder Bangladeshis and implement forms of transculturation that transgress socio-cultural norms of their "ethnic community". In their daily practices they claim peculiar forms of recognition, summarized in the rejection to be identified as "only Italians" or "only Bangladeshis".

STUDYING UKRAINIANS AND BELARUSIANS IN POLAND. REMARKS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROCESS

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One of the most often heard arguments in the recent debate on "the migration crisis" is that difference threatens the stability of "Europe". This is understandable from the point of view of cultural studies. In Yuri Lotman's semiotic theory of culture (Lotman 1990) what comes from the outside is seen as a threat. At the same time emphasizing difference strengthens and legitimises the boundary between "us" and "them", and advocates exclusion. Difference is also an important context for the process of identification as understood by Hall (1990 and 2013) and Bauman (2009). While I find the notions of difference and similarity interesting, I also argue that one should approach them with caution.

My own doctoral research concerns young Ukrainians and Belarusians (and, to a limited degree, Russians) who live in Poland. While there seems to be little distance between these migrants and the receiving society in terms of "culture" and "language", researching similarity turned out to be challenging. Therefore, this paper shall focus on the research process rather than the results.

The study is based on semi-structured and in-depth interviews with approximately twenty young adults who moved to Poland from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. The topics discussed concerned everyday life and the aim was to learn more about the participants' perceptions of similarity and difference. However, this approach created some limitations.

Because I represent the host society and asked questions about migrant experiences, this imposed a particular identity on the participants. It was necessary to create an environment where the participants were free to negotiate these positionings. All things considered, the paper argues that an approach derived from ethnography and the adoption of the ethnographer's sensitivity are a helpful way to offer such a flexible environment for the participants.

Nevertheless, my experience reveals a lot about the nature of "difference" and "similarity". Although often understood as a pair of binary oppositions, they are inseparable, and, paradoxically, may even be considered synonymous. Regardless of their background, migrants are easily classified as "others", and focusing on the migrant identity brings "difference" to the fore. Even in case of migrant groups who are culturally and linguistically close to the receiving society, it is possible to over-emphasise their otherness. This over-emphasis of difference may create grounds for exclusion. It is thus important to acknowledge that individuals have multiple identifications, and being "a migrant" is just one of them. To conclude, it is interesting to observe how the notion of "difference" came to be seen as a threat to the notion of "Europe", which was constructed on the foundation of tolerance for diversity. One should keep in mind that "difference" is not an entirely neutral and objective concept. In fact, a part of this notion is also imagined (Bayart 2005). While emphasising differences between certain groups of migrants and the host communities may be an attempt to discourage immigration, it is also possible that the understanding of European-ness is being updated. Perhaps these days there is less room for diversity within "Europe".

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A SECULAR JEWISH BAR MITZVAH: HOW YOUNG JEWS EXPLAIN BEING A DIFFERENT KIND OF JEW

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The project format is both an academic paper and a documentary film entitled *From Alef to Zayin: A Secular Jewish Education*, available at <http://vimeo.com/54737646>.

In the ethnographic study, Jewish adolescents negotiate their membership in a "secular humanist" Jewish cultural society and confront "being different," both among non-Jews and among religious Jews. The community uses the device of "Jewish identity" and the construct of authenticity to legitimate the ways in which their norms depart from more typical Jewish settings, and asks the students to deliver Bar Mitzvah speeches about their unique individual Jewish identities.

The paper argues that this proactive, ritualized identity expression represents the student's first experience of agency and empowerment. The students' empowerment is carefully contained within the bounds of structure: they must express their Jewish identity in a personal statement at the Bar/Bat Mitzvah, and they must use respectful language. This taste of freedom and strength, stabilized by structure, is ritualized as "coming of age" or "entry into adulthood" and thus serves as the establishment of both spiritual and social capital, and the student's personal emergence. Along with a sociological consideration of this community, I will describe the ways in which the construct of "Jewish identity" is a Durkheimian "totem" for the community, and how ideals of authenticity allow them to expand the boundaries of what is typically recognized as Jewish. How do they define it and why is it important to them? Having established what "Jewish identity" means to Workmen's Circle and why, I will then explore how it functions for the students who are asked to find and express their own.

The documentary film does not engage in "theorizing" about Jewish authenticity, difference and identity but rather showcases the energetic diversity of the Bar/Bat Mitzvah class members as they make sense of their secular Jewish education and identities within the structure of their upcoming ceremony. It is a vibrant, living portrait of rowdy, astute 13-year-olds as they fumble toward maturity and self-articulation, and figure out that, as one child says, "Being different makes you different, makes you special." I filmed the students in class, at community events, and in interviews as they prepared their personal statements about their Jewish identities. From this footage I created a 21-minute mini-documentary, a non-commercial educational tool meant to stimulate thinking about the role of Jewish identity, the idea of non-religious Judaism, the negotiation of religious difference and multiculturalism, and a data sample of how adolescents articulate their own identities. The use of film to present data can also allow for a rich methodological discussion about visual sociology and the reflexive video editing process.

ABSTRACT FOR THE SHORT FILM "FROM ALEF TO ZAYIN: A SECULAR JEWISH EDUCATION"

What exactly are the Jewish identities of students in a secular humanist Jewish community? How do they negotiate their departure from the dominant norms of religious Judaism, either conservative or liberal? Questions about the conceptualization and practice of secularized religious identity leads to larger questions about the secular humanist Judaism movement, secularism, and modernity. What is secular humanist Judaism, and how is it articulated differently by the adolescents preparing their secular Bar Mitzvah ceremony? This ceremony differs from "traditional" religious Bar Mitzvahs with the removal of a Torah service and any references to God—which are replaced by personal statements on

“Jewish identity” and cultural performances of Yiddish and American folksongs. This short ethnographic documentary follows nine young students as they approach their group Bar Mitzvah ceremony and make sense of secularism, Jewish identity, various concepts of God, and how to negotiate being a “different” kind of Jew.

WHEN ONE LANGUAGE IS NOT ENOUGH: PRACTICES OF THE MULTICULTURAL WRITING

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The interest for the linguistic minorities in Italy began to increase since the 1970s and achieved its culmination in 1999 with the enactment of a new law 482 that prescribed to protect the languages belonging to 12 groups that were considered minoritarian ones. Before that, minoritarian languages were underestimated and had low prestige for several decades. The common belief that bilingualism may become an obstacle for one's education and career resulted in the fact that parents did not teach their children a minoritarian language even if they spoke it to each other. Other factors that had a disastrous influence on these languages were: the oppressing politics of Mussolini, the World Wars I and II, the post-war labor migration. It is not surprising that the command of these languages among the younger population decreased crucially throughout the 20th century.

I accomplished my fieldwork in Salento area (prov. of Lecce, reg. of Apulia, Italy) where several villages of Greek-speaking population still exist. This region, as the major part of the southern Italy, witnessed a great wave of emigration after the World War II. The outflow of the young population from the region became a turning point for the idiom called Griko, now in the UNESCO list of the endangered languages. The region grew almost empty and the language tradition discontinued. Those who returned back after studying and working for several years in Italian-speaking surroundings did not use it anymore in their everyday life. Griko stopped being the most spoken language even in the core villages but became rather a subject of special interest to certain individuals.

This paper centers on five persons who were born in the Griko-speaking villages of Salento in the sixties – early seventies. The levels of language proficiency they have are not equal but what they do have in common is a desire to maintain and to promote their language and other elements of local identity. For the previous generation who was born and raised in the region Griko was something they were ashamed of and preferred to forget. Though, the situation changed and the community in the long run accepted the multilingual and multicultural specifics of the region and started appreciating their value.

Another common feature the persons mentioned above have is the way they choose to promote the language. They all do it by writing literary texts in Griko, and by presenting them in public – as songs or poetry performances. It should be mentioned that the very idea of creating poems (and/or songs) is quite a common practice among Salento inhabitants. There are dozens of elderly people who began to write poems in the last 15-20 years, guided by the idea of the language maintenance and being strongly supported by the community cultural centers. What makes the authors I chose different from their elder townsmen is a specific for their generation cultural background, based on the higher level of education and more intense international influence, such as reggae or rock songs, world literature etc.

One more difference is the approach to the language. For them it was never the main and the only mother tongue, they spoke it – if any – only in childhood. Thus, its usage for the literary works becomes a sort of an intellectual game that often requires a memory voltage, a work with dictionary, getting consultations from other native-speakers or even taking a long-term study course. Nevertheless, the level of language proficiency they have still let the representatives of this generation write their own literary texts in Griko. In its turn, it differs them from younger locals who are interested in the language maintenance.

Those who are under 30-35 years old usually choose other ways to promote the language such as academic research, teaching or museum activities. They may also participate in events related to the local folklore that became very popular in the last decades. Sometimes they accomplish musical or theatric elaborations of texts in Griko but almost never a new text is created. Thus, the authors who I chose for my analysis stand somewhere in-between the active language speakers and those who had to learn it from scratch. It was particularly their intermediate position that drew my attention.

Those are specific questions I would like to focus on:

- a) How did they come to the very idea of writing in Griko, what are the reasons that motivated them? In fact, it is a part of a broader question: at which moment and why did they realize their multilingual and multicultural origin and decide to implement it in their lives?
- b) Not all the authors are able to write the whole texts in Griko, some include only some parts in Griko into the Italian ones. In this case it is interesting to analyze which elements of the texts become multilingual and what are the reasons for it.
- c) Which strategies do they use to avoid difficulties related to the insufficient level of language proficiency.
- d) In what way do the minoritarian language and the elements of the local culture correlate with the European and the world cultures and how do they get integrated into them.
- e) What are the strategies the authors use to promote their texts to the audience with less level of the language proficiency than their own and to those who do not know Griko at all.

Summing up everything previously stated, the paper is aimed at showing how people “discover” their own multiculturalism and come to the idea of making it an important part of their lives. The reasons for doing it, strategies they use to interconnect this newly rediscovered origin with their already quite globalized background and ways of promoting it for other people will be analyzed in details.

“EL DOMINGO JUGAMOS”: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PEEK INTO MIGRANT WOMEN NEGOTIATION OF ETHNIC AND SEXUAL DIVERSITIES IN MILAN THROUGH FOOTBALL

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Multiculturalism is often understood as policy or a practice that deals with ethnic diversity. Ethnicity, though, is not the only line among which diversity is constructed, lived and perceived: sexuality, class, gender and other sociopolitical identities also interrelate. This intersectional approach offers a fresh look on multiculturalism because recognizes the complexity of cultural identities above and beyond the majority-minorities distinction.

In Milan every Sunday about sixty women of different age meet to play football in a park. Mainly they come from Central and South American and since years almost six years they participated in an informal “latin” tournament that involves all the community – family and friends; they spend the whole day supporting their national or regional team, eating traditional food, sharing news and comments in Spanish. Football had created here a space of encounter that appears meaningful both in term of cultural recognition and cultural diversity: women from Morocco, China and Italy are also involved, while diversity is also present in the variety of sexual orientation and gender expression performed by the players in the field and in the locker rooms.

I’m interested in the intersection between ethnic and sexual diversities in order to understand how practices of inclusion and exclusion work in a context in which at least two distinctions are visible: latinas or non-latinas and heterosexual or non-heterosexual. I’m currently doing an ethnographic research in order to study through what kind of strategies the line between insiders and outsiders is drawn. The narratives of self-identification and exclusion observed during the fieldwork are compared to everyday practices through a combination of ethnographic and netnographic approaches.

ITALIANNES: SECOND GENERATION PRACTICING EVERYDAY NATION

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For years, social science has largely addressed young people of foreign origins and ethnic minorities by focusing on the integration pathways, identity formation, and sense of belonging (Piore 1979; Alba and Nee 1997; Rumbaut 1997; Zhou 1997; Brubaker 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). School choices and performances have also been largely investigated (Giovannini, Queirolo Palmas 2001; Ravecca 2009; Santagati 2011; Besozzi, Colombo 2012; Lagomarsino, Ravecca 2014). These studies have also shared an increasing interests on everyday life (Colombo and Semi 2007; Harris 2009; Ricucci 2010), including free time practices (Ambrosini, Bonizzoni and Caneva 2011; Caneva 2011; Bonizzoni and Pozzi 2012) and consumption behaviours (Napolitano and Visconti 2009; Leonini and Rebughini 2010). At the same time, the question regarding nationality and citizenship of young immigrants (the so-called “second generation”) has also been investigated in terms of acculturation, assimilation, denial and lastly the so called “hyphenated identity” (Rumbaut 1994; Walzer 2001; Ambrosini 2006). Among others, Italian scholars have also studied national belonging and attachment among children of migrants by focusing on the everyday in multicultural spaces (Colombo and Semi 2007). This perspective considers the context “from below” (e.g. acts of citizenship – Isin and Nielsen 2008; “citoyennisation” – Bastenier and Dassetto 1991) where second generations negotiate their national belonging and identity.

Building on this latter scholarship, the work presented here aims to critically problematize how and whether cultural diversity – discursively assumed as added value – reshape (or not) the idea of national attachment in everyday contexts. Drawing on preliminary findings of a broader research titled “New Italians: The Re-Making of the Nation in the Age of Migration”, we discuss how children of migrants construct their sense of national belonging to Italy by variously mobilizing repertoires related to the body (e.g., hair, skin color) and language (e.g. local dialect), as well as performances contained in music and video products. In so doing, children of migrants contribute to the construction of a more nuanced, cross-cultural, multilayered and plural idea of Italian, Italy and Italianness. Data for the present study rely on ethnographic analysis conducted textually and visually by investigating blogs, internet forum, Facebook posts and profiles of selected second generation groups and associations (e.g. Rete G2-Seconde generazioni; YallaItalia, Associna, GMI), lyrics, documentaries, movies of second generation representatives (e.g rappers such as Amir, Zanko, Valentino AG, Mista Tolu; film directors and film-makers such as Fred Kuwornu Amin Nour, etc) and by in-depth interviews to key informants.

ETHNICIZED SPACES IN THE ETERNAL CITY: ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE AGAINST BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF ROME

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This contribution focuses on the ethnicization of urban space and possible relationships among xenophobic violence, mass media and architectonic segregation, starting from an ethnographical research on the aggressions against Bangladeshi migrants in the suburban areas of the city of Rome.

Since 2008, in the outskirts of the capital city, the issue of aggressions led by young Italians against *probashi* (Bangladeshi migrants) cyclically raised up, reaching peaks of big intensity in the years 2009-2013. As the latest developments of the judiciary investigations have shown, a part of these events seems to be the product of a planned strategy carried out by the local fascist groups, but other circumstances appear to be ascribable to “spontaneous” forms of racism, without a defined ideological background and an organizational structure.

Many of these “spontaneous” aggressions significantly took place in Tor Bella Monaca, an area where the concentration of Bangladeshi migrants is lower than in other parts of the city, as Torpignattara or Esquilino. Tor Bella Monaca is a considerable example of urban segregation: built up in the 80s of the twentieth century in the outer eastern suburbs, “at safe distance” from the majesty of the Eternal City, the quarter mainly consists of council buildings generally assigned to families in situations of socio-economic weakness, whose members have in some case a criminal record. In this “heterotopy of deviation”, that looks as the result of a confinement technique applied on a city scale, the living conditions of inhabitants got worse year after year producing, among other things, a collapse in real estate prices attracting international migrants in the area since 90s. Although the Bangladeshi presence didn’t cause neither a competition with historical residents for welfare services, job or political leadership, nor “urban decay”, the *probashi* seem to be perceived by young Italians as a “danger” for the quarter.

The actions against Bangladeshi are characterized by use of a rhetoric that describes migrants as “foreign bodies”, “invaders”, “unfair competitors”, repeating the main topics circulating in the same period in the Italian political debate and in the media. Newspapers, and mainly television channels, seem to provide day by day aggressors with a symbolic equipment that fits to the purpose of legitimizing their “defense of territory”. Media represent migration phenomenon using frightening tones, compulsively reiterating images of the operations carried out by the Italian coastguards in the Mediterranean Sea, showing migrants’ landings in Lampedusa, and speaking persistently about the risk of an “invasion”. The local press, for his part, proposes continuously the “urban decay” issue, suggesting, sometimes covertly, sometimes in a more open way, a strict association between immigration and a supposed deterioration of living conditions in the metropolitan area. At the beginning, newspapers maintain an ambivalent attitude even when they have to deal with episodes of violence against *probashi*, giving in some case wide space for the point of view of the aggressors and insinuating unfounded doubts about the legal conduct of the assaulted migrants.

These facts present, both in Tor Bella Monaca and in other quarters of the city, some relevant regularities also at a practical level. Many events start from a robbery attempt (sometimes just simulated) that ends with a beating, others are part of a reiterated oppression on the shop owners and the itinerant sellers. But the most significant patterns seem to be provided to the aggressors by the same control techniques to which they are subjected by the police, as in the case of check points and other forms of territorial control instituted by young Italians. Paradoxically, they seem to use, in their “war against the migrants”, the same weapons and the same devices utilized by the local government in order to control their lives and to separate them and their families from the uptown.

As a result of these dynamics the urban space ends to be represented as an ethnicized space, a patchwork of closed locations assigned to, and possibly defended by, different (and well defined) parts of the population. A segregationist representation that the young people of Tor Bella Monaca oppose to the open transnational model of space performed by *probashi*, employing their rage in a sort of “not having war” and forgetting in some way that this claustrological model is at the basis of their social and physical exclusion from the Eternal City.

DISCOURSES ON ETHNIC IDENTITY IN YOUNG JAPANESE-BOLIVIANS’ PROFESSIONAL LIFE

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The planned migration of Japanese to Bolivia from 1954 to 1966 resulted in the foundation of two agricultural colonies in the eastern lowlands of Bolivia. At the moment, many of about 2500 Japanese descendants (Nikkei) live in the nearby city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the department’s capital. Originating from humble families, they now mostly belong to upper middle class and have achieved good reputation among non-Nikkei Bolivians. Nikkei’s everyday life is marked by practices of inclusion/ exclusion as well as dynamic ethnic and class identifications, for example in professional life. In the 1990s, most young Nikkei moved to Japan after high school in order to work in blue-collar jobs which were still better paid than white-collar job in Bolivia, so although Nikkei are said to be diligent students, many did not attend higher education. But today, the majority of young Nikkei between 20 and 35 envisions staying in Santa Cruz area since economy in the region has been developing fast in recent years. The second and third generation mostly holds both Japanese and Bolivian citizenship, but still, they are often considered as foreigners by non-Nikkei Bolivians.

Also in professional life, ethnic identity and ethnic stereotypes seem to be important in interactions. But also in the moment of choosing a profession, ethnic identity apparently plays a role for young Nikkei.

Are there any “typical” professions for Nikkei and why? How are ethnic relations in working life negotiated? Do they perceive any barriers in professional life? How are decisions on career taken and why? And how are these practices and attitudes related to a larger discourse of Nikkei identity and where are intersections with class identification?

I start from the concept of a complex, dynamic and sometimes contradictory identity which can be used in a strategic manner but which also has an emotional side. This identity is negotiated constantly in social interactions. However, questions of power should not be forgotten in the discussion since social interactions always take place in a specific historic, social, economic and political context.

My analysis is based on interviews realized with Nikkei and non-Nikkei Bolivians during a one-year stay in Santa Cruz. In this moment, I am in the process of data evaluation.

FORME MENTIS. FORCED MARRIAGE AND CULTURAL MEDIATION

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Forms Mentis is a research-action that has involved 110 second generation girls – of Indian and Pakistani nationality - from high schools in Brescia on the topic of affective relationships between females and males, and the forms of construction of marriage. The girls, either of Sikh or Islamic religion, are all from the common cultural area of Punjab. All the girls participated in two focus groups and at a later time fifty of them chose to do an in-depth interview. The daily experiences narrated on the subject and having as background interactions with their girl friends or boy friends at school, in the family, within their group or community of religious affiliation demonstrated that many of them in order to get respect and recognition are actively using the difference given by the cultural affiliation of origin in their relationship with young males. At the same time they use their diversity of education acquired in contact with the western world (especially through speaking, unthinkable in the context of their origin) as a tool to claim a different recognition in the family and in the community to which they belong. Within the contribution it will be possible to view video material (5 minutes) from the research-action about the intersections and relations between the two cultural groups and Italians.

SPANISH MUSLIM YOUTH'S CLAIMS: HOW TO VISIBILIZE A POLITICAL IDENTITY IN A CONTEXT OF SUSPICION

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The presence of immigrant Islam in the Spanish context is a very new phenomenon regarding other European countries where Muslim migrants arrived before. Thus, the existence of a native Islam shaped by migrants' children is in the middle of development. This is happening in a context, which its social and political circumstances mark two tendencies in the still insufficient research of the Spanish Muslim Youth. On the one hand, they are defined as a threat to the alleged cultural homogeneity and potential radical terrorists. On the other hand, the analysis of their daily life and their positive contributions are sparingly studied and exemplified.

From the 11th March bombing attacks in Madrid to current days a new phenomenon has appeared in the Spanish public sphere. Along ten years, different groups of young Spanish Muslims have claimed their socio-political position as Spanish and Muslims in a public sphere where both identifications are questioned in national belonging terms. In this atmosphere, the Spanish hegemonic collective imaginary split these identifications under the categories of "Us" and "Them". However, young Spanish Muslims have developed different strategies to show the opposite. With this aim, they look for respect and recognition as citizens.

Following two consecutives ethnographic experiences in the city of Madrid, we look for understanding the ways of visibilization and public participation of the Spanish Muslim Youth in the Spanish Public Sphere. In doing so, in this paper we describe and analyse their involvement in the Spanish public rejection of the 11th March bombing attacks in Madrid (2004), and the 15M movement claims came up around the pacific occupation of the central Sol Square in Madrid in May and June 2011.

SESSION 4

INNOVATING UNIVERSITIES. EVERYTHING NEEDS TO CHANGE, SO EVERYTHING CAN STAY THE SAME?

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REFLECTIVE PRACTICUM IN HIGHER EDUCATION: PROCESS, OUTCOMES AND CRITICAL ISSUES

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Introduction. Since the 1980s, reflexivity has been studied in organizational studies, in relation to the crisis of technical rationality (Schön, 1983). The emphasis placed on reflexivity as a primary competence for professional development has brought universities to re-think educational activities and settings: for many years we've been interested in how academic education could accompany students to become reflective practitioners. Schön (1987), referring to the Reflective Practicum, indicates the importance of training settings and processes to develop the reflective practice.

Indeed, the context influences either how reflective practices are used in a given situation, either how they can be developed and supported. In fact, the educational context with its relations doesn't only influence the development of reflective functioning; it also affects the way a student use its reflective practice. A key device of our approach is the use of reflective diary which literature indicates as an effective means of monitoring and developing reflective practice in higher education, as part of a wider metacognitive strategy to transform learning strategies.

Our work is inserted in qualitative and ethnographic research traditions that recognize the potential of the diary as a research method, to collect the events of daily life (Bolger et al., 2003) or to reflect on experiences. In literature we find many *diary methods* (Bell, 1998) that rely on different theoretical and epistemological frameworks (Harvey, 2011): diaries can be structured, or less structured, like in memory books where participants can write, drawn and stick materials (Thomson and Holland, 2005), used as autobiographical narratives, or as a collection of emotions about particular experiences (Arndt, 2009; Thomas, 2007).

In higher education diaries are proposed to foster deeper reflection on learning and are used in different ways according to the number of entries required during the course, the nature of instructions, the presence of teacher's feedback, the methods of evaluation, and the type of training and support given to the students (Dyment and O'Connell, 2011). Aim of the presentation is to study which specific teaching and learning settings can promote students' reflective practices, exploring their narratives of the learning environment and its outcomes. Our interest is to investigate, through the writing, the process of learning focusing on the learning environment and on its relationship with the quality of reflective practice.

Method. A case study of reflective learning in Organizational Psychology in a Master Degree in the North of Italy, in 2015/16, is presented: teaching approach was designed around in-class group activities. Students were invited to write an e-journal with specific instructions, five times during the semester. The issues stimulated by the instruction were: prefiguration of their own professional identity; description of the learning outcomes significant for their own professional future; teaching and learning evaluation in relation to the professional identity. A narrative research method was used to examine the lived experience of learning in higher education context and the construction of professional identity, over the time. The journals of the students were analyzed and subjected to thematic analysis.

Findings and discussion. Findings show the link between learning environment and reflective practice, evident in the following training settings: the student is conceived as an active agent and author – with experience, needs, desires – of his/her own learning; the student's engagement in learning is focused on its ways of learning and developing professional identity; the group is used to generate professional competence; the Reflective Practicum is intended to facilitate the conversation with the situation, and learning is conceptualized as based on the circularity between action and reflection.

This research supports the need to consider students as *prosumers* (Normann, 1991) of the learning process for their professional development. Moreover we discuss the benefits and the critical issues for students and teachers of using reflective diary as an educational and research method in the contemporary university context. Promoting innovative practices inspired by the Reflective Practicum can collide with a university culture anchored in traditional educational models, challenging the established mindset about the relationship between students and teachers. For researchers, the use of diaries requires an effort to combine research goals and educational objectives in terms of resources, time and other organizational barriers; however this may result in potential benefits for the action in educational short and long-term planning.

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NEW TEACHING CONTEXTS IN HE: CHALLENGE TO SUPPORT THE HE VALUE

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European systems of Higher Education (HE) have long been crossed by reform processes that are based on agreements and communications between the Member States, initiated by the Bologna Process. In this scenario outlined by strong external pressures, HE is crossed by a debate marked by a new demographic situation (OECD, 2008) and an emerging international mobility of human resources (EHEA, 2012). Walker (2006) highlights two consequential aspects, influential on HE: the first one is the growing risk of discontinuity in interpreting and support the perspective formation of critical citizens, ethics and able to look ahead, similarly to the assumed role in the economic growth and development of life. The second one refers to the consolidation of the idea of HE as a public good that can enrich both individuals and society as a whole, noting more bending to a privatistic perspective, aiming to consider HE as "private

goods". The evidence of this consists in the emergence of new language based on terms as "customers", "competition", "efficiency of profit" and "monetary value", replacement of the old relationship of trust between student and teacher (Halsey, 1992). The global market has begun to obscure the social and cultural objectives of HE, generally included in the concept of higher education as a "public good" (Kezar, 2005), eroding the belief that the university should apply for a relative independence from political and business influence (Boni, Gasper, 2012). The emphasis on measuring the quality of universities through the different world rankings has represented - consequently - a key point of the agenda of the policies in the last two decades, resulting in a so "popular" way to measure excellence, to be considered by the OECD the factors which implicitly influence the same policies (Hazelkorn, 2007). The suffering of the Italian system respect to the European and international scenario can be represented on one hand by the decrease of funding and public investment in education in 2000/2011 period (OECD, 2014) and by the stagnation of enrollment rates that place Italy to fourth last place about the rate of graduates aged 25/34 years; on the other hand, the adults' decline and loss of skills as evidenced by PIAAC survey data (OECD-ISFOL, 2014). Therefore, the process that appears to be closely related to the outcomes of training in HE becomes vital to move in the learning society, "learning to learn". It is also important to ask which the learning contexts are that HE is organizing to develop increased capacity (COM, 2000) able to be the "focal points for imparting what is known, what is not interrogating, producing new knowledge, shaping critical thinkers, problem solvers and doers" (COM, 2013). So, one of the most complex aspects that HE is now called on to provide answers, is the simultaneous integration of innovative structural elements: a) the reorganization of the environments that are able to b) capability all students c) make clear the results learning even with d) the most advanced technologies. The flipped classroom (FC) is a pedagogical and methodological approach that basically could be the answer to the highlighted points. In a FC the central organization of the integrated context becomes relevant, where students' learning outcomes (LO) are more evident, and which are also evaluated through shared, observed and developed forms, in collaboration among teachers. "Embedded" in the organization of the pedagogical FC, is the return to the processes included in the constructivist theories and cooperative in learning and training, as well as in active learning theory.

In its simplest form the FC consists in providing students the main contents through video and audio recordings of fundamental lessons, making them accessible outside the classroom, while the work in class is dedicated to work in cooperative group, to the discussion on cases proposed by the teacher, to problem solving, to the revision of individual and collective concepts (Birch, 2015) for the development of capacity and construction of learning outcomes. The selected sources that are still in the learning environment and are available "out" of the classroom become continuous resources to solve problems in the classroom and represent a characteristic feature of the phenomenon (Bishop, Verleger, 2013; Du et al. 2014).

Several researches in an HE context show that the FC model will lead to better relations among students and teachers, more involvement, commitment and higher motivation, better understanding of the fundamental concepts, skills development and customization of learning.

The "FCxMOOCs" experimentation intended to create a model of FC in HE and at the same time put into action some theories on learning and training in skills. The experimentation was based on the assumption that through the implementation of educational programs organized according to the principles of the FC, students could get more results in final learning of concepts and acquire skills of teamwork, organization of materials, selection of the basic concepts. The assessment of learning outcomes, of LO made by students and the acquired skills in the course of study, was carried out through the use of rubrics of evaluation. The evaluation of the quality of the experience and of its characteristics was carried out through questionnaires with open questions given to students and textual analysis of the results. Teachers were given a relational-SWOT.

<i>Steps-Lesson</i>	<i>Actions Project FC</i>	<i>Actors</i>
Before	Design and assessment tools for skills	Teachers, Staff
	Definition of content and resources for Teachers course	Teachers, Staff
	Production of lessons online (video)	Teachers, Staff
	Study and analysis	Students, Tutor
In	Discussion, tasks, co-construction of new contents	Students
After	Co-creation products - video and animations	Students
	Rating, correction products	Teachers, Tutors, Staff

TAB. 1. Phases and actions in March / June 2015 period.

	<i>Students (n = 216)</i>	<i>Evidenze</i>	<i>Ass.Tools</i>	<i>Teachers (n = 5)</i>	<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Ass.Tools</i>
Data	Learning Outcomes					
	Products / LO	Cards	-	-	-	
	Examination (integration)	Cards	-	-	-	
	Exp. Perception	Questionnaire	analysis	Perception	Relational/ SWOT	Textual analysis

TAB. 2. Plan Data Collection (duration project n.=60 hours).

GENDER CONSTRUCTION IN NEOLIBERAL HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS IN GERMANY AND FRANCE

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This paper deals with the effects of neoliberal higher education reforms in Germany and France on gender equality development. Besides quantitative data, the analysis draws on qualitative empirical data, in particular semi-structured interviews with academics in both countries and on a discourse analysis of public print media. Following a Foucauldian feminist framework the deconstruction of interpellations of the academic subjects show, how at the macro, meso and micro level gendered stereotypes are (re)produced. In public discourse new identification models for women reflect neoliberal governance reforms of science production, demanding high efficiency and competitiveness in order to meet performance indicators. These are considered to be meritocratic and gender-neutral. Yet, as our qualitative interviews show, the traditional female role in the family and as housekeeper remains at the same time more or less untouched instead of changing it radically (McRobbie 2010, 119). This results in a new gender regime constructing women as subjects of (super)performance and at the same time as care takers (op. cit., 120). On the other hand, in Germany female losers of the performance game are declared as deficient subjects in need of special coaching and mentoring. In comparison to Germany France still has higher female participation rates in academic positions with unlimited work contracts, however the implementation of New Public Management in universities and research institutions shows a “remasculinization” in the construction of gendered stereotypes concerning the work-life-balance and leadership positions. In both countries intervening variables like academic disciplines and conditions of the academic labour market play a role in the effects of new public management on gender relations.

ASSESSMENT POLICIES AND PRECARIOUS ACADEMIC WORK IN MEXICO IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION AND NEOLIBERALISM

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The modern university is founded on the principles of rationalization and bureaucratization. In the modern era there has always been a close relationship between money, markets and higher education. However, the massification of higher education in recent decades, along with neoliberal efforts to reduce its dependence on state funding, have led the university to be administered in the same manner as any other large service organization. This is particularly pronounced in a “knowledge economy” and “information society” that favour knowledge work and cognitive labour over other forms of productive activity. As a result, the university is not just being run as a business, it is in the process of becoming a corporation, in some cases transnational.

In parallel, there has been a marked intensification of academic work, manifested in increased workloads, longer hours, insecure contracts and more invasive management control through performance indicators such as total quality management (TQM) and Balanced Scorecard. The personal lives of professional academic staff are deeply affected by these changes in the structures of higher education, leading to increased stress, alienation, guilt and other negative emotions. Although many students suffer in these conditions, others have adapted to the principles of the culture of academic enterprise to find opportunities for professional development and career advancement. The overall consequences for the quality of higher education, however, can be far from positive.

This paper will discuss the role of evaluation and accreditation in the project of the neoliberal university enterprise from the perspective of Autonomist Marxist theories of cognitive capitalism, the production of living knowledge, knowledge work, the “dual crisis” of the modern university and the rise of an increasingly precarious “cognitariat”. The paper will focus on recent changes in Mexican state universities and how these have been resisted by both university workers (academic and administrative) and students in a growing number of social movement mobilisations and trade union industrial actions.

FROM THIRD MISSION TO FIRST AID KIT? OLD PROBLEMS, APPARENT FAILURES AND NEW STRATEGIES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH

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In the last two decades; Italian universities have adjusted their rules and have modified their organization in order to adopt the so-called “third mission”, as an isomorphic convergence to recent changes in international university systems. Their main model was *academic capitalism* [Shane 2004], which give to researchers and universities the chance to sell their scientific results as a means of funding diversification. A second model was *triple helix* (Etzkowitz H. Leydesdorff 1997) that focuses on the role of public research institutions in economic development or in the promotion of local economic innovation (Bagnasco 2004).

Twenty years after the first attempt to adapt the Italian university system to international institutional change several shortcomings have emerged. Weaknesses regard mainly the effectiveness of some third mission traditional tools, such as academic patents and spin-offs. In Italy, successful spin-offs are few, as there are few patents which have produced substantial economic revenue for universities (Gherardini 2015). At the same time, an assessment of the

contribution of individual universities to local and regional development is an arduous task, especially for a deeply spatially differentiated economy such Italy.

Who is responsible for the ineffectiveness of spin-offs and patents in bringing significant financial resources to universities? Is it an organizational failure of universities? Or is a matter of national rules and policies, which create adverse incentives to researchers leading them to pursue personal aims instead of organizational or collective objectives? Although these last two assumptions are both plausible, in the paper we intend to introduce and to develop a further argument. The low success of such third mission initiatives seems to be understandable if we refer to the surrogate use through which professors and researchers have exploited the main tools at their disposal. In particular, we suppose that a tool such as spin-offs – but the same could be said of patents – has been used to overcome some typical rigidities of the Italian public university system, especially in terms of recruitment and in management of research activities, mainly with regard to the need of more streamlined and more efficient procedures.

Thus it appears to be of great interest to shed light on the difference between the official declared objectives of the third mission and actual strategies pursued in practice by individual researchers and their groups. In hypothesis, many contradictions are detectable: firstly with regard to the relationship between the regulation at national level and actions developed by every university; secondly, relating to the tension between policies adopted by each academic institution at the central level to promote third mission tools and the actual use of them done by researchers or research teams at the peripheral level of any academic department. This in order to reach an analytical and interpretative framework that keeps together the logic underlying the introduction of certain tools with the logic of their actual use, paying particular attention to some key-dimensions: degree of discretion and autonomy for professors/researchers; availability and allocation schemes of resources and research funds; opportunity structure and conditions under which research activities are carried on.

In the attempt to answer these questions we will use some results of a wider investigation on the third stream activities and on knowledge transfer processes that has been realized through a case-study approach. In particular, the cases we will take into account are referred to two Italian universities, different in size and for socio-economic context where they are rooted: the University of Turin and the University of Cagliari. The exploration of context variables is based on indicators and secondary data while the qualitative analysis has been conducted through over 20 semi-structured interviews at each university, addressed in part to academic actors and in part to extra-academics actors who, for many reasons, have relations and maintain exchanges with university.

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THE ITALIAN ACADEMIA FROM A “PRECARIOUS” POINT OF VIEW

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Over the last decade, the Italian academic system was deeply modified by a comprehensive reform that have significantly re-drawn overall chances of pursuing an academic career and heightened the level of competition among the new generation of researchers. The steady increase in the number of PhD graduates, which almost tripled between 1998 and 2013, has been accompanied by the systematic flexibilisation/precarisation of early career positions and by increasing level of restrictions imposed on the university system in order to reduce public expenditure. Academic staff turnover has been limited by law since 2009, and academic staff salaries, fixed nationally, have been frozen since 2011. Moreover, since the onset of the economic crisis, university public funding, which represents the main funding source of higher education institutions, has undergone large cuts, so that external funding for research activities has increased in importance.

Cutbacks in public resources have led to major changes in decision-making processes and recruitment procedures. The university reform has had almost immediate consequences on the composition of academic research staff. Between 2008 and 2013 academic permanent positions shrank by 14% and they have not been adequately replaced by new entries or career advancements. At the same time, there has been a significant growth of research personnel with temporary positions. In 2013, more than a quarter of research activities were carried out by fixed-term researchers, and they were all concentrated among the new generations of researchers. The largest part of fixed-term research staff consists of postdoctoral fellows financed by external funding, mainly from the European Commission and (to a lesser extent) from the private sector. Their employment relations are therefore limited to the duration of the project, less collegial, and more dependent on the lecturer responsible for the financing. Investment in the professional development of postdocs is often instrumental to project objectives, which entails fundraising activities, or the writing of project reports and deliverables that do not necessarily result in publications in prestigious journals. This trend is also in contradiction with the strong pressures for scientific internationalization and productivity – given the “publish or perish” mantra to which postdoctoral fellows, and more generally the academic community, are increasingly exposed. Moreover, research fellows are particularly vulnerable in terms of social protection, since they are not entitled to receive any unemployment benefit or other social security provisions or income support measures because they are considered “students” (hence part of the inactive population). Finally, control of university funding and turnover limitation have substantially reduced

also the positions available for assistant professors, who are recruited through radically new procedures which in most cases are not included in the tenure track, and which have failed to remove – despite the provisions of the last university reform law – the traditional co-option practices and power hierarchies within departments.

Given the above-described changes made to the Italian academic system, this contribution aims to discuss how power relations in Italian universities have developed over time with specific regard to the experience of researchers with fixed-term positions, namely postdoctoral fellows and assistant professors without tenure, which are categories of research staff with low levels of representation within the academic hierarchy. More precisely it will explore how these dynamics are affecting career development of young researcher in different fields of science, STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) and SSH (Social Sciences and Humanities), which significantly differ in the capacity to be involved in useful research networks and gather external research funding, an even more indispensable feature of their scientific reputation.

The analyses will be based on empirical material gathered by research conducted within the European GARCIA project focused on gender differences in the early phases of the academic career. Between the end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted in a STEM and a SSH department of a university situated in Northern Italy. More specifically, twelve interviews were carried out with postdocs, and eight with assistant professors without tenure. In conducting the interviews, the processes of recruitment and the everyday working life were investigated. In particular, the climate and the main organisational values were explored, as well as the successes valued or celebrated by the department. Particular attention was paid to working relationships, both formal and informal, with peers and professors.

The analyses will focus on the main differences and similarities between a SSH and a STEM department. More specifically, we will discuss (i) how power relationships are articulated in the studied departments; (ii) the different recruitment processes for postdocs and assistant professors; and (iii) how job instability is experienced, highlighting the differences between the SSH and STEM departments, as well as gender differences with particular regard to the family choices.

Preliminary findings revealed significant differences among the interviewees in the two departments concerning how fixed-term researchers perceived life in the department where they worked, the different types of position for which they were hired, and the perception of job instability. Whereas postdocs in the STEM department did not seem particularly concerned about the precariousness of their posts, among the postdocs in the SSH department worry was more tangible, and a sense of insecurity permeated all the life stories collected.

LASH CITY NETWORK

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In the course of this year the city of Firenze saw a proliferation of contentious episodes that could be inserted in an “education”, framework, even though a very heterogeneous one. From occupations by secondary schools students to rallies from university students and considering protest from researchers, these movements showed a composite and wavering effort to develop a discourse inside education’s worlds, producing fluid networks and identities.

These experiences are in turn inserted in a bigger framework: all these actors have been able to link their claims within a broader urban context. There is a confrontation between different models of what a city and an institution should be, that lays in clashes, public debates and in the practice of re-inventing everyday life. From the point of view of conflict analysis, we saw the calls for public order, the rhetoric use of the concept of neglectedness of public space, the ideology of willingly ignoring the discontent as countering tools the governance-system uses against these movements. Urban movements are simultaneously producing and dissolving boundaries, riding the rifts of a glocal system, feeding and acting conflicts, crashing the concept of unilinear scale, crossing the established boundary between issues. A “right to the city” approach envisages the production of urban localized commons whilst simultaneously producing the practiced image of a different order of social life as a whole.

Analytically speaking, we build upon a construction of the city of Firenze as a field of reflection on the dynamics of mobilization in the education world. The research has been organized around the following questions: what kind of networks do these mobilized actors build? How are boundaries between places and spaces built and crossed? How are the dynamics of protest embedded in an organic urban and institutional dimension?

One of the main aspects that emerged during the research are symbolic modifications of common spaces. This happens in two ways: for students is the re-framing of the space through the institution of a temporary autonomous zone, for researchers is the modification of how their own presence in the institutional space is perceived, influencing so the framing other people do of them.

Students protesting against the new financial regulations for the assessment of income brackets have been squatting an unused building, framing it as a residence for students. This operation configures itself as a transformation of a building: it somehow adds a space to the university, opening it up for students. Nonetheless, the temporary autonomous zone framed by occupants is the creation of a new limit, a limit that excludes some people as well as it includes others. This squat has a liminal status: it is an extension of university’s facilities, but its illegality prevents the institutions from recognizing it.

The precarious researchers have begun their own mobilization process, by shaping their own kind of “strike in reverse”. This repertoire operates as a means for the recognition: the ordinary and informal rules of the institution are not suspended, but symbolically remodeled, as the protesters insert themselves in the field of their everyday work claiming a greater visibility for their exceptionality. They follow on with their ordinary activity of unpaid teaching hours, but they have begun exposing their presence, favouring so the bridging of their protest with those of students. The research began with some group in-depth interviews with secondary schools students, specifically those who were involved in occupations and collective activities. We have been interviewing university students, those implicated in political activities and some precarious researchers involved in the symbolical action of exposing their overburden work in everyday life of the institutions.

UNUSABLE AND DANGEROUS COAGULATION IN THE SOCIAL FACTORY: ON LINE EDUCATION, ADJUNCTS, AND CONTINGENCY IN THE UNIVERSITIES

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Higher education is being reorganized and academic labor rationalized. Privatization, disinvestment, on-line courses, for-profit colleges, tuition and fees, budget cuts, centralization and outsourcing of maintenance, food service and administrative services, and the use of “adjuncts” like myself have become rampant in the past four decades. The reorganization of higher education has been made possible by a new division of academic labor that is rationalizing and deskilling college teaching, extending the intensity and length of academic labor, and integrating new tools of surveillance and control. These new relations of academic labor are disempowering the professorate by transferring control over teaching to a growing middle management and automating it as on-line distance learning. A new division of academic labor is being gradually imposed in order to expand control over academic labor, produce labor power better disciplined for contingent work, and design and build the surveillance technology to further exploit that labor power. Developing new tactics, strategies and objectives to respond to these threats makes it necessary to do a class analysis of the new division of academic labor. In order to respond to this threat to higher education the focus must be shifted from the commercialization of higher education to the adjunctification of the professorate. This requires a critical rethinking of organizational tactics, strategies and objectives of academic labor organizing.

THE NEW GENERATIONS AND THE WORK IN ACADEMIA. THE RESULTS OF A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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The university is deeply changing, in terms of its functions, its internal organization, and in its relationship with society. Key elements that define the new model of university, in all advanced societies are the introduction of the logics of market and competition.

Among other features characterizing reforms, in Italy as well in the other European countries, there are the differentiation and the strengthening of the vocational channel, the introduction of the NPM paradigm, the change in the recruitment, the more and more relevance given to evaluation, both for the career progression and for the funding of education and research. In Italy, no less, the cut in public funding affects the re-organization of academic life as much as reforms. Our research moves from the hypothesis that younger generation are the more affected by change, starting from the institutionalization of precarity. At the same time, new generations are potential carriers of new approaches and new values, and potential protagonists in creating new way of thinking and living the work in universities. The proposed contribution reports the first results of a research carried out in the university of Florence and in the University of Genua. The research was carried out through qualitative methodologies (in-depth interviews and focus groups) and involved young professors and young researchers (under 45), research fellows, post-PhD researchers, graduated and undergraduated students and administrative staff. 60 in-depth interviews and 10 focus groups were conducted.

Aim of the research is: 1) to analyze individual approaches and relations with the university; 2) to explore individual and collective perceptions about the current situation of italian university and hopes and expectations for the future; 3) to identify the existence of a generation divide and its transformative potential.

IN SEARCH OF EXCELLENCE – THREATENING THE FREEDOM OF RESEARCH IN ACADEMIA?

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In Norway education is publicly funded at all levels and universities free for all. Professors and associate professors all have the same responsibilities and the same time allocated to teaching and research. Until recent changes inspired by NPM, the universities had a democratic organization where staff elected their leaders and student and staff elected

the majority of the university board. This has changed dramatically in the last decade. In my university, the NTNU, appointed rector was introduced in 2005, followed by appointed deans and in 2013 also chairs of department, changing the university from a collegial organization to managerialism (Rasmussen 2015).

In an institutional ethnography (Smith 2005) of the changes in criteria for recruitment (Rasmussen 2014) I found that the restructuring constructed the rector, deans and chairs of department as strategic managers. A comprehensive system of performance management was introduced where the production of credits, PhDs and publications were decisive for financing the university and excellence in research became the main goal for management. Recruitment became a central strategic issue and “the number of international publications in the last 5 years” the standard measure for academic performance. The potential for excellence and international networks to be well positioned for international (i.e. EU) grants also became important criteria for recruiting academics (Rasmussen 2015).

The result is that PhD-positions are distributed to “excellent” research groups and strategic research programs. To promote internationalisation most of the Norwegian research budget has been channelled through EU-programs and the staff at the universities urged to compete for EU grants as a way to get their research plans quality assured. With a top rating from an EU evaluating committee, the university will fund the projects that do not succeed to get EU funding or top up the grant with extra PhD-posts when they succeed. The same is the case for top rating in the Norwegian Research Council's general programs.

These policies are aimed at stimulating excellence and creating productive research groups with international networks. The groups and the researchers that succeed to acquire grants will receive more funds from the university to strengthen their projects. The ones who do not participate in the quest for EU grants or large prestigious grants from the national research council, are left with little time for research when they have to take on their colleagues' courses to compensate for their lack of time for teaching.

The researchers who have acquired funding for their projects are obliged to work hard to get more money to sustain their research group through acquiring new PhD and post.doc positions which leaves them with less time to do research and hardly any time for teaching. “Excellent” researchers are increasingly occupied with designing and managing their research, leaving most of the research activities to temporary staff (PhDs, postdocs and research assistants) and teaching to their colleagues (or to temporary assistants that have to be hired to fill in for the lack of teaching staff).

The pressure to seek external funding for research and building excellent research groups create an organization that is dependent upon a large group of temporary positions. PhD- and post.doc positions in Norway are well-paid positions (often prolonged with one year of teaching and therefore also very important for the university departments). When the applications are successful, more staff become occupied to meet the demands of their projects, requiring more assistance and creating (more) temporary positions, many without opportunities to qualify for permanent employment in academia in contrast to PhD candidates and postdocs.

The new policy of competing (with research institutions!) for external grants and building (“excellent”) research groups thus create a differentiation and division of labour in the scientific community between A, B and C-workers, eroding the traditional academic career ladder where junior staff are qualified through practice. It also introduces the STEM-model of research into the social sciences and the humanities where projects are hierarchically organized. This development threatens the freedom of research at the university as well as the unity of research and teaching.

Norway (still) has a legal ban on temporary hiring except for temporary work (like PhD and postdocs), and these positions cannot last more than 4 years (they will then be made permanent). To solve the problems of temporary employment in contract research at the university, this type of research has traditionally been organized through independent research institutions allied to, or owned by the university (SINTEF for the technological departments and later on also the medical department, and NTNU Social Research. These institutions offer academics permanent research positions and career opportunities. This way of organizing research is now threatened by the pressure to finance the research of the permanent staff in the university by external grants (with a subtle “threat” from the dean of research that “the obligation to acquire external money must be understood as part of the research duty of the academic staff”). This threatens not only the freedom of research, but also the right to time for research of the staff.

The consequences of these developments are gendered, both in the recruitment and promotion processes that use “the number of international publications in the last 5 years” as the measure of quality, not considering time taken off for having children, and through the focus on excellence that is often seen as a feature of total dedication and sponsored by male professors.

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EXCEPTIONALISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE UTILITY OF AN N OF 1

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Being careful to avoid “the diary disease” (Geertz, 1988) described by Bourdieu ([2000], 2003), I embrace the opportunity to conduct “‘insider ethnography’ and acknowledge the social embeddedness and split subjectivity of the inquirer without reducing ethnography to story-telling...” (Wacquant, 2004).

In March 2015, the Board of Directors of an independent private women's residential liberal arts college in the Southern United States announced that, after 114 years of operation, it would close at the end of June 2015. This closure was

framed as resulting from global trends affecting higher education, among them the long-term secular movement away from single-sex education, the increasing cost of operations for a college of its small scale, the difficulty of raising funds for the endowment, and the difficulty of attracting an adequate number of students wanting to attend college in a rural area. Reactions to this unexpected event were swift, and included lawsuits on behalf of alumnae, faculty, and the surrounding community coupled with national media and social media campaigns. Criticisms of the closing included references to the gender of both the President and the Board Chair, the existence at the college of one of only two undergraduate engineering programs at a women's liberal arts college and one with an emphasis on STEM careers, the high proportion of non-white women students, and the changing socioeconomic backgrounds of the students at what was a college for women from upper income families during its first eighty years. The intersectionality of gender, race, and class was latent though not universally articulated. Following months of successful fund-raising and threats of litigation, involvement of the state Attorney General as well as the state Supreme Court, arbitration resulted in the re-opening of the college. This re-opening occurred one month after what had been understood to be its final alumnae reunion. Under the agreement, both the Board that made the decision to close and the administration that implemented that decision were replaced. Full-time faculty members were invited to return at their former rank, salary, and tenure status.

This account reflects the participant observations of a senior member of the college faculty, who also was the faculty special budget representative to the Finance and Investments Committee of the Board of Directors and chair of the budget subcommittee of the faculty executive committee during the years leading up to the closing. In this analysis, the object of study, the closing and re-opening of the college, is considered in relation to the misapplication of global trends and the limits to the power of governing boards. Beyond that, it is proposed that making sense of these events from a professor's perspective depends on including an analysis of the professoriate as precariat, and both the disjunction and coherence of professional with institutional norms in capitalist society, leaving open the question of whether what's good for professors also is good for an institution of higher education.

The present analysis is undertaken in the spirit of Bourdieu's insight, attempting to put "competency at the service of a universalism rooted in the understanding of particularisms" (1997).

SESSION 5

NGOS, GRASS-ROOT ACTIVISM AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.

UNDERSTANDING NOVEL ENTANGLEMENTS OF PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS

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ROMA POLITICIANS AND NGOS PRACTICES IN THE "NOMADS-CAMPS SCENARIO"

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In this paper, I will describe the relation between Roma leaders and NGOs locating the analysis in the framework of the "nomads-camps" policy; my goal is to describe how these relations changed and which consequences they produced on Roma politics.

Rome administration, together with the administrations of the biggest Italian cities, started implementing the "nomads-camps" policy in the Eighties. As a consequence, many Roma, both Italians or coming from Ex-Yugoslavia and Romania, were pushed in these segregated spaces, where life conditions are unhealthy, if not dangerous.

Scholars and NGOs carried out researches and denounces highlighting the discriminatory consequences of this policy template (Sigona 2005, Piasere 2006), and revealing its cost-ineffectiveness (Lunaria 2013). Recently, prosecutors carried out an investigation revealing that the management of "nomads-camps" was part of that large corruption system named "Mafia Capitale" affecting social programs and other public initiatives in Rome.

Despite denounces and criticisms, "nomads-camps" remain the pivotal tool of the policies toward Roma people in Rome since thirty years. This situation calls scholars and researchers to move beyond denounces and critics and to start considering the social and cultural transformations occurred since the beginning of the concentration of the Roma in those exclusive and exclusionary spaces. Social and cultural changes generated in the complex, often conflictual, relation with gage (non-Roma) society, but also because of the interactions among different Roma groups in the same settlement. Social and cultural changes that are also a consequence of the relations with NGOs, realizing social programs for inhabitants and managing funds and opportunities directed to them, and with public officers and local administrators who created and manage the settlements.

Following and developing previous researches (Daniele 2011, Clough Marinaro and Daniele 2014), I will focus on the social and political process that led to the creation and the acknowledgement of so called Roma representatives in the “nomads-camps” and on the main moments of the history of these figures.

The starting point of Roma representatives history in Rome is in 1999, when this definition appear for the very first time in the Nomads Plan issued by Rutelli’s administration.

From this moment on, these figures, together with other representative forum, such as the “council of the elders”, were acknowledged by local authorities as one of the main tool for the management of the settlements and the implementation of policies. If this process started during left wing administration, first with Rutelli and then with Veltroni, it was during Alemanno’s administration that Roma leaders became the main interlocutors, and also one of the main sponsors, of the new policies implemented by right wings administration.

Thus, in the last fifteen years we had elections in the “nomads-camps”, and some of the representatives were selected also safeguarding the gender balance; for a few years since 2010, Roma representatives coming from all the settlements also joined a common forum, gathering people with diverse background and migration trajectories.

All along this process of creating and acknowledging Roma leaders, NGOs implementing social programs in the settlements played a pivotal role: they were called by local authorities to support and interact with representatives involving them in the every-day management of the settlement, and they use to hire the representatives in order to make the implementation of activities easier.

Therefore, we can affirm that at the very beginning and until ten years ago, the NGOs provided the social and cultural space where Roma leaders could start their activities; then, at least since Alemanno’s administration, we can see conflicts and fragmentations both with the NGOs were most of the leaders grew up, and among the representatives themselves. After describing the history of Roma representatives in Rome, I will conclude focusing on two topics.

First, I will analyse the relations between Roma leaders and NGOs, focusing on those dynamics leading both of them to the acknowledgment by local authorities, but also on the ground of negotiations and on the conflicts occurred among them. Following, I intend to compare the Roma representatives with those authorities and the other form of powers we can extract from the scientific literature about Roma groups, highlighting changes that affect all the social organization of Roma groups once they settle in “nomads-camps”.

These focuses will highlight diversities and the misunderstandings, but also common, while competitive, goals between languages and practices of the NGOs and the Roma, and will provide a set of elements for a first evaluation of the relation between Roma representatives and NGOs.

PEACEBUILDING NGOS IN KASHMIR: IDIOMS OF (MIS)TRUST

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This paper considers the social worlds of “peacebuilding” non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Indian-administered Kashmir, focusing on the role of trust and mistrust. In a context where activism is associated with violent responses – whether policed by the Indian government or “extremist” militants – a number of former and would-be activists of diverse political stripes have turned to the platform of NGOs. While at the policy level these NGOs use the “productively ambiguous” (Mosse 2005) language of human rights, conflict management, and development, they must in practice operate within a landscape of (mis)trust. The political ambiguity, which makes their interventions possible under overlapping regimes of policing, at once provokes mistrust from those who share a degree of intimacy through the NGO’s interventions. In particular, I examine the cultivation of vulnerability, intimacy and trust within workshops, as well as the subsequent suspicions and accusations of foulplay – of participants launched at workshops organizers, organizers launched at participants, and cooperating organizers directed at one another. By tracing the idioms of (mis) trust, this paper explores the relationship between affect, micro-politics, and visibility as individuals navigate diverse activist sensibilities, political ideologies and the dangers of intimacy.

EVERYDAY ACTIVISM IN (SOUTH)EASTERN AND (SOUTH)WESTERN EUROPE: FORMS, GENEALOGIES, ENTANGLEMENTS

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The word “activism” has been traditionally used, on the one hand, in studies concerned with social movements/popular protest, and on the other hand, in those focusing on “civil society” understood in a myriad of ways (but usually researched through study of NGOs). This paper aims to re-connect the two uses/understandings by following personal stories and choices of those engaged, those not-engaged and those “engaged-differently”. In particular, it looks at forms of activism which are hard to notice because they seek neither financial support (which distances them from civil society/NGO research) nor recognition (which distances them from social movement/popular protest research). Part of a larger trans-national project, with case studies in Serbia, Poland, Spain and the UK, the paper scrutinises everyday, discreet, acts of citizenship (as defined by Isin 2008), endeavours which could be considered infrapolitics

(Scott 1990) or micro-politics (Goldfarb 2006): an alternative way in contexts in which other forms of activism appear impossible or ineffective and/or activists' choice for a less radical and more long-time approach. The interest lays in determining to what extent these acts form, for the engaged individuals, a stage between (or perhaps beyond) engagement in NGOs and social movements in "genealogies of activism" (Stubbs 2012); whether they are performed independently of such engagements, form a link between different activisms or catalyse them. Examples include efforts which aim at goals similar to those of NGOs and movements (opposing nationalism, growing social inequalities, capitalist usurpations of public space, etc.) but remain informal, unfinanced and for the most part – invisible.

LEVELS OF INTERFAITH ENGAGEMENT IN ROME, AND THEIR INTERCONNECTIONS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

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13 months of ethnographic fieldwork amongst the "interfaithers" of Rome clarified differences between three "levels" of interfaith engagement and dialogue: 1) dialogue conducted by institutions (such as the Roman local government or Vatican), 2) grassroots dialogue amongst individuals, and 3) dialogue in the "third sector," managed by non-governmental associations. These three levels of interfaith engagement are interconnected and mutually influential, yet distinct. Interview subjects construe institutional dialogue as an important symbol, the foundation for the political dimensions of dialogue and its visibility in the public sphere via media coverage, but not necessarily effective in terms of satisfying the social, interpersonal goals of grassroots dialogues. "Third sector" dialogue is viewed as the junction between these levels. This presentation of ethnographic data concerning the "levels" of interfaith engagement will illustrate the landscape of this social movement in Rome, and explore questions about exchanges and interdependencies among sectors of social activism.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ANTI-ASBESTOS STRUGGLE OF A BRAZILIAN NGO

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The WHO declares that 107,000 women and men die every year because of diseases related to professional and/or environmental exposure to asbestos, a kind of minerals still largely used in several industrial sectors and contained in many products worldwide (WHO 2010). Biomedical studies have been showing the carcinogenicity of asbestos fibres since the Sixties (Selikoff et al. 1965). In fact, when inhaled, asbestos fibres can cause serious diseases (e.g. asbestosis, lung cancer, and malignant mesothelioma, that is a fatal rare cancer caused by asbestos exposure), whose latency period can last more than 30 years (Musti et al. 2009). However, to date, only 68 Countries have prohibited asbestos (its manufacturing, extraction and commercialization) on their territories (Giannasi 2015). From a critical medical anthropological perspective, since 2009, I have been investigating the experiences of the social and private suffering caused by the economics and "politics of asbestos" (Waldman 2011), in Italy and Brazil. In particular, my most recent study interests concern the anti-asbestos activism organised by subjects affected by this suffering. I take the occasion of this presentation to share some reflections emerging from my current doctoral research, based on a 10-month fieldwork in Osasco (Greater São Paulo, Brazil), where I conducted an in-depth ethnography on the experiences of activism performed by the members of ABREA-Associação Brasileira dos Expostos ao Amianto (Brazilian Association of Exposed to Asbestos). ABREA is a NGO, founded in Osasco in 1995, and it represents a key reference in the anti-asbestos movement aiming for asbestos ban and the achievement of social and environmental justice in Brazil. Moreover, ABREA coordinates the Rede Virtual-Cidadã pelo Banimento do Amianto na América Latina (Virtual-Civil Network for Asbestos Ban in Latin America) and it is in a constant dialogue with other associations and groups in the global setting of anti-asbestos mobilization. The majority of my research collaborators have been ABREA activists. Most of them are male former workers at the main local asbestos-cement plant (demolished in 2007), with an average age of 70 years, and with at least one diagnosed asbestos-related disease. Brazil is the third asbestos producing country in the world (IBAS 2012), with a mine, still exploited, in Minaçu (Goiás), and dozens of plants working with asbestos as raw material throughout the country. Taking into account the pressures of asbestos lobbies in a similar context and the violent contradictions that characterise contemporary Brazilian society in terms of huge social and economic disparities (de Aguiar Villas-Bôas 2016), the ABREA activism occurs in a scenario of harsh conflicts. First, I discuss how ABREA, as a local NGO, emerged from a bottom-up process through which asbestos former workers began to mobilise based on a shared experience of asbestos-related diseases. In two decades of struggle, ABREA has been able to build a fruitful dialogue with local entities (e.g. political parties, trade unions, and public institutions); this dialogue favoured the use of existing social forces and structures to empower the anti-asbestos activism, both at a local and national level. Moreover, ABREA broadened the field of its socio-political actions by supporting activities, associations and movements locally operating about issues related to health, environment, and occupational hazards. Second, I draw attention on the practices through which ABREA collaborates with biomedical and law professionals in order to legitimate and make effective its "recognition struggles" (Hobson 2003). Over the last years, ABREA has become a respected interlocutor in public discussions about the risks related to asbestos exposure and it entered the processes through which new laws and biomedical and epidemiological knowledge are produced. For instance,

ABREA is involved as *amicus curiae* in two judicial trials occurring in Brazil against the Eternit corporation about the management of the Eternit plant situated in Osasco. Furthermore, ABREA actively collaborates with public biomedical institutions by promoting, among its members, the participation in epidemiological surveys. I reflect on the meanings ABREA militants attribute to their personal experience of engagement with anti-asbestos struggle. What does it mean being an ABREA activist in the daily life of a member? Do the activists consider their own engagement as something political? On the other side, I consider the conflicts at stake in the dialogue, or in the absence of it, between ABREA activists and asbestos workers affiliated to associations controlled by asbestos lobbies, defending corporations' interests and claiming the safety of asbestos manufacturing. These conflicts are particularly violent since they are fought through the bodies of subjects equally exposed, but who are living in a different phase – and condition – of their lives. In fact, most of ABREA activists are retired, elderly, and sick former workers, who are not economically dependent on their job at the plant anymore. In contrast, during my fieldwork, I had the occasion to observe that the majority of subjects defending asbestos manufacturing in public demonstrations, often in the presence of their employers, were younger men still working with asbestos. To this concern, I shortly refer to the 3 practical and ethical difficulties I encountered during my fieldwork while exploring these conflicts, as a researcher and, at the same time, as a supporter and collaborator of a local anti-asbestos NGO. Last, I consider how ABREA acts in the national and international context of the civil mobilization against asbestos economics. In particular, I refer to the observed cultural and historical connections existing between ABREA and AFeVA- Associazione Familiari Vittime Amianto (Association of Relatives of/and Victims from Asbestos) from Casale Monferrato, while I propose a discussion on how a movement that faces problems of global relevance, is locally performed and experienced. With my presentation, I wish to share reflections and trigger a stimulating discussion about an ongoing study on the practices performed by the members of a NGO that locally acts to face issues of global health and injustice.

NGOS, EUROPEAN STRATEGIES AND ROMA IDENTITY

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Over the '90s the "developmentalist configuration" (Olivier de Sardan, 2005) – the international institutions and annexed structures in charge of development aid since the end of the Second World War – starts to hand over some responsibilities to newly formed bodies: the NGOs. From this moment the civil society is built as stakeholder and reorganized in a social fabric made of small and macro-organizations based on ethnic, corporate and gender orientation playing a role in managing money flows, data and interventions and having a brokerage function between the donors and the beneficiaries of development aid.

After an initial approach of participation to the work of the NGOs, anthropology draws the attention to the "paradoxical attempt to generate participation" (Fisher, 1997) through a top-down organization of the civil society, following a complex framework based on the "culture of project" and managed by professional and qualified staff usually associated with a "strong social linkage of obligation" (Sampson, 2002). In this apparently incoherent process that pretends to empower people actually turning them into a needy version of themselves, the bureaucratic NGOs machine is sublimated by the form of the project which makes the whole mechanism possible. Leader in the mechanisms of development aid is the European one, Europe Aid, with a percentage of 52% of the total cost in 2013. With a long history of development actions having both internal and external goals, the European institutions not only have embraced the development as carrying value, but they have also given the NGOs a particular leading role in the interaction with people as European citizens.

In the context of countries like Albania, which I have been able to observe working as a European volunteer, the NGOs are the main characters of this identification as Europeans exemplified by the enlargement process that the state is going through even before June 2014 when it achieves the candidate status. As to the Albanian experience, the Roma community is the most involved in this process of achieving the European citizenship, considering that the improvement of life conditions and the respect for the rights of the Roma people are among the key challenges of the 2014-2020 agenda and the main requirements Albania has to meet to enter the Union.

The context of Roma NGOs in Europe is characterized by the attempt to absorb any other type of public engagement conducted by standard configurations as non-profit organizations, networks of organizations, associations and thousands of other designated groups of people with an inborn "culture of the project." According to this "culture" the mechanism of the project is the only way to obtain money and support, i.e. to exist. So the movements that choose other strategies are warded off through a constant dissemination of the logical framework of the culture itself: the project cycle management. As to the Roma organizational context in Albania, the embracement of the European ideology embodied by the culture of the project is the main cause of conflict between local NGOs and activist groups. The real bone of contention is the methodology. While the European Institutions involving international NGOs aim at topics like advocacy, empowerment through capacity building and at improving the public image of the Roma community, the greatest part of the spontaneous Roma activism in Albania continues to be bonded to the old helpful form of development aid. Young trained volunteers, who in most cases are graduated and speak English, constantly move between different local NGOs born from local associations dating back to the '80s which then evolved into well-defined no-profit organizations. Although they know the culture of the project (the organization to which they belong teaches it to them as a first step), they recognized the trend of the activities based on empowerment and advocacy as useless for the Roma set of problems that mostly concerned an opposite group of activists (with a lower level of

education, young but married with children). When a volunteer of either group takes part in a project or event, he/she has to choose *de facto* a vision: follow the European recommendations to abandon the condition of discrimination and become a European citizen, or participate in the fight for daily needs as avoiding the evictions, finding a job, providing for the family, with a completely different methodology far from the European culture of project. There is also a deeper form of action, still entirely grass-roots, emerging from the occupants of Roma camps and villages, who refuse the European hand *in toto* as well as the national strategies of inclusion related to them.

The analysis of the consequences of the different choices made for the entire community to which these volunteers belong - since they have been selected properly like community brokers from the beginning, often with the specific role of mediation, for which they are paid - shows a particular interest of the European development apparatus in the future of this specific group of ethnically connoted young people. The European efforts (multi-year strategies as well as a huge flow of financings managed through the projects) lead to new disclosures about the top-down construction of a new identity/image for the Roma community, and on the other hand they reveal a peculiar structure of power relations that involves the European recommendations, domestic policy decisions made by the national government and led by the interest in the European enlargement, as well as local organizations and networks of organizations on a national, European and international level. This structure intercepting the Roma spontaneous movements and transforming them into professional Roma NGOs seems to be led by the will of avoiding a mass migration of the Roma people to the most rich European countries legalized by the enlargement and by an aware policy intended to transform the new Roma generations into entirely "europeanized" new leaders spreading the project culture, i.e. the European ideology. This research uses the anthropological instruments to analyse the relation between the European funds and the Roma community from both sides: on the side of the European development, as I was a European volunteer working inside the development agents' community, and on the side of the Roma community, the target of Europe Aid's institutional ideology, where I lived and worked for nine months.

SESSION 6

IMMANENCE OF SEDUCTION. FOR A MICROINTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE ON CHARISMA

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THE FASCINATION OF A MUSICAL VOICE

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Language speaks through voice, but voice does not coincide with language. Music can communicate even without words. Therefore music reveals the fascinating power of voice at an essential level.

I would suggest that voice, in music, extends beyond the use of the vocal cords and of the mouth, encompassing the power to call, welcome or refuse, and to produce memories, a time and a place.

Often, the fascination of music is connected to so-called "originality". I put forward some observations about this relation, through examples of musical improvisation and/or composition.

CHARISMA AND CELEBRITY IN RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS. "RATZE" IN BERLIN

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Undoubtedly we can recognize in literature as well as in media a blurring of the forms of communication in religion and pop culture in the last decade. On the one side, at least since the papacy of Benedict the XVI, religious representatives are admired like celebrities in film and television. Otherwise the worship of Duchess Kate, Miley Cyrus etc. equals the worship of charismatic sovereigns. Turner (2012) points out that the religious field, originally addicted to charisma,

now shows tendencies of a so called *Celebritisation*. Indeed the realm of established literature to the issues *charisma* and *celebrity* is large, especially in the tradition of Cultural Studies. But mostly, both phenomena *in relation* are just considered marginal and theoretically. The main question of this contribution: “What is the proportion of charisma and celebrity as empirically observable forms or attributes of personal fame and how can we analytically distinct these forms?” was not the focus so far. Based on videographically and ethnographically gained Data of the pope’s visit in the Olympic Stadium in Berlin in 2011 and planned surveys of religious events in Germany, the aim is to launch a discussion concerning these questions in tradition of social constructivism. From the perspective of Sociology of Knowledge both phenomena are part of the everyday life knowledge and thus enter in each interaction respectively communicative action. Therefore methodically it is adequate to examine the performative bodily expressions of the actors in order to find out what the specific characteristics of charisma and celebrity are and how we can distinct and compare the phenomena. Simultaneously, the analytical term *populäre Religion* (Knoblauch 2009) allows to capture the above mentioned two-sided cultural blurring. Finally, the paper challenges the assumption that the ascriptions and the reactions of the audience contribute greatly to the differentiation between the veneration of charismatic leaders and the one of Celebrities.

THE CHOREOGRAPHER’S AUTHORITY: WHEN LISTENING BECOMES CHARISMATIC

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A choreographer must be charismatic at work? Or is artistic authority decided before stepping into the studio? Would it be a (a little) disappointing to say that artistic authority is largely a manifestation of charisma? Being a respected choreographer would depend on communicating one’s ideas efficiently and at the same time, of seducing an audience into believing this is what they want. Here we can touch upon Weber’s definition of charisma and how no formal authority does appoint it: it is pragmatic (Bassetti & Bottazzi, 2015). The choreographer could become a significant other through socialized charisma (Howell, 1988). We look in this paper at how the construction of the dancers’ and the choreographer’s professional roles defines expectations in the dance studio (Goffman, 1961). More specifically, we will try to understand how is the choreographer’s authority constructed in the studio, dwelling on communication patterns and the dancers’ habitus (Mauss, 1936; Panofsky, 1967; Bourdieu, 1979). We will define their professional expectations, their artistic resources and the social skills that the choreographer is supposed to display at work (Wacquant, 2015). We claim dancers rely on the choreographer’s charisma but build artistic authority on the internalization of a dance habitus.

In previous work on communication networks of a TV set (Muntanyola-Saura, 2012) the crew praised the director for being a team leader. Still, during the shot he was isolated from the crew. The shared discourse on his communicative skills was an occupational myth (Myers, 1948). The director’s authority came from his reputation and his mobilization of cultural and social resources in the field. He had “the knowledge” that justified his esthetic judgments. In dance cultural resources are also intersubjectively shared by all the participants and also by the (future) audience. In rehearsal, a social relationship emerges through the direction of gaze and body position (Simmel, 1908). The audience projects this relationship as a romantic topos. Moreover, the authority of tradition shapes the way we move. Mauss already in 1936 talks about the “prestigious imitation” of children in order to learn how to walk swim or eat. The socialization process is prestigious because it evolves around figures of authority, meaningful others within the family. We believe in our parents because they are the ones who fed us, kept us warm and, most of all, loved us. We thus internalize only the norms of those we believe in. We incorporate a certain habitus through significant others that show how to act in the social setting. Moreover, previous ethnographies on orchestra conductors show how impression management and signaling of trust are two important elements for legitimacy (Khodyakov, 2014). But musicians know what to expect from a conductor because of their trajectory in the field (Bourdieu, 1979). Thus musicians and dancers seem to hang on the choreographer’s charisma but actually follow artistic conventions (Becker, 1982). As Becker (2014) puts forward, the power of inertia drives the social dynamics of any setting. Once a way of moving is established, the habitus becomes routinized and taken for granted. Within a video-aided ethnography, we observed and interviewed the members of a dance project at the University of Valencia in January 2016. We analyzed 8 interviews with Atlas.ti and applied multimodal conversational analysis (Sacks et al, 1978; Mondada, 2014) with Elan software to 3 weeks of filmed rehearsals.

Results show how the choreographer must first communicate technical efficiency in terms of Mauss (1934). She decides where the action is, which physical constraints, for instance, are relevant to the process, or which symbolic resources must be incorporated. Moreover, her first social skill is being able of using cultural and social resources to contextualize artistic decisions. Choreographers know their field and thus use cultural references, such as the names of well-known choreographers and dancers, as well as specific terms on dynamics, shape, physicality and emotions, to justify their work. The legitimation of constraints must be shared, but not completely: consensus among the dancers and the choreographer happen in the specific aspects that comes with esthetic judgment. Since charisma is the product of social reciprocity (let’s remember that authority comes with the willingness of accepting power as legitimate), dancers look for more items before deciding the degree of legitimation of the choreographer.

Dancers demand detailed communication of clear instructions, which is the second social skill of the charismatic choreographer. The choreographer must share the dancers’ awareness of the creative process as being an interactive and open social interaction. The creative process has a beginning and an end, which is the choreographer’s prerogative, but it is unstable: like charisma, creativity demands openness and flexibility. Precisely, building trust demands a shared

sense of agency, taking into account the dancers' musicality, listening to the other and taking in peripheral participation (Wenger & Lave, 1995). The claim for specificity comes with communication and follows incremental layering. So what has been called socialized charisma results in the legitimization of choreographic decision-making. There is a third social skill for success of the artistic interaction that comes with trust signals. The choreographer's voice tone, the use of space, body position, orientation and posture, schedule availability and the way of moving are all elements of impression management. At the same time, the weight of reproduction shapes his attributes as a figure of authority. This is the reason why females still have authority issues as charismatic figures in the arts.

In all, when instructing, which we take as a type of keying (Goffman, 1961) the choreographer decides where the action is, which physical constraints, for instance, are relevant to the process (an elbow, a placement in the room, a given light) or which symbolic resources must be incorporated (a word in a task or a quality of a movement). The choreographer's charisma seems to be built on his ability for giving trust signals to his dancers, keying legitimate constraints, and inscribing herself in an existing artistic tradition. Successful artists such as the choreographer in the Valencia dance company socialize charisma to get the best of others. Socializing charisma means communicating, and also sharing a sense of joint awareness, of joined pleasure if you may, among all the participants. A little like conscious relationships, this ultimate form of love that impregnates self-help books, the participants of a creative process strive towards shared awareness and growth. Schütz (1971) already figured it out with his metaphor of togetherness as a matter of "Growing up" with one another. Nevertheless, this charismatic aspect is useless if there is no previous knowledge of the vocabulary, or more broadly the cognitive terms that are valued as legitimately creative in the field. Building trust demands a shared sense of agency that is believed to be the best of the possible options available. The choreographer is a team player, with a backpack heavy with social expectations and resources.

SITUATED CHARISMA IN ARGENTINE TANGO: THE SEDUCTION OF IMPROVISATION

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How is charisma assessed among peers in non-competitive artistic communities?

We are interested in analyzing aesthetic assessment of charisma in the embodied world of dance, with special reference to Argentine tango.

Tango itself evokes seduction, passion and pleasure, but tango dance floors are also places for socializing, entertaining and for physical activity. In fact, tango has two different forms: first as a competitive form, a dancesport performed following a given choreography in front of official judges. A second form is Argentine tango, an informal non-competitive and improvised social dance, performed in events called milongas. Through observation of Argentine tango we shed light on the emergence of charisma in peer groups, non-competitive communities where people gather for social purposes, although there is also the opportunity for personality traits to stand out during interaction.

Our starting question concerns forms of explicit and regulated evaluation of charisma in dance. We will focus firstly on ballroom competition, where the couples' performances are evaluated by a panel of judges, "adjudicators" as they are called in DanceSport. Hardly a dance performance can be assessed by applying objective measures, nonetheless a set of explicit criteria are established in order to determine who is best on the floor: posture, timing, body line, movement, presentation, footwork, plus a set of intangibles comprising factors such as how two dancers look and fit together as a couple, and how their appearance is perceived. Through this regulated form of assessment, DanceSport turns dance into an aesthetic project that can be measured in terms of progress and superiority.

Our next question concerns evaluation in the context of an informal and improvised social dance as Argentine tango. Although a couple-dance, Argentine tango is not a competitive practice: there are no judges, nor winners or medals. The place of performance for tango dancers is the "milonga", a term that indicates the event itself and the tango dance floor (but also a kind of tango rhythm and a style of tango dance). Milonga is a collective practice that allows different couples to share the dance floor and make up their dance together. Tango is an improvisational dance, even if based on a vocabulary of shared steps. And yet in the horizontal peer-like space of milonga, situated aesthetic judgments are produced about the dancers performance in terms of musicality, creativity, style, elegance, ways of moving, even if not expressed by external and official evaluators. Such judgments are also the basis on which dancers, earning attention, are invited or refused, hence couples are formed and reformed in the course of the milonga.

What are the criteria that allow these forms of assessment of immanent charisma? To what extent are the aesthetic judgments shared? What consequences do they have on the dancers? And what is the role of improvisational skills in determining (the perception and the attraction of) charisma? Following an ethnographic approach based on participant observation of the milonga, we will address such questions, offering an empirically informed answer to such elusive forms of aesthetic power.

THE VISUAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE “VELINA” TO BERLUSCONI’S CHARISMA: A PRAGMATIST ENQUIRY

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The mainstream critique of Silvio Berlusconi’s image assimilates it to a pure “illusion”, to the reign of the ephemeral, to the superficial, to the “lie” : it is a power to be “demasked”, as if we had to snatch a mask from a face. Berlusconi’s great iconophily is fought with a hatred of images, blocking our vision and casting a screen, which protects power itself. The *velina*, dancer of the popular Italian TV-show *Striscia la notizia*, is considered as the emblematic figure of “berlusconism”, an aesthetic, political and moral pathology.

The aim of this talk is, on the contrary, to show a way to break the screen of Berlusconi’s charismatic power, through a pragmatist and microinteractionist perspective on visuality. If the critique admits that we are in an era, where reality is entirely aesthetized and mediatized by images, then logically, the analysis of images would rather let us demystify its mechanisms of alienation, *a fortiori* if Berlusconi’s charismatic command lies on a great mastery of knowledges, practices and techniques of the image. Besides, the idea following which the public would be annihilated by the logics of abstraction and alienation of Capital reveals itself as a mystification of reality, since it deprives spectators-consumers from their capacity to reclaim and interpret cultural products. In addition, if the *veline* are the symbols of the reification of the feminine body, the critique doesn’t acknowledge their reflexivity, their subjectivity, their *agency*. Finally, the everyday and invisible work of the image performed by the workers of the aesthetic industry performs a fundamental contribution to the visual construction of Berlusconi’s “charisma” – following Max Weber’s definition. This means to affirm, that the *veline* actively contribute to Berlusconi’s power during the *ventennio*.

The *veline* work within a set of installations, material and immaterial operations, performed in conjunction with media enterprises – editors, TV-show authors, producers, workers of the cultural and aesthetic economy – choreographing intimacy as a pornographic fiction, through audio-visual devices of reproduction. The visual *dispositif* of charisma in Berlusconi’s era includes the discourses and acts of a multiplicity of actors, starting from the members of Berlusconi’s political coalition, up to the “anti-berlusconian” journalists and the political opponents, but also the press, gossip magazines, or the much celebrated movie by Nanni Moretti, *The Caiman*, so as the discourses around Berlusconi’s “charisma” and the images of this “charisma”. The visual annexation of the *velina*’s body to the Chief’s body enacts a specific function of the Chief’s “charisma”, as it adorns the Chief’s body with its qualities of excitement and desirability. The Chief’s “femininity” is therefore the result of an articulation of *image acts*, aiming to build with the electorate a bond of love, and to arise in it a desire for its very domination. If the Chief is the idealized object of love around which the group coheres, the image of the *velina* contributes to the construction of this specific and enduring “charisma”.

We will start from a series of interviews conducted with Giulia Calcaterra, *velina* of the 2012-2013 *Striscia la notizia* edition, centered on her speech and reflexivity, shedding light on the dynamics of the social micro-interactions characterizing the industry of the spectacle, aiming at producing the *belief in the value* of an extraordinarily seductive image. We will then show how these techniques and practices of the image - performed through the reproduction of everyday dissymmetrical gender relationships – shape *visuality*, the macro-level of Berlusconi’s charismatic command, in interaction with the cultural and aesthetic intermediaries.

From a pragmatist point of view, building the Chief’s mediatized *extended body* needs the work of the cultural industries. Investigating the social relations characterizing TV industry shows how charisma is produced, starting from the charismatic relationships diffused at all levels of everyday image production. Here, dissymmetrical gender relationships are based on reciprocal seduction, performed through the production of a belief to the magic of a powerful image. Some key-figures of this world, characterized by important *visual knowledges and capacities*, attribute and distribute the power of an image in the space of visuality, connecting *pop* to “high” culture, spectacle to politics. Cultural industry creates the techniques of charisma, and the *velina* is a currency, a vector of charisma, a *mediation* of the social tie. This is why, rather than connecting charisma to the unilateral and vertical action of a chief, we need to draw a critique of the diffusion of “charismatic” relationships throughout society, in everyday life.

The model I propose – a decentralized, disseminated and “mediatized” political iconography, grasped from its margins, from its apparently non political manifestations - can therefore lead us to *depersonalize* and to *decentralize* Berlusconi’s charisma. Charisma is not his personal property, but rather – following Max Weber’s definition in *Economy and Society* – the result of a collective attribution and reproduction of exceptional (positive and negative) qualities. *The belief in Berlusconi’s libidinal image* is therefore the foundation of his charismatic authority, and shows to be the *normal expression of a diffused social desire*, rooted in ancient beliefs and prejudices related to sex and gender, and rooted in the very functioning of the social institutions lying at the foundations of modernity : the Army, the Church, and Family.

SESSION 7

LIVED RELIGION. AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL INSIGHT

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ORDINARY DATA FROM A "SPECIAL" PLACE: NOTES ON VISITORSHIP TO THE ISLAND OF IONA

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This paper will be a presentation and analysis of qualitative data obtained during fieldwork on visitorship to the island of Iona. Iona is a Scottish island that, along with being home to a small resident population, is also a popular visitor destination attracting several thousands of visitors each year. It is perhaps best known for its association with Saint Columba who arrived on the island in 563 AD and founded a monastic order that spanned nearly three centuries. This link with Christianity is not merely historic: in present day, several Christian denominations maintain centres on the island, with the island also being connected to the idea of Celtic Christianity in particular. It has also been described as a place of uncommon spiritual energy with dedicated centres providing non-denominational spiritual retreats working alongside hotels and Bed-and-Breakfast establishments to cater to visitors. Famed for its geology, scenic beauty and wildlife, it has, since the nineteenth century, been a preferred holiday spot for artists and writers. Taken together, the different strands that comprise Iona's reputation – historic, religious, spiritual, scenic, iconic – make for a complex, even contested, site with different claims to "specialness".

This paper focuses on "the religious" as one among many claims to specialness, with a view to studying how it is understood by visitors. Built from qualitative data obtained during fieldwork on the island in 2015, it asks: how do visitors interpret the boundaries of "the religious" on Iona?

The query is important because Iona's diverse reputation attracts a wide spectrum of visitors, with some identifying as tourists, some as pilgrims, or day-trippers, backpackers, even "regulars". This means that categories such as "the religious", "the spiritual", "the sacred", "the secular" are negotiated on the island everyday – and visitors are vital participants in this process of negotiation. A preliminary analysis of textual and visual material from visitor interviews suggests that "the religious" is only one of many categories in use on Iona, that it is interpreted by visitors in a number of different ways, and is often deployed to achieve different ends. The category, in other words, is not static: visitors routinely draw, cross and erase the boundaries of "the religious". This makes an enquiry into this process of negotiation useful because of what it can tell us about the challenges of locating "the religious" in places that manage multiple identities. With that in mind, this paper will do three things: First, it will offer a sense of the "ordinary" life of Iona as a visitor spot. Second, it will show some ways in which "religion" is "lived" by visitors to Iona. And third, it will demonstrate the mutability of "the religious" in the process of place-making. Through the presentation of "ordinary" data from an island deemed "special", this paper hopes to offer a contemporary snapshot of everyday visitorship to Scotland and to highlight the role of the visitor in the making of a "religious" place.

UNTYING THE TURBAN. RELIGIOUS EMBODIMENT AND EVERYDAY POLITICS OF IDENTITY AMONG ITALIAN SIKH YOUTH

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Introduction. Most religious traditions have turned items of material culture into icons of a spiritual identity. These articles may become part of one's symbolic equipment, often being daily worn and thus embodying one's personal devotion and displaying collective religious belonging (McGuire 2008). What happens when such an embodied symbol of religious identity goes transnational and travels with its carriers, being displaced and relocated in different contexts where it spurs new interpretations and practices (van der Veer 2001)?

Core thesis. This paper advances a fine-grained discussion on the shifting meaning that the icon of *dastar*, turban, may represent for Punjabi Sikh diasporas in their receiving country. Borne with pride or dread in the homeland (in India, where Hinduism is majoritarian and Sikhism has endured repeated bouts of hatred during the XX century), the turban is the visual legacy of a religious identification that marks the difference of an immigrant minority in resettlement (Hervieu-Léger 2000). The ethno-community and the outer society often maintain diverse interpretations on this "piece of cloth", either a sign of inner faith or an outlook of cultural diversity. Sikh diaspora young people, born or taken abroad since infancy, take in the local milieu acknowledgment of their people's insignia, but at the same time they develop a whole new range of lived modalities in thinking, wearing and exposing their prime religious embodiment.

Evidence (methods and findings). My argumentation is based on three years of ethnographic fieldwork (multi-sited and carried out with diasporans between the Indian Punjab and northern Italy), which included participant observation (in both domestic and public spaces, especially places of worship) and narrative interviews with selected interlocutors (in particular local religious leaders and immigrant youth who were more or less keen on religious activities). Focusing on the disruption between a first and a second migrant generation, I will analyze the contingent practices of everyday *dastar* wearing among young Italian Sikhs, from eager adoption to reluctant desertion (Bertolani et al. 2012), taking into account some interrelated themes that emerged from my original ethnographic and visual data.

1. The gender specificity of *dastar* bearing (mostly but not only reserved to males, Jakobsh 2013);
2. Ritual and mundanity in turban fashion styling (also with reference to intra confessional hierarchies);

3. Choice or coercion in wearing unshorn hair and its protective garment (kin and peers' role, Gill 2012);
4. Sikh media imaginary and the dominant discourse on *dastar* for performing a politics of resistance (Jandu 2005);
5. Harassment and discrimination that turban wearing might prompt in the Italian context (included its mistaken association with Islam; Gallo 2014);
6. The recent advocacy turn with the establishment of a European *DD*, *Dastar Day Awareness*.

Conclusion. From my case study, it will become apparent that, concerning their iconic religious embodiment, i.e. wearing (or not) the *dastar*, young diaspora Sikhs are flanked between the emotional load and the political relevance of this ordinary ritual gesture, which is meant to re-cast on one's flesh the spiritual union with God, but may often take different incidental values (Nesbitt 2001). Although this sacred dress-code is in fact full of ambivalent stances and reactions, the petty everyday practices that second generation Italian Sikhs devise to live out their religious belonging make room for personal agency and structural negotiation.

"DHIKR" PERFORMANCE IN ALBANIA: POLITICAL USAGE AND TRADITIONAL RECREATION

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This paper intends to explain how in Albania, after 23 years of secularization imposed by the communist regime, the reconstruction of the Sufi religious tradition got through and from the resumption of rituals, particularly the *dhikr*. The aim of this presentation is to illustrate the dialogic relationship between religious beliefs, rituals action, socio-political dynamics and power discourses in the religious and social fields (local, regional and global).

There are several reasons for considering Albania as an interesting case study; first of all, from the point of view of religious anthropology, in fact from 1967 to 1990 all religions were completely banned from the public and the private space due to a capillary control system of the state. Second, there are interesting elements to understand the recreation dynamics of the Sufi tradition, discovered after conducting an ethnographic research for almost a year in Albania by the method of participant observation inside three Sufi brotherhoods (*Tarika*, pl. *Turuq*). In particular, the focus was on the *dhikr*, that is the distinctive ritual of the Sufis that concerns the remembrance of Allah, silently or aloud. Specifically, in Albania the *dhikr* takes on a strong symbolic position and it is linked directly to the reconstruction process of Sufism. It was the pivot, the instrument and the object of this process that embodied the relations between religion traditions and social transformations.

Due to communist legacy and the fascination to western rationalism, the Albanians developed a sceptical attitude towards Islam, that is considered a domestic religion, but potentially fanatical (radicalism, jihadism). Sufism is considered an archaic, anti-modern and bizarre cult. Consequently, given the lack of interest of the population, the government has an indifferent attitude towards the *turuq*, which aspire to official recognition from the State in order to legitimize itself socially and legally. However, this situation led to a strong conflict between the brotherhoods and to strong propensity to receive support from foreign countries such as Iran, Turkey and Kosovo who inevitably influenced the practice according to their traditions.

In this situation, the *dhikr* becomes the tool to awaken the interest of the population towards Sufism, to recreate Sufi knowledge and religiosity. The *Dhikr* became a symbol to show the activities and the prestige of the brotherhood, like the large number of its members. The details of the ritual are carefully taken care of and its celebration represents a solemn moment. The *dhikr* forms identity and cohesion of the group, legitimates the authority of the Sheikh and creates religious knowledge. Specifically, in post-communist Albania, every Sufi brotherhood according to their own tradition celebrates two kinds of *dhikr*: ordinary *dhikr* that is celebrated every week, and special *dhikr* that is celebrated during the most significant moments of the Sufi calendar. Weekly *dhikr* is routinized, and procedures and acts are broadly the same. However, the *dhikr* celebrated during special moments of the Sufi calendar, such as *mawlid*, *newrouz* or *ashura*, is celebrated differently than ordinary occasions. Some new elements were introduced, as the mortification of the flesh with knives and swords, and dances (*samā*), the acts were longer and more solemn, the actors, especially the Sheikh, improvised dances or songs.

The aim of my talk is to explain that the variations of movements, features and the elements of the *dhikr* depend on:

- The discursive construction of Islamic imaginary in Albanian public sphere (religious scepticism, secularism, communist legacy and rationalization of Islam);
- Global tendencies and influence by foreign actors from Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran;
- Construction of *tarikāt* identity towards local territory;
- State relationship and legitimation (governmentality, politic negotiation or contrasts);
- Features of religious charisma by Sheikh;
- Modes of interaction and subjective experience of participants.

Body movements, variations of intensity, singing and dancing depend on these factors. According to Harvey Whitehouse's theoretical proposal, the celebration of the ordinary weekly *dhikr* corresponds to a doctrinal mode of religiosity that forms long-term semantic and implicit memory of the actors who affect the orthodoxy and religious leader authority in the religious group. These two modes of religiosity aren't mutually exclusive but are mixed according to different impacts. In Albanian Sufi case, the celebration of the special *dhikr* matches an imagistic mode of religiosity that forms the episodic memory of individuals that involves the cohesion of the religious group and develops the spontaneous exegetical reflection. The ordinary *dhikr* recreates the Sufi religious tradition and enforces the leadership of the Sheikh

(doctrinal mode of religiosity), the special dhikr forms a collective identity and strengthens the individual ownership sense (imagistic mode of religiosity) and religiosity.

According to the results of my research the ritual action of the dhikr has direct effects on the participant habitus. The body movements incorporate such dynamics and represent a political tool. For a dervish (a member of the Sufi lodge) piercing one's face with a pin corresponds to showing a particular sign outside and inside the brotherhood, but also to himself. The ritual becomes a formative action of the individual and collective religiosity. It constitutes individual beliefs, the worldviews of the practitioners, who perceive the ritual an act prescribed by a supernatural agent, but at the same time develops its own interpretation that is linked to his subjective experience.

The Sheikh through his charisma manages these variations and handles the contradictions between indeterminacy by the social changes and the determination of the oral and written tradition. Furthermore, the Sheikh charisma mediates the influences of the religious and social fields on the ritual and vice-versa.

THE COLLECTIVE CELEBRATION OF "EID AL KEBIR" IN AN ISLAMIC COMMUNITY OF IMMIGRANTS IN ITALY

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Renato Torti, psichiatra psicoterapeuta

Pier Paolo Prigione, dottore in Servizio sociale, film-maker

Our presentation is a video filming the collective celebration of Eid Al Kebir in Alessandria (Piedmont, North of Italy), shot in November 2010. The shots were made during the preparations and during the day of the festival. The total duration of shooting was around twenty days. The video is the outcome of a period of participant observation made by us with the Islamic community gathered around the Imam and the mosque of Alessandria. The preparatory phase has been done by the determining collaboration of our cultural mediators friends: this phase has required a few months to establish contact.

Shots follow the chronological order of events. It consists of the collective part of the festival and it ends when the families and friends proceed with the private celebration to their houses. Particular attention has been directed to solve on an aesthetic-visual level the potential issues from the animal sacrifice.

Our contribution, as a thick ethnographic description, is simply to aim to stimulate a debate about Islamic religion as it is lived and practised by the immigrant community. We don't bear any theoretical remark, neither about Kalam, nor about the copious anthropological studies on the theme of blood sacrifice.

WOMEN'S LIVED EXPERIENCE OF RELIGION: OLIVIA ROBERTSON (1917-2013), PRIESTESS OF ISIS

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As a daughter of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy in the years following Irish independence, Olivia Robertson might have settled for life as a successful writer and spinster "daughter of the Big House" (O'Byrne 2008). Instead at the age of 29, she began to experience visions of goddesses, but it was another thirty years until, with her brother and sister-in-law, she founded the Fellowship of Isis, one of the larger goddess-oriented organisations to emerge out of the new religious movements of the 1970s, Ronald Hutton described Wicca as, "the only religion which England has ever given the world" (Hutton 1999). The Fellowship of Isis, another form of Goddess spirituality, could be described as Ireland's equivalent. Its membership now numbers tens of thousands and the Fellowship has international and multicultural appeal (Crowley 2010).

Venerated by members as "Lady Olivia", and with the glamour of her aristocratic background and the evocative location of the Fellowship headquarters in a 17th century Irish castle, the Fellowship's success depended much on Olivia Robertson's charismatic personality. She did not fit however a typical pattern of charismatic leadership. Exercising a benign *laissez-faire*, she created a movement with no membership fees, free resources, and a latitude of spiritual practice that enabled it to position itself as a multi-faith movement worshipping the Divine feminine in all her forms. This paper examines the life, role and contribution of Olivia Robertson as a case study of a female leader of a new religious movement. It explores how her religious innovation grew from experiences of life in rural and urban Ireland, where instead of the usual spiritual encounters of a Catholic country, she had visions not of the Virgin Mary, but of the Egyptian goddess Isis. This paper will evaluate the contribution made by Olivia Durdin-Robertson to contemporary Goddess spirituality and will examine the future of the Fellowship of Isis as it struggles with routinisation of charisma in the years following her death.

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CAMP RELIGION. THE CULT OF SAINT GEORGE'S DAY LIVED IN ROMA'S GHETTOS

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This work proposes an anthropological insight in the social disequality-Roma's religious experience nexus in Italian camps/ghettos, in order to investigate the complex of believes organization and behaviours during the Saint George's Day (Đjurdjevdan/Herdelezi feast), usually lived in condition of territorial and metaphoric liminality. As Italian state continuously violates Roma's rights, Roma religions (Christian-orthodox and Islam) are forced to encompass microcosms of cult, where to live/pray confirming the prejudicial categorization and discrimination attitude of the majority society. The social depiction of Roma as "nomads" is not only used in the service of segregating and infantilising them, but also in order to reinforce the collective imaginary that Roma are not Italians and do not belong in Italy. Recently the European Roma Rights Center has depicted Italy as "campland" (ERRC 2000), due to the racial segregation of Roma people living in condition of physical separation from non-Romani Italians, in numerous "camps" or ghettos (camper, caravans, containers, barracks made of plywood or sheet). My purpose is to propose a mosaic of Saint George's Day principle traits as a lived cult which is confined in Italian ghettos, analysing as a religious traditional cult has been adapted.

PILGRIMAGE, EMBODIMENT AND LIVED RELIGION AT THE MARIAN SHRINE OF FATIMA

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This is an exploratory paper based on ongoing fieldwork at the Catholic pilgrimage shrine of Our Lady of Fatima in Portugal. It explores the tension between the mobile lived religiosity of the pilgrims (Christian 1972, 1996; Orsi 2006; McGuire 2008) and the immobility of the Catholic cult promoted by local and international ecclesiastic authorities who establish precise places where the devotees should pray, attend the mass or light candles.

In their quest for personal encounters with the divine, some pilgrims challenge the sacred topography established by ecclesiastic authorities (Eade and Sallnow 1991; Claverie 2003) and move towards places they perceive as more peripheral, less crowded and potentially more effective to encounter the divine. These pilgrims move away from the main places of cult related to Our Lady of Fatima and try to establish contacts with other figures that played an important role during the Marian apparitions in Fátima. These secondary, but important figures are those of the visionaries (the three shepherds Francisco, Jacinta and Lucia) and the so-called angel of Portugal. Pilgrims often create their own ritual practices on the go to establish a contact with these figures in a context in which no specific rituals are organized by the Church.

Moving away from the main places of cult related to Our Lady, the pilgrims search for an embodied contact with the divine (Csordas 2002; Fedele and Blanes 2011). They want to establish a contact with the divine forces that is more spontaneous and direct and less mediated by ecclesiastic members, this kind of approach often implies the use of sensual physical gestures (touching, stroking, kissing) or material objects (candles, stones, letters).

I will argue that these creative and mobile rituals that move the focus away from Our Lady and the main places of cult related to Her, represent also efforts to displace the site of authority. Through this displacement, authority is no longer situated within the Church, symbolically described as the body of Christ, but within the individual. This affirmation of the individual religious authority of the pilgrims and their bodies is specifically expressed through physical approaches to the divine and represents a central element of their lived religion.

RELIGION AND THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF CONGOLESE REFUGEES IN KAMPALA (UGANDA)

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The Democratic Republic of Congo has been experiencing massive waves of migration and forced displacement for the last two decades, following the so-called "African world war".

The role of religion in the context of displacement, especially regarding urban refugees, has been little explored, so far; the few existing studies on this subject usually focus on the creation of churches and FBOs as actors for assistance of social welfare, where national states and international organizations fail to provide help to urban refugees.

While the above topic is highly important, in this paper I argue that the specific spiritual/psychological role of religion in refugees' lives has been understressed, and there is a need to take it seriously. Based on fieldwork on the role of religion in the integration of urban refugees in Kampala (Uganda), this contribution discusses the hypothesis that churches become, in this context, a "refuge" in the refuge, a place where to find comfort and a break from the non-sense of the past and, often, of everyday life in a displacement context.

The idea that the success of Pentecostalism in Africa can be explained, at least in part, from the perspective of the emotional and psychological solace has been criticized, and I personally expressed doubts about it in previous works. Yet, the way many Congolese refugees talked to me led me to reconsider my previous position from a critical perspective, and to think carefully about churches as a place for an expression of the emotions that is often denied in refugees' everyday life.

Following this approach, after introducing the context of Congolese refugees living in Kampala and the presence of Congolese Pentecostal churches in two neighbourhoods of the town, in the second part of the paper I take on an empathic position, following the basic assumption of the anthropology of emotions that human beings are able to understand another's emotional state through the channels of empathic (and usually non-verbal) communication. This section is structured as a sort of "documentary in words", with five scenes, each based on the story of one of the refugees I met in Kampala.

The aim of this approach is to take the religious experience of the refugees I talked with seriously, to temporarily refrain from judgement and from analytical insights (in philosophical terms, I'm making an *epoché*) and to give greater emphasis to my interlocutors' experience using their own words. Taking this phenomenological approach, I will not try to "explain" other people's experiences, but to rehabilitate these same experiences by focusing on them. My aim is to report the spiritual experience of the five characters of the "documentary in words" (and, hopefully, of other refugees who went through similar circumstances) without analysing it in depth, but emphasising religious meaning as it is lived in refugees' lives in Kampala.

"IL PRESEPE DI CALCATA": LIVED RELIGIOUS OBJECTS AND ART FORMS (FILM SUBMISSION)

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The proposed submission for this panel is a 21-minute ethnographic documentary film called "Il Presepe di Calcata" <https://vimeo.com/151012340>. The documentary is in Italian with English subtitles.

Calcata is a medieval village located 47 kilometers (29 mi) north of Rome, called "the land that time forgot" by Wanted in Rome (<http://www.wantedinrome.com/news/calcata-the-land-that-time-forgot/>). In the 1930s, the hill town's fortified historic center was condemned by the Fascist-era government for fear that the volcanic cliffs the ancient community was built upon would collapse. Local residents moved to nearby Calcata Nuova. In the 1960s, the emptied historical center began to be repopulated by artists and hippies who squatted in its medieval stone and masonry structures. Many of the squatters eventually purchased their homes, the government reversed its condemnation order, and the residents of what had become an artistic community began restoring the ancient town. Today the town has a thriving artistic community described in "The New York Times" as what "may be the grooviest village in Italy, home to a wacky community of about 100 artists, bohemians, aging hippies and New Age types." (<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/28/travel/28dayout.html>)

The documentary film is about the town of Calcata and its eccentric residents, and chiefly follows the handmade Nativity scene (presepe in Italian) of the Dutch sculptor Marijke van der Maden, a resident of Calcata since 1984. For 30 years, van der Maden has presented the village with this personalized nativity scene, populated by figurines of the local villagers and displayed each Christmas at Il Granarone, a local cultural association. "All the statues are handmade and represent the real people of Calcata. Every year I make a new person and I never tell who it will be," she says.

Both Marijke's presepe—and this documentary film about its conceptualization, assembly, and significance—features local sculptor Costantino Morosin, artist and bagpiper Mimmo Malarbi, local artisan Marina Petroni, and Gemma Uuttendaele, owner of Calcata's teahouse. In the interviews the subjects discuss the significance of the presepe in Italian culture and in their own lives, they reflect on the spiritual and religious nature of the presepe, and contemplate the profound experience of being replicated in this artwork that will endure as a testament to their picturesque and peculiar village.

The film is an ethnography of lived religion, simultaneously examining religious practice and religious object, and it explores the symbiosis between an artwork and its living inspiration. The documentary provides a case study for how religion inspires creative responses, creates solidarity within a community, and acts as a platform for expressive nostalgia and meaning-making.

EXPERIENCING THE SACRED THROUGH THE BODY: EMOTION AND SENSATION IN THE VALE DO AMANHECER'S SPIRIT MEDIUMSHIP

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This paper addresses spiritual experience in the Brazilian Spiritualist Christian Order Vale do Amanhecer (Valley of the Dawn). Rather than a place of worship each Temple of the Amanhecer is conceived as a "spiritual first aid" where mediums, through their highly ritualised practice of incorporation of spiritual beings, assist patients providing them with spiritual advice concerning a wide range of emotional and material matters as well as health issues, and they release discarnate spirits remained trapped on Earth.

Patients and spiritual seekers are increasingly attracted to the temples of the Amanhecer as sacred spaces where to receive free spiritual healing, to experience an immediate encounter with the divine and, eventually, to develop their mediumship. Mediums' religious biographies shared a great emphasis on the empirical, participative, ritualistic, and bodily aspects of the relationship they sought with the divine. In search of this immediate relationship, those who choose to develop their mediumship learn to discern their spirit guides through emotion and sensation, and undergo a process of transformation of their sense of body and self.

Drawing upon ethnographic research in temples in Brazil and Europe, this paper examines how mediums' relationship with spirit guides is constructed and extended in their everyday life, informing the sense of body and self. Besides

transcending the material world through the incorporation of spiritual beings, mediums describe their practice concurrently as a grounding experience through which different dimensions of being are interwoven and, through the body, they can act in the everyday life of the physical world.

SESSION 8

CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SCHOOLING

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SPECIAL OR INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN ROMANIA?

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Romania is fighting since about 200 years, when modern times came upon us, to integrate in the international streams of civilization, to be part of the modern world. The process involved the unification of the national territory, obtaining the state independence and building a modern constitution but also starting a never ending string of reforms. The rhythm more and more accelerated of these reforms brought along the dilemma between tradition and modernity. Or, putted in other terms: should we leave our national and traditional ways of doing and believing for these new and civilized world wide accepted models of doing and believing? By doing so, are we not in danger of losing our true identity and reforming our society toward some "forms without a content" as used to worry remarkable Romanian intellectuals at the end of the 19th century.

In the most recent part of our history, Romania succeeded to become a member of the European Union and since 2007 we have to accept and apply the values, norms and attitudes regulated by this international organization. By doing so we have to reform the functioning of many sectors of our society and the old dilemma reappears periodically, grouping the citizens in partisans and contesters of the European innovative requirements.

In our paper we will try to explore the process of reforming the "special needs education" ideology of the Romanian school system toward the European target called "inclusive education". The research leading to the present results has received funding from EEA Financial Mechanism under the project implemented by the West University of Timișoara, Romania in partnership with the Nordland University, Bodø, Norway. Following the method of inquiry named *Institutional Ethnography*, our study investigated first the everyday dysfunctional experiences of special needs populations approaching the scholar system, and then the institutional response for these dysfunctions, the final target being a better understanding and finding solutions to the problematics encountered.

After the dissolution of the communist regime came also the dissolution of this well-organized (but segregated) special education. Under the pressure of the parents but also because of the international opening of the Romanian society new models appeared in the education system: "the inclusive school" meaning the integration of the students with "special educational needs" in the mainstream education. It has been a difficult process, consuming a lot of efforts, time and money but the results were discouraging. Very few disabled students succeeded to be integrated in the general education and these happy cases happened in the prestige schools with dedicated teachers and mainly because of the huge efforts of the parents. The most part of the disabled students had to address the old special schools (much less organized and financed than they used to be) to get vocational training for the special protected units that disappeared in the meantime.

An important barrier of the access of the disabled students in the mainstream education is represented by the competitiveness perspective in the admission process. In fact competitiveness in schools is part of the education system role, to prepare for the future competition in economy and society as a whole. One can ask what are its targets and objectives regarding the disability students. What type of education they get and for what purpose? An inclusive school would be fit for an inclusive society but when the labour market and society as a whole is excluding this category the segregated education seem the proper approach and illustrate the reproductive efforts of the society through the education in the Bourdieu perspective.

It is clear that many Romanian teachers especially in secondary education do not feel comfortable to work with disabled students. They pretend that they don't have expertise, or that they are not prepared to work with this category and it would be more profitable even for these students if they would be educated by a specially trained personnel in a specialized environment. So they decline the inclusion school concept in favour of "excellence" school concept.

Conclusions:

– There are important barriers in admission of the disabled students in mainstream schools (at all levels but increasing as the education level increases). The most important enemies of the inclusion of disabled students into general

educations are the teachers that reclaim lack of resources and special training and also a big number of students in the class, that decrease the possibility of individualized activities with students.

– Another factor incriminated is competitiveness perspective: schools like enterprises are competition oriented and disabled students cannot play their role. Competition and averages are the bases of admission in secondary schools, high schools and universities and the special schools are not entering the competition.

– The perspective of human rights (disabled children have rights to education) is replaced by the perspective of special rights (disabled children have rights to special and segregated education made by experts - specialists). The society as a whole is discriminating the disabled citizens and mainly the labour market, so that inclusive school would not fit very well in a segregated society.

In fact the “inclusive education” European model seems still far for the Romanian educational system. Even the objective is clear the path is still unclear, due the discriminatory resistance of the society. A learning process is needed but the process seems difficult because “students” refuse to learn it and teachers seem very hard to find.

FILLING THE GAPS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN GUINEA: TEACHERS, FAMILIES AND STUDENTS IN A CONTEXT OF CRISIS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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The recent governmental report on teaching in Guinea (2013) outlines some of the most important problems of the Guinean educational system. Some of them are the incapacity to respond to the increasing demand of school education with a sufficient amount of qualified teachers, the gaps in their education and professional training, the difficult economic conditions leading to dissatisfaction, lack of motivation and absenteeism. The results of our fieldwork show that students and families often have negative representations of teachers, very significant if we think that, in the past, these professionals were extremely respected for their knowledge and enjoyed very good work and living conditions.

However, relationships between families and teachers are particularly important in a context of crisis of public education. The Guinean government and the International Institutions have been recommending for two decades the progressive transfer of some of the responsibilities related to education to families and urban or rural communities, in order to reduce public expenditure. Such exhortations, that can also be considered as the expression of Guinean governments' difficulties in solving the structural problems of the educational system, oblige parents, neighbourhoods and villages to cooperate with teachers in order to fill the gaps of public education. The role of teachers in these new school fields, the cooperative or conflictual relationships with parents and students, the reciprocal representations, are the most important topics of this paper. Our contribution is based on two different ethnographies of school and students, completed by some observations carried on at the University of Conakry.

The first ethnography, realized in a High School of the mining town of Kamsar, shows a situation where students are confronted to unmotivated, absentee teachers and lessons that they judge of very low quality. Thus, young people with their families' help, look for alternatives in order to succeed at their final exams (*baccalauréat*), adopting strategies that vary according to their social position. Well-off families try to convert teachers into tutors, as they wish to offer their children private lessons at home, or to pay the fees necessary for their participation to “review groups” directed by teachers. On the other hand, less fortunate pupils have to organize themselves without teachers, leaning only on each other's knowledge and skills: a boy having good marks in French will help the others to write philosophy dissertations; a girl very successful in maths will guide her schoolmates in solving problems.

If, at Kamsar, students and teachers bypass the public educational system in favour of private agreements, 30 km away from the mining town, in the rural district of Tassara, inhabitants try to cooperate with teachers, in order to ensure the good functioning of public primary schools lacking basic infrastructures, equipment and even educators. Parents organize themselves collectively in order to fetch desks, repair the roofs, sensitize other families on the importance of school education, host teachers for free and collect money when there are delays in the payment of salaries. Nevertheless, the relationship between teachers and families is far from idyllic: teachers constantly interact with parents who, as they are almost totally illiterate, show difficulties in understanding the efforts and the features of intellectual work and the mechanisms of school selection. They struggle almost daily to obtain the payment of subscription fees (perceived as money directly pocketed by teachers), to make parents understand the reasons of their child's failure, to obtain the respect of the school calendar, that sometimes interfere with the children's participation to agro-pastoral works.

In these two different case-studies, we have, in the background, a disparaging representation of teachers, perceived as poor public officers, demotivated, often incompetent and sometimes corrupted, even though all the interviewed people quote examples of good teachers committed to their job. Teachers we have interviewed suffer a lot from this representation, especially because of the lack of recognition of their efforts, both economically (their salaries are extremely low) and symbolically. As a matter of fact, especially in rural areas, teachers expect thankfulness, on the behalf of families that hardly understand the difficulties of their job and transfer on them their scepticism about school. Pupils and students also express demeaning representations of teaching, that they rarely envision as their future career. They underline teachers' poverty and are keen to accuse them of providing low-quality lessons, or even of sabotaging their education and, consequently, their future. A deeper analysis shows that representations and attitudes of students towards teachers are influenced by two different and clashing historical and cultural legacies. On one hand, in gerontocratic societies, teachers are adults that must be respected and obeyed. Like Koranic teachers, they deserve the gratitude and the dedication that pupils should express towards the person who transmits them her knowledge,

but also her blessings, very important to succeed in life. On the other hand, complaints and demands towards teachers are extremely frequent and often expressed with a language and a defiant tone that would be unacceptable towards other adults. We think that, to a certain extent, this may be the legacy of the first Guinean president, Sekou Touré who, in his socialist reform of the educational system gave pupils and students a big power. With the figure of the “Comrade teacher” (“*enseignant camarade*”) the first Republic ushered in a democratic tradition in school, clashing with traditional education, but somehow still in vogue, for instance with the “children’s governments”, that allow pupils to take part in some aspects of the school conduct.

PATTERNS OF CHOICE AND EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES OF PARENTS IN THE TRANSITION TO LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN MILAN

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Educational choices are decisions that are encountered by virtually everyone in Western societies and that have become pivotal for individuals even when the choice is made in their teens, and thus involves parents. The choice of school and schooling decisions have received wide sociological attention since they constitute individual action with social premises and social consequences, and in this sense they may be considered relational and interdependent, since the choices of one group or groups need to be contextualized in relation to the practices of, and consequences for, other groups.

In Italy, the centrality of schools and the importance of “having an education” for the social status of individuals, at least on the paper, make educational choices crucial decisions, independently of the awareness of this importance. In the Italian educational system, choices that families, children and youngsters face along their (long or short) educational career are different in nature and consequences. Individuals (or parents in their stead as long as they are minors) face at least three types of choices during their “school life”. The first two involve the choice of the specific school for primary and lower secondary education, while the third entangles the choice of the upper secondary school track. While the latter has been widely explored by scholars, from different angles, less attention has received the choice of the lower secondary school.

The “underexposure” of this transition can be explained due to the fact that until the late 90s, parents had to refer to their neighborhood school in order to enroll their children, while the enrollment practice is now separated from the geographical principle. Hence, the role of the family has been enhanced and become central since parents have the right to choose, also among public institutions, the most adequate school for their children, both at primary and lower secondary level.

Nevertheless, in Italy, the introduction of freedom of choice was not preceded nor followed by any official promotion of choice or by a public debate on it. Neither academics – in contrast to what happened in other countries – discussed the abolition of the residential principle as a criterion to assign pupils to schools or the adverse consequences of freedom of choice in terms of inequality (as it happened, for instance, in France, in the USA and in the UK).

Nonetheless this transition appears to be relevant. In fact, lower secondary education in Italy was invested, since its origin, with a crucial advising role for the choice of upper secondary school tracks. Secondly, research has showed that the foundation of future success or failure lay at this level of education (*Rapporto sulla scuola in Italia 2011*). Moreover – while Italian public school system is facing new challenges in terms of shrinking resources and managing diverse school intakes – the spectre of school segregation has emerged also at the lower level of education, raising the question of equity, equality and social justice inside the system.

In this sense families choice has also been pointed at as a possible explanation for school segregation phenomenon in urban areas (Borlini & Memo, 2009; Cognetti, 2012, 2014; Santero, 2006). Within this scenario, my explorative research project deals with the possibility of shedding some light on this understudied field, by focusing on parents’ choice practices in the transition from primary to lower secondary schools in the municipality of Milan.

To this end I will present some preliminary research results, based on a – still ongoing – data collection that includes: qualitative interviews to parents of boys and girls enrolled in public lower secondary schools in Milan; qualitative interviews to principals and social workers; descriptive analysis of data on schools intakes and catchment areas; and observation during lower secondary schools’ open days.

My presentation will explore school choice, as a concrete decision made by parents within the quasi-market of education, across the following dimensions:

- What do we talk about when we talk about school choice?

That is to say how (and if) choice is enacted by parents at this level of education, not only by exploring the forms that choice can assume when parents opt out from their neighbourhood school, but also considering the decision of “staying” in the local school.

- How parents choose?

That is to say, explore what are the determinants of the choice, parents’ preferences and criteria, value attached to education, information gathering process, etc.

- What are the differences in the choice across the traditional dimension of class and race and/or ethnicity?

As a matter of fact exploring school choice means to considered actors’ capacity and structural constraints, determined by the resources possessed and deployed in the specific *field* of education (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), plus their ability to activate different forms of capital in the interaction vis-à-vis the school system (Bourdieu, 1986; Lareau, 1987). In the shade of a debate that, since the 90es, has revealed how the introduction of a market-based logic in education could enhance, rather than decrease, the level of school stratification on a socio-economic (Ball, Gewirtz, & Bowe,

1994; Ball, 1993, 2003; David et al., 1997; Reay & Ball, 1998; Diane Reay, 1996; Schneider & Buckley, 2011) and racial/ethnic basis (Liu & Taylor, 2005; Saporito & Lareau, 1999; Saporito, 2003; Burgess, Lupton, & Wilson, 2005; Weekes-Barnard, 2007; Byrne & De Tona, 2012; Ledwith & Reilly, 2013), my contribution will explore the Italian landscape, starting from the city of Milan.

More specifically it will provide evidence in order to understand if school choice of lower secondary school may favour native middle-class families and may penalize working and foreign families, reproducing and strengthening class divisions in the education system; and if it may lead to the emergence of strategic choices of “native” parents in avoidance of schools with high concentration of “foreign” students.

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“BEING BULLIED IN A SCHOOL”: STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIP IN A SCHOOL. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY FROM A SECONDARY SCHOOL IN INDIA

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Bullying in school is a common phenomena in secondary schools in UK. The Millennium Cohort study and the Longitudinal Study of Young people in England which have looked at bullying among peers in school. Bullying make take different forms, which may range from verbal/nonverbal to physical violence to Relational Bullying to Cyber Bullying. At times it so subtle, that many may not see it as bullying, but at other times it may take extreme forms of mental and psychological behaviour/disorders to depression or driving someone to suicide. The overt as well as covert practices, beliefs, attitudes which are reflective in the everyday life in school. The student- teacher relationship and the overall school ethos play a crucial clinging factor to what goes on in the school. Is it reflective of the overall school culture of an institution? Or is it an issue of mindset? What role does the school leadership play in such a situation has an impact as well as reflects about the structures, processes of an institution. Using the ethnographic method, the present paper tries to delve into the narrations of students to understand the context and practice of bullying in a secondary school in India. The nature, role and identity of the bully, as well as the bullied. The relation between the bully- victim, the gangs and does gender play a crucial role, what all does it entail, is the focus of this paper. The second section of the paper tries to put forth the deep engagement you feel with the field, and how you get involved in the craft of being an ethnographer. The various phases of research from beginning to the end, show that the research is not a smooth ride. The various incidents, patterns, experiences on the field and where do you draw the line as being a researcher or your own self? The various dilemmas, sophistications on the field propel you to be a reflective craftsmen on the job are some of the issues being discussed in the present paper. The present paper is based on my field work in India where I spent around 9-10 months in a school and is part of my Ph.D work. The observations in the classroom and the various sites of the school like the corridors, the playground, library, the Canteen, the various laboratories etc. provide an added dimension to the field, as some stories unfold outside the classroom but help in understanding the field in a holistic way.

The present study is using the structural perspective which appears underdeveloped in the discourse on bullying. Although Goffman (1968) does not specifically address educational settings, his concept of “total institution” is highly relevant to understand certain aspects of the school (Beynon, 1985), especially the one based on the traditional, non-democratic paradigm of education. Like asylums, prisons and military establishments, schools are also social institution based on hierarchical and authoritarian relationships with a clear division of socially defined roles. They are a bureaucratic organisation supported by practices, rituals, disciplinary measures and punishment, which may involve the use of physical power. As an institution, schools' main purpose is to socialise the youth as schools are sites where the child gets exposed to the formal rules of socialisation to fit the society at large. The commonality between schools and ‘total institutions’ provides the framework to think about the possibility that certain aspects of the school can actually cultivate bullying. Similarly, Smith & Sharp (1994, p. 2) point out that bullying “is particularly likely to be a problem in social groups with clear power relationships and low supervision, such as the armed forces, prisons,

and also schools". The possibility of bullying being institutionalised behaviour has been discussed by Askew (1988, p. 69), who argues that "bullying is partly an outcome of the structure and organisation of schools themselves". Schools are authoritarian structures which put emphasis on discipline and is based on power and aggression and it is a rigid, hierarchical structure with its own norms and policies. The relationship between the bullier and bullied is explored as well as the student-student bullying the how and what it entails citing narrations from the field.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES: A RESEARCH ON MIXED EDUCATION IN JAFFA

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The educational system in Israel is shaped by the religious nature of the state, although there are mixed schools, attended by both Palestinian citizens of Israel and Israeli students. This usually happens in towns where both live side by side, such as Jaffa. Jaffa was historically Palestinian and admired as an important cultural center, but today is considered as a poor and problematic periphery of Tel Aviv with a gentrification problem that contribute to ethnic and religious everyday conflicts. In the last few years, many Palestinian citizens of Israel parents have chosen to send their children to public Jewish schools to improve their Hebrew and make them more competitive with their Jewish peers when they enter the workforce. This has resulted in a new form of the integration problem. There is one Elementary School itself that is an interesting case study of this emerging issue; there parents got particularly involved because of a series of events that brought the school almost to closure. My research in the field investigated this context from an ethnographic and educational perspective, utilizing observation, interviews and questionnaires and considering the viewpoints of kids, parents, teachers and school principals. Mainly I was focusing on perceptions of "the other," meaning the process of integration and equality in the educational system, language, and identity representations as well as intergroup conflicts at school. There are several initiatives intended to cultivate a multicultural and equalitarian education in Jaffa and in my intervention I will discuss about them expressing new perspectives for the future, taking into account new changes in Jaffa's educational system.

THE SCHOOL FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PORTUGUESE CIGANOS (ROMA/GYPSIES) FAMILIES AND STUDENTS. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PLACE OF BELONGING: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

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In the last decade, alongside the European Union enlargement process, the "Roma/Cigano issue" became central to European political debates. The inequalities that marked Ciganos across Europe were no longer confined to a set of countries, exposing the weakness of a Europe that although prosperous, has been unable to reduce the asymmetries between Ciganos and non-Ciganos for centuries. Even today, as a recent World Bank (2014) report shows, the disparities between a Cigano family and an average European family broadens every day and a great majority is at high risk of poverty. Ciganos, either individuals or families, are in a position of socio-economic vulnerability (FRA, 2012) resulting from a complex set of interrelated factors. Ciganos are affected by a self-perpetuating cycle of unequal opportunities, ethnic discrimination and stifled aspirations. The launch in 2012 of the National Ciganos Integration Strategies fostered new possibilities to improve the living conditions of Ciganos in Europe. In Portugal, estimates suggest that there are about 40000 to 60000 *Ciganos* citizens (ACIDI, 2013), a small population size when compared to other countries, namely, in Central Europe. Nevertheless, the living conditions experienced by Portuguese Ciganos are very similar to those lived by other Ciganos across Europe (ERRC/NÚMENA 2007; FRA 2012). Portugal is now implementing its National "Ciganos Communities" Integration Strategy, which is based on four fundamental aspects: education, employment, healthcare, and housing. This new political perspective is expected to bring important changes that might contribute to reduce the pressing inequalities between Ciganos and non-Ciganos.

Disparities between Ciganos/Roma and non-Ciganos/Roma in key areas such as education, employment, healthcare and housing exist across the European countries. Even though results in terms of school success and the extension of schooling paths of Portuguese Ciganos/Roma students are still below expectations, we have been witnessing a gradual increase in the presence and continuity of Ciganos in schools. More than ever, in contrast with the situation lived by the past generations, the school is part of the life of Ciganos families and individuals, men and women, and is perceived as important, especially when it comes to the first level of education – 4 years of basic education (1st cycle). Families are also more attentive to the quality of the social environment and quality of education practiced in schools that their children attend and frequently express critical points of view about it. This presentation focuses on the perceptions of Ciganos families and students toward the schools which the/ or their descendants are attending (or attended) and is based in fieldwork conducted in neighbourhoods marked by a high presence of Ciganos, school ethnographies and semi-structured interviews with Ciganos persons, men and women, who live in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and Oporto. Some results show that gradually the school has become a place not of exclusion but the belonging and conviviality with the Others.

This paper aims to present some results of a research about the impact of public policies on the education trajectories of Portuguese Ciganos, including men and women, individuals and families. This study encompasses a literature

review, document analysis centred on public policies, programmes and projects and interviews with individual and institutional stakeholders. An ethnographic approach is used for the analysis of the several dimensions that reveal the reproduction of social and space inequalities regarding Portuguese Ciganos/Roma.

In fact, ethnography has gained some importance in the social sciences, and not only in the anthropological field, conceived as a qualitative methodology of knowledge production which describes a particular social reality (Denzin et al. 2000). One of the key points of this method is the centrality of the field work, observation and intersubjectivity.

In this research, the ethnographic approach was carried out in three selected areas of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Loures, Lisbon and Amadora) and took place between June and December 2014, followed by a period of sporadic visits to the field (s). The ethnographic work field began during the phase of exploratory mapping and selection of territories that we wanted to know in a more in-depth way, involving short journeys to the field in order to carry out exploratory interviews and to participate in activities organized by the institutions that were our field liaison. The collaboration with institutional actors during the exploratory phase, specifically technicians and leaders of local intervention some of which were Ciganos, was essential to the success of the work, since the period of time for this preliminary work was limited. As they knew the community well and had access to them, they introduced us to the local families and Gipsy people of these territories, facilitating the initial contact to the field and the identification of families that would be worthwhile knowing in accordance with the aims of the research project.

Despite the many advantages of this strategic approach to the field, some constraints were identified regarding how our presence in these territories was experienced by the Ciganos. Since we were seen as being closely connected with the technicians that bridged our first contact with them, some Ciganos considered that we were mostly committed to our research agenda, while others stated that they had either no ability, or competence to reply. On the other hand, the fieldwork allowed us to better understand the relationship between the Ciganos and those who intervene in these territories at the institutional level, as well as to identify the needs and difficulties of the community more directly.

The most challenging time in the field was faced when we extended the periods of observation of the everyday lives of the persons we met in these neighbourhoods. Some of the individuals raised questions about the reasons of our presence: "Why are you staying here? I've already answered to everything!"; "Look, they (technicians) are down there, why are you not there?". They expressed these doubts especially when asked about issues regarding the school environment. Despite being introduced to each other several times, and after posing some questions, we were at times questioned whether we would be engaged in social work: "Listen, you're not studying to be a social worker, are you? You're not social worker, are you?".

Conducting ethnographic observation together with semi-structured interviews allowed us to collect several direct testimonies on the topics that interested us. However, if the relational informality that we built up allowed us to get insight into the everyday of Ciganos who were known to us, it soon created some hindrances, either in terms of the difficulty of scheduling the activities in the field, or in keeping the timetable of the pre-arranged interviews.

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CHANNELLING STUDENTS' FUTURES IN HIGHER EDUCATION THROUGH DISCURSIVE AND MATERIAL DEVICES AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN FRANCE

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French studies on inequalities of access to higher education (HE) have focused either on the influence of students' social background or on their school trajectories (Duru-Bellat, Kieffer 2008). While one statistical analysis found significant differences between students' HE choices according to the secondary schools attended (Nakhili 2005), none has opened the "black box" of what goes on within schools except, to some extent, Orange (2013) who only focused on the ways in which rural and disadvantaged *lycées* channel students into HE vocational tracks.

This was the aim of our ethnographic study of 4 secondary schools in the Parisian region. These schools were chosen according to various criteria: location (poor or rich areas) status (public or private), types of tracks provided (academic, technical, vocational) and students' academic, social and ethnic profiles. The two-year ethnographic fieldwork in each school included: observations of quarterly "class councils" and of all meetings and activities related to the transition

to HE, interviews with students, teachers, headteachers, other school personnel and parents and the analysis of all relevant statistical and qualitative data available through posters, brochures, websites, etc.

Inspired by the work of McDonough (1997) and Reay et al. (2005), our theoretical framework combines closure theory (Parkin 1974), with a view to document traditional and new ways in which educational institutions contribute to the reproduction of inequalities (Bourdieu, Passeron 1977) and neo-institutionalist theories used to analyze the links between schools and higher education institutions (Hill 2008) and the recreation of low or high status educational tracks (Kingston and Lewis 1990). It also uses research on policy and organizational or market instruments and devices (Lascombes, Le Galès, 2007; Callon et al. 2007; McFall, 2014) to understand the different ways in which students' choices are framed by the explicit and implicit messages they receive at schools, and how these messages interact with the converging or diverging frames (Benford, Snow, 2000) provided by family and friendship networks, the media and commercial counselling services and rankings.

The first part of the presentation will focus on the content of institutional discourses and the material and interactional devices used to deliver them: websites, brochures, posters, powerpoints, forms, forums, formal and informal meetings, one-to-one encounters, etc. These ethnographic data will be analyzed to show differences between schools related to their external environments and institutional characteristics concerning the ways in which they perceive:

- Students' professional and social futures, including the degree of autonomy, power and financial retribution associated to their future jobs, as well as their national or internal character and further career possibilities and the position in the social structure they envision for them.
- Students' futures in higher education including the type of tracks and institutions they expect students to choose and to be selected in, the length of studies and the final degrees they expect them to accomplish and obtain and the possibilities for study abroad they foresee for them.
- Students' present academic, social and ethnic profiles and how these factors, in interaction with gender and age and more subjective dimensions such as personality, positively or negatively might affect their chances to continue into higher education and the type of higher education and professional careers they can aim for and succeed in.

The second part of the presentation will focus on students' discourses, interactions and activities. This will allow us to explore the degree to which students' views correspond to, and seem influenced by, the frames provided by schools. It will also enable us to examine how other frames to which students are exposed through their embeddedness in different types of networks (family, neighbours, friends), their passive assimilation of government and commercial discourses or their own active search for information and advice outside schools using personal or impersonal devices (Karpik, 2010) interact with those provided by educational institutions and professionals.

The third part of the presentation will develop a typology of modes of channelling according to school profiles and of the ways in which these interact with influences students are subjected to outside schools. It will also explore differences in the ways this channelling is accepted or resisted according to students' profiles.

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THE TEACHING OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS: THE REPRODUCTION OF AND RESISTANCE TO DOMINANT LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES
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In 1999 Law 482 recognised Griko and Grecanico as one of the twelve minority languages in Italy and granted the legal right to their use in private and public life. It also provided for concrete measures to be adopted by competent Ministers, Regions, Provinces and other public territorial bodies in the fields of education, public administration, services and media.

In my investigation of the application of language policy (Law 482) with regard to education, I carried out fieldwork rotating through the villages of Grecia Salentina (Salento, Puglia) over a two month period, undertaking participant observation of weekly Griko classes in primary schools. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with Griko teachers and schoolmasters, and collected samples of teaching material when the teachers consented. Through the analysis of the ethnographic data, my proposed talk explores the relationship between minority languages and schooling and, in so doing, it highlights the relationship between formal education and the dominant cultural and social order.

The teaching of Griko is, indeed, a highly contested matter; in fact the wider popular complaints - as well as the very Griko teachers complaints - about the application of this language policy show how schooling and minority languages

do not mix easily. This in turn points to the different “appeal” of the minority language and to its “status” as an undervalued subject in school (see McDonald 1989 for the case of Breton). As Jaffe (1999: 160) argues “the minority language is excluded from the powerful linguistic marketplace occupied by the dominant language”.

Griko teachers, in fact, feel they are not taken seriously by the school body. To be sure, the 482 law itself is clear on this point, as article 4 states that “Alongside the use of the Italian language also the use of the minority language is envisaged”. In practice this means that Griko teachers teach only in the co-presence of a “fully” appointed teacher, who may or may not come from a Griko-speaking village (most of the times they do not). Compared to fully appointed teachers, they feel they belong and are considered second class teachers, which translates also in their underpayment. The general hostile climate towards the teaching of Griko generated by the non-Griko teaching staff shows how the dominant language ideology of Italian is reproduced and perpetuated among the students, undermining this way Griko teachers’ efforts. Griko remains therefore embedded in a perception which sees it as a “recreational” subject, depriving it therefore of the ‘seriousness’ of other subjects.

Locals find ironic that the task to preserve Griko is given to the school system when the latter is largely held responsible for provoking and certainly exacerbating language shift away from Griko. In fact, if the explicit fascist campaign of linguistic purism failed to change the language of ordinary people, it succeeded in teaching them the “inferiority” of their own vernacular. Griko-speakers were indeed taught the inadequacy of Griko. My ethnography of language shift, which occurred in the aftermath of WW2, revealed how school teachers expressively asked Griko-speaking mothers not to teach Griko to their children, as this would have a negative impact on their acquisition of Italian, reproducing this way “symbolic capital” (Bourdieu 1977: 646) of the national language. Griko-speaking parents underwent self-deprecation and stopped transmitting Griko to their children under the “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu 1991:51) of the dominant language; they did so in order to avoid their children suffering the discrimination they had suffered for knowing “only” Griko and for not knowing Italian, which rendered them inadequate in “a changed world”, as it were. This dynamic of reproduction of the dominant language ideology through schooling leads to a general skepticism towards Griko language planning. Following Jaffe, I consider this to be an instance of “passive resistance of separation”. This is based on the local language ideology which separates the meaning and value of Griko from the official domains of the dominant language, defending and reclaiming a space for local cultural expressions in an alternative field of values from the hegemonic culture. This resistance hence defends the “alternative linguistic market associated with the minority language” (1999: 160). “My best Griko teachers have been my grandparents and the *piazza* of my village”: statements such as this become, therefore, strategies to challenge the school order and dominant language values, revealing instead a language ideology which stresses the counter-values of intimacy and solidarity.

This aspect becomes evident when considering locals’ resistance to language standardisation. Griko is in fact characterised by high internal lexical and phonetic variation among the villages of Grecia Salentina. This means that, despite being mutually intelligible, several variants for the same word may exist or that the same variant is pronounced – hence written – differently. Echoing Jaffe, my data confirm that the mutual intelligibility among the variants “evokes a “natural”, oral unity of the language” (1999: 244). This renders Griko a “polynomic language”: this is a term coined by sociolinguist Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi with reference to Corsican and is defined as “a language with an abstract unity, recognized by its users in several modalities of existence; all of them are equally tolerated and they are not ranked or functionally specialized” (Marcellesi 1989:170). As for Corsican, the politics of orthographic representation of Griko reveal how locals resist dominant assumptions about language, as “linguistic unity is based on social consensus rather than linguistic homogeneity” (Jaffe 1999:29). The result is an appreciable range of orthographic variation among the written texts which circulate, and among the ways pupils are taught to write it. Despite the obvious issues deriving from this resistance to dominant language ideology which requires a standard form, this dialectic process highlights a democratic distribution of Griko’s internal diversity and richness, beyond prescriptive evaluations of language values; this reveals how, through the teaching of Griko the social order is simultaneously reproduced and challenged, *within* and *despite* the schooling system.

FAMILY “MIGRATION PROCESSES” AND SCHOOL AS A DIMENSION OF INEQUALITIES REPRODUCTION PATTERNS

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The proposed contribution examines the ability of immigrant families to interact with Italian schools, considering this as a fundamental process of social class formation. The idea is that there are specificities due to being migrants, even apart from the “cultural” specificities usually assumed. Immigration itself (that we name “migration process”), independently of national origins or ethnic identification, has numerous structural consequences and regular effects on immigrants and on their children, and a more systematic attention to these could help provide alternative principles of interpretation. School is not just a place where knowledge is transmitted, but also in it friendships are made, personal styles and tastes are learned in conversation with others and in the dialogue in the classroom. The average class composition of the different types of school is extremely different; also the choice of a particular kind of school is a choice of a social ambience.

Our presentation takes contributions from the research *Second Generations: Migration Processes and Mechanisms of Integration among Foreigners and Italians* (1950-2010) (www.secondngen.it). The research is based on over two hundred

in-depth interviews to second-generation youth and on ethnographic observation in some high school classes and in public gardens. It shows that parents and children have very incomplete and inadequate information on the Italian school system and on local schools. This makes information and educational advice crucial questions in the educational trajectories of children of immigrants and in the creation of class inequalities. Interviews gathered during the research illustrate the micro mechanisms shaping school choices. We believe these micro-mechanisms influencing choices and educational strategies are as important as structural constraints in reproducing inequalities.

Numerous studies and databases show that foreign students in secondary schools in Italy are heavily over-represented in technical and vocational education. In the vocational training, these students of immigrant origins learn not only technical notions, but also are placed into a process of socialization at school and later at work, through internships and short-term jobs, based on a systematic and daily interactions with teachers, with their schoolmates and with potential employers.

The conceptualization of learning as an intersubjective and collective process is typical practice-based approach, and is not only a transmission of technical notions. The study conducted by Lave and Wenger (1991) is a milestone in the literature on learning at work from a social practice perspective. They point out the relevance of situated learning in the transition of newcomers to become expert workers in communities of practices. This transition occurs through *legitimate peripheral participation*, where appropriation of skill and knowledge takes place. Also the study on medical students by Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961), helps to distinguish the social process by which one becomes a good student from the process by which one becomes a professional, as well as the process which leads to choose specialization.

We need a better understanding on how these processes take place within school selection and orientation and also we need more information on the mechanisms of entering the world of work. and how foreign and nationals are differentiated

In vocational schools, students must still follow theoretical courses as well as practical training.

The hotel schools require work experience in hotels and restaurants and many students have informal jobs. Informal and occasional jobs are a way to earn money, and not to become more experienced. As Becker *et al.* (1961) identified, the freshmen have to learn to be good students, not budding professionals. Students must learn the notions they need to pass the exams, must find their way between school subjects and meet the demands of their teachers.

Integration in the professional community is a further step. Students learn to use their professional skills and networks to obtain a good reputation as future workers. Immigrants are weaker than their Italian competitors because they lack strong social networks and may suffer labor market discrimination, but some of them are able to overcome difficulties thanks to their competences and skills (e.g. linguistic competences, ability to cope with difficult working contexts, like discos, willingness to work hard or to move to other countries) and to become professionals in the sector.

INTER/TEXTUALITY AS INTER/DISCIPLINARY AND INTER/PROFESSIONAL LEARNING PRACTICE. THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF TEXTS IN LEARNING MATHEMATICS AND IN THE SCIENTIFIC WORK TEXTURE

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This paper aims to analyse how inter/textuality, inter/disciplinary and inter/professionalism can contribute to order and co-construct the texture (Gherardi, 2007) of learning practices in two different contexts.

The first is two classrooms of two high schools in Rome where ethnographic study was done for an entire school year. During this period the maths lessons were observed and series of interviews with the teachers and students were held. The second context is an Italian scientific laboratory, in particular the Laboratory of Stem Cell Biology and Pharmacology of Neurodegenerative Diseases, which is part of the University of Milan, where an ethnographic research was carried out for three years.

The focus of our research was to investigate the continuous process of learning during mathematics lessons and in scientific research practice in daily laboratory life.

Science and mathematics are many things: for example, science is the discipline that allows us to understand the mechanisms and phenomena of nature, mathematics is the science of numbers and space but both are essentially a symbolic practice, an activity resting on a vast and never finished language (Rotman, 2000). They are practices of communicating with themselves and one another, also in the case of the classroom and of the scientific laboratory too it is possible to talk about embodied and embedded processes of knowledge in practice (Gherardi, 2011) involving both humans and non-humans actors (blackboard, whiteboard, chalk, pen, bodies, protocols, cells, workbenches, instruments etc). If one observes the participants during those practices, then he can see that they are engaged in a sociomaterial process (Orlikowski, 2007) resulting from constant negotiation and mediation between different disciplinary and professional fields.

At school (Peruffo, 2010) and in the scientific work (Pickering, 1992) the practical production of textuality plays a significant role because students and laboratory researchers constantly take notes and register their practice on the logbooks. The aims of the paper are: to analyse how writing in logbooks is the first step in the construction of knowledge and in the acquisition of vocabulary and competences in scientific writing; to analyse how writing in the logbooks both adds-to and builds-on inter/disciplinary and inter/professional culture as sociomaterial texture of practice; to observe how writing in the logbooks is connected to other spheres of activity and how ordinary daily entries in it gradually filter through to other types of more articulated, formalized and rationalized texts (for example textbooks, blackboard lectures for maths students and articles, databases, protocols for laboratory researchers).

To consider the practice of writing as a technology that contributes to the daily construction of knowledge, different sources have been noted: the first is that of Social Studies on Sciences and Technology (STS) with particular reference to laboratory studies and ANT approaches applied to educational practices (Fenwick and Edwards, 2012; Fenwick and Landri, 2014). These perspectives allow us to describe the social process, the events and the relationships as produced within heterogeneous social, human and material networks.

The second source views the writing as an apprenticeship process that can go beyond the institutionalized scholastic sphere and the curriculum (Collins et al., 1989; Lave and Wenger, 1991). For example, in laboratory practice learning, which is usually formal, transmitted and explicit in school and university environments, it becomes informal, hands-on and tacit. During maths class, it can be seen how some students are able to abandon the practice of copying from the blackboard in favor of a construction of personalized notes that go beyond what is explained by the teacher. In these cases writing permits the construction, the internalization and the externalization of knowledge in a sociomaterial process.

The third source is semiotic studies (for example Latour and Fabbri, 1977; Bertrand, 2004; Ferrari, 2004) in which the concept of the *extended text* is capable of incorporating images, objects, artifacts

and practices. So, we can observe that logbooks are written in a mixture of words, phrases and locutions drawn from some recognizable natural language together with signs, symbols, diagrams and figures that are being used in some systematic way and that are items arising from a network of practices (Gherardi, 2009a). In fact, according to Greimas' semiotics, the text is a socially constructed object in a context in which its use becomes a practice used by the community to let the writer into the recognition process of the community of equals (Latour and Fabbri, 1977).

The last source is the *Practice Turn* (Schatzki et al., 2001; Gherardi, 2009b), which places the social and the situated dimension of action centre-stage. The concept of practice allows us to go beyond the rational and intentional paradigm of the social actor as the only originator of the action.

Through the use of episodes that occurred in the field and extracts of interviews, it will be analyzed how the texts and writing constitute the sociomaterial, inter/disciplinary, inter/professional texture of knowing in practice.

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SESSION 9

SUBJECTIVITY, SURVEILLANCE AND CONTROL.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON FORCED MIGRATION TOWARDS

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HUMANITARIAN PROTRACTION STATUS? ON THE LINK BETWEEN MOBILITY AND SOCIO-LEGAL PRECARIOUSNESS OF MIGRANT SUBJECTS

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In the last year much attention has been put on arrivals of asylum seekers fleeing from the middle- eastern countries to Europe and on the highly critical situations at the external borders of the EU. This contribution instead concerns cross national "mobility" of migrant subjects holding a humanitarian protection status within the European Union. It aims at pointing out the link between "mobility" of migrant subjects and their socio-legal precariousness.

The adopted frame of analysis draws on critical studies on mobility and borders. The cross national movements of refugees are interpreted as movements that are enacted in a mobility regime (Glick-Schiller, Salazar, 2013), in which movement is not free but criminalized. Because of the unequal access to mobility, refugees face highly risky journeys

across EU member countries within which visible and invisible borders are produced on multiple levels, and by different actors (Cuttitta, 2014; Mezzadra, De Genova, Pickles, 2015; Hess, Kasperek, 2010).

This contribution is based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork that was carried between Turin and Berlin, from 2013 to 2015.

Since the end of the Italian reception program “Emergenza Nord Africa” was declared in the early 2013, frequent movements of migrants holding a humanitarian protection status have occurred between these two cities. These migrant subjects had decided to leave Turin, where they were experiencing conditions of homelessness and unemployment, and reached Berlin after turbulent journeys looking for better life conditions. However, their legal status is not valid as such in other EU countries, and migrant subjects had to face homelessness and unemployment again. Moreover, because of the renewal of the legal status, in the case in question, migrant subjects have to move frequently between the city where they have decided to live (Berlin) and the city where they have to fulfill administrative duties (Turin).

In this contribution I mean to show that such movements are not enacted only across national territories but also across legal territories. Indeed, moving within the Schengen area migrant subjects holding a national protection status cross national territories, but also legal spaces. These are set on different scales, namely the EU legal frame – the Dublin Regulation and the Schengen agreement-, the national legal frame, and the subnational legal frame. Thus, the act of moving across national borders entails a change in location and also a different interpretation of the legal status of the migrant subjects. I argue that in the case in point this concurs in the production of social precariousness, because the same status that formally entitles them to a series of rights and services in one EU member country (Italy) has no validity as such in another EU member country (Germany), selectively excluding them from accessing basic rights such as work.

However, cross European movements do not only stem from a subjective decision; they are partly stemming from a legal requirement, namely to renew the permit of stay. Thus, back and forth “mobility” between Turin and Berlin becomes a necessity for migrant subjects to be legally present on the EU territory.

In other words there is ambivalence to “mobility”, because it is enacted in the field of tension between subjective decision and legal requirement. In my interpretation it is within this tension that social and legal precariousness conditions are produced. Such conditions are protracted in time and across space.

QUEERING ASYLUM SYSTEM IN ITALY. SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ABOUT ASYLUM CLAIMS BASED ON SEXUAL ORIENTATION

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According to a comparative research (Jansen and Spijkerboer 2011) about the European policies regulating asylum claims related to sexual orientation and/or gender identity (SOGI), the number of applications based on this ground is constantly risen during the last ten years. The authors underline the need to conduct applied researches from different fields and backgrounds, in order to fill the gap on these issues and to shed light on the political/legal/social conditions in which people belonging simultaneously to “sexual” and “ethnic” minorities live. Surprisingly, in this field, Italy seems to be considered a good practice maker in the assessment of so-called “SOGI claims”, despite its restrictive policies towards asylum seekers and its controversial attitudes to the political recognition of LGBTIQ individuals.

Based on an ongoing doctoral research, the paper focuses on the Italian policies about asylum claims for sexual orientation, the practices acted by institutions and associations to advocate these applications and the discourses proposed by some asylum seekers and refugees coming from Western African countries. From one hand, the research looks at how the narratives about the “ideal refugee” are embodied or challenged by asylum applicants and, on the other hand, how their bodies are sexualised and racialised during the application process. The paper sheds light also on the multi-layered sexual cultures experienced by “queer migrants” (Luibheid and Cantù 2005) during their life, the transnational redefinition of their social ties and their efforts to negotiate alternative symbolic registers to describe their intimacies. Finally, the research set “queer refugees” as actors that contribute to social change both locally and transnationally, challenging boundaries of gender categories and crafting uncommon ways to manage their belongings. Quantitative data are collected through a survey on Italian judicial commission boards and asylum seekers’ shelters. The qualitative part is based on multi-sited ethnographic observations, in-depth interviews with social workers engaged in the field of humanitarian aid as well as some asylum seekers and refugees from Western African countries. The collected data are analysed through a queer/intersectional perspective mixed with insights coming from gender and migration studies.

In conclusion, a socio-anthropological approach shows its usefulness in several ways: 1) analysing socio-historical processes that led to the stigmatisation of “sexual minorities” in specific cultural contexts; 2) showing the complex ways to handle non-(hetero)normative genders and sexualities by people with a migration background; 3) challenging categories and decolonising labels commonly used to describe non-normative genders and sexualities, 4) revealing the symbolic violence acted by institutions on “queer asylum applicants” and the consequences experienced once their applications are rejected.

HOSPITALITY UNDER SURVEILLANCE: MORAL SUBJECTIVITIES OF MISTRUST, CYNICISM AND HOSTILITY

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An analysis of forced migration towards Europe would not be complete without considering how the receiving population relates to this phenomenon on a daily basis. Building on a four-month ethnographic fieldwork in a Sicilian coastal town that hosts a centre for refugees and asylum seekers, this paper investigates the construction of “moral subjectivities of hostility” in the local population. I will examine how both the social workers employed in the refugee centre and the population residing in its vicinity justify practices of surveillance, control and overt discrimination through moral arguments. Drawing on participant-observation both inside and outside the reception centre, as well as on semi-structured interviews with asylum seekers, social workers and local residents, the paper identifies three interconnected types of morality that emerge in the relationships between the communities. First, a morality based on gratitude which governs relationships between social workers and refugees. In this context, migrants are evaluated morally on the basis of the gratitude they demonstrate vis-à-vis social workers, the Italian population or Europe more generally. Crucially, such morality-based judgments lead social workers to accord varying degrees of freedom and opportunities to refugees in the centre. Second, a morality based on cynicism which governs relations between co-workers in the centre. Specifically, social workers evaluate themselves and their colleagues on the basis of the personal and emotional distance they keep from asylum seekers, following a logic that opposes empathy to professionalism. Third, a morality based on economic hardship which regulates relationships between migrants and the local population. In an environment where unemployment is widespread, the economic crisis has had particularly strong effects, and where scandals regularly involve local businessmen and politicians, many Sicilians I have interviewed associate wealth with immorality and, conversely, moral merit with visible economic hardship. As such, migrants’ appearance and daily habits are under close scrutiny both inside and outside the refugee centre as the local population constantly reassesses whether or not they “truly deserve” help. From a theoretical perspective, the paper makes use of anthropological and sociological approaches to subjectivities as well as Balibar’s analysis of modern-day racisms to explore moralities vis-à-vis the Other as both psychological and social constructions that are deeply informed by wider political and economic conditions. By focusing on how social workers and locals produce and negotiate daily their moral subjectivities in relation to the migrant population, this paper connects the practices of surveillance inside and outside reception centres and the role played by the economic crisis and by the perception of the political class in shaping the moral subjectivities which justify and perpetuate these very practices. In conclusion, looking at forced migration and surveillance from the perspective of the hosting society, this paper will engage questions such as: how does people’s evaluation of national or local politics impact the relationship with asylum seekers and refugees in the area? What makes hostility to refugees more morally justifiable than hospitality in the eyes of people in direct contact with migrant populations? And how are such moral justifications understood and negotiated by refugees themselves in their attempt to build a new life in Italy and Europe?

THE SURVEILLANCE AND CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION DETAINEES. MANAGING RISK IN IMMIGRATION DETENTION IN BELGIUM

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Based on ethnographic fieldwork in three different detention centres between October 2014 and December 2015, as well as on documents analysis and interviews with staff members and detainees, this paper puts forward that given the primary injustice of detention, detainees develop active and passive (or conscious and unconscious) practices of resistance, which staff have to manage on a daily basis. Hence, the responses given by the centre (as an organisation) and by individual staff members are influenced by the practices of detainees, who thus indirectly also shape the practices of detention. As to the responses, they are based on a constant surveillance and monitoring of detainees and situations in the centres, which are discussed at different levels of the administration.

Though immigration detention is not considered a penal measure, but simply an administrative one, I argue that the birth of immigration detention in Belgium participates in the wider neo-liberal punitive turn of the “new penology” or “penal state”. In fact, not only is detention experienced as punitive by the detainees themselves, the organisation of the immigration detention in itself is inspired by the penitentiary, in an attempt to both copy good practices and to differ from the penal aspect. The first decade of immigration detention bears witness of this punitive and carceral aspect: arbitrary confinements, violence, revolts, and so on. Within this punitive context, measures have been taken and are still taken both to improve the working conditions of the staff and to accommodate the demands and control the actions of detainees. In fact, the stress and frustration engendered by detention means that all sorts of problems (from conflicts to auto-mutilation) are permanently latent if not manifestly present. If these problems are not anticipated and handled properly they can convert into crises.

The paper analyses how these tensions are managed. We can distinguish two categories of responses to disruptive events. The first response has been to adapt the detention regime so as to structurally diminish tensions that were engendered by the procedures and interactions with staff and to increase detainees’ autonomy. The second consists of tools to help the individual member of staff as well as the organisation of the centre to act or react to a given problem at a given moment.

Structural interventions are proposed by the various working groups on aggression management in the different centres and at the central administrative level where the different centre directors meet. They analyse extraordinary events and recurring problems in order to adopt changes in organisation so as to prevent them. As to the daily interventions,

interdisciplinary meetings are organised daily where the different categories of staff meet to discuss about the general situation of the centre and the particular problems related to individual detainees or the formation of (problematic) groups of detainees. Thus, each interaction between staff and detainee constitutes a surveillance practice, meaning that detainees are under permanent scrutiny.

The analysis will be based on a description of, on the one hand, the practices of detainees considered to be problematic, and on the other hand, the responses. This includes practices of resistance of detainees as well as institutional and individual forms of surveillance and control adopted to prevent or block the disruption of order in the centre. The subjectivities of both detainees and staff explain the motivations and justifications behind their practices. Detainees may try to attract attention to their situation or try to take revenge for the situation they are placed in. According to the category of staff, the reasons to respond vary from trying to give moral support to a detainee, to trying to get through the working shift without too much trouble.

AN UNBLINKING GAZE? PERFORMING THE EMBODIED GEOPOLITICS OF THE BORDER

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During the European Parliament's debate on the possible relocation of 120,000 asylum seekers from Italy, Greece and Hungary to other EU states, no solution appeared complete without strengthening the EU's outer borders. Dimitris Avramopoulos, the Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, concluded the debate by stating: "this agreement is a two way street. We ask from Member States... to reinforce their national asylum systems. Especially in the areas of finger-printing, border management and surveillance." The message was clear: border security and asylum must go hand in hand. Moreover, border security should ideally be ensured far away from the physical borders of the EU through agreements with non-EU transit countries and new border control technologies. In order to understand what the future of Europe's outer borders might look like, this paper focuses on the micro-geopolitics of a European border where these technologies and agreements are, to a certain extent, already in place. Using evidence from a three-month ethnographic study in Ceuta, Spain, the paper focuses on how remote control b/ordering strategies are enforced and how they impact on migrants both before and after arrival.

Since 2005 the border fences of both Ceuta and Melilla have regularly been reinforced with various forms of control technologies. These technologies, which include barbed wire, cameras, motion detectors and pressure pads, are used in order to slow and stop illegal border crossing attempts. Alongside the high-tech fences, Spain's SIVE1 control system combines radar technology and powerful thermal cameras to provide the Guardia Civil with supposedly a persistent view of the Mediterranean to allow for remote detection and control of "irregular migrant" vessels. Moreover, the system is promoted as a tool for saving migrant lives as well as border control as it is capable of detecting vessels off the coast of Morocco. As a result, the border control technologies and techniques used by the Spanish authorities are being touted as a possible "solution" for the rest of Europe's outer borders to prevent future crises. Most notably, Frontex, the European border agency, has already modeled much of its Eurosur information exchange network on Spain's SIVE surveillance system. More recently, Romania also commissioned Indra, the security company behind Spain's SIVE system, to implement and launch its own SIVE system at Romania's Black Sea border.

Inspired by Science and Technology Studies (STS), this paper examines the b/ordering mechanisms of the Spanish Guardia Civil in the straits of Gibraltar and the "more-than-human" vision abilities of the SIVE control system. This paper seeks to question to what extent this claim to persistent vigilance can be justified, considers the implications associated with the requirement for a human-in-the-loop, and focuses on the implications of distancing the border guard from the migrant. In order to do this, the Spanish/Moroccan border is conceptualised as an assemblage, composed of both human and machine elements. A feminist, embodied geopolitics, is also used as a theoretical framework to understand the micro-scale of how the humans within this assemblage experience the demands of persistent surveillance.

The paper contends that although the SIVE system manages to change the geopolitics of remote border control, the continuing requirement for the human element of the assemblage restricts the possibility for constant surveillance. Moreover, the added need for speed and the Guardia Civil's dependence on the Moroccan border authorities further reduce the efficacy of the SIVE system and the border assemblage as a whole. Aside from focusing on border guards, this paper also examines the acts of others on the assemblage. It questions the role now played by the Red Cross in Ceuta, as well as the Salvamento Marítimo² and also highlights how false information and punitive legal tactics increase the risk to those making the dangerous crossing at sea. Finally, the paper covers the tactics used by migrants in order to resist the border assemblage and highlights their reliance on modern communications technologies.

IN SEARCH OF REFUGE: ASYLUM, MOBILITY, AND INEQUALITY IN ITALY

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Drawing on eight months of fieldwork within and around two refugee centers in Italy, one in a marginalized Sicilian town and the other in a relatively wealthy Northern city, this paper explores how, in their relentless search for hospitable areas, asylum seekers relate to spatial mobility as a material and symbolic resource. It examines how, through their experiences and shared tales of mobility, they acquire a practical knowledge about Italy's (and Europe's) uneven

socioeconomic and institutional context while, at the same time, through their experiences of distinct conditions of reception, they renegotiate their affective and dispositions towards mobility as a way of dealing with the precariousness of their lives. Specifically, the comparison between the two refugee centers highlights how the Sicilian refugee center operates on a generalized expectation of transiency while in the Northern city asylum seekers encounter a reception system encouraging them to settle in the city. As a result, asylum seekers relate to mobility in two distinct ways. In Sicily, even when they find (mostly precarious) employment or develop some relatively meaningful social ties, they typically consider their mobility practices and networks as their primary way of surviving in a hostile environment. Their experiences of institutional reception play a key role in reinforcing this disposition towards mobility. First, the refugee center itself uses “mobility”—expulsions—both practically, to deal with what the center perceives as “troublemakers”, and discursively, to respond to asylum seekers’ complaints or anxieties (“leave if you are not happy here”). Second, the center’s expectations of asylum seekers’ transiency resonate with an established attitude among local residents towards migrants more generally, including those living and working in the town for more than ten years. Third, asylum seekers staying in the Sicilian refugee center inexorably interpret the center’s “employment and social projects” as a fictional performance barely hiding the generalized expectation that they will not find long-term hospitality in the town. By contrast, in the Northern city, the refugee center is driven by an ideal of settled and “integrated” lives for the asylum seekers and discourages them from leaving the city. This creates a distinct set of dilemmas for the asylum seekers staying at the center. On the one hand, many asylum seekers recount their experiences of moving between different Italian cities and regions in search of “a project” (“alla ricerca di un progetto”), that is a refugee center offering a well-planned set of activities (professional courses; language classes, etc.). These asylum seekers, some forcibly fingerprinted in Italy before reaching other desired destinations in Northern Europe, experience the center’s ideal of a settled life in a positive way despite the lingering precariousness of their lives. On the other hand, other asylum seekers staying at the center remain oriented towards mobility as a meaningful resource for their (near) future. In their case, mobility practices (e.g. chasing seasonal jobs outside the city or leaving the city for prolonged periods of time to visit family members in other European countries) stand in an uneasy relationship with “the contract” that they have signed with the refugee center. To sum up, the paper discusses some preliminary findings on the interplay between institutional reception, socioeconomic inequality, and asylum seekers’ mobility practices and imaginaries within an unequal Italian (and European) context.

IMMIGRATION DETENTION AND PRISONS IN SWITZERLAND: A MEANINGFUL RELATION

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Parallel to a “deportation turn” (Gibney 2008) which has occurred in most Western countries since the beginning of the years 2000s, the detention of foreign nationals pending deportation has also increased in scope and numbers in recent times. The use of detention as an immigration control tool has been analysed as an evidence of the merging of migration and crime control in what has been called “crimmigration law” (Stumpf 2006). The relation between detention centres and prisons is both ambivalent and meaningful. Whereas their stated goals differ fundamentally – the one aiming at ensuring the enforcement of removal orders and the other at punishing offenders and preparing them for their return in the society – many scholars have underlined that these two institutions are very similar in their spatial characteristics and daily life. Mary Bosworth (2013: 151) has highlighted how both staff and detainees rely “on the prison to make sense of where they are and what they are doing”. Moreover, although not (officially) meant to be punitive, detention pending deportation is clearly perceived as such by detainees.

This paper is based on an on-going ethnographical research that I carry out as part of my PhD thesis on immigration detention in Switzerland. Differently from other countries, detention pending deportation – be it of rejected asylum seekers, asylum seekers being transferred under the Dublin Regulation, or irregular migrants – in Switzerland mainly takes place in prisons together with (although usually separated from) prisoners convicted for or accused of a crime. In this way, the implicit reliance on the prison’s architecture and organization to shape detention centres is made explicit in the Swiss case through the actual use of prisons. In this paper, then, I would like to discuss the following questions: What does it mean and imply to hold non-criminal migrants in penal institutions such as prisons? And how can this situation highlight important aspects of the relation between administrative detention and penal incarceration? Inspired by the “criminology of mobility” (Aas and Bosworth 2013), I suggest that detention plays an important role in the complex and manifold processes of criminalization of migration taking place in present times.

In order to address the above-mentioned questions from an empirical and ethnographical perspective, I will draw on data I collected in two prisons that hold migrants awaiting deportation. This data include field notes taken during participant observation and transcriptions of interviews with prison staff, detainees and external actors such as chaplains, volunteers and NGOs providing support to detainees.

First, I will address the points of view of prison staff and see if and how the presence of administrative detainees has an impact on their role perception and everyday work. I will show that on the one side, prison management and staff perceive their work as completely separated from the decision-making on the detainees’ asylum or immigration cases as well as from the actual deportation process, their only function being to keep these people accessible for police and migration authorities. Specific techniques such as rotating staff or limiting access to personal files contribute to strengthen this perception of distance from the individual situations of detainees. Nonetheless, staff members often get involved in detainees’ procedures, e.g. by helping them to understand detention orders and other official correspondence or by providing them with advice as to how to behave with authorities or return advisors. Took

between logics of surveillance and security on the one hand and assistance and care on the other, prison employees often focus on the latter in order to make sense of their job as one having important human and social aspects. Then, I will present the points of view of migrants detained in view of their deportation, who clearly experience detention as an unjust and punitive practice and struggle to understand the reason why they are held in prisons together with (and like they were) criminals. I will address the different kinds and levels of exclusion that detainees experience as a result of confinement: exclusion from family and social networks, from society and social spaces, from virtual spaces provided by the internet, and so on. However, while still physically in Switzerland, detainees often resist deportation attempts in different ways and they sometimes try to activate forms of legal inclusion, e.g. through appeals, marriages, asylum applications or re-examination demands.

NEW DEVICES OF “CLANDESTINIZATION” THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MIGRANTS’ MULTIPLICITIES. THE CASE OF THE SICILIAN HOTSPOTS

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In the first days of December 2015 a group of Gambian migrants arrived in Palermo. They had in their hands a decree of “deferred refoulement”, which obliged them to leave Italy in seven days from the Fiumicino Airport. This was an impossible order to carry out, considering that they had been abandoned by the Italian Police at the railway station of Agrigento, without any money and any information about where they could go.

These Gambian young men had been rescued at sea on the 20th November, after leaving the Libyan coasts on a small vessel, and they were brought to Lampedusa. In the reception center of the island, recently converted into an hotspot, they had been identified. In a second time, they had been separated from the other migrants coming from the Horn of Africa who already were in Lampedusa at the time of their arrival. Only this last group of migrants had access to asylum procedures.

This kind of separation, based on variable criteria, going from the skin color to the nationality or the country of transit, or to the ethnic and religious affiliation, is an highly flexible device of governing migrant multiplicities. Over the last decades this selection has coincided with the mainstream narratives of migratory movements, by dividing, each time, migrants considered as deserving protection, from migrants coming from a so-defined safe-third country and regarded as a danger or a burden to be expelled. The only migrants who have always been largely excluded from the access to rights such as asylum (except for the period immediately following the Arab uprising) was the ones originating from Maghreb. All the others were alternatively included or excluded depending on the political and economic conjunctures, along with the geopolitical relationships and the bilateral and multilateral agreement between governments.

At the present time, through the current Sicilian experimentation of the Hot Spot System, a sort of “color line” is particularly and continuously redefined and utilized for improving different forms of discrimination and rights-violations, also with respect to the migrant group which is momentarily defined as the privileged one: since the second half of 2015, the majority of black sub-Saharan migrants arrived in Europe through the Central Mediterranean route have been prevented to access to the asylum procedure (and those who were asylum seekers have been rejected by the commissions in charge of deciding on their request of international protection), since they have been roughly defined as “economic migrants”. At the same time, migrants recognized as potential asylum seekers, such as Syrians, Eritreans or Somalians, have been illegally confined or detained since they refused to be identified.

Starting from the report of such a kind of histories, my talk will focus on the so-called “hotspot System”, by taking into account its current implementation in Sicily.

Based on a series of qualitative interviews with migrants passed through the hotspots of Lampedusa and Trapani in the last months of 2015 and in the first months of 2016, I will consider the ongoing experimentation of new practices of governing migrants’ multiplicities through their separation into categories with different levels of access to rights.

Indeed, the main effects of this separation seem to be, on the one hand, the radical restriction of the right to asylum, and, on the other, the increasing “clandestinization” of the majority of migrants arriving through the Central Mediterranean Sea on the Sicilian coasts. These processes are not new, but they are assuming an inedited form, which appears to be connected to a peculiar demagogic and instrumental distinction between forced and economic migrations.

In front of the unprecedented number of people fleeing wars and violence across the planet, the main functioning of the hotspot system finally seems to be the transformation of refugees who should be welcomed according to law, in irregular migrants without rights.

BETWEEN RESTRICTION AND AUTONOMY. IRREGULARIZED MIGRANTS STRUGGLING FOR THEIR CHANCE IN EUROPE

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For more and more migrants it is nowadays becoming impossible to find legal ways to reach Europe as well as legal permits to stay there. Nevertheless, there are thousands who manage to resist the contemporary migration control that seeks to exclude them from European territory. Many of them are on the move for years, cover long distances and cross several borders. The hope of meeting with ones aspirations and fulfilling the dreams of making it in Europe often endures and makes migrants continue their journeys despite all the obstacles and hardships. Their hopes are held up

particularly because of hearing every now and then success stories from co-migrants who got permanent residence papers due to a positive asylum decision, marriage with a European citizen or who were economically successful in the black labour market.

My ethnographic study follows migrants with low chances of receiving a residence permit on their fragmented journeys within Europe. Limited access to legalization of their status often leads to a complex migration pattern that is characterised by the following aspects: 1) durable “transit” across Europe, which is a multi-linear movement according to opportunities that open up along the journey; 2) a high degree of flexibility to respond to suddenly changing conditions, such as work opportunities, rejection of asylum claims, detention or deportation, and 3) switching between different legal statuses such as asylum seeker, *sans papiers* or detainee, which challenges categorisations.

Since migrants manage to avoid the constraining European migration regime in many cases, their agency should not be overlooked. At the same time the consequences of constantly evading control certainly goes hand in hand with severe consequences for the personal lives of these individuals. Their experiences thus show a deep ambivalence between a sense of autonomy, on the one hand, and of profound hope- and powerlessness, on the other. Their movements are located between the two poles of restriction and agency. Periods of strong dependency or confinement – such as within the asylum system or in detention – alternate with periods of resilience against migration control – such as absconding – working illegally or circumventing border control.

The presented ethnographic data are based on a research project with asylum seekers and irregular migrants. Based on in-depth ethnographic observation, narrative interviews and follow-up interviews in different localities (in Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Austria) the paper discusses how short-term movements – such as Dublin III transfers or absconding – as well as times of being stuck in a place affect the life-course of irregularised migrants. By focussing on individuals’ trajectories, staying in contact (via Facebook and telephone) and revisiting research participants after they have gone or were transferred to other places, it becomes possible to capture their own dealing with the differently evolving situation, their fears, their hopes and aspirations, their plans, and strategies. The research aims at depicting the individual journeys of key informants and their inherent complexity, changing aspirations and their personal struggles with experiences of exclusion. Given the fact that little is known about such fragmented journeys within the Schengen area, it provides insights into a highly pertinent migration pattern, the impact of the European migration management on individual migrants as well as the inter-relatedness of the asylum regime and irregular migration in Europe.

In this paper I intend to focus on questions of alternating moments of autonomy and powerlessness. How can we bring these experiences that are at the same time entangled and opposing together? What are their respective consequences, how do they influence decision-making and what are they aligned with?

SESSION 10

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND THE QUESTION OF THE IMAGES IN CONTEMPORARY MIDDLE EAST

convenors: Donatella Della Ratta, University of Copenhagen, donatelladellaratta@gmail.com
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IMAGE POLITICS AND THE POLITICS OF IMAGES IN THE NETWORKED ERA: NOTES FROM THE BATTLEFIELD IN SYRIA

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Over the past few years following the outbreak of the Arab uprisings the question of the image has taken centre stage in redefining the political dynamics of the Region. Visual media, in fact, have not only served as tools to convey information, data, and perspectives on the events on the ground; they have become a highly contentious site where the power relations between those making the images and those preserving, storing, and distributing them are constantly shifting and being renegotiated. There is an emerging political economy of digital images which has dramatically appeared during the Arab uprisings whose material, sociological, and ethical implications have not been fully explored yet.

This talk explores the question of the image in the networked age, focusing on Syria as a highly contentious geographical and symbolic site where warfare and violence are produced and reproduced on the networks as much as they are performed on the ground. In such a context a new political economy of networked images emerges where material violence and media visibility, physical destruction and technological reproduction have dramatically become intertwined. The combined action between the annihilation produced by warfare and the endless regeneration boosted by the online life granted by the networks once audiovisual data are uploaded on the Internet, has several implications on the ways in which meaning is produced, understood, stored, and remembered. This talks aims at exploring issues

such as: how does the networking of meaning through its circulation over new media platforms and its endless remixing by anonymous users affect meaning itself? How does this affect memory and the construction of memory? Does the networking of meaning ultimately destroy meaning? How is the politics of memory understood and reconfigured in the networked era?

POETIC DOCUMENTARY AS VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY: LIWAA YAZJI'S "HAUNTED" (MASKOON) (2014)

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In a 2014 interview Syrian documentary filmmaker and poet Liwaa Yazji explains one of the central concerns of her film, *Haunted* (2014): "For Syrians, like maybe all other people, the idea of home is very essential and crucial. The Syrian citizen pays almost all his life (even literally) to get a house of his/her own, and it is the very first thing he/she loses with any instability," she said. "Home was – during [the beginning of the Syrian war]– manifesting itself in various concepts, meanings, symbols and definitions: it was linked with all life savings, history, memories, identity, meaning of past life itself." Yazji's inspiration for her feature length documentary were the "unbelievable stories" she began to hear about how Syrians were responding to both the concept and concrete reality of home: "how they are dealing with the fact that they should leave, that they lost their homes, that they might any minute be left on the streets or even change their status from citizens to refugees!" Rubble, bombed out houses and devastated landscapes are part of what haunts and is haunted in Yazji's film.

The documentary follows nine individuals' experience of losing home – including a couple in Damascus that remain trapped in their house surrounded by snipers. As their home is too dangerous to enter, the couple must speak with Yazji via Skype, even though Yazji is located only several miles away. The mediation of their dire and precarious circumstances through the medium of Skype creates a tense sense of intimacy with the film's viewers. The urgency and limitations of digital and visual technologies also haunt this work.

Like the Abounaddara collective, another of Yazji's other central concerns in the film is the refusal of a certain type of media representation of Syrians. "[The film] has the desire within to show different images of Syrian people who are not being numbers in statistics, dead, injured, or just wailing in front of screens," said Yazji. "They are not masses but rather individuals who could be in any country in any time era... that is why the document was so essential to me, added to that the visualization I had of the film layers."

Similar to a multi-sited ethnography, Yazji guides the viewers through multiple digital, geographical and affective spaces, spaces that may become haunted by the past and made into uncanny environments (Rose 2009). To enter one of these former spaces of violence is to experience the "direction of ambivalence" that Freud describes as being how the *heimlich* develops "until it finally coincides with its opposite, *unheimlich*." The uncanny is an atmosphere of disorientation and intellectual uncertainty that Jentsch describes as part of the *feeling* of the uncanny. A space in which acts of violence occurred carries more than traces; one could argue that they are replete with the environments of past events that linger and animate them. Mass murder, sexual violence, genocide and colonial violence (Pile 2005; Schindel 2014) leave residues that permeate the environment and may create a subconscious yet distinctly perceived and perceptible environment of horror and haunting. They embody what Julia Kristeva termed "abjection" that which transgresses "borders, positions, rules" (Kristeva 1982) and that "disturbs identity, system, order." The ambiguity of the uncanny is coupled with what Kristeva argues is the ambiguity of the abject. It is this dual ambiguity that Yazji captures through the film's focus on individuals' "phantom pains," sensing the presence of people, places and things that have been obliterated (Bille, Hastrup and Sorensen 2010). Destroyed places may encompass this type of pain and are part of "an anthropology of absence" (Bille, Hastrup and Sorensen 2010), the affect of what is absent upon people's experience of the world, both material and spiritual. They are the visual representation of "the presence of absence" (Bille, Hastrup and Sorensen 2010) and in embodying this feeling, allow the individual who mourns them to enact his/her own particular type of felt absence, whether longing for a missing person, a past time or a remote feeling.

This paper will first demonstrate the multiple ways in which Yazji's film can be considered anthropological: its concerns with emergent anthropological research in spirit ontologies and materiality as well as with longstanding anthropological questions about possession, remains, the everyday and the temporal. By examining Yazji's process and positionality in making *Haunted* (based partly on personal interview conducted with her) the paper will then engage the question of why this film is relevant to visual and sensory ethnographers and to what degree it productively expands the pervasive question of how *ethnographic documentary* is defined.

ETHNOGRAPHIE DE L'ART CONTEMPORAIN À GAZA. ÊTRE UN ARTISTE PLASTICIEN SOUS EMBARGO: ENTRE LOCAL ET GLOBAL

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Les images issues de Gaza représentent le plus souvent la mort et la destruction. Pourtant, les artistes – particulièrement nombreux à Gaza – façonnent et fabriquent au quotidien des images. Ils apportent un contre-discours visuel, à l'image médiatique stéréotypée de cette minuscule bande de terre. Malgré son contexte conflictuel, Gaza témoigne d'une créativité artistique à toutes épreuves. En effet, en dépit d'une faible institutionnalisation de la culture et d'une précarité des infrastructures culturelles, corollaires de contraintes tant politiques que socioéconomiques, la scène artistique

gazaouie est en pleine reconfiguration. Ces dernières années, de nombreux collectifs d'artistes se sont constitués et des expositions collectives rythment fréquemment l'année culturelle, sans parler de la visibilité croissante des artistes gazaouis dans les arcanes des mondes de l'art international. Aidée par l'émergence d'un marché de l'art arabe et par l'utilisation massive des nouvelles technologies, les artistes médiatisent de plus en plus aisément leurs oeuvres, malgré l'enfermement auquel ils sont assujettis.

Les créateurs gazaouis développent une activité artistique diversifiée et expérimentale, allant des médias traditionnels jusqu'aux nouveaux médias et le recours massif au numérique dans leurs oeuvres. A l'aide d'une esthétique hybride entre d'un côté, une tradition picturale attachée à l'idéologie nationaliste et de l'autre, une forte tendance vers les codes de l'art contemporain international, ces artistes témoignent de leur quotidien à travers des références locales, au service de messages dit "universels". Ainsi, ils se font les porte-paroles de leur temps ; ils documentent, dénoncent, voire subliment leurs réalités locales. En somme, à travers leurs créations, ils prennent – par l'art – la parole, font résonner leurs message au-delà des frontières dans lesquelles ils sont confinés et révèlent leur terre natale sous un autre jour. A travers les images qu'ils véhiculent autant sur les réseaux sociaux que dans les festivals ou les galeries d'art contemporain international, les jeunes artistes entendent s'émanciper souvent d'un discours collectif issu du mouvement nationaliste palestinien, pour faire entendre leurs propres voix, exprimer leur subjectivité et formuler une critique parfois plus subversive, formulée contre le monde oppressif dans lequel ils évoluent : aussi bien envers les autorités israéliennes qu'envers les responsables palestiniens et les maux de la société elle-même. Au prix parfois de lourdes menaces...

Afin d'explorer la création artistique de/à Gaza dans sa diversité et sa complexité, ma contribution se fonde sur un terrain ethnographiques de trois années en Palestine, où j'ai eu la possibilité de me rendre à Gaza lors de huit terrains de 2011 à 2014. Ces terrains m'ont permis de collecter des données multiples, à l'aide d'entretiens semi-directifs, d'analyse iconographique et d'observation participante (en tant notamment que chargée de mission culturelle à l'Institut culturel des Territoires palestiniens)

RAWING CULTURE : ON THE PRO'S & CON'S OF GRAPHIC ANTHROPOLOGY

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The practice of ethnographic drawings takes us back to the early beginnings of the discipline and the first explorers. Sometimes, degrees in anthropology included drawing lessons, and a number of famous classical anthropologists are known to have been using drawings in their ethnographic researches, some even publishing them as illustrative complements to their texts. Bronislaw Malinowski, Evans Pritchard, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and André Leroi-Gourhan are some of them. Others like Franz Boas and David Efron were working in close collaboration with professional artists ; Stuyvesant Van Veen for example, a New York city artist who created "captioned illustrations" for Efron's "landmark study of conversational gesture among Italian and Jewish communities in New York". Yet, drawings have been regarded for decades as a trivial activity, unworthy of serious academic interest.

Fortunately, graphic anthropology is now being revamped, both from outside and within the discipline. On the one hand, graphics gained respectability and cultural legitimacy thanks to the fields of comics and [slow-] journalism where the development of the graphic novel and graphic reportage has meant a move towards more investigative forms of storytelling and helped comics to reach other social circles. On the other hand, some pioneers artists-anthropologists like Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld (1993, 1999), Alfred Gell (1999) or Manuel Joao Ramos contributed to bring drawings back under the spot of academic light.

Since ten years or so, the interest of anthropologists and other social scientists for ethnographic drawings has been on the rise. Attesting of this trend is the growing number of publications on graphic anthropology. In 2013, Michael Atkins' more than textual Phd made some noise in academic circles (Atkins 2013), while, in March 2015, Nick Sousanis released the first doctoral dissertation entirely made in comics form (Sousanis 2015). One month later was the launch of a first academic series dedicated to comics reports: *ethnoGRAPHICS*. Even if the topic "has been viewed unevenly by different national anthropological traditions" (Afonso 2011 : 66), the least we can say is that graphic anthropology is having a moment.

As a "Practice of making", ethnographic drawing shows refreshing potential, since it can uniquely bring together ways of making, observing and describing (Ingold 2011). Graphics could serve the democratization of knowledge and lead to more collaborative practices of anthropology. For instance, sketches can be used in the field both as ice breakers and cultural brokers. Thinking even further towards comics-like research reports, it is not hard to see how this could facilitate the appropriation of research conclusions by one's informants, thus helping academical knowledge when it leaves the ivory tower.

In this paper, drawing on my own fieldwork and teaching experience with graphics, I will explore both the advantages and limitations of graphic anthropology.

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SESSION 11

DIFFRACTING ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE ANTHROPOCENE

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ETHNOGRAPHY OF CONTROVERSIES OF OUR TIME: ANTHROPOCENE, CLIMATE CHANGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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We will present an ethnography about the various disputes and controversies around the term Anthropocene, generated in one semester by researchers in our institution. These questions and this context include the relationship between scientific disciplines (geology, climate science, social science and so on), between science and society, and between science and politics, and questions about how, today, to think and understand the relationship between humanity, technology and Planet Earth. Thanks to a seminar, composed of four sessions in which researchers from different disciplines approached these problems in a spirit of mutual dialogue and respect, something genuinely positive emerged from the constellation of perspectives currently circulating around these important controversies of our times.

In our institution, Yachay Tech, these debates grew out of discussion between colleagues from different disciplines who were seeking to develop a syllabus on Science, Technology and Society for undergraduate students. The term Anthropocene was discussed by members of different departments, questioning if it should or should not be considered a scientific term, valid or not within the scientific community. Geologists demanded greater scientific evidence; social scientists proposed an analysis of the significance of the Anthropocene as an idea. The idea has taken hold that at some point in the not-too-distant past we entered a new geological epoch: the Anthropocene. Not just a “media event”, but a scientific “possibility” to open new horizons in climate change and sustainable development issues. Perhaps never before in history has a supposedly scientific concept been so contested *before* it has even been formally acknowledged by the particular branch of science to which by rights it would seem to belong. This contest is not just over data or definition: it is also proprietary, a struggle between all manner of scientists, historians, philosophers, intellectuals, journalists and shysters about who has the right to say something about ethics, politics, economics, culture or aesthetics in this alleged new epoch. *Within* science, debate is in the first place about the evidence supplied to us from the terrestrial past; outside it, debate is usually conducted as if the past has already been decided and thus the only question left concerns the future – how to save it, reinvent it or reimagine it.

Teachers of STS discussed this term in detail with students and, later, with other researchers from the same university. Our ethnographical work is composed material gathered from email conversations, meeting, classes, and the seminar composed of four sessions. We offer an analysis of this data to explore how controversies of this kind unfold in the scientific world. Thanks to this particular controversy, it was possible, at Yachay Tech, to open up an interdisciplinary discourse between researchers who usually work separately and without consideration of one another's perspectives.

INTIMATE VISIONS OF WATER IN THE ANTHROPOSOPHICAL CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICES

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Aware of the ongoing climate change, dedicated to the research of technical solutions and ecological practices in agricultural systems, oriented towards an ecological lifestyle, the members of the anthroposophical community “La Nuova Terra” (“The New Earth” in Udine, Italy, where I conducted my ethnographical fieldwork in this last years), developed a particular attention to the issue of water, approaching it from a new and original point of view, a spiritualistic one. Their practice is a continuous experiment with, a research on, and an investigation about water. Some results of their activities are: the capacity on saving large quantity of water during irrigation, the increased water's quality at the extent of becoming able to irrigate with saline water, the capability of removing the salinity from the fields.

With my presentation I try to illuminate both the particular theoretical concept about water (as for example the concept of “rover's chakra”, or “intimate nature” of oxygen-hydrogen molecule), and the practical applications of the research conducted by the community. In fact, the little, but very active community, owns an experimental Laboratory, publishes books and reviews, interweaves dense relationships with people, governs and institutions across the world. The peculiar philosophy embraced by the community, Anthroposophy, is declined in a modernized and updated version, that can be defined as “post-anthroposophic”. The community explicitly addresses the issues of climate change, its perception and its consequences on agricultural practices, on livelihood, housing and environment, providing hints on precise kind of answers.

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT MULTISPECIES ETHNOGRAPHY

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Ethnographic fieldwork involves the researcher in at least four ways of being during research: being there, being with, being open to the unexpected, and, crucially, being open, in a non-normative way, to the ways of life of those whom we seek to study. I believe that the results of such research practices make valuable contributions to the field of human-animal studies in that they are grounded in detailed specificity – studies that attend to complexities of the relationships that particular people have with particular animals, at particular times, and in particular places. (Marvin, 2012, 125)

There has been some discussion among anthropologists over how the nonhuman other should feature in ethnographic encounter and text, and the general consensus has been that anthropologists need not concern themselves with what other animals are “really like”, but rather should focus on what our human informants think about them [Ingold, 2000; Tapper, 1994]. (Hurn, 2012, 209)

Since its origins as a discipline anthropology has interrogated human-animal interactions. Cultural anthropologists have looked at animals as resources within human social and economic systems, as symbolic stand-ins for nature and savagery, as totems and symbols, and as mirrors for creating cultural and personal identity, but in spite of the field's interest in animals, animals themselves have rarely been seen as a subject of inquiry in and of themselves.

Researcher over the last ten years suggests a re-examination of our relationship with other species often referred to as the species turn, and today human-animal relations have recently become revitalized as topics of interest among social scientists. Various called anthrozoology, multi-species ethnography, anthropo-zoo-genesis, and multispecism these approaches emphasize innovative ways to bring non-human animals into the realm of cultural analysis. As Shanklin noted in her own review of anthropological interest in animals up until the mid 1980s “the investigation of human and animal interaction may well be one of the most fruitful endeavors of anthropology” (1985:380). Creatures previously appearing on the margins of anthropology - animals, plants, fungi, and microbes - have been pressed into the foreground in recent ethnography.

These multi-species ethnographies allow for a radical rethinking of natural and cultural categories for analysis. Writing extensively about the relationship with human and other animals, Haraway contends that we are companion species, participants in on-going processes of “becoming-with” (2003:16) each other in naturalcultural practices.

Quote Hurt, “If other animals are conscious beings, who may exhibit some form of (albeit rudimentary) culture, then the move to incorporate them as actors in ethnographic research and anthropological theory appears plausible at least” (Hurt, 2012, 207)

This paper examines the challenges facing an ethnography that takes animals seriously as social beings and ethnographic subjects. Is ethnography a reliable method with which to understand interspecies intersubjectivity?

“Bringing in” animals to ethnographic fieldwork and anthropological theory raises several complex issues. If anthropologists consider both the human and nonhuman aspects of human–animal interactions, interactions which are frequently based on inequalities, whose “voice” or experience should take priority? Aside from pressing questions of loyalties and advocacy, there are other more practical issues concerning the appropriate methodological and theoretical approaches to adopt when conducting what has come to be referred to as “multi-species ethnography”. How do we know what we know? When the subject matter is the human-animal relationship? Understanding the human side of that relationship is one thing – anthropologists can draw on classic methods such as participant observation, but how can we ever understand the feelings, attitudes, and perceptions of the animals themselves?

How can anthropologists whose disciplinary identity is grounded in the methodology of participant observation engage in practice with nonhuman as well as human others? “The goal in multi-species ethnography should not just be to give voice, agency or subjectivity to the nonhuman – to recognize them as others, visible in their difference – but to force us to radically rethink these categories of our analysis as they pertain to all beings” (Kohn, personal communication, March 29, 2010).

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COMPLEX PROBLEM SOLVING: PATTERNS OF EDUCATION IN THE ANTHROPOCENE

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Complexity is both a topic and a pattern in educational processes. Complexity is a challenging and not quite common frame of mind to adopt when looking at the idea of knowledge transfer, but actually it becomes a crucial element in the development of experimental curriculum within the Anthropocene Project. In fact, the perspective of Anthropocene affirms that every aspect of human life is related to how the humans are modifying their own environment, introducing a recursive flow that calls for a major challenge in the framing traditional knowledge patterns.

The standard model of transfer of knowledge tends to be similar in postgraduate courses and the high school system: in both cases it requires an approach involving both psychological and technical aspects of the transfer of knowledge. Therefore the attempt to include in the high school curriculum a possible model on how to solve complex problems might definitely help to develop the skills of combining different levels of difficulties, framing citizenship, educating to shared responsibilities, conveying the idea of the coexistence of multiple scales in single disciplinary aspects. The change occurs mainly in the perception of the scientific areas, now inserted in a broader view of interdependence. Dealing with Anthropocene at an educational level is a challenge requiring a Complex Problem Solving attitude, a change in the basic frames of how all sciences, hard sciences as well as social sciences, are taught at every level of education.

STRUCTURES OF DEEP TIME IN THE ANTHROPOCENE

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Anthropocene puts incommensurable time scales in contact with each other, to show the relevance of what humanity has been realizing in historical times, and to emphasize the impact of our everyday behaviours and choices. To enable cross-referencing of geologic formations and events from different places on the planet, geologists have subdivided the Earth's history in periods and eras. Among the concluded periods, the shortest one, Neogene, lasted for more than 20 million years, while the longest periods amounts to over 200 million years. The enormity of these time intervals is hard to imagine, yet necessary to capture and define all the phenomena that are meaningful for the history of such a huge and old system as the Earth.

A different logic - the logic of "deep time" and "macroevolution" - is necessary to reflect on a time scale where the history of not only species, but whole Families and Groups, is nothing but the blink of an eye. The current period, Holocene, has started only 11.700 thousand years ago, at the end of the last glacial Age, but a serious scientific proposal was advanced to consider that a different period, the Anthropocene, has already taken over from the Holocene.

What are the dilemmas, paradoxes, challenges, and implications of this mental operation, that implies the contact of temporal scales, and the comparison of everyday life time with deep evolutionary time?

SESSION 12

ETHNOGRAPHY OF LABOUR CHAINS

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RACIALIZATION OF LABOUR IN WAREHOUSES: A COMPARISON BETWEEN PADUA AND PARIS

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The development of the just-in-time production and the reorganization of the economies in transnational networks that occurred in the last 30 years, have produced a strong growth of the logistics sector. Some scholars have spoken in this regard of "logistics revolution" (Allen, 1997; Bonacich Wilson 2008; Vahrenkamp 2012) that developed a "supply chain capitalism" (Tsing 2009),

However, these terms do not merely refer to the development of the logistics industry, but also to the fact that today the border between production and distribution is becoming increasingly blurred (Gutelius 2015), and that logistics has gradually become an integral part of the production processes (Neilson 2012). In this context, the needs of supply chain integration, and thus the efforts to increase the faster and smoother movement of goods, seem to have a negative

impact on working conditions in the sector. Indeed, the research conducted in recent years have brought into light a situation of widespread precarization, weakened capacity of the unions and a process of racialization of workforce (Bonacich, Wilson 2008; Cowen 2014).

Companies are rooted in specific political-economic and social contexts. This determines not only the shaping of logistics systems, but also of recruitment processes and the control and discipline on workers (Coe 2014). Local conditions, such as immigration laws contribute to strong influence the management of the workforce in and outside the workplace. Focusing the analysis of the composition of the workforce in a particular context can therefore allow to see how these differences are managed and can produce a specific subjectivity.

Starting from this theoretical framework, this paper compare two cases study: the experience of warehouse workers in Padua (Italy) and in Paris (France). The aim is to look at the ways in which a multinational company adapts and transform the social context in which it operates. The analysis will focus on the impact that different policies of recruitment and management of the workforce have on social and work experiences of local and migrants workers, as well as the interactions that they develop inside and outside the workplace. The research is based on 20 in depth-interviews with workers of warehouses in the city of Padua and in Paris Region (Ile-de-France), 10 for each context, as well as the analysis of available statistical data.

We argue that the presence of migrant workers in the sector is part of a wider recruitment strategy, which aims to achieve in each specific context a composition of workforce based on the intersection of different social categories such as class, nationality, gender, age. The result is that each local context produces its own processes of racialization. Moreover these social categories, used by the management to produce segmentations and hierarchies within the labor force, also affect the identity construction of individuals and groups producing specific social positions and power relations (Chauvin, Jaunait 2015) as well as the interactions that occur inside and outside the workplace.

DOCK LABOUR REGIMES IN THE EUROPEAN PORT SYSTEM: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES IN TERMINAL CONTAINERS OF GENOA AND ANTWERP Andrea Bottalico, Università di Milano, andrea.bottalico@unimi.it

In the last decades, the global dynamics of contemporary capitalism have revolutionized the structure of port labour. European ports, embedded in ever changing economic and logistics systems, were confronted with shifting port governance arrangements, and started to witness a substantial transition that speeded in late 1990s, when structural changes in the port environment occurred in terms of economic, logistics and institutional setting. Ports became a mere “pawn in the game of global corporate interests and intermodal networks” (Slack, 1993), an “element in the value-driven chain system (Robinson, 2002), increasingly conceived not as individual places that handle ships, but as turntables within global supply chains and global production networks” (*ibidem*).

Referring to the radical change in the management of the whole supply chains, Bonacich and Wilson (2008) coined this shift in perspective as logistics revolution: “ideally, there should be no point, from production to final sale, when goods sit around waiting for further processing”. Circulation, in other words, has become a part of the production process itself (Chua, 2014). Competition shifted from the firm level to the supply chain level (Bonacich & Wilson, 2008).

The above changes have influenced drastically the port environment and the competitive outlook for established load centres, reshaping port scenarios and enabling newcomers to enter the port scene. Meanwhile, the overall port labour has experienced a metamorphosis, in order to adapt to the new scenarios: the juridical, professional and societal status of dock labour changed as well.

How exactly these phenomena have affected dock labour, is one of my concerns. Terminal containers, in particular, are a prism through which is possible to observe such dynamics, an appropriate empirical ground in which to test how the new paradigms of global circulation and production have influenced the organizational patterns of dock labour. It is thus relevant to analyse the interplay of the above phenomena in the European port environment by the viewpoint of dock labour, in light of the recent functional and spatial development of the European container port system via the forces of an ever-changing market environment (Notteboom, 2012).

The key issues that often appear in labour reform processes relate to the classification of dock work, the legal status of the dockworker, the functioning of labour pools, the arrangements at the work floor and the qualification of dockworkers (Notteboom, 2010). The idea of my research is to analyse such factors, as well as the social processes triggered, by adding a more detailed perspective and applying it to the specific case study of dock labour regime in terminal containers of Genoa Psaltri Prà (Voltri Terminal Europe) and Antwerp in Belgium (Europa Terminal). Both terminals are managed by Psal International (Port of Singapore Authority), one of the world's largest container terminal operator. Through a comparative analysis between the two case studies, it is possible to explain the implications of different dock labour regimes and organizational models, as well as the consequences of further sociologically relevant elements. The final aim of my research is to give an empirical contribution in this under-researched field of enquiry.

Therefore, following the conceptual framework provided by Theo Notteboom, the research I am trying to develop wheel around the following questions:

To what extent do the constraints of the global supply chain affect dock labour regime in the European ports? Why do such processes differ among the ports of Genoa and Antwerp?

After five months of fieldwork, and almost fifty semi-structured interviews to “privileged witnesses”, I have had the possibility to explore deeply the port of Genoa, as well as the city. The empirical results so far show the distinctive characteristics of a composite and contemporary phenomenon under way, since the dock labour regime has been eroded from within, but some persistent organizational forms of labour are still there.

Power relations and reciprocal constraints among the actors involved are the results of path dependent routines and practices sedimented in the time, that have led to a strong decrease of the bargaining power during the last decades. The increase of container traffic in the terminal container of Voltri Prà has been accompanied by a significant reorganization and efficiency improvement, made necessary by the ever-growing search for competitiveness by the terminal operators. Furthermore, the phenomenon of naval gigantism has produced a working concentration, with an increase in peak workloads and productivity levels. This has led to a worsening of the qualifications required by the flexible labour pool. The difficult match between the skills required and available skills produces the use of temporary staff from agency *Intempo* and double shifts. Some key actors have talked about “self-exploitation”, in order to chase the productivity required by the market.

All these aspects are still under analysis. The empirical strategy is to collect data about the evolution of flexibility, labour productivity in function of the of labour costs, safety, the incidence of labour cost per container, etc., in order to assess such trends, and compare them with the case study in the terminal container of Antwerp, in Belgium.

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A SHADOW ON THE LINE: OBSERVING LEAN PRODUCTION THROUGH ITS AESTHETIC DIMENSION

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Starting from an ethnography conducted in a North-Eastern Italian factory of agricultural machineries which has recently introduced a production model inspired by Japanese Toyotism and Lean Production, this contribution aims to examine working practices in a production chain through the lens of aesthetics.

The fieldwork lasted for two months, distributed between September and November 2012. After the negotiation of the access, during which the researcher gained the trust of the main gatekeepers of the factory (the CEO and the head of the human resources), the researcher concentrated on two of the four production lines (the cabins one and the transmissions one), observing workers' activities, as well as formal and informal meetings. Participant observation was combined with ethnographic interviews and the shadowing of objects. In fact, after an initial period of observation, the researcher wanted to try to engage in a different perspective, thus deciding to follow two transmissions and two cabins for one week each.

The study had the aim of observing the difficulties connected to the introduction of a lean production system, launched during 2011. Since 90s, the factory grew in size and capacity, handling some important commercial agreements with foreign companies and entering in the global production systems. The facility was renewed, and during the 2000s the logistics and production flows were improved to meet the increased volumes of production. On this premise the new production system inspired by Toyotism was founded and, as we are going to see, this took immediately to intervening on the aesthetic dimensions of the factory. In fact, during the very first days of observation, something unexpected happened: since the beginning, colors, noises, artifacts, and body movements “hit” the ethnographer, so that the aesthetic dimension of the Lean Production appeared to be a prominent aspect on which concentrating. The researcher was aware of the fact that some fundamental principles of Toyotism and Lean Production are based on the importance of intervening on the aesthetic dimensions of organizational life. The diffusion of images and mottos within the organization (which are important for fostering organizational identity); the attention paid to architecture and organizational spaces (as a means for organizational control); the daily objects, talks, rituals and ceremonies (as a way to enhance workers' commitment and belonging to the organization); the ways in which workers move in the workplace, these are all traces of the aesthetic (and taken for granted) background of a Lean Production system.

As the study moved forward, exploring the production lines, the lens of aesthetics proved to be an useful tool to show an alternative interpretation of the kind of organizational and working practices that lean production entails. Observing the aesthetic aspects of organizational and working practices allowed, in the first place, to highlight the ways in which Lean Production often brings to new forms of standardization. The organizational setting of the production line (with the typical “U” form), the cabinets with tools silhouettes, the operations described in the workers' manual and in the booklet of the tractor, all these aspects involve the introduction of standards in the factory. Secondly, the lens of organizational aesthetics revealed work practices that cannot be standardized because related to situated and tacit knowledge. These same practices and knowledge were essential for the articulation of work: the names given by workers to specific parts of the line, the fixed areas actors occupied depending on the community of practice they belonged to, the customization of objects in the production area, the body performance, and the hearing fineness, were all constitutive elements of the everyday work.

Alternatively to the literature which considers lean production as an innovative and effective solution to the problems of Taylorism, as well as to the one which identifies it as a refined and subtle form of organizational control, the aim of our contribution is twofold. On one side, we want to show how the adoption of a lean production system is aimed at aligning the organization with a global model of production, testifying the willingness of the organization to connect with international markets. As we will see, this adoption is immediately mirrored in the aesthetics of working practices

and of the organization *tout court* (e.g. its image, as well as its organizational jargon). On the other side, we also want to highlight the role of aesthetics and materiality in the ethnographic experience, thus problematizing the role objects, senses, and sensible knowledge play in fieldwork, ethnographic interpretation and in tracing the connections of the network the organization participate to.

EMPLOYERS' AND WORKERS' AGENCY IN A LOW-END FAST FASHION VALUE CHAIN

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My presentation deals with a global value chain from below highlighting different forms of employers' and workers' agency in small contracting firms and their effects on the reorganization of production.

I discuss the low-end fast fashion center in Prato, Italy, created by Chinese migrants almost from scratch. The Prato clothing industry has become the center of a global value chain stretching from China and Turkey as the sourcing areas to most European countries as the buyers of garments made in Prato. I shed light on the reconfiguration of the production through a sleeping regime -that is quite different from the dormitory regime adopted in some large factories worldwide-, and inter-firm mobility of workers.

Central to the reorganization of production into what I call "the mobile regime", are the global restructuring of social reproduction and the ethnicization of the workforce. Previously untapped data on how the outsourcing of social reproduction is dealt with in the network of Chinese contractors in the Italian fashion industry is provided. Besides, I unravel the process of ethnicization of the workforce as a crucial way in which profit is extracted from labor, and argue that this process, while self-evident, has never been singled out before and analyzed as a competitive advantage for the entire Italian fashion industry.

In the literature on the global value chains, topics such as workplace relations and workers' agency are understudied. Based on extensive fieldwork, and using untapped data on the job market demand and supply on the Internet, I tackle this issue. I highlight the role of both employers and workers in shaping the working conditions within the "mobile regime". I document and analyze 1) processes of contestation of workers' frantic mobility, and 2) workers' exit practices that result in a shifting balance of power between small contractors and (skilled) workers.

MANUFACTURING CARS BETWEEN GERMANY AND EMILIA-ROMAGNA. TRANSNATIONAL CHAINS OF VALUE AND LOCAL PATHS OF GLOBALIZATION

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This paper starts from an ongoing research in the mechanic district of Bologna, referring to the case of the Lamborghini factory (founded by engineer Ferruccio Lamborghini in 1964), which was acquired by the Volkswagen Group in 1998. With the take-over The House of the Bull achieved a fundamental shift and, in just over a decade, Lamborghinis ranked among the highest levels in the production segment of luxury sports cars (up to the year 2000 - 250 cars sold per year to 1800 cars between 2001 to 2011; from around 40 authorised car dealers in the world they increased their number in 2013 to 129; and today employ approximately 1200 workers: Buzzonetti 2014).

In the framework of the general world crisis and the industrial slowdown, which began in USA in 2007, it also affected Emilia-Romagna, what stands out is rate of increase by foreign enterprises; with an increase of 2.5 per cent in 2014 (source: Rapporto 2014 sull'economia regionale). In this scenario, started in Emilia-Romagna a long time ago, the case of Lamborghini represents an important model of development and a real jewel in the crown: In May 2015 Confindustria's local president celebrated a new top model of luxury car produced by the Volkswagen Group at the Lamborghini factory in San'Agata Bolognese. Lamborghini opens the case then, in terms of ethnography, of possible reflections on the type of ongoing globalisation in Emilia-Romagna, that is to say the specific trajectory of the first worldwide car manufacturer in the Bologna area and in the local mechanic district. Some specificities distinguish the factory: the German model of co-management, the so-called *Mitbestimmung*, with a dual industrial governance including the participation of the workers, totally extraneous for Italian reality, the launching of experimental training agreements, involving a network among Lamborghini-Ducati factories, Regional government, The EWCs (European Works Councils), directly involving also the Italian part of the group: a whole new complex model of corporate relations, productive organisation, forms of work characterise the new Lamborghini. Ethnographic methodology suggests a typical point of view able to pick up on a small scale, far-reaching global changes, focusing on the exchange between German capital, German industrial models, the Emilian culture of work and social capital, but also local industrial history, with particular attention to work, the workers' cultural horizons, the fallout in an area and a productive sector that, in its own way, is trying to react to the current crisis. Referring also to other industrial cases (e.g. the case of Fiat-Chrysler in Melfi, studied by the author of this paper), the general hypothesis moving this research project is to compare different paths of globalisation, more or less able to valorise local resources, maintain production but also keep some safeguards at work and project in various ways the local workforce on the current global scenario.

RETAIL SHIFT WORKERS: THE TIMES AND RHYTHMS OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR. WORKING TIMES AND ALIENATION IN POSTMODERN CAPITALISM: TWO QUALITATIVE CASE STUDIES

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The topic: The times and rhythms of emotional labour. The topics of this research are times and rhythms of working in the retail sector, in particular the perceptions and feelings of retail shift workers in Milan and London. The methods used will be qualitative methods: interviews, focus groups and ethnographic fieldwork. The information collected in these two case studies will be analysed to understand the differences and similarities between the Italian and British workers and their representations of this specific kind of work. As Arlie Russel Hochschild wrote, “jobs of this type have three characteristics in common. First, they require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public. Second, they require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person-gratitude or fear, for example. Third, they allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees” (Hochschild 2003: 147). The object of this study is the paces of working with customers in this sector, in the socio-economical context of Post-Fordism and mass consumption in Europe. The aim of this study is to understand workers’ perceptions and feelings about the times and rhythms of work and about their interactions with clients - in relation to their everyday life and free time - in particular from a gendered perspective. The retail workers must identify with the customers and must empathize with them everyday with timing and pace of work fast and tight, in a context of social acceleration. Could this condition of “estrangement from themselves” be a new and specific kind of alienation? The values of the goods, the companies and the brands could be determined from the smile of the retail workers, through their kindness and forbearance. Just a few decades ago the emphasis was placed on the product. Now the social actors, the smiles of the salespeople, could make the value. The retail work consists of the social relation with customers. Could the value not just be determined by the quality of the product but from the strategies of interaction implemented by the retail shift workers? Could we think about a new Labor Theory of Value, as Emotional Value?

In my life I have worked in many shops, and I have worked part-time in a phone shop for 3 years, from 2011 to 2014, in Corso Buenos Aires in Milan and in other places, in shops in the town centre as well as in some shopping centres. For all that time I observed and asked questions, trying to understand the perceptions and feelings of others, to analyse the conditions of workers, and mine too, obviously, and to compare their feelings with my own point of view. In 2016 I will extend my research to London. I want to study this topic starting from all my knowledge accumulated in these years studying Labour History and the Sociology of Labour. I think that I could understand it better both because I was one of those retail workers, and at the same time because I was not. I was a shift worker, but I was also an observer in that workplace, a phone shop of a famous Italian telecommunications company in Corso Buenos Aires, Milan.

Research-in-progress: First results. About alienation and class identity: RSW are young men and women chosen by managers for their age, liking, kindness and empathy, often for low-paid, part-time and flexible jobs. These young people did not consider themselves a class, on the contrary of the young blue collars in the last decades. In Italy in the last 3 years the RSW have begun to face up the deregulation of the opening hours. In UK the legislation is more restricted. Anyway, in UK some religious and secular organizations created a group against Sunday work. In Italy RSW seem to be now more aware regarding their rights in the workplace. This could be the starting point for a new class consciousness of young workers in the European metropolitan cities and the inception of a new class identity as retail workers.

About resistance and resilience: In Italy the opening hours have been completely deregulated in 2012. Few years ago the RSW created a network of groups as “Libera la Domenica” (free the Sunday) and are organizing a referendum against working on Sundays and holidays. In UK there is a campaign against work on Sundays: “Keep Sunday Special”, supported by religious and secular groups and organizations.

About gender and stereotypes in italian RSW's feelings and meanings. To understand this specific context we have to focus firstly on the feminization of the retail sector. In the last decades we have observed a constantly growth of the service sector in the Western countries, and in parallel the growth of the female participation in this sector. Working with customers, RSW have to smile with courtesy and have to use their empathy, in addition to their professionalism and competence. According to the gender stereotypes, in Italy females are often, even now, considered more emphatic and kind than males. The majority of RSW known until now in the ethnographic fieldwork in Milan are females. Anyway there are many males. Some of the RSW males who work in the shopping streets in the city centre of Milan are gays. It seems a sort of consequence of the stereotypes regarding females that reflect upon males gays workers in the field of the Emotional Labour. A problem in this specific sector characterized by temporary contracts and part time work, is the work-life balance and the work-family reconciliation, especially in a Catholic country as Italy, where the domestic work is often even now perceived, consciously or unconsciously, as “women’s work”. Part-time is considered a tool to increase women’s work, especially in countries where women carry out most of the domestic work and sustain family and child care, as in Italy. On the one hand, it can be considered as an opportunity to increase job offers in a phase of crisis, even if it could be flexible and precarious work, and also a way to meet the needs of male and female workers to reconcile work and private life. On the other hand, in a gender perspective of the work-life balance, greater difficulties of women in advancing in their career are linked to the need of reconciling work with family responsibilities, especially child. Another problem is the job quality linked to the female segregation in the retail sector. According to several Gender Studies, the decrease of working time for women could often generate the segregation of females in non-professional and underpaid work. The need of reconciling work with family responsibilities could be a justification to relegate women at home as mothers and wives, in particular in a phase of privatization of the welfare state in the European countries. In Milan many RSW males became, or are thinking to become, store managers and in general to advance their careers, whereas the majority of the females remained, or are thinking to remain, in their job positions, part-time or full-time, getting married and starting a family.

EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS AND VALUE CHAINS: INSIGHTS FROM THE MEAT PROCESSING AND CHILDCARE SECTORS

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One of the most significant developments in corporate organisation over the last three decades has been a tendency to vertical disintegration through outsourcing and subcontracting. This has given rise to complex inter-organisational relationships for the production of goods and services which often extend over the boundaries of national countries, and which have been variously named interorganisational networks, global value chains, and global production networks. One of the driving forces behind such transformations has been employers' willingness to reduce costs and to increase flexibility by exploiting the differentials in basic employment conditions (job security, wages, working hours, access to training) existing across different labour market segments (Flecker 2009, Rubery 2007). In this sense, employers' vertical disintegration practices constitute both a form of "institutional avoidance" (Doellgast et al. 2009, Jaehrling and Mehaut 2013), i.e. an exit option through which employers can circumvent existing legal-political institutions, and a driver of increasing inequalities on the labour market. This is due not only to formal differentials existing between these two segments, but also to the fact that subcontractors are more likely to make use of informal employment practices through the partial or total violation of employment laws or collectively agreed standards (Wagner 2014). This tendency is further exacerbated by the usual scarce presence of trade unions and of other forms of labour collective organisation (Flecker et al. 2008). Furthermore, even in those cases in which trade unions are present, they possess scarce bargaining power, since the presence of strong power asymmetries between firms in the value chain reduces the effectiveness of traditional trade union strategies focused on collective bargaining with the formal employer. Given the economic pressures that chain leaders exercise on their subcontractors, employers itself get less and less autonomous the lower the company is positioned in the value chain (Appay 1998, Perraudin et al. 2013). Even if such pressures strongly influence employment conditions within subcontractors, workers have no channels to exercise their voice beyond firm boundaries and to influence chain leaders (Marchington et al. 2005). Hence, vertical disintegration often constitutes a trigger of the disorganisation of industrial relations institutions and the erosion of their democratic and redistributive functions (Doellgast and Greer 2007). This phenomenon has been further strengthened by the normative interventions of the State which has facilitated employers' vertical disintegration strategies opening up further exit options. Through a case-study analysis of vertical disintegration processes in the Italian meat processing industry and in childcare services, this paper will explore how employers' organisational practices have impacted on working conditions and the industrial relations institutions in the two sectors. I will analyse the mechanisms through which vertical disintegration processes have contributed to the growth of low-paid and vulnerable jobs at the bottom of those sectors' value chains and of the increasing incapacity of industrial relations institutions to regulate employment. Moreover, I will explore the role of the State in influencing these processes. Lastly, I will highlight the strategies developed by trade unions to deal with outsourcing and subcontracting and the emergence of new actors representing vulnerable workers.

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MIGRANTS AND PASTORALISM: THE CASE OF THE ROMANIAN SALARIED SHEPHERDS IN THE SARDINIAN COUNTRYSIDE

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Over the past decade, research into the role of migrant labour in agriculture within global capitalism has attained a significant scholarly status. Several studies analyze the exploitation of migrants in the intensive agricultural system as a negative effect of market price competition: farmers who are affected by the agricultural squeeze phenomenon, offload the costs onto the weakest people, that is to say on agricultural employees. Other studies highlight how the exploitation of weak workers is an endemic characteristic of contemporary capitalism, especially of the agri-food chain, where the increase of profit is often based on the opportunistic consumption of common resources (or goods, land and work). Within the context of this debate, our paper focuses on a case-study which so far has received little scholarly attention, that of Romanian salaried shepherds in Sardinia (Italy). The case is very interesting for a number of reasons. For its geographical position the region of Sardinia, an island in the center of the Mediterranean sea, more distant from North Africa than Sicily, has not suffered from the Mediterranean migratory flows of the recent years. Despite their relatively low numbers, foreign people arriving in Sardinia concentrate in some specific segments of the labour market: in this sense, the number of Romanians employed in sheep breeding activities (now also in cow breeding activities) is noteworthy. Breeding can be both extensive and semi-extensive, with the prevalence of natural graze for the livestock nutrition, and the production is focused on milk. The milk produced is of high quality (owing to an extensive model of breeding), and it is processed locally by private and cooperative industries in order to produce mainly one type of cheese, the "Pecorino Romano". This type of cheese is exported mostly to foreign countries (especially to the U.S).

Compared to its direct competitor regions (Tuscany, Lazio and Sicily), Sardinia has high productivity levels of milk; its average farm size is larger than that of other Italian regions, the use of technologies, both in the breeding and processing phases is also significant. However, Sardinia has low milk profitability, and this is due entirely to the mono-production of Pecorino Romano, a low-cost cheese destined to a mass market, highly standardized, easy to imitate, and subject to price volatility.

The Sardinian dairy system is part of a global value chain whose components are mostly dependent on milk prices' fluctuations in the global market. The milk profitability is a key problem of the local dairy chain. The Sardinian ovine dairy sector operates in the lower market segment and it is tied to the mass production of a highly imitable cheese; it has suffered from competing emerging world economies such as China and Romania, where production costs are lower, as well as from the gradual liberalization of markets, with the discontinuance, since the mid-2000s, of export reimbursements on Pecorino Romano by the European Union (which had supported the price in previous years). There has been a steady decline in the price of milk over the past decade. As a consequence, there has been a steady decline also in the number of sheep farms.

The use of Romanian cheap workforce reflects the structural problems of the Sardinian sheep dairy system, as well as the difficulty of recruiting local people who may want to live and work in the countryside. Historically, being a salaried shepherd represented a common step in the moral career of the local shepherds: the young people started as "salaried"; during the years of training they became experts and earned enough money to become autonomous shepherds.

Sardinian pastoralism is interesting in that it shows the contradictions typical of countries in the "South" of the world (the developing world) which are described as "backward" and "wild", but actually depend on the contemporary global market chain. At the beginning of the 20th century, the stereotyped and culturalist image of the Sardinian shepherd as wild, primitive and backward, the expression of a poor rural culture would be replaced by local modernization policies. By contrast, the production of milk began to focus on the industrial processing of Pecorino Romano cheese and linked the revenues of the shepherds to the price fluctuations of milk in the market.

On the one hand, shepherds and salaried shepherds testify the continuity and permanence of Pastoralism in Sardinia. On the other, they have changed in the course of the 20th century and adapted to changes occurred in Pastoralism itself. In particular, the role of the "salaried" shepherd has shifted from the local young people to young Romanians (and also to other incoming foreign workers), who are now willing to accept working conditions and salaries usually rejected by the local people.

Our paper is based on a qualitative research with 40 full-length interviews conducted among local shepherds as well as Romanian salaried shepherds across Sardinia and it offers a comprehensive view of local breeding activities and practices. Other qualitative material includes informal discussions, observations from the fieldwork, and pictures. The aim is to analyze different work organizations, the relations between the different social actors, informal practices and tactics of everyday life (*à la De Certeau*), the space of ambiguity and freedom, and forms the subjectivisation.

The research is still in progress. The preliminary descriptive results show a specific position of the Romanian workforce within the Sardinian dairy system. Romanians work in rational sheep farms (medium-sized, with more than 500 sheep), focused on intensive milk production sold to the industries of Pecorino Romano cheese. These workers come from rural areas and they are familiar with breeding practices (though they noted that breeding in Sardinia is more modern than it is in their country). The majority of Romanians gets food and accommodation on the farm. Contractual arrangements are more or less formalised: in general contracts are seasonal, and a minimum of 150 working days is required to qualify for unemployment benefits. The salary is of about 800 € per month and it implies daily, full-day employment. Work on the farm begins at 5 a.m. with the first milking, and it continues during the day with other activities (i.e. grazing livestock, food distribution, etc.). Usually, in times of low or zero milk production (between July and October), migrant workers return to Romania for short periods. The life condition of the Romanians varies and it largely depends on the degree of autonomy from their employer. Those who in the countryside all day, every day, and spend most of the day alone with the livestock on the farm, may depend on their employer to travel and do their shopping. And if they cannot speak Italian, they feel a bigger sense of isolation. Migrant workers who live on the farm with their family (wife and/or brothers who perform the same job on the same farm or in a farm nearby) and have a regular driving license and a car to move around, manage to cope better with isolation. They have acquired a good level of the Italian language and have built relationships both with locals and with members of the Romanian community. In any case, for these economic migrants, work in Sardinia is only temporary. Their goal is often to earn money to invest in Romania, possibly to work in the same sector.

WORK, UNIONIZATION AND CONFLICT IN THE SECTOR OF LOGISTIC

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The present proposal considers some empirical data gathered during a research conducted in the city of Padua (Italy), in the autumn of 2013. The research had its theoretical stating point in the interest in understanding the multiple relationships between the new forms of globalized production (Mezzadra, Neilson 2015), the new organization of work (Bologna 2007) and the processes of new unionization in the sector of transport and storage of goods, which it identifies a particularly relevant economical field in the contemporary international socio-economic landscape. Particularly, since the seventies, the profound transformations of the production forms occurring in advanced capitalistic societies have led to the center of industrial policies and strategies, the concept of "logistics" (Pun Gai 2015). This concept circumscribes on the one hand the set of strategies that contemporary capitalism uses to organize the transport of

goods on a global scale, and on the other hand a specific production sector in which specialized companies or large chains are involved in the direct management of the storage and transport of a wide variety of goods (Bologna 2007, 2013). Regarding the Italian context, one of the main features of the logistics sector is that a large part of the labor portage, both in companies specialized in logistics and in supermarket chains, has contracted with the cooperative system. In addition, the workers hired through cooperative's system and employed into the logistic's warehouses are in large parts immigrants. In the last few years, this workers have been protagonists of important processes of struggle that have led to radical conflicts inside this workplaces.

From an empirical point of view, this paper will focus on the analysis of the work process and on the union organization's processes of immigrant's workers employed inside Padua's interport, one of the most important logistics node for the management of commercial flow oriented to the North and East Europe (Bologna 2013). In addition, the significance of this specific research context is linked to the development of an important cycle of worker's mobilization that get involved large part of North's Italia interport, included Padua.

From a methodological point of view, empirical data have been collected across different qualitative techniques, such as ethnographic observation (one month) and semi-structured interview (Cardano 2011), and in particularly fifteen interview to immigrant and Italian workers, and five interview to some key actors such as unions manager and executive of Interporto S.p.A. of Padua.

One of the main result emerged from the research concern the vulnerability of the workers of portage's cooperatives. In Padua, this particular typology of workers is composed in large part of immigrants and their condition of instability and precariousness is shaped not just from the labour market's structure, but also from organizational and juridical models adopted by the cooperatives where they work. In this sense, the interviews have highlighted that the processes of management of immigrant's workforce are organized across racial discrimination practice, causing form of hierarchization not just between immigrants and locals workers, but also between immigrants of different nationality. At the same time, the research had highlighted that the immigrant's workers are not just subordinate subjects. The observation of their productive and politically activities underline an important capacity of agency that they use to develop new relationship with the unions organization, towards which they orient request of innovation and radical transformation of the traditional union's practices.

This proposal want to highlight the direct relationship between the specific form of management of immigrants workforce with the union's struggles that the workers had challenged in this productive sector.

ASSEMBLE AND DIVIDE. INTERSECTIONAL MANAGEMENT OF WORKFORCE IN VENETIAN HOTELS

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The paper focuses on labour in the tourist-hospitality sector in Venice. Within the heterogeneous Italian tourism sector, the city of Venice stands out for its economic performance. Generally perceived as a cosmopolitan place par excellence, Venice has been able to build its image as an exclusive showcase of cultural and artistic tourism in a charming and fascinating location.

In Venice, in the last thirty years, three levels of internationalization are operating: the internationalization of tourist flows; the internationalization of productive capital; the presence of a multinational workforce. The workforce stratification in the Venice hospitality industry is based on some features such as: gender, nationality, race, age, citizenship status and so on.

This paper aims at showing how different occupational taxonomies created by the intersection of the workforce features interacts with different segments of the hospitality value chain by determining not only the employee's duties and the position in the same chain, but also the different contractual status and proliferation of multiple forms of work (from emotional job to "piece-work")

The hospitality value chain is composed by several segments and assumes a classical pyramid structure. Many of these firms are crossed by financialization of productive capital that have supported the remarkable expansion of recent years. In addition to the new openings, mergers and acquisitions, the expansion is achieved through: taking over here the management of existing hotels and *affiliations* – a type of franchising - in which multinationals hand over their own brand in return for the observance of certain standards and for a percentage of the generated value. The pressure of financial actors and competition with the instability of tourist flows has prompted several hotel companies to develop strategies to increase profitability of the capital invested. In this regard we can note the frequent recourse to outsourcing of some production functions and the growing use of temporary worker agencies. However, in contrast to the extensive network productions, the hotel supply chain takes on a different spatio-temporal dimension. Hospitality (as a good) implies simultaneity and fixity between places and times of production and places and times of consumption which preclude the ability to relocate production. Nevertheless, this dynamic can increase the hoteliers tendency to rely on *intramoenia* outsourcing processes.

The outsourced process include services of portage and cleaning; the kitchen, the restaurant and bar; spa, maintenance and security. Some of these functions are carried out by specialized companies as catering and security companies. Other functions such as cleaning and portage services are handled by cooperative companies. Hotels tend to directly manage some departments such as the reception and the administration considered as core functions.

As it has emerged from interviews, and in accordance with an assemblage strategy, hotel workers in Venice are treated differently depending on the tasks carried out and the specific position on the value chain. Indeed, together with workers directly employed by a hotel (or by the hotel chain) who generally carry out managerial and emotional tasks,

there are at least two other specific groups that are managed in a different way. The first are workers employed by temporary employment agencies which are generally responsible for providing workers for the intermediate segment. These are temporary workers who hotel owners/managers often use according to the fluctuations in business or to manage specific extraordinary events.

The second group is composed by employees of cooperatives and specialized companies to whom the hotels have sub-contracted cleaning and portage services, thus, jobs at the lowest levels of the hierarchy. In this segment tasks are standardized, disciplinary control is strict and workers are paid by piecework. Subcontracting to cooperatives is a strategy that responds to a different objectives pursued by hotel management. It frees the internal hotel staff allowing a more flexible management of the workforce and to cut down on some operating costs.

Looking at the composition of these different groups arranged along the hospitality value chain, we can observe that in the first segment we have a concentration of Italian workers, predominantly male with a strong bargaining and mobility power. In the intermediate segment the presence of women and migrant workers increases with the decrease of their hierarchical position. Finally, in the outsourced segment is characterized by a strong presence of migrant workers, while the presence of women is distributed according to the tasks. We argue that this intersectional strategy affects a variety of work relationships allowing hotels to use different groups of workers positioned at different levels of the hierarchy. This ultimately produces divisions between workers. Despite employees work together, they identify themselves with different contractual, salary and hierarchical positions and, at the same time, they are subjected to different intensity of exploitation and control. The different position in the productive chain and the different composition of the assembled groups, also impacts on the unionization strategies. Next to a first group of workers with strong bargaining and mobility power who are able to negotiate individually their working conditions, there is a group of direct and unionized workers with traditional unions. Finally, in the outsourced segment prevails an instrumental approach with traditional unions. Frequently they start a unionization process with grassroots unions.

This research highlights how intersectionality can be used as an interpretative model to better comprehend how the combination of socio-demographic differences, in a work context, can be used to separate and differentiate workers so that they can be managed strategically.

The analysis is based on the review of literature, media sources and available statistical data. Furthermore, it avails on ethnographic work that comprehends twenty in depth interviews with migrant and local workers and ten semi-structured interviews with privileged witnesses (trade unionists, hotel managers).

SESSION 13

TRADITION OF CHICAGO AS A WAY TO UNDERSTANDING THE CONFLICTS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

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SPOTTING EMERGING DISORDERS AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN URBAN PUBLIC SPACES

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The attempt of this paper is to address the issue of the disorders and conflicts occurring from social interactions in urban public spaces. This research has as a starting point an ethnographic study conducted among social mediation professionals. Indeed, a significant part of their job consists of spotting current social disorders or their making. It is expected from them to react to those social disorders to find solutions in order to put an end to the observed problems. This paper will focus on the Belgian *gardiens de la paix* ("peace keepers"), who are not "law enforcement officers" but are part of those new professions created in the last twenty years both in Western Europe and Canada to ensure prevention and social mediation. They have in common the fact that they act at the local level, hereby focusing on smaller territories. By doing so, they provide a visible presence which is supposed to reassure the population as well as engage discussions. The purpose of the latter is to prevent and solve conflicts, along with "creating social links", reduce "insecurity", and so on. (Smeets, 2006; Barthélémy, 2009; Roche, Boschetti, Zagrodzki, 2014).

Planning to investigate public policies from below (Berger, Cefai, Gayet-Viaud, 2011), I conducted an ethnography over a period of three months on a group of peace keepers in a municipality of the Brussels region. This fieldwork consisted of following different teams by wandering through different neighborhoods at different times of the day (during peak hours, school outings, evenings, nights, weekends), as well as the team meetings and their "breaks". This allowed me to observe their everyday life as well as their practices, their interactions with ordinary citizens and other professionals working at the local level, and I collected their testimonies. In the extent of this fieldwork, I also analysed a corpus of 800 reports (two full years) in which these peacekeepers reported to their hierarchy the events they considered as problematic. By combining these methods, I was able to, on the one hand, access both the ordinary

dimension of experience (by participating in their walks) and, on the other hand, access the rather exceptional events which played an important role in the way these actors define their role.

In everyday life it is the banality of social life that usually predominates, which can lead to boredom. Nevertheless, since the arrival of peace keepers in the urban public spaces, their presence play a leading role achieving a work of embodied perception (Merleau-Ponty, 1945; Watson, 1995; Cefai, 2011). Indeed, they seek, and sometimes locate, specific situations where “something is happening” or even worse, where “something looks wrong” (Breviglieri, Trom, 2003: 400). One can for example, consider the situation of a peace keeper who notices a group of persons yelling at each other in the street. He would calm them, separate them, and ask them to leave. By doing so, he acts on the basis of a disturbing event he was able to identify and recognize as such. It appears the missions of these actors are quite ambivalent, sometimes leading them to seek to socialize with citizens or to help them, sometimes to monitor, or to exercise a social control, or even to enforce the standards they consider necessary for “living together”. They are particularly concerned with the upkeep of the conditions necessary for the “interaction order”, and both the “moral” and “public” order (Cefai, 2013; Goffman, 2013).

When they spot a disorder, such as an excess of proximity (Breviglieri, 2009), the gathering of suspicious individuals or a threatening attitude, the peacekeepers start a short inquiry: trying to understand what is happening, asking an individual to confirm their intuitions, or sometimes just follow their feelings. However, frequently they are not able to complete their investigations (Berger, 2015; Berger, Francou, 2015). The situation often forces them to renounce to a perfect understanding of the situation. Moreover, their capacity of action is often restricted while they are facing an (un)identified disorder. They are then compelled to give up the interpretation of the events and their capacity for action is (permanently) hindered. Indeed, the Belgian institutional and legislative context, combined with the concrete street-level environment of the peacekeepers, forces them to act and react against the reality they have to take in charge, even though they are (literally and figuratively) disarmed against some situations. As it will be demonstrated, this situation slightly modifies the pragmatist enthusiasm (Stavo-Debaugé, 2012).

Finally, this paper, dedicated to the analysis of conflict-management in urban public spaces will allow me to develop a transversal questioning about the scientific approach of the ethnographer in his quest for understanding social disorders, between boredom and interrogations about his commitment, observing these walking observers by walking besides them.

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MARGINAL WOMEN? CLASS AND ETHNIC DIMENSIONS OF TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THEIR POLISH EMPLOYERS

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Migrants as such have been analysed as underprivileged group at the labour market (see e.g. Piore 1971) and ethnic class stratification has been studied for whole communities (Hughes 1943) as well as specifically for domestic occupational market (Cox 1999). Recently Linda McDowell pointed out to structural similarities between the position of migrants as “old” working class (McDowell 2015). Domestic and care work sector play a crucial role globally, especially for migrating women (e.g. Hochschild, Ehrenreich 2003). The domestic work is a typical inter-class employment, partly because it is associated with the historical antecedent, domestic service, there also appear labels such as “new servant class” (Gregson, Lowe 1994). To certain extent it may be said that domestic workers as once servants, occupy a position of “marginal women”, living in the world of employers but bringing their ethnic, national, social culture with them (servants as cultural mediators, social amphibians or their work as a bridging occupation, see Fairchild, 1984).

In everyday interactions social actors negotiate the salient dimensions of their role-identities, (McCall, Simons 1966). The symbolic field of paid domestic work is diverse and prone to tensions between various definitions of social actors or different role-identities, like worker, family member or servant (Kordasiewicz 2008, 2014). In case of migrant domestic workers there are several dimensions of difference, principally an ethnic and a role / class dimension to take into account when analysing interactions between them and their employers, including tensions, resistance and direct conflicts. There are unobvious interactions between the domestic employment and migrant background(s), sheer

performance of domestic tasks does not necessarily mean being constructed as “lower class” – the class definition may depend on the legal arrangement - e.g. in a British study au pairs, in contrast to migrants, were constructed as middle class and white, irrespective of their actual social standing and race (Anderson 2009).

A class pattern of attitudes towards domestic workers (Gdula, Sadura 2012) and “personal sense of class guilt” (Kordasiewicz 2015) among employers have been analysed to grasp the nature of relationships in paid domestic work in Poland. In this country more Polish than foreign workers are employed in households (Grabowska-Lusińska, Żylicz 2008), so it is convenient a case to compare foreign and local workers and how different dimensions play in interactions. However there is a lack of systematic analysis of class dimensions of hiring a Pole versus hiring (mostly) a Ukrainian to perform household and care tasks, and the aim of this paper is to fill in this gap. In this paper, based on 60 narrative interviews with employers and workers in paid domestic work in post-war Poland, collected 2007-2011 (Kordasiewicz, forthcoming) we want to analyse the narrative constructions of tensions and conflicts in interactions between employers and workers in domestic work using a class and ethnicity lens. We will attempt at commenting on classical approaches to inter-ethnic and inter-class interactions, ethnic inequalities, conflict as part of ethnic cycle, conflict versus cooperation in ethnic relations of the Chicago Tradition (Park 1929, 1950; Stonequist 1937, Hughes 1984;) from the perspective of more recent intersectionality theories (Collins 1990; Anthias i Advis 1992; Crenshaw 1994; Brah 1996, Anthias 2005).

HULL HOUSE REVISITED. THE STRANGE CASE OF A CO-HOUSING EXPERIENCE IN AN ITALIAN “MIDDLE CLASS” MID-TOWN

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The core of this research is a story of co-housing and of the common practices implemented by the inhabitants of a small street more than sixty years ago and still going on today. The place where the story take place is a crossroads in a semi-central district of the town of Padua, Italy. The peculiarity of the case is that it involves “middle class” people living in a group of “middle class” houses experimenting practices developed in the very different context (the Chicago of the second wave industrialization, XIX century). Thirteen families in the past, no more than twenty people today, mostly women, very old aged and alone who -by chance- found themselves living one next to the other in the post war ruined suburbia of a relatively small city in the North East of Italy and in this particular group of houses, very small but of some “luxury”, built to be models of a new minimal life-style, inspired by LeCorbusier’s minimum standards, mixed with a reinterpretation of the American “socialistic-utopistic” way of conceiving the “common living” of the late XIX Century experimented for example in Chicago by an eminent personality like Jane Addams, -a self made sociologist very close to Robert Park’s ideas on the evolution of society in the industrial cities- with the settlement of Hull House. The main and most curious feature of the houses in Padova is that, following the Addams’ idea of the strengthening of neighborhood’s relationships through the sharing of women’s skills and their domestic experience, they have been built without kitchen inside and without a fixed division of the internal spaces.

The village represent a very peculiar interpretation of the concept of neighborhood, capable of a constant shape-shifting - even physical- of the inside part of the houses, in order to adapt to situations and to the prevailing necessities (even house exchange is a contemplated practice), initially following the needs of single mothers, mostly workers with young children, forced to juggle with difficulty balancing every day the rhythms of production and the needs of reproduction, then following the old age of the survived inhabitants. This has led to the establishment of a set of shared practices that have proven to outweigh individual behaviors, individual feelings, schedules, use of both private and common spaces, even social class differences. Through the means and the techniques of the oral history and of the ethnographic research, this paper summarizes the result of a 18 month research exploring the relationships and the links among the people and between the inhabitants and their houses, investigating how they have organized in the past and are organizing now the practices of their “common living”.

RESEARCHING LABOUR AND PEOPLE EXPERIENCING POVERTY – METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

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The aim of this paper is to present process and some outcomes of five qualitative research conducted among the most unprivileged workers in two post-industrial cities in Poland and employees working on the peripheral labour market (Harvey 1991) in Warsaw. These workers are: long term unemployed who take part in low-paid trainings, internships (arranged by local Public Employment Services and Social Assistance Organizations) and who often experience poverty, therefore they are forced to take up odd jobs and jobs on the informal market (23 individual problem-centered interviews and in-depth interviews, 2 focus group interviews carried out in 2013-2014). Next, employees who work in low-paid branches in public sector and private sector (10 individual in-depth interviews conducted in 2014 with cleaners, checkers, bodyguards and 28 individual in-depth interviews carried out with people working in call-center in 2014-2015; 2 participatory observations in call center).

Aforementioned research concern relations (conflict) between labour and capital in contemporary Poland (i.e. how does capital/state institutions control and discipline workforce? What strategies undertake workers to improve their situation on the labour market?). Researched workers seem to be characteristic for present capitalism (mass

unemployment and expansion of service sector). Although they seem to belong to different classes (post-industrial working class, middle class working in service sector), they are in different age and live in different conditions, most of them experience uncertainty and lack of sense of security regarding their position on the labour market. The author of this paper is going to focus on methodological aspects of researching low-wage labour and people experiencing poverty (“vulnerable groups”) in Poland, such as field work (Hughes 1984), characteristic of researched terrain (i.e. post-industrial regions with high unemployment levels and high poverty rates), risk of ethnocentrism (Hughes 1984), inequality (i.e. interviewer from middle-class vs interviewee from working class, “invisibility”/“lack of voice” and stigmatisation of people suffering from poverty), role of interviewer and role of research, ethical aspects (i.e. with reference to covert participatory observation).

SESSION 14

STATES OF IMAGINATION/IMAGINED STATES. PERFORMING THE POLITICAL WITHIN AND BEYOND THE STATE

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NEO-LIBERALISM, UNEMPLOYMENT AND “EXTERNALISED IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUSES”. A CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF “ACTIVE JOB RE-SEARCH” COURSES IN TURIN

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The aim of the paper is to offer an ethnographic description and critical analysis of some aspects of the experience of unemployed people in Turin, focusing on training courses for “active job research”. My hypothesis is that these courses are “externalised ideological apparatuses”, whose main function consists in transmitting neoliberal ideology. In other words, they are disciplinary devices (*dispositives*) aiming at moulding the subjectivities of unemployed people within the lines set by the model imposed by the neoliberal powers.

The paper is based on ethnographic research, begun in 2014 and still in progress, on the situation of unemployed people and on the effects of post-Fordist transformations and the economic recession on the daily lives of the working classes in Turin. In the course of my fieldwork I made many visits to the local “Centro per l’impiego” and other local government institutions where courses and stages for people in search of jobs are organised. The ethnographic core of my communication is dedicated to the description of one of these courses, which comprises a cycle of lessons teaching how to write a CV, how to efficiently search for a job and how to behave during a job interview.

Putting aside the practical usefulness of the lessons, their first aim is patently to model, in a neoliberal fashion, the attitude and practices of unemployed people, trying to transform them into autonomous and active agents within the job market, ready to invest their personal resources in the search for job opportunities.

From an analytical point of view, the courses I participated in are disciplinary devices or, better still, “externalised ideological apparatuses”, which transmit and impose the neoliberal ideology of the active entrepreneurial subject. I chose the term “externalised apparatuses” to stress the fact that, although the State and power elite always based their hegemony on ideological devices working at the margin of the State, neoliberal governmentality operates even more through non-political, independent agencies like the one I observed during my fieldwork.

In particular, the courses, while trying to convert the passive unemployed into an active subject in search of work, are based on a core point of neoliberal economic doctrine regarding unemployment: the idea that lack of work is an individual problem and that the unemployed subject is responsible for his/her situation. Reversing the “sociological imagination”, in fact, neoliberal discourses always try to translate “public issues” into individual problems, de-politicizing them.

Regarding this key-point, it should be stressed that normally most of my unemployed informants reject the individualistic explanation of unemployment, insisting instead on a “structural” explanation which points to the dramatic economic situation and the faults of politicians. Faced with the ideological message delivered by the course, the unemployed find themselves in an awkward predicament: on the one hand they are prone to follow the advice and the rules taught by the course, because they think they could be useful in finding a job; on the other hand, in doing so they run the risk of blaming themselves for being unemployed, because of the individualistic ideology the course implies.

In conclusion, the paper aims to show how neoliberal powers try to achieve hegemony through indirect, marginal and tacit means and devices – like the courses for active job research – whose ideological meaning can only be fully appreciated from a critical ethnographic standpoint.

PUBLIC ORDER AS A CONTESTED OBJECT OF KNOWLEDGE: DISCRETIONARY POWER, OPACITY AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN STATE APPARATUSES IN ITALIAN SECURITY POLICIES

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During recent decades, *street-level bureaucracy*, as a specific field of enquiry, has gained a central position in sociological, political and anthropological studies. Starting from a number of seminal works published in the 1970s and 1980s (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Lipsky, 1980), the idea that policies are not simply implemented but developed and administered by bureaucrats has become more and more relevant, being employed by many scholars in different areas of research. For instance, in recent times, this idea has been used both in border studies (Côté-Boucher, Infantino and Salter, 2014) and in security studies (Amicelle, Aradau and Jeandesboz, 2015). A corollary of this idea is the focus on several related topics: the *tools and devices* used by street-level bureaucrats; the *habitus* or *patrimony of dispositions* of policy translators; and the discretionary powers which are exercisable by such functionaries.

This paper aims at contributing to the recent debate on devices, dispositions and discretions, stressing a relevant issue in contemporary Italy: public order and its “defence” on the part of several different types of public agents and officers. In this regard, the contribution concentrates on two different fields of security policies within which the notion of public order plays a major role: *urban security* and its management through the control on *municipal registration*; and *protest policing* as governed both by its own formal and informal rules.

These two fields are quite important as security has increasingly become an issue in the Italian context. Actions and policies aimed at protecting the population from the “supposed” threat represented by migratory flows have increased, even at the local level. Meanwhile, the growing social conflict due to the even sharper economic crisis has been generally considered by political authorities as a problem of public order. In this regard, management of security has taken place within an *emergency* framework: urgency has been claimed as a pretext for applying administrative means and practices which are strongly predicated on the idea of *exception* rather than on the *rule of law*. In this manner, national and local authorities as well as police forces have triggered mechanisms and given rise to processes which are *barely visible* and understandable if not, in some cases, *secret*.

With reference to this scenario, the proposed paper aims at analysing these mechanisms and processes, in order to cast light on certain critical and structural aspects of the management of security and public order. To this end, attention will be focused, on the one hand, on *public security*, specifically on the ways in which *police forces* maintain public order, and, on the other hand, on *urban security*, in particular on the strategies by which certain Municipalities illegally try to autonomously manage enrolment procedures at the registry office, purporting to guarantee public order and trying, actually, to *select* people who “deserve” to live within their territories.

The two spheres of security described above are without doubt quite different from each other: policing protest is a specific task of the police force and is only lightly regulated, whereas the procedures for enrolment at the registry office are entrusted to local governments, which are ruled by clear and precise laws which involve the police only indirectly. Yet, despite their differences, both these two spheres share a similar trait: security is often used by them as a pretext for exercising in an exclusionary way a *discretionary* and *opaque* power, for the purposes of the preservation of public order. Therefore, the joint analysis of local control of registration and policing protest allows us to understand how public order is a contested notion. In fact, its meaning strongly depends on the ways public officers and agents interpret it according to their professional knowledge. This knowledge and its effects in terms of social construction of reality are not a mere *technical* issue but also quite a *political* matter: the activities aimed at defending public order always draw a line between “us” and “them” by splitting the population, symbolically and often materially, into “legitimate” and “illegitimate” parts. Moreover, the professional knowledge involved in the two fields of public order management shows the presence of some interesting conflicts between state apparatuses. In the case of local control of registration, the conflict—which can take the form of a clash of ideas and visions of security and order, or, that of a competition between modes of exercising power—counterposes central and local authorities. The selection carried out by the latter is incompatible with the monitoring activities that the former is expected to exercise.

Indeed, the selective enrolment of individuals at the registry office eclipses the visibility of people who are regularly present in Italy. However, this conflict has rarely come to the surface and has consistently been framed as a technical rather than a political issue.

In the case of policing protest, the conflict between state apparatuses is mainly due to the chain of command. From a theoretical and legal perspective, the structure of powers is quite clear. Horizontally, political and technical responsibilities are allocated to two divisions—*Prefettura* and *Questura*—of the Ministry of the Interior, whereas the different police forces (*Polizia di Stato*, *Carabinieri*, *Guardia di Finanza*, *Polizia Penitenziaria* and *Corpo Forestale dello Stato*) are entrusted with specific assignments. Vertically, officers at different levels of the hierarchy are conferred with separate tasks and varying levels of autonomy.

But from a more practical perspective, things are less clear and, indeed, quite ambiguous. Firstly, the distinction between political and technical responsibilities is not sharply delineated. In the context of protest policing, for example, the apparently “technical” choice in favour of hard rather than soft strategies can provoke relevant consequences in terms of conflict, causing *de facto* “political” effects, such as the division of the population of activists into “good” and “bad” and the tendency to differentially treat such activists. Moreover, the task of achieving coordination among the different police forces cannot be easily taken for granted and is, indeed, quite problematic in practical contexts. Finally, contrary to formal dispositions, discretion is not a prerogative of high-degree officers but is exercisable also by low-level agents. Given this scenario, the proposed paper, using *discourse analysis*, *document analysis* and *administrative* (mostly qualitative) *data*, explores in-depth *government practices*, stressing their discretionary elements and their opacity. In this way, the paper aims at unveiling the multiple faces of state administration and at showing the ways political power is constantly exercised and reproduced.

REPRODUCING HOMELANDS FROM AFAR: THE NEW GENERATIONS OF THE ERITREAN AND ETHIOPIAN DIASPORA AND THE INCORPORATION OF THE NATION STATE CULTURAL NORMS

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Undoubtedly, the forced migrations across the Mediterranean Sea of the last twenty years represent a significant phenomenon in the reconfiguration of the European social landscape. Nevertheless, this structural process have only recently entered the European public discourse: the shipwreck of Lampedusa of the 3rd of October 2013, and the consequent opening of the sea rescue operation “Mare Nostrum”, represented a turning point (Pinelli, Ciabbarri, 2015) in the public representations of the Mediterranean route. Until that moment, in Europe the flow of asylum seekers across the Mediterranean lied mostly in the realm of national and transnational control policies, keeping the phenomenon out of the larger society. Hidden in the European public discourse, the Mediterranean route, in the meantime, structurally worked on the cultural, economic and symbolic configurations of the receiving contexts (Chambers, 2012), inaugurating or reinforcing, social practices out of the domain of the receiving nation states. Hence, the recent spread of the “refugee issue” in the EU public discourse, represented itself an “issue” for the first wave of immigrants belonging to the same nationality of the people involved in the flow. Briefly, the Mediterranean route is strongly affecting the social life of the diasporic contexts around Europe.

In this paper I will focus on the effects following the last two years flow of Eritrean and Ethiopian asylum seekers in the neighborhood of Milano Porta Venezia, one of the most relevant hub of the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora in Europe. In particular, I will take in consideration the involvement in the neighborhood of the sons of the first generation of the diaspora, i.e. the new generation born or raised in Italy. Basing the analytic perspective on the last two years fieldwork in Porta Venezia, I want to underline the diachronic process by which the new generations shifted from an Italian to an Ethiopian or Eritrean way to perceive themselves in diaspora.

The neighborhood of Milano Porta Venezia, since the 70's, is the reference space of the first generation of immigrants from the Tigray region of Ethiopia and the Highlands of Eritrea. Since the early 2000's, Porta Venezia as well became a reference point for the asylum seekers escaping from Ethiopia and Eritrea, the so-called Generation Asylum (Hepner, 2015). Nowadays, the neighborhood is one of the most important hub for the Ethiopian and Eritrean asylum seekers crossing the EU internal frontiers.

Until some years ago, the involvement of the new generations of Italians of Ethiopian and Eritreans origins in Porta Venezia, have always been sporadic. Experimenting the mutual exclusive condition of being at the same time black and Italians (Andall, 2002), the new generations (especially those living in difficult economic conditions) developed a hybrid model, that blurred the lines between Ethiopians and Eritreans. Briefly, the new generations (with the exception of the organized political youth groups), positioned themselves out of the domain of the Eritrean or Ethiopian hegemonic discourses in their daily life.

The shipwreck of 3 October 2013 (the most of the victims were of Eritrean nationality) represented a turning point in the reproduction of the new generations diasporic belonging. Few days after the shipwreck, a spontaneous group of young Italians of Ethiopians and Eritreans origins organized a commemorative parade in the neighborhood. In 2014, the new generations were among the promoters of an informal aid chain to sustain the Eritrean and Ethiopian asylum seekers crossing Porta Venezia to reach the North of the Europe.

During this period, they experimented a huge clash between their imagined representations of homeland and the Ethiopian and Eritrean nation state discourses: the first generation of diaspora openly contested the practices of the new generations, classifying them as “Italians” and very distant from the Ethiopian and Eritrean world. Nevertheless, following the initial clash between the old and new generations, things started to change. By entering the everyday life of the neighborhood as “Italians”, the new generations started to consider the political, economic and symbolic circuits nourishing Porta Venezia as a field of opportunity, and started to struggle to enter the social life of the neighborhood as “Ethiopians” or “Eritreans”. One of the effects of this process was the rejection of their previous ways to deal with the flow of asylum seekers in the neighborhood. In 2015, the larger part of the new generations did not take part in the informal aid chain, classifying that practice as useless.

As a matter of fact, they incorporated the social and the moral norms nourishing the neighborhood (e.g. the complex relationship between Tigray Ethiopians and highlanders Eritreans) shifting from an imagined diasporic belonging to the social norms of the diasporic nation state. As a result, even the ways to affirm, to contest or to resist the nation state policies changed: from the explicit claims of 2013, they now avoid to openly talk about politics. Following the cultural codes of the neighborhood, they use silences or metaphors to talk about crucial issues as the state policies, the relationship between ethnic identities or the flow of refugees. In order to better understand this process, I personally think that there is a very explicative example: I had the opportunity to witness a discussion between two young Italians (respectively of Ethiopian and Eritrean origins) about the Eritrean politics. They were in an Eritrean barber shop crowded with asylum seekers waiting to cut their hairs before leaving the neighborhood to reach the North of Europe. In their discussion I powerfully saw in action the cultural norms nourishing the neighborhood. By talking of the relation between the barber and its clients to metaphorically argue about the relationship among the Eritrean government and its people, they were able to debate about political issues according to the cultural norms of the neighborhood. This ethnographic passage shows the process of inculturation of the new generations: a process through which reproducing the diasporic context and at the same time the Ethiopian and Eritrean national affiliation.

NEGOTIATING ORDER. THE POLITICS OF EVERYDAY RULE IN BERLIN'S ALLOTMENT GARDENS

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“Performing Order–Negotiating Rules” discusses cases of informal dwelling in which the everyday use of urban space is negotiated between bureaucracies and local residents who dwell in allotment gardens on the periphery of Berlin. Although a federal law prohibits the inhabiting of these sites, gardeners take up residence within allotment compounds, particularly over the summer.



FIG. 1. Areal view of allotment compound in Berlin; Source: picture-alliance / dpa.

My analysis of the ways in which order is produced in these sites builds on a “relational” theorisation of states, in which states are seen “from within” as a field of institutional relations and mundane everyday practices in which politics plays out (Tilly 1985, 1990; Cooper 1998; Latham 2000; Ferguson and Gupta 2002). Beyond the value of this approach for an understanding of *statal* engagement, a perspective on the everyday enactment of rules also points to the ways in which *non-state actors* negotiate the interventions of the bureaucracy. In joining these perspectives, this paper analyses the everyday negotiations of actors in and beyond the state through which order is transgressed and possibly becomes redefined. Moreover this paper discusses a set of methodological questions about the ways in which these negotiations can be adequately understood. In particular, it traces two entangled processes:

First, this paper explores the ways in which networks of actors – including gardeners and bureaucrats – use spaces of engagement to enact and transgress regulations and resist public policy. An analysis of these everyday practices not only highlights the limitations of locally enforcing national rules as well as the resulting compromises through which governance takes place, but also the ways in which allotment dwellers and bureaucrats use their room for manoeuvre to enable and constrain the implementation of rules. As I show, all actors involved in governing have little choice but to negotiate a joint, although possibly contested, arrangement around the modalities and outcomes of regulatory enforcement. Accordingly, this paper illustrates that state rule is not merely established through the urban bureaucracy, but that bureaucracies and dwellers join hands in manoeuvring across the contested terrain of enacting regulations and performing urban order.

If the first part of this paper widens an understanding of the actors involved in governance and the modalities of regulatory practices, its second part examines the ways in which people differentiate what is accepted and what crosses the line. How do actors delineate spaces of negotiation and define the limits of transgressions? This question shifts the focus from the making of consent, to moments of controversy and disruption: The manoeuvres I outline add necessary amendments to make regulation work in a smoother way, but the ways in which boundaries are drawn can also advantage individuals. How room for negotiation can be used and how it is delimited not only depends crucially on the gardeners’ capacities as well as their positioning in constellations of governance, but it also hinges on the conditions in which negotiations are set, such as the economic pressure on land or the norms and the rationalities of all governing actors.

In sum, these processes demonstrate the importance of negotiability as an arena in which politics play out and conditions urban order. Quite distinct from a focus on the instrumentalism of top-down rule or the infringements of agency through the power of global corporate actors, an approach to making order through negotiations highlights the ways in which people transform the city beyond the invited channels of formal participation. These spaces of agency disrupt, in Clarke’s words, the “very functional account of the machinery of government as an apparatus that processes ideas, intentions, interests or ideologies and delivers the desired results” (2012: 209), but they also pose methodological challenges. Therefore the conclusion of this paper reflects on the difficulties of tracing spaces of negotiation. Thereby I present my own trial and error attempts in tracing negotiability through institutional ethnography (Smith 2005; Billo and Mountz 2015). My theoretical and methodological conclusions draw on a study conducted between 2012 and 2015 in which I explored the negotiation of order through interviews with bureaucrats and allotment-dwellers. Ethnographic explorations of the research-sites as well as textual sources, including statutory texts; the documentation of legal cases; and newspaper reports, complement this material and, in combination with the interview data, allowed me to analyse the enactment and transgression of regulation.

LIVING WITH/ON THE BORDER: BORDER AS A DISTINCTION, METAPHOR AND DISCOURSE

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The borders of nation-states are an embodiment of the junction between the system and the life-world (*lebenswelt*). They manifest the translation of the social into physical spaces and vice versa. The paper reflects the meaning of distinctions and oppositions (us and them, here and there, safety and danger, included and excluded) in the construction, maintenance and disappearance of boundaries in space.

When it comes to the borders of nation-states distinctions are identified within and grounded solely in the political sphere, the same sphere that needs borders and distinctions in order to constitute itself. A qualitative study about the experience and meaning of the Italian-Yugoslav-Slovenian border in the eyes of three generations living in the Slovenian border area lies at the core of the paper. Based on biographical narratives, the study covers three historical periods: the constitution of the border between Italy and Yugoslavia in 1953/1954, followed by several decades leading up to Slovenian independence in 1991 and finally the period of “border disappearance” after 2004, when Slovenia joined the European Union. The paper ends with a reflection of the current situation in Slovenia, when Slovenian government decided to raise a barbed wire on the Schengen border with Croatia (and there are rumours about Italy preparing to reintroduce border checks along its border with Slovenia) as a consequence of the increased migrant flows to the European Union.

The author argues that the field of “absolute politics” dominated over the everyday experiences of the people living in the border area and, when some turning points occurred, demanded radical decisions and identity transformations.

RE-SHAPING THE STATE: GHANAIAN MIGRANTS AS DEVELOPMENT BROKER PERFORM THE POLITICAL

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The migration-development nexus has gained remarkable currency in southern European countries in recent years, with transmigrants’ economic and political engagement emerging as a new policy field (Østergaard-Nielsen 2011). Co-development, sometimes defined as translocal development (Grillo & Riccio 2004), is a concrete expression of migrants’ political engagement. Ostensibly, it is based on a strong political commitment to social justice and a redefinition of “national community” as a form of collectivity that transcends existing national borders. International organisations, migrants’ associations and economic actors as well as state institutions participate in the arena of migration and development, reshaping the relationship between the citizen and the state. How then do migrants, involved in co-development, imagine and perform their relationship to the state? How do they navigate through and represent national and local state institutions across the countries of origin, transit and destination?

Through the ethnographic lens of two co-development projects run by Ghanaian migrants living between Italy and Ghana, this paper explores migrants’ political subjectivity by examining practices and discourses on migration as a resource for development. In Ghana, which is considered one of the African states more proactive in designing policies to channel migration for development, diaspora groups have been defined as the transnational nation. In Italy, where migrants are incorporated as subaltern subjects, migration and development policies have been interpreted as an inclusive tool for promoting socio-economic integration in the country of immigration.

In this scenario, where neoliberal policies celebrate migrants’ potential as development brokers (Bierschenk, Chauveau & Olivier de Sardan 2000; Lewis & Mosse 2006; Marabello 2012) the paper, based on 18 months of anthropological fieldwork carried out in Italy and Ghana, will analyse how Ghanaian migrants in the role of development brokers perform the political at local, national and transnational levels.

EUROPEAN UNION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION: ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF A TRANS-SCALAR APPARATUS

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This talk is based on the results of my doctoral thesis, finished in 2014. The latter is a study that deals with immigrant integration “soft” policies developed within the trans-scalar context of the “EU framework for the Integration of Third Country Nationals”. The research is based on (i) 37 semi-directed interviews, given mainly in Brussels (but also in other locations) by the most important actors of this political field (European Commission, European Economic and Social Committee, Committee of the Regions, think tanks, foundations, national representatives, regional and local administration networks, civil society organizations at European and state-level, etc.), as well as on (ii) direct observation of various events and spaces and (iii) the reading of numerous sources related to the aforementioned issues. Particularly, it rests on theoretical contributions made by the “anthropology of policy” and the “governmentality studies”, borrowing from the latter certain useful notions like those of “government”, “governmentality”, “political rationality” and “technologies of government”. This critical/deconstructive approach analyzes several issues related to the EU political framework for the integration of non-EU immigrants, especially, those dealing with the construction process of this political field, its main actors, the participative process within the frame of the so called *multilevel*

governance through which decision and policies are made, the main tools set for implementation of the latter, the social/cultural assumptions lying beneath the practices and problematisations driven by the aforementioned policies, and the specific forms of knowledge promoted.

It is important to note that the European Union has no direct competence over integration policies (according to article 79.4 of the Lisbon Treaty), being the latter a primary responsibility of national government. In spite of that, during the last 15 years (at least starting from the conclusions of the Tampere European Council in 1999), a EU common framework on integration has been progressively established. The process has been based on a “voluntary” alignment of policies, which happened mainly through the exchange of information and best practices among the various actors implied. In addition to that, not only institutional but also “non-governmental” actors (such as important migration NGOs) have played a mayor role within this process. In conclusion, different scales and levels have been implied in the construction of a “non-mandatory” political framework which, in spite of its voluntary character, has been able to foster and spread across the European Union an increasingly common understanding of integration, a “way of knowing” and constructing integration in a particular way. In order to develop this research, it has been useful to conceive the “field” not as simple “place”, but rather as a set of (relational) locations connected by similar meanings and problematisations. That’s why it has been useful to use the concept of “apparatus” (Foucault, 1985: 128) in order to describe and limit my field. According to Feldman, the interpretative scheme offered by this notion is crucial in order to understand “amorphous and de-centralised policy regimes that work regulating big populations” by transforming them into quantifiable and governable objects (Feldman, 2011: 32). Also Shore and Wright propose to study this “assemblages of agents, institutions, technologies and discourses” (2011:11) that function as mechanisms of alignment between governmental aims and the conduct of implied actors. In a similar way, the different soft policy tools established by the “EU Framework on Integration” -discourses, knowledges, participative practices, modules, ways of benchmarking and indicators, systems of funding, etc.- may be considered as part of an apparatus. In fact, notwithstanding their diversity, they are all traversed by a common problematization of integration -although undoubtedly contradictory and sometimes questioned- and by a governmental will to align the agency of the social-political actors present in this field. In this piece of research the concept of integration has been used as a tool, which sheds light on the existence of broader processes in the background of this policy area that refer to the social dynamics originated in the last decades in particular, such processes are associated with changes in the mode of production (Post-Fordism) and with the increasing dismantling of the welfare state under hegemonic neoliberalism. As these processes have generated brand new vocabulary, practices, and regimes of truth, the category of integration has been addressed as a social construction. It is not analyzed as a pre-existing object, but rather in terms of its historical and social conditions of production. In this sense, the importance of the “governmentality studies” theoretical framework has been really relevant for this study, since certain notions like that of government, governmentality (Foucault, 1991); political rationalities; technologies of government (Rose, 1999; Dean, 2010); technologies of visibility, technologies of agency (Walters and Haahr, 2005), have been particularly useful in order to understand the mechanisms through which this political field works. Definitely, in this talk I would like to deal with some methodological aspects, as well as certain contents and conclusions to which I have arrived, that may be useful not only in relation to their specific context, but also in more general terms, in order to debate important aspects of *reflexive government* (Dean, 2010) in contemporary neoliberalism, such as the relationship between the representation of the “active (migrant) citizen” implied in his/her own integration and the existence of processes of inclusion/exclusion and construction of otherness (that are particularly visible in the case of non-EU migrants); the supposed need to manage the presence of certain populations from an increasingly “rationalistic-technocratic” (and seemingly depoliticized) perspective, the subordination of civil society participation in policy-making to the requirements of legitimacy and effectiveness of the policies – definitely conceiving participation as a limited and “channelled” process –...

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AUTOCHTHONY, CLIENTELISM, CONSENSUS. DISTRICT COUNCILLORS OF THE MPA IN EASTERN SICILY

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This paper aims to investigate the political work carried out by candidates and elected representatives of the Movimento per le autonomie (Mpa) in the city of Catania, as well as the processes of formation of their political identities. The Mpa was an alleged autonomist party that strongly influenced the Sicilian political scene. It was founded in 2005 and disbanded in 2012 due to the conviction of its founder and leader, Raffaele Lombardo, who was accused of collusion with the Mafia.

Although the object of this research belongs to the past, the political practices here investigated had a much longer life than that of the party that promoted them: they preceded it and they undoubtedly survived the collapse of the party. Lombardo and other executives of the Mpa came all from the Christian democratic party (Democrazia cristiana) and were particularly experienced in exploiting the electoral resources procured by councillors who knew very well their districts, taking advantage of them for a brief political *season*.

I will focus in detail on the resources used by the district and city councillors of the Mpa to obtain electoral consensus. The presence of political parties in the territory is in fact guaranteed by the widespread distribution, in the districts of Catania, of social and tax assistance centers (CAF or *patronati*) managed by local councillors. Although these institutions play a political role even in other areas of Italy, in Catania the conversion of social activities to political tools (cf. Lagroye 2003) represents an essential element for the management of electoral support.

The huge amount of studies on politics in Southern Italy that has accumulated over the decades has led to crystallize some categories of analysis and interpretation of the political practices in those areas, assuming clientelism and patronage as regulatory mechanisms within the local political systems, enough to affect the opinion that the inhabitants of those territories have gradually gained about their own way of *doing politics* (i.a. Lenclud 2001).

The widespread tendency to interpret every aspect of the Sicilian political sphere on the basis of what we might call the *clientelistic narrative* of politics is the result of an intellectual – and analytical – attitude which is based exclusively on the visible aspects of power mechanisms that characterize this area. However, in our case, the *classical* approaches to patronage explain only in part the widespread electoral success of the Mpa and the structuring of the solid political power held by its leaders. Firstly, patronage is not a cultural category in itself, since the dynamics of patronage always lie on behaviors and practices that are culturally built and defined in the local contexts and occupying a prominent place in the local political sphere. Moreover, these categories always refer to processes of construction of individual and collective political identities.

The main objectives of the research presented here are: 1) to retrace the narratives that the local politicians have gradually matured with reference to their political universe; 2) the way such narratives become operative and are related with practices. In doing so – along with the observation of political behaviors and power relations – I tried to retrace the “popular semiotics” (cf. Blundo & Olivier de Sardan 2006, 119-140) that inform the practices of political exchange. In Catania, clientelism is not only a daily practice, but it is also an element consistently stated by the actors who use it, both in the public debate as in the private sphere. Since statements and words related to clientelism draw somehow the symbolic landscape of clientelism itself, narratives that have emerged from interviews with those involved, at different levels, in the political activities of the party are therefore an important source.

In the districts of Catania we are witnessing the staging of local politics by people who connect their own political action with the public narrative of clientelism that characterizes politics in Sicily. Their actions are determined as much by the urgency to be elected as the need to act within a reassuring horizon of identity. Social and political resources put in place by city and district councillors of the Mpa to obtain electoral support are therefore locally and culturally connoted. Their action is here interpreted by following the concept of “capital of autochthony” (Retière 2003; Renahy 2010), in order to investigate the invention of collective identities, as well as the various “modes of territorialization of political action, and hence of appropriation of the resources of domination” (Bertrand 2008, 173).

The report is based on two ethnographic fieldworks conducted in the municipality and in three district councils of Catania between 2009 and 2013. The observation of political practices put in place by local politicians is accompanied by interviews with local representatives and party leaders, as well as to voters and other witnesses of local politics.

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SESSION 15

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF WASTE POLITICS

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WASTELANDS. AN OCEANOGRAPHY OF TRASH

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Oceans contain more and more high concentrations of pelagic plastics and debris. With over 270 000 tons of plastics in the oceans a message in the bottle will be hard to find. Plastic is everywhere, and it is here to stay. In the North Pacific Central gyre there are six times more microplastic particles per gallon water than zooplankton. Oceans are more and more turning into Wastelands. It seems there is something worse than a skeleton in the closet: A skeleton in the closet, that doesn't decompose. Marine plastic pollution is growing, the debris is forming gigantic assemblages; nightmares of consumption. Here it is: the "away" of throwing something "away". To counsel these assemblages and hear their "excruciating complexity and intractability" and to see them as "an open-ended collective" is the aim of this ethnographical research.

The increasing plastic pollution of oceans and water systems relates people and things on a global, biochemical, ecological, political and social level. The project examines the oceans as a specific thingroom, the possibilities and ideologies of purification and raises questions about social and ecological justice. How do materialities and knowledge circulate through various scales – from global environmental policy to human-environment interfaces on a molecular level?

Plastic is understood as epistemic object that challenges the entities "nature" and "culture". Microorganisms live on the smallest parts. Invasive species travel on it. Colonization by algae creates artificial habitats, known as "Plastispheres". The plastic parts follow the endless swirl of ocean currents, are becoming finer and put their additives and chemicals in the vice-giving water free. The plastification of the world is not only concerning aquatic systems, oceans, islands and beaches. Microplastic is also an Embodied Matter. Some additives plastics releases into the water (such as flame retardants or plasticizers like Bisphenol A) interfere with the human hormone system, causing endocrine disruption. Many food standards agencies worldwide distributed warnings to eat oily seafood more than once a week. Plastic particles become an "edible matter", that strongly demonstrates the – in this case: destructive – "power of food" with negative effects on health, gender, sexuality, mood and cognitive dispositions. Eating is becoming, as Jane Bennett names it, a tactic that highlights in a special way "the common materiality of all that is". Humans included.

From an ethnological perspective oceans have long been an influential place when it comes to think about the relationships between humans and things. On a global commons like "the" ocean social relationships, power relations, responsibilities, territorial appropriation practices and types of exchange systems become visible. (Involving here: Microorganisms, rivers, entrepreneurs, coast dwellers, toothpaste, politicians, environmental activists, plastic bags, scientists, fish, washing machine producers, sushi bars, architects, careers, biologists, container ships, captains, fisher men, outdoor clothing, hormones, laws, oil and many many more.) In this case the question will be: Is the plastic pollution of the oceans one more example of the tragic of the commons? Where "we draw back into the vitality of the present, into our aims and interests of the moment; we retreat, in short, into the selfishness that stands on the quiet shore and thence enjoys in safety the distant spectacle of wreckage and confusion"? The problem is however: we cannot draw back, we are not distant from the spectacle. We are part of this biochemical-social system and political ecology, forced to deal with the "agentic assemblages" that we are also part of, that we created through poisoned "gifts", waste, abandoned objects. But our "gifts" are coming back. We can no longer take responsibility only for the twelve seamiles wide coastal strips that are marked as national territory. Or to frame it in Michel Serres' words: "What do we want at all, when we pollute the world?"

One of the key research aims is to track migrating knowledge and material through different scales and fields (bodies, localities/oceans, laboratories, political field...) Plastic itself will be considered a site, telling a scalar narrative. The research is designed as a multi-sited ethnography. Fieldwork will be presumably conducted in the following fields: A Laboratory, that is researching plastic and human-environment-interfaces on a molecular level/ (the formation of) an interdisciplinary research cluster on "Determination, behavior and minimizing of Microplastic in the aquatic environment" at the TU Munich/ fieldwork with marine biologists and environmental activists like e.g. the Civic Laboratory for Environmental Action Research (CLEAR) in Newfoundland or the Zero Waste Research Center in Capannori, Italy/ and with political protagonists like e.g. the German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU) looking at oceans as common marine heritage of a global society working towards a "social contract for the seas".

The first fieldsite (and therefore the fieldsite to report from at the conference) is the interdisciplinary research cluster on Microplastic at the TU Munich, involving limnologists, chemists, food packaging technologists, sanitary environmental engineers, et al. (and industrial partners like BASF or beer brewers) dealing with primarily two aspects: developing analytical methods for identification and quantification of microplastic and researching behavior and effects in the aquatic environment. The problem is obviously enormous (numbers of millions of tons of plastic "disappearing" per year), but the amount of Not-Knowing, researchers are confronted with, is enormous too: How big is the problem? Where? For whom are there what problems exactly? The talk will go into this process of interdisciplinary problem-making and scaling involved in the Politics of Plastic.

EXTRACTION, VALUE AND WASTE: THE URBAN AND ORGANISATIONAL MINING OF E-WASTE

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In an attempt to address the panel theme in this paper we investigate how waste and value are assembled, extracted and circulated in an e-waste management organisation. Our focus is on how e-waste can be theorised at the juncture of constitutively interdependent regimes for the disposal of waste and extraction of value. Drawing upon our empirical research into local and global waste management practices our suggestion is that disposal and extractivism are increasingly prevalent and can be productively analysed as interdependent, but that at present remain under-researched in the UK and elsewhere.

We argue that understanding disposal and extractivism practices provides further insights into debates on consumption since disposal and extractivism practices allow waste to circulate for longer duration of time. We suggest that the e-waste sector in the UK—and the particular organisation that is the focus of our research—can be understood as a form of contemporary extractivism. This paper draws upon research at an e-Waste company in the North of England in the UK (termed e-WasteOrg, a pseudonym). e-WasteOrg is a commercial company, one of the largest e-Waste companies – or rather, an asset recovery company – in the UK. Drawing upon ethnographic data, the field study took place during May 2012 to June 2013 where the trajectory of a mobile telephone was followed through the organisation (see Czarniawska, 2004). Employing Luhmann's system theoretical approach we gain an understanding of how waste, value and risk are observed. In order to become an extractive actor in organisational contexts and across urban landscapes, e-WasteOrg oscillates across different functional systems—from the economic, to the ecological, the pedagogical and the political. We argue that e-WasteOrg operates polyphonically across functional systems in order to secure and routinize the ongoing disposal of e-waste from companies and individuals to them so that this waste can be processed, repackaged and circulated throughout local, national and global markets that are in search of working devices, commodities and raw materials.

WASTE AND METAMORPHOSIS: REMNANTS OF CREATIVE RENEWAL

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In Sydney and elsewhere, new modes of valuing discarded objects, second-hand goods, and underused city spaces have appeared. These modes emphasise the potential for waste to become something positive and to be reintegrated into the social order. This kind of transformation is often about minor reworkings of everyday practices around discarded objects. This is seen in promotional literature about adding value to objects in the process of “upcycling” and turning waste into artworks. This is also seen in local government initiatives to encourage citizens to recycle, reuse, and transform their unwanted goods.

The idea that waste can undergo creative renewal challenges the notion that it is an end-product and that it is fixed in its status as waste. It emphasises a circular rather than the linear approaches to objects in time. Significantly, it also signals a broader politics that comes out the nexus of creativity, waste, and culture.

While the discourse of the “creative renewal” of waste emphasises the capacity for trash to be transformed, in this paper I look at the remnants of this transformation. I explore the ways in which waste lingers alongside attempts to reintegrate it. What kind of objects cannot be transformed? If waste becomes creative, what happens to our affective responses to it? Does waste lose its negative connotations altogether? Disgust, shame, and abjection have often been central in creating the categories of waste. Figuratively, waste is often tied up in social and cultural understandings of hygiene, purity, and the boundaries, physical and otherwise, that separate ideal object relations from deviant ones. What about those whose identities are often closely aligned with waste, excess, and deviancy? Are they, too, transformed? This paper draws from original ethnographic research to examine the reconfigured boundaries of waste when it is discursively and materially positioned as “creative”.

UNFOLDING THE POST-POLITICAL WASTE-RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN: A BIOPOLITICAL APPROACH

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In this case based paper I address how a municipal “pay-as-you-throw” waste collection program functions as a post-political planning technology that “nudge” the citizen to mobilise different “technologies of the self” (Foucault, 2003) to become a more responsible political-ecological subject (Oosterlynck & Swyngedouw, 2010). In this programme different artefacts, like the invoice bill, are invoked to redefine the relational space between people and their material waste, between abstracts conceptualisations like “economy” and “environment” and between the residents and city policy ambitions (Corvellec *et al*, submitted). The outcome of these spatial operations (the definition of relational distances and spaces) is the creation of material-and-moral incitements to become a waste-responsible citizen. Thus, the programme works as an appeal to and call for changed subject positions, as the citizens becomes engaged, enrolled and entangled in a web of a soft mundane governance (Courpasson, 2006; Woolgar & Neyland, 2013).

This reasoning addresses the overlooked politics of citizen-subject formation in contemporary planning (Inch, 2015), invoking and applying a bio-political vocabulary and reasoning. This theoretical approach offers a horizon to imagine and conceptualize post-political planning as a government-population – political economy relationship, and offers at the same time an analytical way to unfold the conflict/consensus binary link that runs in planning theory. Still applying a critical view on waste policy and planning as an attempt to a social adaptation and resilience to a consumption-based sustained unsustainable consumption-based societal order (Bluthorn, 2013), I discuss how the analytical figure of the waste-responsible citizen disrupt and overarch the habitual view on the citizen as either a consensual-seeking or an agonistic agent and reason how ethnographic methods, primarily shadowing, can be applied to enrich an understanding of the biopolitics of the post-political citizen-subject.

EVALUATING ELECTRONIC WASTE ON A DAILY BASIS. ETHNOGRAPHIC INSIGHTS FROM A LARGESCALE WASTE RECYCLER AND PROCESSOR

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Electronic gadgets and information technologies are crucial for the world's political economy. And the industries involved keep on growing. Lots of the items used are becoming obsolete quickly—resulting in an impressive amount of electronic waste (or e-waste). Even though being a heterogeneous type of waste this generally consists of precious resources which the economy is longing for. Not surprisingly, thus, e-waste has become one of the biggest waste streams (Lepawsky 2014). E-waste recycling, nonetheless, is tricky. Especially in the global south an improper handling of imported waste has had a disastrous impact (BAN/SVTC 2002).

Because of both, a growing relevance of urban mining and dangers of amateurish recycling, e-waste is an important political issue on both local and international levels. Social scientists and anthropologists, however, found the particular recyclingdiscourse backing numerous reforms to be problematic. There is a strong and often unquestioned believe in the powers of high-tech, “clean”, that is, seemingly remainder- free recycling. This suppresses alternative framings such as repair or refurbishment (Gabrys 2011; Laser 2015). My paper, which presents preliminary findings of my PhD research, ties up with this diagnosis while providing further crucial insights.

The existing research on e-waste economies and cultures, to be precise, lacks an engagement with the actual practices of professional high-tech recycling. Interestingly, previous studies dealt extensively with informal recycling in the global south (cf. Lepawsky/Millah 2001). But *certified* shredding, separating, smelting, and reselling— done mostly in the global north—was merely addressed with, if at all, by utilizing expert interviews or brief and superficial “recycling centre tours”. To close this gap, I conducted a participatory, Actor-Network-Theory(ANT)-inspired (Latour 2007), two-month long study in a major recycling and processing firm.

The most striking and somewhat surprising result to emerge from the study is that a significant part of the e-waste processing is dealing with an evaluation of the waste. Hence—to use a term suggested by Bruno Latour in his revised ANT2 methodology (2013)—it makes sense to study *value meters* that render the measurement of e-waste feasible.

For a start, I will introduce broader organisational structures that help valuating— most importantly an intra-firm level division of labour between two e-waste “preparation” facilities (with specific machines, contracts, etc.). In both facilities, intensive documentation is backing tasks up. Plus, a worker's body is trained to sense whether something is going as planned, new, or problematic. He—handicraft activities were always done by men—feels a material's composition, sees the colours of the materials, hears the machines operating, and smells the metals involved. Here, I want to focus on events where actors had to improvise, and re-evaluate. Such resets are not surprising but business as usual, as in: calling for an update of the embodied and inscribed knowledge. Being an “intern”, working alongside the ordinary employees and receiving a training from them (while being transparent about my background), I had a unique, fairly undistorted access to observe such behaviour.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP EXPERIENCES IN MUNICIPAL SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT IN SUB SAHARAN AFRICA'S MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES: “GARBAGE HUNT” IN BAFOUSSAM, CAMEROON

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While the issue of municipal solid waste management has gained increased attention by the corporate private sector working alongside the public sector to rid developing countries' cities of their garbage, so far the focus has largely remained on large metropolitan areas - as opposed to small and medium-sized cities where the majority of Africa's urban population live. Furthermore, beyond a significant attention to poor waste management effects in the growing field of urban political ecology, not much evidence has been given to the solid waste collection politics by corporate private companies till now. The aim of this paper is to fill this gap and analyse the experiences of solid waste collection in medium-sized cities of sub-Saharan Africa, as evidenced in the case of Bafoussam in Cameroon. Based on participant observation in the daily collection of municipal solid waste, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and household surveys, this study goes beyond an assessment of technological appropriateness to identify the social and political factors that facilitate and constrain the success and replicability of public-private initiatives in the solid waste sector. This study explores the collection and governance of what can be seen at the same time as a source of

urban environmental pollution and also as a resource for collectors in Bafoussam. This article reveals that solid waste management is practiced within complex relationships of power between public and private actors at different levels, and whose collection incentive measures lead to decreased performance in the sector.

GARBAGE GOVERNMENTAL SUBJECTIVITIES AND ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE

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The problem of environmental injustice refers to the reality that low income and people of color populations disproportionately suffer the detrimental health and quality of life impacts of environmental pollution, while comparatively whiter and wealthier communities enjoy clean and safe environments. Studies of environmental injustice seek to understand how these conditions came to be and often involve an analysis of the conflicts that ensue when environmentally burdensome facilities such as landfills and incinerators are being located. In the typical analysis, environmental injustice conditions emerge fundamentally from class or ethnic conflict, from the differential ability of whiter or wealthier persons and populations to reject unwanted facilities or to move to cleaner environments, and from various land use decisions made through the formal decision-making process, among other factors. In these conflicts and power struggles, State institutions mediate between the different actors and therefore play a central role in brokering the outcome. While acknowledging these factors as part of the processes through which environmental injustice conditions are produced, this paper argues that environmental injustice conditions also emerge from, and are perpetuated by, mundane and day to day practices and subjectivities. These subjectivities have to do with how we govern about burdensome materials and come to underlie and support the power structures and infrastructures we typically point to as culprits of environmental injustice.

This paper develops this argument by examining the evolution of the State of New Jersey's intervention into the problem of increased garbage accumulations over time, and the Ironbound neighborhood of Newark's opposition to the location of a garbage incinerator in their neighborhood under the State's implementation of a garbage flow control policy. The history of State intervention into the garbage problem over time reveals the continued attempts of governmental authorities to instill specific rationalities and day to day practices concerning garbage among the population, from containerizing the garbage, to moving it to the street curb for pickup, banning scavengers and farmers from collecting it, and favoring high-tech disposal facilities under the evolving rationalities of nuisance, sanitation, and environment. But governmental intervention efforts never questioned the production of increasing piles of garbage in the first place, which in the 1970s was framed by the State as a crisis of increasing garbage volumes and decreasing landfill space. This framing led the State to favor the placement of high-tech incinerator facilities in local communities which, ironically, came to rely on greater volumes of garbage in order to operate at optimal and profitable capacity. In this context, environmental injustice conditions in the Ironbound can be understood to result not only from the outcome of the incinerator location conflict but also from the garbage governmental subjectivities we collectively accept, embody, and undertake in our day to day lives, which support the visible power structures and infrastructures of environmental injustice. The results of focus groups conducted with Ironbound community residents, and residents of the municipality of Montclair, who are in the incinerator service area, significantly inform this work.

KERBSIDE WASTE AND THE MUNDANE POLITICS OF URBAN DISORDER

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The focus of this paper is kerbside waste. The kerbside clean-up is a mundane site of urban mess, where rubbish is ejected from the confines of the private spaces of the home into public space, on-route to the various systems of waste management that sort, distribute, re-use and dispose of the refuse of late modern urban living. The kerbside emerges as an interesting case for understanding the intersection between contemporary urban waste management practices and the way people perceive waste in public space. At the kerbside, waste appears and disappears, set to the rhythms of formal and informal waste collection processes that vary from place to place in the urban landscape. These waste processes act to sort the rubbish on the verge, selectively removing acceptable waste whilst leaving behind incompatible refuse to be picked up by other processes, or simply to accumulate.

The rhythms of accumulation of mess at the public space of the kerbside intersect with other uses of these public spaces to produce emergent properties of urban disorder. Here "the thrown togetherness of bodies, mass and matter, and the many uses and needs in a shared physical space" (Amin 2008, 8) produce a more-than-human engagement with the material stuff of urban multiplicity. Ash Amin's notion of "situated surplus" presents messy geographies as sites of productive urban interaction, where mess and disorder form a vital part of the landscapes of urban sociality. Council clean-ups produce a necessary and normative presence of mess-in-transit, an acceptable public exposure of the detritus of our private lives, soon to be swept up into formal and informal systems of waste management. What this research asks is when does kerbside waste exceed its welcome? When, and under what conditions, does kerbside waste transgress the norms of acceptable, or productive, "messiness" and take on the conditions of undesirable disorder?

This paper draws on research into the emergent properties of kerbside waste in two local government areas in Sydney, where diverse formal governance practices of kerbside waste intersect with more informal practices to produce a

distinctive set of local geographies of waste. The temporal frame is interrogated through a visual ethnographic method, allowing the material traces of kerbside waste to be mapped and tracked across time. Interviews with residents concerning attitudes to rhythm and scale of waste on the kerb augment the visual data to help produce some sense of the emergence of disorder associated with different kerbside waste management practices at work in Sydney.

SALVAGING ROME: ROMA WASTE TRADERS AND THE CITY'S "GARBAGE CRISIS"

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Drawing on 15 years of fieldwork among Roma communities in Rome and 9 months of participant observation in street markets where many Roma do business, the study explores the strategies these traders adopt in order to collect, recycle and resell two interconnected streams of goods: metals, especially iron, delivered to scrap-yards for smelting, and second hand commodities of all types, sold directly to private clients or on market stalls. These activities involve the Roma's constant negotiation of legal barriers and shifting political discourses and opportunities. Recent European Union legislation (Directive 2008/98/EC) on waste handling and its application in Italian law have resulted in intense bureaucratization and high administrative costs for salvagers, forcing those who cannot afford to regularize their activities into a condition of illegality, or pushing them to pursue less lucrative and predictable income generating activities. As a result, many more Roma are seeking to sell second hand goods on street markets. However, their access is contingent on erratic and ambiguous municipal policies concerning the legal status and longevity of such markets and who is eligible to trade there. Campaigns by local residents and consumer groups calling for repressive measures against waste-pickers on the one hand, and by pro-Roma and environmental activists lobbying for the inclusion of Roma in formal recycling systems on the other, further complicate and politicize the issue.

The analysis investigates how Roma respond and adapt to these external pressures in their day-to-day salvage and resale practices. It considers both the logistical and spatial strategies employed and the Roma's continuous creation and reinforcement of business networks throughout the city. The study traces the processes through which the symbolic and financial value of the material objects are transformed and the social relationships within which this transformation occurs. Contrary to common assumptions that the Roma are socially isolated, it becomes clear that their activities are integral to value chains that stretch from the urban level (eg. within complex networks through which antique and vintage objects change hands) to the globalized (eg. business relations with West African traders who source refrigerator parts, electronics, tools and shoes directly from them). Thus it explores how Roma respond to political discourses that construct them as sources of urban blight (*degrado urbano*) with strategies of self-representation as environmentalists and cleaners of a city struggling with corruption and inefficiency in its formal garbage collection system.

WASTE TOURS – WASTE PREVENTION NARRATIVES, INFRASTRUCTURES AND AUDIENCE IN INTERPLAY

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This paper examines how Swedish local government are carrying out their new role as the focus since 2014 are on waste policies are on waste prevention, rather than waste management. In a context of European and national directives shifting the focus towards waste prevention and with the implementation of the first national waste prevention plans in EU countries since 2014, Swedish municipalities are encouraged to seek for new roles, plans and projects aiming towards waste prevention and thus less incineration, recycling and, in the end, consumption. Yet, these new roles are being carried out in parallel to the traditional practices of waste incineration and recycling, with the consequent contradictions and paradoxes. And, while this new generation of waste prevention plans and projects are being formulated and implemented, 950 000 tones of waste were imported during 2013, and 1,4 million tones are prognosed to have been imported during 2014 to Sweden to feed the waste incinerators mainly to be transformed into energy source.

For many decades, school children around the world do visits to waste infrastructures as part of a process of socialization of new citizens in the correct use of the public infrastructure and the recreation of a local identity of pride and modernity. This paper is informed by a study of how waste infrastructure and waste behavior are presented and taught to school children during these study visits in Sweden. Given the new shift towards waste prevention policies the paper seeks to answer to the research questions: What narrative/s are created during study visits to waste infrastructure? What is the role of informers in the enactment of narratives?

The paper is informed by narrative studies and is empirically based on 10 in-depth interviews with waste informers and observations to scholar study tours. The paper shows how environmental informers perform usually as free riders and environmental entrepreneurs within highly-technical organizations. Their emerging narratives challenge well-established pro-growth logics. Yet, since their guiding activities are loosely coupled to the core operations of the waste infrastructure organizations, the radical narratives created and taught by these informers can coexist with predominant pro-growth logics whereby waste is seen as a resource and not as something that has to be minimized via less consumption. In the performance of their waste prevention narratives, informers challenge social taboos of danger and purity among their audience.

SESSION 16

EXPERIENCING URBAN BOUNDARIES

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CROSSING GATES: AN ETHNOGRAPHY EXPLORATION IN TWO GATED COMMUNITIES IN THE MILANESE REGION

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“Moral minimalism” – quoting the definition of Mary Pat Baumgartner: “an aversion to confrontation and conflict and a preference for spare, even weak strategies of control” – is a tactic operated by the upper and middle class in the suburbs in order to cope with problems and manage conflicts in the urban domain. This approach exhibits a recurrent pattern of fortified buildings, fences, cutting off relations with neighbors and displacement; borders, both material and immaterial, which exacerbate class segregation and highlight power relations.

One of the most notorious of these tools in this territorial strategy of the middle and upper classes are privatized neighborhoods often also called gated communities. These “settlements” take part of this larger dynamic in the urban sphere and albeit similar to other features in the suburban landscape stand apart and receive global attention for the striking presence of walls and obsessive control inside, displaying physically the social cleavage.

We can arguably assert how gated communities are associated with the importation of commodified neighborhood values and technology from the USA and how they owe birth to a global trend but it’s undeniable the role the local setting plays in it and the importance to track down how this intertwines to create the punctual experience. Legislative, cultural and social differences are forging this phenomenon. For these reasons, ethnography is a powerful tool helping us to cross the borders and understand the production and the practices behind the gates.

What I would like to contribute to this discussion is an ethnographic examination of this type of private residential neighborhood, gated communities, specifically from the point of view of residents living in two suburban areas inside the Milanese region. Although their narratives do not explain the emergence of the phenomenon in this region, they do contribute to our understanding of the social group of the inhabitants, their practices, and their everyday life. Further, an analysis will be conducted in order to illustrate the communities established in these two case studies and the reasons luring people to these residential spaces.

This investigation is designed according to the ethnographic approach to qualitative research methodology and it’s achieved throughout its techniques. This inquiry was conducted “plunging” into the real setting. That has meant, firstly, to “cope with” the skepticism of the residents. Thus, the investigation is carried out using documents, observation (participant, indirect and shadowing), “ethnographic” interviews (10 each, semi-structured personally administered interviews gained mainly through the so-called “snowball” technique) to residents and witnesses and analysis of those data gathered.

The investigation was set up focusing on two different Gated Communities. It began gaining access in one upper-middle “cosmopolitan” complex and in one middle-income “indigenous” gated residential area. The two compounds are physically close, since one is set in the municipality of Basiglio and the other one is located in Buccinasco, both in the southern section of the Milanese metropolitan area and far away from each other less than 15 kilometers. This allows us to make a comparison highlighting the differences and the similarities. Even if the two housing estates are grouped together because they share common features, in fact these two examples disclose different characteristics with reference to the quantity and the quality of the relationship network and the socio-economic composition established inside.

The first case-study, the one in Basiglio, is a quintessential example of gated community integrated into that global flow rendered into local settings: almost the entire population is composed by individuals of different nationalities and ascribable to the so-called “transnational capitalistic class”, a class represented as more and more crucial in the neo-liberalism processes. A peculiar culture, detached from the surrounding setting, is detected. We attend a space where English is the *lingua franca*, with a clear prevalence of families in which the husband is the jobholder, and an internal social network revolving around the role of the school of the children and the shared services provided inside the internal compound but at the same time a group of people characterized by the prevalence of personal communities (according to the definition of Barry Welman) of strong ties overpassing the space and by a precarious presence.

The fieldwork in the last case-study reveals us the predominance of local people of middle-income. A heterogeneous group inside, homogenous with the surroundings. In this case, it’s shown an emphasis only on control devices and the lack of amenities designed to be shared. This compound presents features very similar to that of a commuter area except from a strong desire of privatization and a peculiar deepening of private, transitional spaces and private control, where people exhibit a relationship network based on a suburban town scale, such as a suitable label for this type of compound is “controlled neighborhood”, it’s argued.

During this investigation, we could reaffirm and deduce from this exploration that many of the reasons people leave the city for the suburb are factors such as avoiding busy, scruffy and uncontrolled environments and have a better standard of living (whose definition changes according to individuals and groups), reasons similar to those people give for choosing gating. In many ways, then, gated communities are a special kind of suburb with a number of the same features and benefits as those found in non-gated, suburban areas. On the other hand, we could assert that this type of residential settlements represents an exaggeration of suburban features and of the tactics of avoidance and “boundarisation” operated by the so-called “moral minimalism”.

THE INVISIBLE MAN PUSHING THE ROW OF CHAIRS (AND OTHER URBAN BOUNDARIES)

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Scene 1. Milan, Italy, December 2013. The offices of an NGO within a Council Estate. A day in the course of a three-years project funded by a private foundation in order to “increase the social cohesion” of a “fragile community”. A workshop – led by a consultant trained in intercultural relations – is going on in order to share and discuss the NGO workers’ and volunteers’ concept of *social cohesion*. In total eleven persons in a room. The consultant invites the participants to leave the table they are sitting at and to start walking around in the room, looking at each other. A row of chairs stands at the end of the room. Slowly, the consultant pushes the row closer and closer to the participants who find themselves forced to walk around in a space which gets smaller and smaller, until five minutes later, they end up colliding and after a while, the consultant calls the end of the experiment.

The participants go back to the table and start discussing. *How did you feel?* Asks the consultant. The answers followed one after the other: Arianna, educator: *I was looking for the people I already knew. I was avoiding strangers. I thought that if we want to promote social cohesion, we must start with strengthening the relationships that already exists.* Claudia, psychologist: *I thought that we must try to be open in order to share the same space.* Other reactions follow: some were more at ease when they had more space around, some when they had less. Some feel guilty for having felt bothered by other people. Nobody mentions the fact that people there had the control of the changing size of the space they were walking in. Social cohesion thus took the form of a purely psycho-attitudinal element, depending on personal attitude toward “the other”.

Workshops and other experiential trainings, working as soft and open processes of production of knowledge and shaping of private and public selves, increasingly contribute to the understanding of complex “urban” worlds by citizens and professionals, especially social workers (Barry A., Osborne T., Rose N. (1996), *Foucault and Political Reason*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press). The market of consultancy for urban projects of community empowerment and, more generally, social work is getting more and more crowded, even in a phase of lack of funding for social programs. Boundaries and production of material and immaterial boundaries are the core of such settings and experiencing. Institutional boundaries selecting deserving neighborhoods, NGOs and consultants. Boundaries defining social cohesion and therefore tracing the boundaries of the object on which the expert work must operate. New boundaries generated by the expert work once conceived this way.

Drawing on PhD research in the city of Milan, the paper aims at presenting and analyzing three different scenes and contexts in which boundaries are traced within community programs and to highlight the complex and contested processes through which this happens.

PERCEIVING LANDSCAPE BOUNDARIES: THE CASE OF “WALKING GROUPS” IN BERGAMO

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Among the different and complex dynamics which shape urban landscapes and their material and immaterial boundaries, mobility plays a crucial role. Many infrastructures, services, networks and processes are produced to satisfy people’s mobility needs; movement allow us to explore and perceive places and this experience vary also according to the characteristics and the means of transportation used. Hence, there is a strong connection between mobility practices and urban landscapes.

The environmental crisis is currently forcing institutions to shift from patterns of mobility focused on the use of private cars, one of the primary driving force of urban sprawl and traffic congestion, to more sustainable mobility systems, with the aim of reducing pollution and energy consumption. Non-motorized practices of mobility, often referred as “slow” mobility, are the subjects of renewed attention and of bottom-up initiatives that promote, for instance, daily commuting alternatives to the “school run”, such as the so called “Piedibus”, Critical Mass events or “walking groups”. At the same time, the quality of urban landscapes is currently being considered as a fundamental condition of the citizen’s wellbeing, as stated in the European Landscape Convention (Olwig, 2007). Landscape is not identified by a particular degree of aesthetic, cultural or naturalistic value and thus coincide with the whole territory, covering “natural, rural, urban and peri-urban areas” and including “landscapes that might be considered outstanding as well as ordinary or degraded landscapes”. Key feature of such interpretation of the landscape is the “tension” (Wylie, 2007) and “ambiguity” (Gambino, 2009) due to its multifaceted essence: reality, representation and experience (Michelin et al., 2011).

This contribution aims at presenting a research which focuses on the relationships between walking practices and the urban landscapes, on how they are perceived, lived and transformed in consequence of mobility behaviors. In particular, the collective dimension of some practices of sustainable mobility is seen as a core issue, for it might encourage the perception of landscape as a common good (Prieur, 2006; Castiglioni et al., 2015). The case study chosen to explore and deepen these topics is the phenomenon of the “walking groups” in the urban area of Bergamo, Italy.

On a theoretical point of view this study falls within a broader trend called the “mobilities turn” (Sheller and Urry, 2006) which calls for an holistic connection of the different facets of mobility, taking into account, also using new research methods, what happens during the journey from point A to point B (Middleton, 2011). Using the words of Spinney, which dealt in particular with commuter cyclists, social sciences must find new ways of exploring the spaces of mobility if they are to provide grounded and useful explanations of social life (Spinney, 2009, 818).

Geography, and in particular landscape studies, has been strongly influenced by the new mobility paradigm and is therefore profoundly aware that “mobilities rework, shape, animate, and perform places and landscapes” (Merriman, 2009, 135). As mobilities could be intended as an entanglement of physical movement, its representations and the experienced and embodied practice of movement (Cresswell, 2010, 19), landscape, as stated before, is equally heterogeneous. Hence borders, limits and boundaries emerge firstly in the disciplinary discourse. Landscape is a liminal concept itself, being used in the everyday language, as well as in the academic one, with multiple meanings and with the particular ability to overcome disciplinary boundaries. Beside the theoretical ones, this contribution aims at presenting other kinds of urban landscape discontinuities and limits arising from the analysis of the case study. Following the mobilities turn, many scholars, nurtured by ethnographic methodologies, engaged in an effort to “mobilize” also the research process itself (Hein et al., 2008) recognizing, for example, that walking interviews provide different and enriched data compared to indoor and static interviews. Within the context of this research, the methodology adopted is the “spatial transcript”, which consists of performing walking interviews and then associate the transcript to the GPS track recorded. This technique offers the possibility to analyze, using geographical information systems, how moving subjects perceive the space in which they move and how these spaces, in turn, help to give shape to their thoughts (Jones and Evans, 2012). The interpretation process is focused on the identification of landmarks, values, representations, behaviours and sensations related to the urban territory and it is intended to provide insights on the way in which people perceive the urban landscape. Physical boundaries (roads, infrastructures or obstacles) as well as immaterial boundaries (neighborhood limits and edges, perceived margins and individual or collective representations) constitute part of the data gathered through the analysis of the “walking groups” experience in Bergamo. Popular since the early 2000s in several Italian provinces, “walking groups” are simply constituted by groups of people that gather weekly to walk together. The city of Bergamo hosts 8 groups, each of them usually related to a specific neighbourhood, even though the administrative limit of the district is the first boundary to be often crossed. Amidst the results, particular attention will be paid to the “signals of borders” arising from the analysis of this particular and emerging social practice, which might be considered as a singular way to perceive, live and transform the ordinary urban landscape, overcoming the subjective and individual perception towards an interpretation of landscape as multiscalar, shared and common.

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ENTERING TEMPORARY SPACES IN AN URBAN LANDSCAPE: AN INVITATION TO NEW SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

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Sociologists, urban sociologists and urban geographers have widely revealed how built spaces – e.g. streets, boundaries, buildings (Gieryn, 2002) – affect social action and interaction (Knox & Pinch, 2006; Maconis & Parrillo, 2004; Saunders, 2003; Simmel, 1903; Soja, 1985; Tonkiss, 2005). More recently, also in the field of organization studies the relevance of the built environment in shaping organizational life and interaction has become a growing field of research interest (Ashcraft, Kuhn, & Cooren, 2009; Dale & Burrell, 2008; Kornberger & Clegg, 2004; van Marrewijk & Yanow, 2010; Yanow, 1998, 2006). It has been shown, for example, how particular spatial arrangements favour interpersonal interactions while others might be more inhibiting (Hatch, 1987; Kornberger & Clegg, 2004; Elsbach & Pratt, 2007). Within this body of literature, there has been an appreciation of the role of the aesthetic features of space – such as lighting (Stone & English, 1998), room aromas (Baron, 1990; Keeling, Clements-Croome, Derek Luck, & Pointer, 2012), window views (Farley & Veitch, 2001), or the materials of furniture (Ceylan, Dul, & Aytac, 2008). The argument is that the aesthetic involvement of organizational actors in space affects their feelings, emotions, aesthetic judgments (Strati, 2010) and, consequently, their actions and interactions (Gagliardi, 1999; Strati, 2010; S. S. Taylor & Hansen, 2005). One of the most relevant elements to take into account when analyzing how space affects social actor's aesthetic involvement and their actions is time. Time and space, in fact are tightly entangled in social and organizational life (Massey, 2005; Soja, 1996): organizational space unfolds and changes in time, and the perceptions, feeling and actions occur always with a given temporality (Etlin, 1998; Hernes, Bakken, & Olsen, 2006). The tight entanglement of space and time (Massey, 2005; Soja, 1996), becomes particularly important when studying organizations and organizational manifestations which are temporal or “spaceless”: organizations such as commercial fairs, sport manifestations (Glynn, 2008), festivals, conferences, or the circus (Parker, 2011), for example, “take place” for a limited time in one location before moving to the next (Munro & Jordan, 2013). Moreover, festivals and cultural events, often create their temporary spaces in urban settings (Quinn, 2005), where issues related with their temporality (such as duration or recursiveness) are particularly relevant for questions related with urban policy or social life and interaction (Quinn, 2005).

Whilst most studies investigating the relationship between the temporary organization and its hosting territory (García, 2004, Quinn, 2005) and the effects of the temporal organizations on the local communities (Glynn, 2008), the local policy (Glynn, 2008), or the urban area (Quinn, 2005), we still know relatively little on how public spaces, temporarily affected by the presence of an organization, might change and be transformed into urban (more or less defined) areas of boundaries, that mark temporal organizational spaces within a hosting territory.

Following the emerging stream of organizational research on space (Dale, 2005; Kornberger & Clegg, 2004; Strati, 1999), we argue that, to understand space, we should take into account also its temporal dimension and explore not only how space is designed, but also how it is experienced and used by the organizational actors (van Marrewijk, 2011). In other words, we need to understand the aesthetic qualities of space (i.e. the feelings, perceptions, judgements), which arise from the personal and collective involvement in the physical environment (Hernes et al., 2006; Strati, 1999). The aesthetic dimension of space cannot be reduced on several personal perceptions, but needs to be revealed through the combination, analysis and interpretation of the variety of personal views, as if they were kaleidoscopic visions (Mattiucci, 2010) of the same setting.

With this research, we aim to understand (a) what are the visible and invisible spatial markers that communicate to the local population that they enter another, temporary space, and (b) how this modified urban space is perceived and lived by local people in the sense of affecting their social interactions.

We pursue answers to the research question through a qualitative, inductive, longitudinal exploratory study informed by the interpretive strand (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). We study the temporary spaces created in a urban context by a recurrent cultural event (*the Festival del film Locarno*), that takes place every year in the city of Locarno (Switzerland), providing a temporal rhythm to the region, literally taking over the small town with its temporary buildings, artistic installations, extra bars, and masses of visitors. Regarding data collection, the study combines observational data - including photographs - with interviews. We conducted a set of photo-ethnographic observations in August 2014 (for the total of 10 days during high season, that is when the festival took place), in March 2015 (2 days during low season, in the months outside the festival season) and again in August 2015 (6 days during high season). We took over 1.151 pictures. In order to address the challenge of capturing the variety of actors' perceptions (Warren, 2008), we complemented our non-participatory observations (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg, Frans, 2009) with aspects of a visual and sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009, 2013), and we collected data by doing "imaginary participant observation" (Strati, 1999). Through this method the researcher imagines what it might be like to be the organizational actors that he observes, and this helps him to understand their physical and emotional involvement in the studied environment. However, the researcher's sensitivity might be not enough for capturing the detailed and complex aesthetic experiences of organizational actors (S. Taylor & Spicer, 2007). We thus conducted a first round of semi-structured interviews (14 in total) with locals and festival goers with the aim to better understand their aesthetic involvement in the explored spaces. We chose interview partners both following considerations of convenience and theoretical sampling as we interviewed both visitors and people from the local population. When possible, we followed the "go-along" interview method (Kusenbach, 2003) walking with each person interviewed through the studied spaces, asking them to show us elements toward which they had a particular feeling or judgement (positive or negative) and to tell us their perceptions about these spaces. Besides field notes and pictures, we collected memos and comments on the interviews we conducted.

Our data analysis followed the principles of inductive theory building and of an interpretive approach. Therefore, our proposition developed out from an interactive engagement between lived experience, theory and observations.

We have noticed that during festival's time, local people tend to chat up strangers frequently and friendly as if they knew each other. We discovered that people reduced the physical distance between them, passing from a public distance, to a more personal distance one (Hall, 1966); it seems that they also reduced the psychological distance between them, passing from a *closed* attitude toward social interaction to an *open* one (Altman, 1979). Intrigued by this insight, we started to explore the urban spaces and we noticed that the festival modifies the urban context by creating temporal spaces in the city: it designs and employs signals - both physical (e.g. installations, furniture, posters) and immaterial-symbolic (e.g. corporate colors, narratives) - to create spatial boundaries and to mark its spaces in the hosting city.

By observing people in action and interviewing them, we have discovered that the way the festival modifies the urban space (with furniture, plants, carpets) gives to the visitors the feeling of being in an intimate, private setting. We argue that this aesthetic involvement, together with the awareness of the temporality of the event, lead people to reduce physical and psychological distances between them.

With this research we theorize and empirically illustrate how the temporality of urban spaces affects relational systems within the host city and practices of social interaction.

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OBSERVABILITY BETWEEN SENSE AND MEANING: OUTLINE AND PROPOSALS ABOUT BOLOGNA

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The proposal aims to expose and discuss the partial results of my ongoing PhD research. My work aims to build interdisciplinary common ground related to issues manifested by the city and urban life. My main theoretical issue is to frame and conceptualize the notion of "observation" between semiotics and anthropology. What does "observation" mean? What happens when an ethnosemiotician conducts a field research? If this issue is a key topic in the anthropological and ethnographic literature, that is not true in semiotics literature.

What does "city" mean? How could a research determine and define urban boundaries? In order to do that, I'm conducting research fieldwork in Bologna (IT). It is possible to affirm first that the researcher constructs his urban field? Could the combination between ethnography and semiotics help the researcher to control his position into the urban space considered as field? Is the notion of *intersubjectivity* a possible basis of combination at empirical level? Is the notion of co-construction (Goodman 1951, 1978; Latour 2014) a possible basis of combination at methodological level? The aim is to examine and analyze the power and agency issues connected to actors, urban spaces and urban everyday life practices (De Certeau 1980a, 1980b).

My main fieldwork research topics are the relationships between:

- the topological (Greimas 1976, 1984) role and value of the University position in the city of Bologna. Does the University play a role in the atmosphere of the city? Is the topological value of the University related to frictions between inhabitants and "students"? How can we define the visible borders of a both material and immaterial object? If we consider the relationship between social actors, urban places and their topological value-position, can we articulate an augmented cartography to help to manage conflicts?

- focusing on the recent projects of urban regenerations (bottom-up projects about the *care* of the urban space, top-down projects promoted by institutions, shared urban-planning projects), my aim is to draw a topological *map* of the relationship between social phenomena related to pedestrianization processes, and reason about the consequences of some gentrification processes, trying to not consider it in a preconceived way, but concentrating upon agency relations.

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"EVERY LIMIT HAS ITS PATIENCE": URBAN BOUNDARIES AS A MATERIAL TRACE OF ROUTINES

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Being part of a wider study of human territoriality, this paper would challenge the idea that spatial boundaries are merely material objects and as such instrumental to social control. The instrumental view of boundaries is not

satisfactory for several reasons, the main one being its entanglement with the absolute concept of space still rooted in political geography. On the other hand, boundaries are often conceived in ethnographic research as being merely social partitions with little or no material substance. The underlying relational concept of space cannot account for some important properties of spatial boundaries, particularly those that are related to citizenship.

Urban environments are ideal to observe the amalgamation of spatial and social elements into the making, alteration and operation of boundaries that are integral to citizenship. Urban boundaries are indeed the mould of several practices of citizenship. Most of the ordinary needs of public life are met by citizens within the frame of administrative boundaries. Taking children to school, receiving medical assistance, reporting a theft to the police station, requesting a certificate from a local authority, participating to polls, all are examples of practices carried out within designated districts. Boundaries set for administrative purposes and service provision instil, over long time periods, the practical feeling that citizenship is based on territorial partitioning.

Focusing on the spatiality of routinized practices of citizenship, the idea is developed that a spatial boundary is materially inseparable from the practice it surrounds. Accordingly, a boundary can be defined as the unit of both a material delimitation and a recurring social practice.

Two implications are drawn from the above definition. First, the historical duration of a boundary is dependent upon the uninterrupted continuation of the relevant practice. The subsistence of material delimitations alone is no sufficient sign of a boundary, although old delimitations can be reused in order to channel emerging social practices. This accounts for the exceptional duration of some urban boundaries. Second, spatial boundaries coexist, overlap and intersect each other, sometimes with no clear hierarchy. This kind of interference is a powerful driver of social change because the fluctuation of boundaries opens a space of conflict and contention. Stratification, in a sense, is a pluralist antidote to the elitist power that is intrinsic to the act of tracing boundaries. Accordingly, the patient reuse and re-signification of existing delimitations is probably the less violent and more reasonable way to transform cities. Totò's comical reversing of the saying that "every patience has its limit" may be more than a joke.

MAPPING A "FAR AWAY TOWN". ETHNIC BOUNDARIES AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN MARSABIT (NORTHERN KENYA)

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This paper is grounded on a 12 months-fieldwork in Marsabit County, Eastern Province of Kenya. For so long Northern Kenya has been given little attention in national development plans and this area remained marginalized for a long time in comparison with other central region of the country.

Ethnic clashes, the porosity of the Ethiopian border, and the insecurity of roads and communication are considered the main problems in the County. Furthermore, the discourses and the narratives about nationhood and citizenship in Kenya often consider this area a "far", "different" and, sometimes, "not kenyan" space. Marsabit is far from the political and the economical centres of the country, but has always been a reference point for the local people as the headquarter of the Northern Frontier District during the colonial period and as the capital of Marsabit County now. Today Marsabit has a pivotal role in the economical life of the county and it is a central core for the social and cultural life of the small villages of the region. Thus, we can look at this multiethnic town as peripheral and central at the same time, according to the spatial scale we use to look at it.

Besides the stereotypical idea of Marsabit, it is useful to enquire how social relations build the space of this town reproducing new and ancient ties. I assume that urban space reproduces the ethnic boundaries observable in the whole region that have traditional, historical and colonial roots. The theoretical approaches of Doreen Massey and Tim Ingold, which implicate social engagements with space in the construction of relations to others, appear useful to enquire everyday practices in the urban space and to analyse them as forms used by individuals to circumvent conflicted ethnic relations in the quotidian.

In order to understand the sociability of Marsabit, I chose to limit my analysis to the town centre. Described by the inhabitants as "urban" and "cosmopolitan", this area – where the relationships between individuals and ethnic groups are at play in the everyday practices – is the best place where to observe the urban dynamics of Marsabit. The area of the market, that occupies the very centre of the town, is the economic, social and moral core of the urban space and of the whole Marsabit County. It is characterized by a low density residential pattern and, even during periods of conflicts, it reveals its egalitarian and neutral nature. Assuming that the market is a space permeated by deep connections between individuals and the society they belong to, I have chosen to observe the interactions that take place therein.

The aim of my research is to understand the way people experience the space in Marsabit, in order to achieve a deeper knowledge about its social and political reality. The use of maps turned out to be a good method to process qualitative data, to acquire additional informations about Marsabit and to find out the actual perception of the town. In particular, three elements emerged from the analysis of the maps based on the data collected during the fieldwork.

First, looking at the oldest part of the town combining the historical account, the stories informants told me, and the architecture of old buildings, it seems appropriate to speak about the origin of Marsabit as strictly connected with *strangers*. We can assume that in a purely nomadic world, as it was Northern Kenya in the past, the emergence of the urban space on Marsabit Mountain was made possible by the presence of foreign groups. Somali traders, British officials, Indians and Goans, but also Burji and Konso from Ethiopia are the makers of the new born town in the first decades of the XX century.

Secondly, it is interesting to look at the present perception of Marsabit. Apparently, the inhabitants recognize some areas in the town centre as *ethnically substantive*. These substantive areas reveal a *south-north polarisation* in town and

in the County, based on the movements in and out of Marsabit. Assuming that the space is a relational dimension, built through the individual social relations, the *south-north polarisation* shows, on the one hand, that the space in town is strictly connected with the relationships among different groups, and on the other hand, that political power affects the way in which space is built and perceived. Looking the *ethnically substantive areas* on the Marsabit County and town maps, it is clear as ethnic boundaries in the region are reproduced in the centre of the town. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the *south-north polarisation* reproduce the national and transnational links between Marsabit, Nairobi and Southern Ethiopia.

Third, if urban space is marked by vertical and hierarchical relations, the market is instead defined by connections that cross ethnic hierarchy horizontally in a equalitarian space where the interactions between different ethnical and political subjects take place.

In conclusion, looking at the maps of Marsabit centre it is possible to recognize that the ethnic lines in town are porous and flexible. As suggested by Fredrik Barth, I assume that ethnicity creates and maintains groups boundaries offering the very foundation of social interaction and, then, of individuals and groups understanding of (urban) space. To enquire the spatial dimension of ethnic relations may allow a better understanding of the actual reality of a region characterised by fragile political, economical and social balances.

DWELLING AND BORDERS: ORGANISATION AND LIFE INSIDE HOUSING SQUATS IN ROME, ITALY

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According to the data provided by the Italian Home Office during a recent parliamentary question time, there are more than 100 housing occupations in Rome. This definition covers previously abandoned buildings (both private and public), occupied by variable numbers of families and individuals with the collaboration of housing rights movements. Although the vast majority is made by migrants, the permanent context of crisis has significantly augmented the number of Italian natives living in these spaces.

And indeed, occupations increased in number also recently, despite legislative crackdowns and evictions campaigns aiming at discouraging the phenomenon on a national scale. The most severe one occurred with the so-called Piano Casa, a national law issued in May 2014 by the Minister of Infrastructures. In particular, the article 5 aims at sanctioning people occupying by banning them from applying for public housing accommodations after squatting. Moreover, it prevents city councils from registering occupied buildings as residencies valid for enrolling in educational and healthcare systems, as well as accessing services providers (including electricity, gas and water).

This has further implications also for visas, as the absence of a valid address impairs the whole procedure of renewal. As the vast majority of housing occupations' are migrants, is thus safe to state that this article aims at sanctioning individually the prevailing social composition of housing occupations.

This set of provisions has sparked outrage and protests all over Italy, and fostered the re-enforcement of the housing rights' movements with the national campaign *#nopianocasa #noart5*, demanding the abolishment of the article. Indeed, the movements claim, it is just a punitive stance against those who have squatted because of a condition of severe housing deprivation, and thus failing to address the source of the problem. Moreover, they underscore, the overall Piano Casa regulates the sale of public assets to private investors and advantages builders as providers of housing services, instead of considering the re-use of existing buildings as public housing blocks.

Yet, despite legislative and political efforts, occupations are not only increasing in numbers, but are nowadays settled in their territories as political, cultural and social touchstones, whilst on the internal level everyday life unfolds from the exceptional quality of the moment of occupying and gets organised, despite the difficulties and the permanent threat of eviction pending on the community. Framing their existence inside the categories of "necessity" and the socio-statistic label of "severe housing deprivation" doesn't account for the complex intertwining of coercion and autonomy pushing such an heterogeneous group of people to devise together alternative types not only of dwelling, but of social cooperation.

My research thus considers the quotidian forms of life and organisational practices deployed inside housing occupations as symptoms of the proliferation of borders (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) occurring on different scales of the city, given their mixed territorial and temporal constituency (Sassen, 2015). In particular, I propose two main arguments for considering housing occupations as relevant sites for rethinking boundaries and borders in relation to the opacity of the notion of the urban (Brighenti and Rahola, 2014).

Firstly, housing occupations' social composition allows to shed a light upon the unprecedented proximities in marginalisation amongst native and migrant dwellers. In particular, the array of autonomous organisational practices, forms of life (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013) and political relations inside the occupations show to what extent crisis and austerity have radically destabilised pre-constituted identities and functions of statuses bound to the institution of citizenship. Moreover, they show the combination between border management and the precariousness of life created by the brutality of financialisation and indebtedness as benchmarks of self-management and social reproduction (Lazzarato, 2013), without counting on social security cushions. On the other hand, housing occupations' settlement, albeit created under the pressure of compelling material and housing deprivation, exerts an as transformative power onto sovereignty as mobility. This displays the turmoil mixing centre and peripheries, financial core and scattered shantytowns, residential boroughs and social housing blocks, created by the intertwining by control devices and resistance practices.

Secondly, housing occupations set a significant spatial and temporal discontinuity in Rome's landscape, as their prominence in number and dimensions impose a new type of dwelling (and thus, living the city), outsider to the categories defined by markets, real-estate financial assets and governmentality. Indeed, the city is an organisational machine of temporality (Cuppini, 2015) where every action operates not on a space ontologically given, but rather discursively mapped and corporeally practised according to the temporal intersections of mobile elements, "vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables" (de Certeau, 1984: 118). Thence, the anomalous temporality of the occupations has to attune not only to its inner subjective composition, but also its situated spatiality, subjected to a profound, specific and subjectivity-generative arrangement of time and everydayness (Lefebvre, 1991; 2004). Their representation, the political and subjective frictions they trigger in conflicted territories, their discontinuity in respect to capitalist arrangement of space and time are again relevant sites where questioning the mutating constituency of urban spaces, their floating boundaries, as well as their role in destabilising the the production of subjectivity set by border management as a subjectivating exertion of sovereign power.

I will thus try to discuss these points using the findings collected during my yearlong extended place ethnography (Duneier, 1999) in two housing squats of Rome: Tiburtina 770 and Metropoliz, that I deemed relevant for their location, their similarities in the number of families, the affiliation to the same housing right movement (Blocchi Precari Metropolitani), but that are quite different in terms of relation with the territory, subjective as well as spatial profile. I will try to account for the subjective composition of their occupiers and some of the pivotal organisational practices deployed from occupation to everydayness. Lastly, I will also describe the evolution of my methodology on fieldwork, the practices of self-reflexivity as a researcher I had to devised on site, as well as the ethical implications I had to cope with during my fieldwork.

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THE SLUMS OF CASABLANCA AS SIGNALS OF URBAN BORDER

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This essay will analyse the urban arrangement of the city of Casablanca, Morocco, and especially certain patterns in the composition and proliferation of slums in outskirts areas and inner-cities. After conducting extensive ethnographical studies through most of 2015, it appeared evident to me that the signals of particular urban patterns, whether tangible or immaterial, are there, clear and detectable within the socio-economic borders they represent and create.

My sources and references derive from Subaltern Urbanism theories, as Rao (2006) explain in the idea of *the slum as theory*: the slum embodies in itself a number of social, political and cultural effects responding to a series of practices produced at a global level. The everyday lives and actions displayed in these suburbs challenge the traditional and paradigmatic way to define them as space of margin, segregation and exclusion. The *slum as a border* takes up the function of defining specific lifestyles and to decide different working mobilities. This way of reading the proliferation of slums is linked to the epistemological idea of the *border as method* (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013) in which the border is a space where the turbulence and the conflictual intensity of global neoliberalistic dynamics are particularly evident. Moreover slum, *as a border* reveal its capacity to connect and separate different economic spaces and social classes: the traditional business areas inhabited by the middle and upper classes – that used to be the colonial government and the local administration - and the periphery – originally reserved for the working class employed in the phosphates factories of the emerging megacity of Casablanca.

The slum becomes an internal material and metaphorical periphery: in Casablanca small slums of 2000/4000 inhabitants are located in the same city center, next to big markets, skyscrapers and business buildings. At the same time the ancient *cités ouvrières* have now become slums surrounded by walls and bridges.

The slum as a border and with borders to cross, plays a key role in producing and reproducing the times and spaces of the global capitalism and the multiplication of labor, both formal and informal. The common political and rhetorical discourse, as well as the historical narrative, tend to present them as spaces of urban decay, lack of services, infrastructures, hygiene and safeness. These are the space where many civil and social rights of traditional citizenship are neglected to the people.

In everyday practice the slums spaces are not essentially spaces of political passivity. As the product of a specific *subaltern urbanism* these areas create particular spaces and conditions for the subaltern to react and protest to the dominant system in which they are coopted.

In Casablanca a consistent number of citizens is engaged in formal and informal associations involved in collecting different complaints regarding the life condition inside the slum and the defeats of the public policies deployed to "solve" the slum problem. They are continuously harassed by the police forces, violently attacked and sent to jail, trying to convince them to renounce to any kind of protest and opposition. The constant police control perpetuated in these spaces and towards its population is another border signal inside the slums.

Through the category of the *border as method*, we can detect not only different processes of inclusion and exclusion but also levels of *differential inclusion* people living in slums have to face and use for their own purposes.

The methodological tools I have used for my ethnographical research in these contexts consisted in semi-structured interviews and biographical narrations told by the people living there nowadays. This work has been possible thanks to the translation and intermediation of a Moroccan informant speaking French, Italian and Darija - the local Arabic - who well knows the context. He is activist in an informal association acting to make the slum-people voice heard by the local institutions; he was also part in the "20 Février" Mouvement, that one that has been the engine of the protest during the Moroccan "Arab Spring" in 2011.

It has been possible for me to identify the common features of these places and of the people living there, their working activities and their way and level of participation to the public and political life of the city and the whole country.

The data and information collected thanks to the interviews have contributed to improve my historical knowledge of these places: I have been able to trace a specific genealogy of these spaces thanks to the biography of certain inhabitants interviewed, who still live in one of the most ancient slum of the city since its foundation in the late '40s-first '50s, the slum of Ben M'Sick.

This research shows that the political management of the slums have always been used to confine certain classes: the illegal and informal status of them is functional to the power system. The same informal housing that rules the organization of the shacks is still considered illegal but have in reality lost his not-recognized status since its beginning: the local administration, within formal and informal procedures, have always gained rent and bills from the people living there, pretending at the same time the right to destroy the shacks because "not ruled" by official building plan. It results evident that the stigmatization of these suburbs has always been functional to the system to reproduce a certain hierarchy and supremacy inside the urban life and socio-political system.

LIVING WITH(IN) BOUNDARIES. ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES FROM AN URBAN RELIGIOUS COMPOUND IN TRANSITION

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This paper draws on my research about the process of heritagization and the production of boundaries in a multiply controversial area in the city of Varanasi (Uttar Pradesh, India). The space under investigation comprises the famous Hindu temple of Kashi Vishvanath, the Gyan Vapi mosque and a sacred well. It also includes other minor shrines and surrounding lanes, which have been absorbed into this apparently unique compound. The area is nonetheless fragmented and traversed by visible and invisible boundaries.

After the demolition of the Babri *masjid* in Ayodhya, in 1992 by Hindu "rightist" mobs, the temple of Kashi Vishvanath was identified by Hindutva leaders as the next place to be "freed" from Muslim presence, (along with another temple in Mathura). Subsequently, a layered and complex security plan, which includes local, regional and national forces, controls the access of devotees, residents and others to the compound. The mosque, in particular, has been "caged", apparently to protect it and access to it is strictly regulated, checked and sometimes refused, especially to outsiders. As well, part of the once open public and civic space, such as neighbouring lanes with houses and narrow passages, and the wide area around the well and the mosque, have been cordoned-off to create what is now a secluded, single (and now *only* religious) compound.

The paper explores the evolution of this urban area, which lies at the core of Varanasi's religious life and at the centre of the old part of the city, and looks at its ongoing transitions by focusing on boundaries. The variety of external security cordons and inner architectural barriers, as well as symbolic and invisible boundaries that cross and constitute this space, will be identified and questioned through an ethnography of place.

On the one hand, the paper aims at exploring the ways in which these boundaries are produced, shaped, thought of and crossed by some of the actors involved in the compound's daily life. These are, for example, residents of the houses absorbed into the compound, superseded religious authorities, new governmental officers and security personnel, as well as regular devotees, pilgrims and shop keepers. This area can also be seen as a crossing place in which contrasting views and managements of sacred and civic space collide and entangle, as well as the place in which dichotomies, such as secular and sacred, collapse.

The boundaries of this area will be explored, on the other hand, as they are experienced and made sense of by the ethnographer; her practices and passages into the compound, in fact, needs to cross and go beyond the various boundaries in order to develop a multivocal ethnography of an urban space. Ethnography will be seen as a participatory practice that shares experiences and people's lives, with and within boundaries. Encounters in the field will be explored as taking place in in-between spaces, where meanings of boundaries are shaped and negotiated.

CONTESTED AREAS. COEXISTENCE, CONFLICT AND BOUNDARIES IN THE DISTRICTS NEAR THE RAILWAY STATIONS OF PADUA AND MESTRE

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The research presented here stemmed from an interest in the local fallout of global dynamics relating to rising international migratory flows, the growth in social marginalization phenomena, and the expanding tendency to criminalize poverty (Wacquant, 2006).

Now that it is no longer possible to confine otherness to faraway places, or to reabsorb within the social body those individuals who are now considered permanently “wasted lives” (Bauman, 2014), we are seeing that the impossibility of keeping the marginalized and the “different” out of our urban city centers is prompting the construction of material and symbolic walls within the city to defend its inhabitants from the threat, or supposed threat, posed by such people (Bauman, 2005). The tendency underway in western cities - and especially in the United States (where we often see the most extreme version of tendencies that are visible in Europe too) - is to organize the urban space according to a genuine “ecology of fear” (Davis, 1998), dividing it into ghettos for the poor and gated communities for the rich (Hyra, 2008). The universal dimension of the public space is eroded; it comes to be perceived as a dangerous place where people passing through are assumed to be hostile simply because they are unfamiliar. Immigrants and the marginalized are held responsible for much of the sense of insecurity generated by the structural changes underway in our society, facilitated by the criminalization and stigmatization of migrants in the political public debate and in the media (Maneri, 2013), and this is giving rise to phenomena of urban conflict.

These dynamics are typical of modern cities, but are somehow exacerbated in districts near railway stations. The areas around the station of any medium-to-large city often have much the same characteristics: a strategic position in terms of the local communication and transport routes, large flows of people in transit, and the availability of certain low-threshold services. Hence the usually sizeable presence (and visibility in the public spaces) of migrants, social drop-outs, and more or less blatant drug-dealing and/or streetwalking activities. These areas are often described by the local media as “degraded” and unsafe, and it is not unusual for episodes of urban conflict to occur in such places due to the concomitant presence of social groups with contrasting needs, and the usage made of these public spaces has prompted the creation of “citizens’ committees”. Focusing our research on these particular areas makes it easy to identify tendencies and problems that affect western society generally (albeit less severely), such as the resident population’s growing complexity and diversity in terms of their country of origin, social status and lifestyles, the increasing social exclusion, the fragmentation of society, and the construction of material and symbolic walls between different groups. Our study was conducted from January 2011 to March 2014 in two urban areas near the railway stations in the cities of Padua and Mestre. This paper presents the part of our research that focused on analyzing the perceptions and uses made of these areas by different categories of people, distinguishing between local residents and people working in the area (mainly shopkeepers, but also lawyers and other professional figures), as opposed to those who neither live nor work in the areas concerned, but they occupy their public spaces. The latter include various subcategories of people: migrants who use the areas near the stations and the shops run by their co-nationals as places for meeting and socializing; people living on the margins of society who go there to improve their chances of survival (by exploiting the low-threshold local services available and/or begging from the abundant flow of people in transit); and people involved in activities or behavior perceived as deviant (drug dealers, drug addicts, prostitutes). For all these categories of people (residents, workers, and “visitors”), we considered both Italians and immigrants.

Concerning people’s perceptions, we analyzed how they experienced the changes underway in these areas and their opinions of the local quality of life (both positive aspects and the main problems identified). As for their practices, we investigated how people “used” the areas, the public and private places taken for reference by the various categories of people, who mainly used which public spaces, in what way, and why. We also looked at whether the spaces were used mainly for the various ethnic and social groups forming the local population to meet and socialize, or whether they had acquired the connotations of a “separation”.

A participant observation method was used, visiting the public spaces and the commercial activities in the areas forming the object of our study. Our visits were conducted at various times of day on different days of the week, and in every season of the year (the presence of migrants and the socially marginalized in public spaces increases considerably in the warmer summer months, at weekends, and in the afternoons and evenings). Our observations were associated with detailed interviews with political spokespeople, and with the representatives of citizens committees, associations and cooperatives organized by both the autochthonous and various immigrant populations.

The topic of boundaries emerged strongly in this part of our research. There was evidence of material boundaries, as in the forms of “defensive architecture” deployed by citizens committees and even by some representatives of the local authorities in these difficult areas (barbed wire, gates, methods for dissuading people from using the benches in the public parks, ...). But there were symbolic boundaries too, nurtured by concern aroused by the daily newspapers (our study included a review of the relevant articles in the local press), and also by a nationally and supranationally dominant idea that leads to cases of social marginalization being interpreted as a security issue, a problem of public order. Such boundaries cannot be attributed to an over-simple, good-or-bad equation of “immigrants versus Italians”, however: our analysis showed that the social actors mark much more complex symbolic boundaries, such that some of the more “integrated” immigrants demonize the presence around the railway stations of other foreigners who have arrived more recently. Meanwhile, some members of the “antidegradation” committees were not engaging exclusively in protesting against these newcomers, they were also involved in proactive schemes to help them. There was even one such committee member in Mestre whose typing agency was also providing informal support for the area’s migrants. The present paper aims to shed light on the complexity of the representations and practices of the social players in the areas analyzed, with the intention of building or demolishing material and/or symbolic boundaries.

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BOUNDARIES IN ENCLAVES – IN THE ENCLAVE OF BOUNDARIES. IDENTIFYING AND UNDERSTANDING (THE ROLE OF) URBAN BOUNDARIES

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The presentation is divided into two parts. First of all, drawing on field studies carried out in urban enclaves of poverty in Poland and dedicated to recognising mental maps and territorial behaviour of people, the presentation presents different ways of understanding and experiencing boundaries in the urban space (from formal and material to social, cognitive and symbolic) by socially excluded people, as well as the role of boundaries in the processes of structuring and making the space legible, identifying its availability, meaning and function. It discusses also research methods and techniques applied in the project: schematic drawings, mental walk and photo walk (with particular focus on the latter), which were used to disclose personal, social and environmental boundaries. Secondly, the presentation presents the assumptions of the current project, in which boundaries are regarded as a differentiating variable in the process of creating urban neighbourhood communities. The presentation concludes with a brief discussion on the applicability of the discussed methodology in the study on the processes of making boundaries in space as indicators of people's class and stratum affiliation revealing social similarities and differences.

NEGOTIATING URBAN BOUNDARIES: BOTTOM-UP DESIGN INTERVENTION PROPOSALS FOR KIZILAY NEIGHBOURHOOD

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"There is no line which sharply divides the matter composing [Mount] Everest from the matter outside it. Everest's boundaries are fuzzy. Some molecules are inside Everest and some molecules outside. But some have an indefinite status: there is no objective, determinate fact of the matter about whether they are inside or outside". Michael Tye, *Vague objects*

Boundaries are considered as highly delineated lines between different realms in general. Nevertheless, as artist Michael Tye describes above, they mostly occur as indeterminable territories, which bear the characteristics of two sides that they are expected to divide. Especially, in physically, culturally and socially complex urban areas, they turn into distinct environments where different systems are contested and they intertwine with each other. Moreover, metropolises of post-industrial world, which grow inwardly as well as outwardly, undergo condensation within their limits and thus, inward urban growth compels boundaries of various districts to merge one another. Historical neighbourhoods and squatting areas once located at the edge of these cities become the target of gentrification and regeneration projects in this process due to the increasing value of their in-between position. Kızılay neighbourhood in Izmir, Turkey is one of these in-between settlements and currently the target of the municipality for urban regeneration. Within the scope of this process, the physical, social and cultural boundaries of this neighbourhood and its dwellings will soon turn into subjects of negotiation and it is the terms of this negotiation that this paper aims to explore.

With its focus on urban boundaries, the paper elaborates on the design intervention proposals developed for Kızılay neighbourhood in the context of graduate design studio of Yaşar University, Department of Architecture. In terms of basing the exploration on the logic of dwelling production, the everyday of the inhabitants was highly important in this process. Through ethnographic research, this everyday was analysed and mapped in order to understand how it is shaped by urban boundaries of the site and how it shapes them in return. These studies comprised of on-site observations, questionnaires, in-depth interviews and phenomenological analyses. They fostered the development of design interventions and resulted in intervention proposals that are complementary each other. Engaging both in the urban design and—more intensively—in the architectural design scales, these proposals that I conducted were generated by the graduate students in collaboration with the Municipality with the aim of informing the future regeneration projects. Kızılay Neighbourhood is situated in one of the oldest districts of the city and it appears as a highly preserved housing area owing to the natural border formed by Meles creek that separates the neighbourhood from the city centre. Thus, contrary to the cityscape mostly dominated by high-rise blocks, it consists of one or two storey individual houses. The existence of this natural border not only keeps the neighbourhood largely away from enterprisers' gaze but also it hides its immaterial and invisible boundaries that disconnect the inhabitants' everyday from the hectic life of the city centre.

Interconnected systems of urban networks of the city, on the other hand, relentlessly negotiate with these boundaries and attempt to establish webs of relations to conciliate disparities. Unfortunately, completed urban regeneration projects of the city do not enable us to conceive a promising future for Kızılay neighbourhood, since they turned the similar districts into gentrified urban centres with full of highly controlled gated communities. If a similar approach is applied in Kızılay, unsurprisingly its existing urban boundaries will disappear in the compelling homogeneity of city's growth, new boundaries based on social strata will emerge, and eventually the neighbourhood itself will turn into a territory where its own inhabitants cannot dwell anymore. Contrary to these imposing envisions of largescale urban regeneration approaches, the studio work that I elaborate on in this paper attempted to provide bottom-up proposals stemmed from on-site investigations to negotiate physical, social and cultural boundaries of the area. Touching upon the concerns raised by the locals, the interventions aimed to rehabilitate the struggles that interfere with inhabitants' daily routines without ruining the compatibility of the spatial experience with their everyday. This paper critically discusses these interventions in relation to the findings of ethnographic research and questions the informative role everyday analysis in design practice.

SESSION 17

FIELDWORK AS LOCATION OF POLITICS

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ENGAGED AND COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH ON URBAN MARGINS: REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH POSITIONS, RELATIONS AND CATEGORIES

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The questions raised in this paper are fruit of a research that has been realized since 2011 as a PhD research on the discursive and regulative impact of Roma educational (and not) policies on the lived experiences and strategies of Roma students and the other actors of education (students, teachers, families, NGOs, etc.) in a city of Hungary and Italy. An ethnographic fieldwork has been carried out since 2011 in Pécs and Naples in the selected “peripheries”.

The research itself is an engaged, collaborative research, while the meaning of collaboration itself has been defined and applied in different ways since 2011: using collaborative research methods with students in the classroom, regular meetings with school staff, involving NGOs into the production of scientific papers on the topic. It is a still ongoing research, in its phase of (collaborative) analysis. The research has been carried out with interruptions, changing positions and thanks to its topic and contexts involves several ethical and methodological concerns. As the main focus of the research is the deconstruction of terms and categories used to approach the “question of Roma students”, there is a continuous self-reflection on the terms and categories used by the research itself. According to this, in my presentation I am going to talk about some of the most burning questions that emerged in the interactions to which the research has been exposed to.

Doing collaborative research implies a political approach given its objective of “empowering” the actors themselves and facilitating the emergence, i.e. the politicization of issues considered as given in the actual context. I am going to reflect on the difficulties of keeping a balanced position among different actors who are immersed in local power relations. An ethnographer – whether having or not an explicit engaged approach – easily finds itself in a situation, where different actors challenge its responsibility, role, utility and capacity for intervention. While critical ethnography can give a precious contribution to policy evaluation by challenging not only the very basic grounds of the policies but also the terms and categories along which they are usually evaluated. Engaged research though can be interpreted as a way of making political certain issues on local level by highlighting them and provoking critical reflection on them. In the case when a research first of all is positioned according to its local “utility” and its potential for facilitating dialogue, it implies an ethical and epistemological standpoint which always needs to involve a very strong reflection on the power structures and discrimination and puts the researcher under a continuous pressure to revise the choices of collaboration, i.e. with whom, which way and to what extent collaborate. I will try to reveal the politics involved in constructing my target group and/or collaborators and the form, level and limits of collaboration. I am going to analyze the question of otherness, its different layers and the achievements and limits of collaboration in this regard, just like my perceived and real position in the power relations in the (g)local context, reflecting on the shifting positionality of an international researcher. Moreover, I attempt to reveal the spatial politics involved in constructing my research sites, i.e. opting for the peripheries, the definition of peripheries, camp, ghetto, and the stigmas the selected areas hold. The paper offers some examples of how the researcher’s (continuously changing) performance itself puts in motion the analyzed questions on the field: the way I have constructed and negotiated my identity as a researcher, including facts of my private life, or the other way around, how much was my research shaped or adapted to my private life. These “facts” and the way they influenced my relations on the field all invoke wider issues as North-South, West-East, ethnicity, gender, age aspects and so on. I am going to look at on the way emotions and lived experiences of the researcher on the field do play a role in the knowledge produced by the research and how is it possible to critically engage with the emotions, while considering them as a substantial element of the research process.

The presentation includes materials prepared by the collaborators of the research.

BETWEEN THE GURU AND HIS FOLLOWERS: POWER RELATIONS AND POSITION OF A FEMALE RESEARCHER

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In this paper I will describe the power relations that came into existence during the fieldworks of my PhD research, that dealt with a Hindu religious ascetic community in India and its leader (the Jagadgurū Rāmānandācārya Rāmnareśācārya), and I will also describe how positionality influenced my work.

During the years of my fieldwork, the power relation between me and the Jagadgurū was clear: only through his permission I could start my research in his monastery. I had to respect his schedule and his availability; I could go to some places or attend some ceremonies only thanks to his permission. However, because of his support I got a particular power among his lay followers. Because of my being a researcher, he conferred me a privileged position compared to other lay people, during religious events and celebrations. However, this privileged position grew over the years together with the opportunity for me to collect information. At the beginning of my first fieldwork, my presence in religious events created a lot of curiosity. I used to sit in a corner to avoid people notice of me and modify their

behavior. I was also hesitant in taking pictures because I was afraid to cause the displeasure of the Jagadgurū and the people in attendance. When the Jagadgurū realized that my presence was persistent, that I was really motivated in my research and, at the same time, very respectful of the local costumes, he began to introduce me to the audience every time, so that people would understand my purpose there and accept me as he had done. He allowed me to take pictures and to record whatever I thought could be important for my research. In the second fieldwork my relationships with many of his devotees were already established, so that those who already knew me would introduce me to other people, or people would sometimes come up to speak to me. Sometimes, having participated to the same event the year before, I felt more confident in asking questions and being part of conversations about it. At that time, I was always in the front line, pushed by people who wanted to help me. In some cases I became the “doer” (as a real devotee) of particular worships (*pūjā*), because the Jagadgurū ordered me to do it. Although this earned me a lot of respect among the devotees, I sometimes felt guilty for stealing the place of someone who would have rejoiced in being chosen by the Jagadgurū more than me. Through my emotional reaction and the inner elaboration of my encounter with informants I realized that the fieldwork data depended not only on the power relations that had been created over the years, but also on my position as an individual. My being “me” had influenced the way in which I lived the fieldwork and how I constructed the ethnographic account. In effect, as explained by Elizabeth Chiseri-Strater, positionality refers to the fact that all the “researchers are positioned by age, gender, race, class, nationality, institutional affiliation, historical-personal circumstances, and intellectual predisposition” (1996: 115). The variable that mostly influenced my fieldwork, with consequences both for personal relationships and the collection of materials, was my gender. In a country in which the majority of women still live under a man protection, the fact that I was living far away from my family, unmarried and childless piqued the curiosity of many people. However, I received lot of respect from the people because I always wore traditional Indian clothes, and I behaved in a humble a respectful way, following people’s instructions in various situations. Although my being a woman influenced my participation in religious places and celebration, and sometimes made difficult to enter in the male-dominated ascetic world, as a foreigner I was supposed to have a freedom unthinkable for Indian women, that allowed the majority of men to talk freely with me and to spend time with me, while also very consciously expressing their concern for my safety and comfort. My status as a foreigner also gave me an elevated social status because white people are often associated with wealth. My Italian nationality was “useful” as well, since the longtime president of the Congress Party, Sonia Gandhi, is Italian. This fact gave me the opportunity to easily talk about politics with almost anyone. However my nationality was also understood as part of a bigger entity: the West. I was a representative of Western culture, so I had to explain or justify or contradict many general wrong understanding about “western” culture. In fact, since many Indians think that Westerners are dirty, they often inquired me if I had taken a bath; and similarly, they accused me to be not vegetarian, as they thought that all Westerners eat meat. I was also asked with questions dealing with marriage, easy divorces, sexual freedom or revealing clothing. Therefore, in this paper, describing how my “power” changed throughout the years of fieldwork, and how my “position” influenced my research, I aim to provide an example of how power relations can determine the quality of data collecting, and how to be the researcher aware of his/her “position” can be useful in understanding his/her place also in the fieldwork, and by consequence, how his/her data can be influenced by that.

DISTURBANCE IN POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY: WHAT IS NOT SAID ABOUT FIELDWORK?

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In considering fieldwork as “Location of Politics” (Abélès, 1983), issues on how the field is constructed in its political assumptions demand further clarification. This requires both a reflexive approach and a political awareness of ones fieldwork practices. Anthropologists rarely engage themselves in such explanations, because doing so could be seen as a definitive stance in contradiction with usual fieldwork practices which assume openness, adaptation and evolution (depending on the context and circumstances). Nevertheless, this kind of exercise has the advantage of helping us to define the political relationship we have with our subject of investigation. First, the choice and the definition of the field are not neutral. Then, the question of access to the field immediately influences anthropological work. Without the availability of the people who welcome the anthropologist, she would not be able to collect ethnographic data. This access right is the subject of “invisible negotiations”. Such contracts are often a fools’ game, because the ambitions of anthropologists rarely meet the expectations of their respondents (Olivier de Sardan, 1995). If he reveals his opinions, the anthropologist risks being excluded, if she remains on the sidelines, the restitution can take the form of a brutal unveiling which will generate a sense of betrayal among those who received the researcher. Thus, fieldwork always involves singular ethnographers in more or less clear interactions, and most often at variance with one another. This can be a problem when one does not share the ideological orientations of the main interlocutors, as is the case for me. To work as an anthropologist on right-wing populism is a “borderline situation” raising anthropological, political and ethical questions. These problems appear each time anthropologists face situations where forms of the exercise of power take a humanly debatable bias. In these cases, the collaborative approach takes on an adverse signification and another stance is required.

In practice, one develops a different way of working, which necessitates putting a part of oneself on standby to better absorb ideas repugnant to most colleagues. The ethnographic report will thus be achieved by an effort in drafting which is also a way of breaking free from the ideologies assimilated. The inquiries thus carried out question the episteme of classical anthropology and create confusion within the discipline. Why? First, because anthropology can no longer approach such margins with its customary solicitude. This has the effect of destabilizing the usual

patterns: the compassionate and the collaborative approach. More fundamentally, the anthropological discourse is decentred because right-wing populism turns upside down the differentialist theories to the benefit of whites and considers the universalist and antiracist assumptions of the discipline with varying degrees of hostility. The nature of the anthropologist's task changes because she must now describe the new forms of conflict she experiences. Hostility (contained and more or less silenced) creates a dissonance that must be elaborated. The fact remains that most researchers who devote themselves to these studies belong to the directly targeted groups (Jews, Muslims, feminists, gays) and this particularity raises questions on the fears of some and on the relative disinterest of others. If this research is undertaken in a desire to understand the roots of the hostility the researcher is subjected to, how does this influence the analysis? The theorization effort is closely linked to what we experience subjectively because we are committed with our body, our emotions and our intellect. The first French political scientist to carry out an investigation within the National Front leadership connects this commitment to his family history: "I did not at all have the attitude of a researcher in political science but rather that of a clandestine, an agent in an undercover mission among the enemy. A bit like dad, you might say. A way of replaying the story by mimicking it in a pathetic or grotesque manner. A fascination with evil and its banality. As if I needed to approach it, to tame it, to face up to it, possibly to hurt myself and not come out unscathed, and maybe more. This evil that should have caught up with my mother and father and prevented the birth of a child of the Glorious Thirties, who received as a first name the pseudonym of a resistant (Birenbaum, 2015)." Such an undertaking has every reason to entertain those who are designated as the enemy in this career path. Besides, they willingly lend themselves to the game of the anthropologist by letting themselves be interviewed. Why do we need to replay that scene to study it? What singular mode of politics unfolds in this ethnographic encounter? How can we produce a shift in these situations to thwart repetition?

FROM A PLACE TO ANOTHER, THE VIRTUES OF DISCOMFORT. LOCATED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT POLITICS (MEXICO, OAXACA)

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My fieldwork has been characterized by rumours, police repression, permanent suspicion and accusations of co-option of everyone against everyone. In this context, is it possible to escape from the dynamics of "enclage" or ostracisms inherent to the strong polarisations that pervade the local society? In Oaxaca (Mexico), my experience often appeared to be some kind of a role game: I had to comply with roles that were assigned to me. I thus, unwillingly, occupied different, contradictory, yet non exclusive, social places. In fact, the same people or groups may well have successively assigned me distinct roles. I was conducting my investigations about teachers' political engagement within the different social spheres they evolved in (profession, trade union, association, family). In this context, in turns I was an emissary of the local board of the teachers' union, a local government spy, an engaged foreign researcher, an unknown confidante for the span of an afternoon, an assistant in the classroom, or a companion at the *cantina*.

It gave me the opportunity to analyse my fieldwork – and my research object – in a subjective way, based on experiences and encounters that took place along these various situations. Indeed, I believe that a situated knowledge is not a bias but a perspective on the world. Thanks to the roles that I took on, I had an access to different normative systems. In the context of shared experiences, by occupying different places, I could apprehend the social complexity of relations to norms and values. Consequently, the fieldwork appears to be "an apparatus to seize the social world" that "is achieved in very variable circumstances, swaying from one moment to another, from one sojourn to another, from one social universe to another, from the investigator to his/her alter ego" (Naepels 2012 : 79). This variability of the circumstances of the investigation is something very different from a barrier because it allows to seize the complexity of the social worlds and moral systems that characterise them. Analysing the contexts of enunciation *a posteriori*, I was able to identify which practices were socially stigmatized and which were trivialised within the local society: with respect to the sick stranger, the trade union board's emissary, the researcher, the companion at the bar I successively was...

Another dimension that I would like to talk about for this communication is that of "ethnographic troubles". I conceive them as heuristic troubles at the heart of intersubjective relations that characterise the investigation, as being another place for politics. Dissonances, background noises, or discomfort, everything that "does not fit" deserves to be considered: cases, singularities, deviances, saliences or variations that affect the reality offer us an comprehension of the social worlds observed. Because they mangle certainties and preconceived frameworks of thought, these disruptive dissonances may well be ignored, forgotten or reconsidered during the iterative process of investigation and writing. And, as Auyero et Joseph remind us, ethnography is "particularly well-equipped to capture the practice of politics (strategic choices), the signification of these practices (culture/meaning making) as they unfold [...], and the confusions, emotions, and uncertainties that, although inherent in all forms of political action, conventional political analysis tends to dismiss (or ignore) as either "noise" or anecdotal information with no relevance for what 'really' matters" (2007: 3). I therefore propose to explore how a reflexive approach of these kinds of ethnographic data allowed me to forge the major part of my analysis on political subjects. Since I am interested in the more or less formal dynamics governing daily political life, I investigated the trade unions' territories as well as those "in the village" in this region. In an "overgrazed" and politically saturated field, it is important to take advantage of the situation so that the analysis of politics may be investigated further.

In my presentation, I will, on the one hand, propose the narrative of a series of "situations" (Bazin 1996) for these two axes. On the other hand, I will trace out the various processes that enabled me – or not – to unveil elements of analysis of that political field.

BETWEEN TENSION AND REFLEXIVITY: INVESTIGATING ON MIGRANTS' RIGHTS WITHIN THE ITALIAN PUBLIC HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

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In this contribution I want to reflect, through some field-notes extracts, on some personal tensions that emerged during an anthropological research I carried out in an Emilia-Romagna's Public Health System hospital. In this field I have been engaged both as a Ph.D. researcher, willing to investigate the capability of informed consent to protect or not migrant patients' right to health, and as an anthropologist-tutor – for six health care professionals – having a specific educative responsibility: identifying critical situations in the relations between health care professionals and migrant patients in order to develop more equal relationships of care.

By presenting some extracts taken from my field-notes, my aim is to present how difficult is to access the field, to get in touch with the informants, to find a place – physically and symbolically – for an anthropologist inside a complex context such as a public hospital. I will particularly focus on the stereotypical ways those health care professionals I was working with used to define me as an anthropologist (an ethnicity expert, a cultural mediator, an interpreter) and, at the same time, the strategies they used to slowly understand and accept my presence on the field.

Our difficulties to develop a collaborative relationship - together with the difficulties I have been facing the patients - are going to be the starting point to reflect on the ambiguities of doing research in health care settings. In particular, I will focus on the process of accessing the fieldwork, finding legitimacy and negotiating my position inside the relation with the other stakeholders. I will arise methodological and epistemological questions concerning anthropology's public and applied role (Borofsky 2007, 2011; Scheper-Hughes 1995).

Even if most of the time I felt “*spaesata*” (Dal Lago e De Biasi 2002: XV) on the fieldwork, all the dilemmas I had to face - ethical, methodological and epistemological ones – have been somehow proactive. They forced me to actively think and to experiment the “cross-eyed methodology” described by Augé (1993: 108). I turned doubts into practical questions: how can I be helpful to the health care professionals? How and what to teach them? How to make my knowledge effective?

While being on the field, I directly experienced the ways anthropologists are stereotypically described as related to some “elsewhere”. Starting from this point, I have been trying to show to the health professionals I was dealing with how, instead, an anthropologist can help deconstructing the natural, the obvious and the “cultural implicit”. My constant reflection on anthropology's practical applicability has been a journey in stages both for me and for the health professionals. They gradually understood and legitimized the anthropological point of view. Deconstructing the definition of biomedicine, together with its ways to define and treat bodies and, consequently patients, the health professionals and me, we started checking theoretical interpretations and related problems in order to find, thanks to a critical medical anthropological approach, new ways to co-produce and to implement changes in the everyday medical practice.

The field has been confirmed to be a place of action (Navarini 2001: 287) where relationships and confrontation can become strategic spaces of possibility (Carrithers, 2005). Doing research through intuition, improvisation, *bricolage* (De Sardan 2013: 30) imposed me a “state of constant vigilance, perpetual unavailability in order to not let be driven by half-truths or preconceived ideas” (Said 2014: 36). Within the ethnographic encounter, the anthropologist - as a part of his/her own time- “chooses to not integrate” (*idem*, 64) and «to actively engage practical life, as a constructor» (Gramsci 1977: 1551).

Researching within a familiar socio-cultural context - like I did for this survey - leads the researcher to deeply practice the reflexive technique for what concerns the validity, the usefulness of anthropological knowledge, its methodological appropriateness and the researcher's self - as an active positioned and not neutral subject - too.

Somehow, the “moral disquiet” (Levi Strauss, 1997: 372) experienced by the researcher is the element that generates engagement. “The choice to engage is a moral act [...] engagement is not simply about the nobility of our discipline; it is also about deeply held core values and feelings about our individual identities and our roles as ethnographers and as real persons” (Davies 2010: 185).

Opening to the sense of the “Other” has implied, for me, becoming consciously responsible (Levinas in Nguyen 2007: 35). In a certain sense, it is exactly his/her analytical skills that make the anthropologist engaged: “by turning his gaze, the anthropologist could not only describe a transformation [...] but trigger it” (Rich 2013: 260).

Contemporaneity, therefore, requires anthropologists not only to look “elsewhere” but also to the socio-cultural contexts they are familiar with: anthropologists' journeys don't take place in terms of geography anymore, but in terms of existential and belonging-related process. Anthropologists should use the “cultural relativism as a methodological position, as a critical approach in order to understand reality” (Biscaldi, 2009: 128) and avoid the choice mentioned by Levi Strauss (1997: 371) in *Tristes Tropiques*.

THE POLITICAL AND MORAL LIFE OF FIELDWORK: SOME REFLECTIONS FROM AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE MILITARY POLICE IN BRAZIL

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This submission is based on my ethnographic research that inquiries on how the military police work *vis-à-vis* residents of a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Drawing mostly from Didier Fassin's perspective of Moral Anthropology, I base my project on a year-long ethnography in a Military Station located in a *favela* set in the *mata atlântica* at the margins of a high income neighborhood.

Here, what I seek to explore are the potentialities of thinking about ethnography as both a political and a moral zone. My point of departure is that political life is also a moral one. Morality is deeply enmeshed within the social life and is produced, reproduced and circulated within local settings. The political is built upon emotions, judgments and sentiments associated to it. Some of my leading questionings are: How is the political and moral life of the field displayed? How is the political expressed through the moral? How are political features -such as distribution of power relations- shaped by different moralities and *vice-versa*? And, how do emotions – of the researcher and her interlocutors- affect and shape the object of research itself?

The Military Police is perceived as a dominant actor in front of their public -namely the urban poor- and the police is seen almost unanimously as one of the most brutal conductors of violence in the city. However, their figure as dominant actors is constantly confronted and challenged in daily relations both within the institution and beyond it.

Patrolling with military soldiers in stigmatized areas is not a taken-for-granted situation. Fieldwork with these soldiers was actually constituted of moments in which them and myself were both affecting and challenging one another. Our relations were always shifting, circumstantial and built on the delicate balance of skepticism and trust.

Engagement with the military police implies a sort of “surrender” and an effort to be captivated by an environment that often challenges the values and affects the moral core of the anthropologist. In a way, one must fall in love with something that *a priori* despises. Even if this metaphor sounds dramatic, ethnography in fact articulates some of the deepest emotions: excitement, joy, anguish, curiosity, desire, gratitude, fear, surprise, not to mention disappointment, distrust, frustration, and even boredom and loneliness. Indeed, ethnography is fuelled and shaped by the researcher’s emotions and the ones of her surroundings. And it is precisely the constant, uncomfortable emotional position of the ethnographer that drives this reflexive exercise.

Furthermost, in a setting where most soldiers are young men, the tension between engagement and the boundaries that the ethnographer cultivates -according to her own expectations and conditions- and realizing that this relation is not unilaterally established makes gender relations epistemologically relevant for ethnography.

The effects of my presence had both immeasurable effects and without a doubt echoed in the space between the police and the public. My presence in the streets was unavoidable, unexplainable and often uncomfortable for all three parties: the police, the public and me.

On a certain occasion, I found myself caught between a possible shootout between two soldiers and half a dozen young adults that were “hanging out” in an open terrace. According to both soldiers, the group was in possession of a handgun. While the two soldiers pointed nervously at the crowd, one of them, that I shall call “Souza”, indicated in a decisive tone that I should run down the stairs and hide in a tunnel through a close-by alley. A few minutes later, as we hurried out and into the Station, Souza told me -under his still faltering breath- that he reckoned if I hadn’t been present there would have -probably- been a shooting between them, injuring or maybe killing them or the “others”. He said it in an ambiguous tone, both relieved and infuriated by his own revelation. His resilient nervousness faded throughout the rest of the afternoon, but his emotions were so strongly expressed both verbally and corporally that I realized just how powerfully his sentiments spoke. My presence at the same time saved and condemned his work, his priorities and his actions. Maybe he really chose not to shoot at my presence, maybe his hesitation was perceived as weakness by others, maybe his concern for a young foreign female researcher without a bullet proof vest spoke to him louder than his duty of fighting at all cost *o tráfico* composed mainly by young black residents like the ones we faced. On another hand, my “anthropological curiosity” quickly faded in front of the very real possibility of risking my own life or witnessing a catastrophic encounter between the police and the residents, and even if I could not engage with the young male residents, I could only wonder about their emotions regarding this and other episodes that involve the police. Well beyond research, at that moment, all our lives were linked by an imperceptible balance of gestures, emotions and actions.

This and other scenes of my fieldwork exemplify how my presence shaped the context, and how this context reacted, retaliated, negotiated and resisted emotionally. Through this lens, ethnography is indeed a location of politics mediated by emotions.

Beyond whether or not I am able to answer my departing questionings, I hope to discuss the issue that the political is intrinsically a moral zone and that both features are intertwined and deployed among human relations, with specific implications during fieldwork.

In the opening line of “Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present” (2011) Didier Fassin states that “moral sentiments have become an essential force in contemporary politics”. This statement inspires us to think about ethnography as moved by both political and moral forces, as both dimensions can be placed within the ethnographic exercise and thus be addressed as constituting parts of it.

APPLIED REFLEXIVITY AND THE VALUE OF INTUITIVE EMPATHY ON THE FIELD

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One morning in August 2015, I was taking breakfast early in the living room of a modest hotel in the city of Punto Fijo, Falcón, Venezuela. I was enjoying a plate of papaya when a middle-aged gentleman began to look for conversation. The hotel accommodates high-qualified oil industry workers and executives who work on operations in Amuay refinery, located less than a kilometer away. Yet, it is rare to see a woman alone, most occupants are in a group, dressed in uniforms or special outfits, and there are very few women among them. “You are right to eat papaya, is good for your health.” He seemed curious about me. “What do you do here in Punto Fijo? Are you Venezuelan?” “Yes, I’m

an anthropologist, Venezuelan, but I live in France". I started to get on guard because I didn't want to talk about my research with people I did not know. It is too delicate a subject. "Ah, I'm very proud of Venezuelans who make career abroad, you must be very bright." "Thank you". He turned out to be the president of an oil supply company partnering with the Russians to build oil platforms to extract liquid gas offshore the coast of Falcón. I am sure my eyes gleamed with interest, but even though I was very interested I couldn't continue the conversation. Oil contracts are an extremely sensitive issue in Venezuela. "What do you work on?" He asked curiously. "On the culture of the inhabitants of the Paraguaná peninsula! On grazing goats and the relationship of the people who depend on them to desert areas." It was the most credible and naïve subject that came to my mind. To say that I was working on the refinery's explosion that left 48 dead and hundreds of wounded in 2012 was more than counterproductive. Indeed, the official policy of the Venezuelan oil company, PDVSA, and that of the Venezuelan government stated that the explosion was the result of sabotage activities of the "counter-revolutionary" opposition. That was the first time in ten days that I felt I was risking my safeguards, and even jeopardizing my permanence in the field. I could've easily been described as a spy for the Venezuelan opposition. Although the man was friendly and did not work directly on the Amuay refinery he would surely have links with PDVSA. The following day I tried to avoid the time and the table frequented by the man and his group of employees. I also tried to be as discrete as possible while in the hotel. We did not speak again and I tried not using Whatsapp since the wireless network that the hotel provided was named after the company that he told me he presided.

In this paper, I argue that those situations cannot be the main issue of my work. Since 1999, I have studied the nature of political relations that appeared within the governance policies of the "Bolivarian revolution" of President Hugo Chávez. In this specific case, the fieldwork carried out was to make participant observation in areas where the families affected live in the area reached by the explosion's shockwave; I particularly wanted to meet those who lost their homes, the wounded, the families of the deceased who were negotiating with institutions and struggling for recognition in a context in which management of the refinery denies all responsibility. My goal is not to condemn or criticize PDVSA, or the Chávez government; but to study how people in Punto Fijo are constructed as lawful or unlawful victims, and especially to see how they live with the uncertainty of such a status in everyday life. Indeed, due to the severe economic crisis, and the falling oil prices, Amuay refinery is in poor condition and poses a high risk for the inhabitants of the surrounding areas.

Following this reflection, I want to show in this paper that my reflexivity gesture is an applied stance, that it goes beyond the theoretical (Salzman 2002). My point is that my reflexivity makes no sense as a "self-analysis" because it would cover all of my work, since my fieldwork involves a permanent questioning about my political position. The way that I took precautions and "walled up" in that hotel in Punto Fijo is not my object of study, nor can it become the main issue within that object.

In this paper I will present the two levels in which applied reflexivity develops in my work. On one hand, the continuous critical analysis of Venezuela's political and social situation heightens my capacity when it comes to the approximation and construction of new objects. But this analysis unfolds within a practice committed to the intellectual debate in that country (Press articles, reports, and media participation). And it continuously feeds the criticisms to the authoritarianism of the "chavista" government. On the other hand, the construction of an intersubjectivity in the field, and the way of understanding the meaning, the experience and the place of action should be at a distance, at least temporarily, from committed practice (Bielh and McKay 2012). The ethnography becomes a political criticism that unfolds in constant movement, in a coming and going. From this unfolding arises what I have called intuitive empathy.

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THE SOCIOLOGIST AND THE VALUE-MAKER: INFORMATION AND IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT IN A HUB OF SOCIAL IMPACT ENTREPRENEURSHIP Issiaka Zougba, Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano, issiaka.zougba@unicatt.it

Ghana, a West-African country, is a fast-growing economy with booming demographics. The country is 238,535 km² large with about 26,000,000 inhabitants and a fast-growing middle class. Following the general trends on the continent, the booming demographics have entailed an economic counterpart in the form of a reputedly fast-growing market with its investment correlates. Popular and specialized business press rank the country as one of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world (Robb et. al, 2014; African Development Bank and OECD; 2015, 2016). Listed one of the 6 top African recipients of Foreign Direct Investment in the last five years and as the largest recipient in 2012 and 2013, the country is also reputed to feature a trend of robust growth, sustained by private foreign investment as well natural resources like gas and oil (African Economic Outlook; 2016). Other determinants of investment attraction like the rising purchasing power of a growing middle class and somewhat stable macroeconomic policies, demographics and political circumstances add up to the countries appeal in the eyes of business actors. Naturally, this has attracted the attention of many business actors from various horizons, and especially from the investment sector. The new impetus for social impact investment and entrepreneurship and its appeal within the sustainability debate has consistently earned the concept a key position on the continental scene, and in this context, Ghana has become one of the favorite social impact hubs.

Yet, despite the glitters and glows, the country's entrepreneurship environment is marred by adverse macro and micro-economic determinants like fiscal deficit, public debt, inflation. Besides, a series of structural challenges like burdensome taxation and bureaucracy, limited access to credit, infrastructural deficit, rising unemployment, income

gaps and widespread corruption remain serious impediments to business advancement (Sackey et. al, 2013; Puplampu, 2013; Akorsu, 2013; Adamako, 2015; The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and The World Bank; 2016).

In this heterogeneous business landscape, the socio-economic playground is peopled by 3 main players with their own agendas and visions: firstly, local entrepreneurs and candidates hold the center of the scene in their daily struggle to “pitch” their ideas and attract capital; secondly, local and foreign investment stakeholders with their several investment agendas and portfolios try to place their “bets” on the most promising startups; and finally, the omnipresent public sector with its regulatory prerogative acts as a kind of general referee – and in some cases, not seldom as judge and party.

As each category of players enters the game with its own agenda and its own competitive strategy, the power relations between such actors assume a cryptic dynamic. Alliances are done or undone depending on short or long-term objectives; trust between players and credibility thresholds become subject to the conflicts of interest at play; networks trends obey a series of ambiguous and often obscure social, cultural and economic motives.

With a theoretical background in the study of the connection between business and society (Polanyi, 1944; Geertz, 1973, 1978; Granovetter, 1985) applied to current development in strategic management scholarship (Freeman, 1984; Emerson, 1996; Porter and Kramer, 2009, 2011) the original research agenda seeks to investigate the creation of shared value through social impact investment in local entrepreneurship. This, therefore, implies an exploratory embedded case study research (Yin, 2003, 2014) with interviews to relevant stakeholders, participant observation and, if applicable, the analysis of archival records.

However, in such discombobulated context with its constellation of conflicting and interwoven interests, I have found myself immediately caught into a web of relations and offsetting power games. The mere rationale of my presence as an embedded researcher investigating the boons and banes of entrepreneurship in a context where such is considered a sensible topic has started to stir a sense of uneasiness among the respondents and I was soon faced with a challenge of reconsidering my assumption, reworking my research protocol. Hence, I have been compelled to undergo a series of readjustment of my assumption, my position and my status, together with the reassessment of my scope in the effort to take the full measure of the circumstances so as to elaborate an appropriate response to the challenging politics at work. My paper builds on this experience.

As a doctoral researcher, I have come to realize that as much as I am constantly (dis)oriented by the politics enacted in the field, I also (dis)orientate the nature and direction of such politics. Thus, by accounting for the power dynamics triggered by my research and my presence in a predominantly business-oriented field, I intend to discuss the power relations I am caught into and the strategies and tactics I enact in order to pursue my own research agenda. More specifically, by building on Geertz (1978) and Goffman (1983) the paper investigates how the control, management and access to information conceals patterns of winner-takes-all power games and how the fields and the interaction therein are framed around what Goffman calls impression management dynamics in such a way that, through awareness of these field politics, the researcher can become both an informed player and/or the victim of the drama being enacted.

SESSION 18

RETHINKING “EUROPE” THROUGH AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ITS BORDERLANDS, PERIPHERIES AND MARGINS

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“BEING LOST” AS A SPACE OF THE STRANGER, OR AS A SPACE OF EMANCIPATORY POSSIBILITIES?

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All authors are part of the Asylum University initiative at the Radboud University, which is an informal movement bringing together academics, students, activists, volunteers, citizens, undocumented migrants, refugees (both waiting for the procedure as well as those with a “legal status”), and just people to find ways to collaborate with each other in ways that transform knowledge production processes part of University life.

At a time of heightened anxiety, fear and need to fix “the Other” – the Stranger – in place, occasioned by unprecedented inflows of refugees into Europe, we pose the question to what extent, and in what productive manner, Europe might “get lost” in the world today. Starting from a fraught moment of racialized interrogation of supposedly “mistaken identity/location” experienced by one of the co-authors along the Dutch/German border of Nijmegen (The Netherlands) and Kleve (Germany), we contextualize such an encounter within a modernist tradition of 20th-century writing and reflection on the figure of the *flâneur*, while additionally drawing on anarchist-situationist practices of *dérive* and

détournement, the better to tease out the political potentiality inherent in the act of “getting lost” in a cross-border region such as the one we collectively inhabit. Placing intra-European spatial practices critical of capitalist modernity in dialogue with postcolonial writings on 18th-century slave maroon societies at the so-called peripheries of European empire, we explore to what extent the act of “getting lost” conjoined with “going maroon” may be recuperated today by refugee and migrant solidarity groups within Europe’s borderlands so as to open up emotional pathways beyond fear, partition, isolation and the need for purified spaces of security. To empirically substantiate our argument, we build on a multitude of everyday spatial practices of migrant solidarity networks in which we are actively engaged astride our Dutch/German border.

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EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP UNDER SIEGE. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE ITALIAN AND SPANISH MIGRATIONS TO GERMANY DURING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

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The contemporary economic crisis has produced an increasing unemployment in the EU, particularly among young people (Eurostat, 2015). Nevertheless, the crisis did not affect all EU countries equivalently. Unemployment and GDP rates show an increasing difference among EU states (Eurostat, 2015), which leads to strong core-periphery dynamics (King et al. 2014). On the one hand, there are the “peripheral countries” (mainly in Southern and Eastern Europe) with high youth unemployment levels and a negative or almost zero GDP growth; on the other hand, there are the “core countries” (mainly in North-Western Europe) displaying a reverse trend. As for example, while countries as Spain and Italy registered an increasing youth unemployment rate up to 54% and 42% respectively from 2008 to 2013, Germany in the same period diminished its youth unemployment to 8% (Eurostat, 2015).

In times of economic crisis, the freedom of movement in the EU has represented a chance for the workers of peripheral countries to find better employment opportunities in the core-countries. During the period 2010-2014, for instance, Germany registered an increase of Spanish and Italian residents: approximately 41.000 Spaniards and 57.000 Italians (DESTATIS, 2015). However, EU workers’ mobility is put into question in country like UK, Germany, Austria, Belgium or Denmark, where the political demands to minimise the access to the welfare provisions of EU citizens are becoming stronger.

Drawing from a study carried out with Italians and Spaniards aged 18-39 years who moved to Germany for work since 2008 and carried out in the regions of Berlin and Baden-Württemberg (in the cities of Freiburg and Mannheim) between July 2014 and July 2015, this paper aims to question the validity of the category of “EU citizens” to identify these people as well as the category of “intra-European mobility” for define these recent fluxes of people. The research was driven by an ethnographic methodology grounded in the participant observation, both physical and virtual, and 60 in-depth interviews with migrants and privilege testimonies trying to explore the migratory stories of these people who, being EU citizens, would enjoy the same rights and opportunities as the German nationals.

Based on the subjects’ experiences, in terms of insertion in the German labour market and welfare system, the analysis articulates the category of “EU citizens” with that of “migrants” (Sayad, 2002), in order to moves the focus towards the patterns of subordination and exclusion which these workers could take during their socio-cultural insertion in Germany.

Firstly, the results of the study show that the majority of people who move within the contemporary Spanish and Italian migratory fluxes toward Germany live a condition of “semi citizenship” (Cohen, 2014) which is a signal of a step back in the EU constitution project and put into question the aim of promoting a sense of European identity, carried out during the last decades. Secondly, the results displays that the practices, declared and uncovered, which try to restrict the access to the welfare services to the national-citizens put into question the legal equality among who live in Germany by the creation of different classes of citizens with different citizenship rights.

BORDERING SUBJECTS. THE UNSPOKEN INCORPORATION OF UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS IN ITALY

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While research on immigration control has generally focused on the conditions under which undocumented migrants are eventually removed, my research’s focus is on the far more frequent conditions under which undocumented migrants are informally allowed to remain despite official permission. My research investigates the discourses and practices of undocumented immigration control in Bologna, Italy, by analyzing data on the interaction between police, justices of the peace, and undocumented migrants at the *internal borders*. Importantly, the border is here understood not as a line dividing the inside from the outside, but as a space where discretion is exercised and decisions about

belonging are made. The research is based on quantitative and qualitative methods: analysis of files on pre-removal detention (2011-2013), one-to-one interviews with migrants, police officers, and judges, and ethnography of trials for immigration crimes. As global dynamics can be studied at the local level, so too the local contexts provide a vantage point from which to observe how border control operates in Europe, in order to uncover hidden logics of control.

The case study shows that at the Italian internal borders undocumented migrants are continually undergoing police checks, being charged for immigration crimes, and even detained. Few are actually removed; the great majority remains and finds its place in the Italian shadow economy. Police manage illegality rather than enforcing removals, using non-enforcement of immigration laws as effectively as enforcement itself. Undocumented migrants are managed through what may be defined as *acceptable levels of illegality*, constantly negotiated by the social agents: not just the police and justices of the peace, but also migrants themselves play a role in deciding the *rules of the game* in the interaction. Focusing on the “differential inclusion” of undocumented migrants informally allowed to remain in Bologna, paper’s main argument is that what we see in Bologna is a logic of inclusion rather than exclusion, whose main result is the production of a subject who may not completely belong, yet is not completely excluded either. The paper discusses the hypothesis according to which at the local level the production of borders works as a provisional admission policy to include undocumented migrants, though in a subordinated position. I interrogate the interaction between undocumented migrants, police, and justices of the peace during internal border control as the process of producing new global subjects under changing global conditions and persisting blind national laws. The simultaneous production of the subject and border taking place during the interaction between the social agents at the Italian internal borders, it interrogates the mechanisms of belonging and the construction of membership in the European project. Transnational perspective seems the most suitable in order to capture the process through which undocumented migrants are produced as new “transnational subaltern subjects”. The new transnational subaltern subjects represent a key-site from where to observe the dynamic of global laws and global discourses meeting local practices.

The case of Bologna shows how undocumented migrants are disciplined, included, compelled to work irregularly and to comply with authority. The “crimmigration” model speaks of excluding people, and this is true of one part of the mechanisms of control in Bologna. Removals occur, and they are painful. But these mechanisms do not just exclude; they also distinguish by creating mobile borders through which undocumented migrants are produced as subjects provisionally included in Bologna. However, undocumented migrants are not just in Bologna; they are in every city in Europe. The hypothesis here is that every city has rules to regulate and manage migrant “illegality”, and every city has different acceptable levels of “illegality” for undocumented migrants to be informally allowed to remain. Therefore, this research may be replicated in other local contexts, both in Italy and in other European countries, in order to show how the “obscure of inclusion” possibly operates behind a “scene of exclusion” of crimmigration laws. The experiences of undocumented migrants living in national territories complicate the mechanisms of belonging and the construction of membership in the European project, through laws and institutional practices. At stake is the ability of research to elaborate new categories to recognize the existence of these subjects as a product of the law, not of its failure: as a product of a complex normative context, discourses, conflicting powers, and negotiation.

RETHINKING THE DOORSTEP: ASPECTS OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION IN RHODES ISLAND, GREECE

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In recent years, Greece has been experiencing a mixture of crucial issues whilst political, economic and social conditions are being transformed rapidly. Under the pressure of a multifaceted economic crisis, Greece has introduced and is implementing challenging fiscal measures, resulting to a long and cumulative reduction of GDP. Moreover, austerity has led to underinvestment in critical areas of the state (i.e. health, education and social benefits). Alongside, Greece and especially the eastern islands of the Aegean sea came lately at the forefront of International Mass Media through images reflecting the drama of both refugees and the local authorities to manage in multiple levels the growing flow of humans crossing the shores between Turkey and Greece. The dimensions of this massive flow from the “Global South” to reach Europe are not just humanitarian, but they are also associated with much broader issues, against which Europe seeks for solutions.

In that conjuncture, Greece appears to be standing in a peculiar bifurcation. On the one hand, the very process of refugee/immigrant identification reproduces a hierarchical relationship between them and the authorities that negotiates both the identity of economic immigrant or refugee and re-establishes the identity of the European “gatekeeper”. On the other hand, the economic crisis triggers a re-consideration of issues to be faced by Greece as member of the European Union. In reality, therefore, the convergence of two crises in the ethno-statal formation of Greece places the country on the European “doorstep” managing others who wish to enter and ready to be expelled herself. Nevertheless, apart from various heterogeneous identifications, the very same “doorstep”, Greece –within the European context- discusses its own forms of inclusion and belonging.

The South-Eastern island complex of Greece, namely the islands of Rhodes and Kos of the Dodecanese region, is the centuries-old home to an indigenous Muslim community. The presence of a heterodox community in the religiously homogeneous Greek society, has attracted some research during the last years regarding, mainly, issues of bilinguality and religious educational policy. Quite interestingly, the community has been subject to a significant transformation

of their social status during the interchange of regimes and sovereignties along the turbulent 20th century; from a preferential degree, to social “diversification” and finally to institutional neutrality. Based on the available bibliography and the historical events, this course of transformations implies, as a case study in Rhodes island, a long standing “othering” process which results to an embedded diversity in the island’s social formation. On the other hand, the centuries-long symbiotic relationship and the structuring of informal rules of contact with other communities constitute the Rhodian Muslims the “Traditional Others”, namely a well-integrated but still diverse reality of the local society.

Against that social particularity, the mixed migration flow in Rhodes island represents the “New Other”. The current wave of immigrants is not the first one to reach the island. The early 1990s saw immigrants from Eastern Europe arriving on the island. The two waves, however, can hardly be compared for quantitative and qualitative reasons. The cultural background, the growing numbers and the period of financial crisis obstacles the integration of the current migration flow leading to their economic, social and legal vulnerability. Moreover, the forced movement refugees who are mainly seeking to move on to other EU countries, raises distinctive issues. Nonetheless, as far as immigrants are concerned, they represent the new diversity in the “othering” process.

This study interrogates the potential forms of inclusion in marginal spaces by focusing on the case study of Rhodes, Greece. The “periphery” in which Rhodes is placed, is more than a geographical one. The socio-economic conjuncture of Greece, aggravated by the sense of insularity, projects in multiple ways the sense of European doorstep. Would it be possible for a conceptually transitional space to be inclusive? Based on the working concept of “shared trauma” an ongoing research examines whether two different perceptions of diversity could create connecting points between the “Traditional and the New Other”. The working hypothesis of the historic trauma, associated with the othering process experienced by Rhodian Muslims, may become a point of convergence with the trauma experienced by immigrants or refugees. Based on the fact of the shared faith, since both populations are predominantly Muslim, and on the case that Rhodian Muslim community is integrated, purpose of the study is to identify a point of contact with the local society for Muslim immigrants and refugees.

The present paper demonstrates tentative results of an ethnographical research based on in-depth interviews with Rhodian Muslims and immigrants and examines the hypotheses, namely the historical trauma experienced by the local Muslim community across the transformation of the social status and the trauma of “Otherness” experienced by immigrants; while it presents preliminary results on the study of possible convergence of the two traumatised populations.

MANAGING THE NEW MARGINS OF EUROPE: REREGULATIONS AND PETTY EXCEPTIONS IN THE DANISH-SWEDISH BORDERLANDS

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The so-called “refugee crisis” in Europe has been associated with moral panic, reintroduced border controls, European closure and, seemingly, the limit of liberal states’ “hospitality” (Khosravi 2012). Yet behind the political rhetoric and the increasingly restrictive policies adopted, state authorities and non-state agencies tasked with enforcing these policies have taken to innovative and sometimes rule-bending practices to cope with the everyday challenges of selectively enforcing immigration control. Approaching the proclaimed crisis as an event that may reveal underlying legal, political and ethical dilemmas inherent in the organization of immigration control, the paper takes the repoliticized borderlands between Denmark and Sweden as an example of how the “margins” of state control (Das & Poole 2004) have been rendered painfully visible in Europe’s midst. It explores the reinforced border and immigration control mechanisms deployed in the Danish-Swedish borderlands, centered around the Öresund Bridge, which connects – and separates – the two states and their responses to the recent “crisis”; and the ambivalent yet interdependent logics of minimalist, deliberately deterring humanitarian care and security (Walters 2013) that prevail there. However, rather than building new fortresses within the “fortress Europe”, the practices at these margins seem to be better described as “petty exceptions” (Fassin 2013), as officials and non-state agents on the street- and mid-level are compelled to balance contradictory legal, political, and moral logics in their enforcement of immigration control. Thus decentring state practices, the paper seeks to demonstrate how the current border regime is not only contested by migrants attempting to defy it, but also by those agents tasked with enforcing it. Alternatively, rule-bending practices may be an inherent and necessary feature of a “migration apparatus” (Feldman 2012) that operates between political calls for tougher control, a sense of moral responsibility towards migrants, an ambivalent public opinion, and limited resources.

“THIS IS A HARD LAND FOR EVERYBODY”: REFUGEES AND THE MEANINGS OF WORK IN AN UNEQUAL ITALY

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Drawing on eight months of fieldwork in two refugee centers in Italy, one in a marginalized Sicilian town and the other in a wealthy Northern city (January-October 2015), this paper explores how histories and structures of marginality shape the institutional reception of asylum seekers. Specifically, the paper focuses on the theme of employment or more accurately on the meanings of work circulating within and around the two centers. In the Sicilian case, the Italians working in the center had all experienced precarious and underpaid employment or protracted unemployment. These experiences did not generate a sense of empathy with the asylum seekers. By contrast, asylum seekers’ complaints about

long hours, delayed payment, and degrading working conditions were met with scorn and exasperation. Those asylum seekers who refused certain types of work, for example in the many greenhouses around the town, were labeled as lazy, uncooperative or unrealistic. By contrast, those asylum seekers who joined the many migrant workers employed in the greenhouses around the town were lauded as hardworking people. The predicament of recently arrived asylum seekers was met with more empathy by the established migrant communities of Tunisians, Moroccans, and Eastern Europeans. Unlike the Italians who emphasized how the asylum seekers needed to accept their underemployment as a shared condition, these migrants articulated a discourse of racial hierarchy and exploitation in the fields as well as the restaurants. Unlike the Sicilian refugee center, the Northern refugee center's attitude towards the issue of employment was driven by a concern with the heightened fragility of asylum seekers in the context of the economic crisis. Until recently the broader socioeconomic context allowed the center to train and find regular employment opportunities for the asylum seekers. As a result of the economic crisis, the path to employment has recently become less linear and when I conducted fieldwork those working at the center intensively debated the question of informal jobs and seasonal agricultural jobs outside the city and the region. For example, they complained about deceitful contracts offered to some of the asylum seekers or the tough working conditions imposed on them. They felt disappointed about the decision of two asylum seekers to go to a Southern region to pick up tomatoes during the summer instead of enrolling in a professional course to become plumbers offered by the center. They repeatedly discussed cases of migrant workers dying in the Southern agricultural fields in summer 2015. By discussing some preliminary findings on the distinct conceptions of work among Italians and refugees in Sicily and Northern Italy, this paper aims to draw attention to the connection between socioeconomic and symbolic marginality, institutional reception of refugees, and meaning-making processes in an unequal Italy (and Europe).

SHIFTING PERCEPTIONS OF EUROPE AND MOBILITY WITHIN CONTEMPORARY SENEGAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC AND DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

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During the past years the European crisis in parallel with the increasing enforcement and externalization of border controls that EU countries have undertaken towards African countries (2002), have deeply shaped the way in which Europe and migration are perceived in African countries of emigration. The areas originally characterized by flows of out-migration, such as Senegal, are experiencing not only a modification in the pattern of mobility; we can also appreciate the degree of social diversification in the way “Europe” is viewed and talked about. The narratives about migrants as well as images about foreign countries and migration contexts often become metaphors for thinking about social and cultural changes, which characterize both the destination countries and the local context themselves (cfr. Gardner, 1995). Drawing from findings of some ethnographic research undertaken between 1997 and 2009 (Riccio 2005; Degli Uberti 2014), we will look at the experiences and narratives of different Senegalese migratory phenomena: the so-called *Modou modou*, who from internal became the prototype of the international migrants, and the narratives of “boat migrants” who set off for the Spanish archipelago of Canary Islands risking their lives to “*gagner l'Europe*”. By looking at the everyday forms of interaction of migrants and their kin and broader social networks in a country of origin, the aim of this paper is to discuss how the social representation of Europe and the construction of an imaginary “Elsewhere” are deeply ambivalent and historically grounded. We aim to shed light on how the notion of migrant and Europe are multiple and ambivalent constructions, shaped by historical changes and deeply embedded within local context. We wish to discuss how mobility, history and imagination are intertwined concept in the understanding of the processes of social changes occurring between Europe and its borderlands and margins. The analysis of the social representation of “Senegalese migrants” in the country of origin will allow us to suggest how its ambivalence emerges not only by considering the historical dimension surrounding its definition, but also by the cultural shift surrounding the use of the term *Européen* in place of *Modou modou*. We will appreciate how the ambivalent character of the figure of *Modou modou* is tied to a specific perception of Europe, the “Elsewhere” where the migrants live. In this vein, we will turn our attention to the concept of *El Dorado* and to the meanings attached to the slogan “*Barça ou Barsakh*”. The theme of “imaginary” and the Representations of the “Elsewhere” by non-Western people have emerged as peculiar fields of reflection to understand the processes of social and migratory mobility in the countries of origin. With this paper we wish to discuss how the “Elsewhere” and the “trajectories of imaginary” are constructed historically within a Senegalese local context. The adoption of an historical perspective to study the social representation of Europe “from outside”, will allow us to retrace the individual and collective dynamics, the people's micro- and macro-level circumstances which inform a specific “culture of migration” and the ambivalent perception about “Europe”, calling into question its supposed stable notion. More specifically, by focusing on how culture and lifestyle inform mobility decisions, this work contributes to the study of the relationship between mobility and borders, problematizing the naive idea that Europe is collectively perceived as an homogeneous *El Dorado*. The ethnographic findings provide a grounded opportunity to show how imagination and the meaning of mobility play a role in the making and remaking of the notion of Europe, not exclusively as an undefined “Elsewhere”. We suggest that the representation of Europe is rather linked to the subjective experiences of individuals and shifts according to social changes and with transformation of migration itself. We aim to shed light on how some criteria such as history, language and place, produce a specific sense of spatiality, which in turn contributes to the formation of the frontier between “here” and “there”. The emotions and the gestures through which migrants and non-migrants think about migration and its real or imaginary destinations,

assume a great importance: the different historical forms of migrant representation shed light not only on the social and political transformations of Senegal but also on the social representation of Europe: the “Elsewhere”.

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EUROSPACES AND AFROSTARS: WEST AFRICAN MIGRANTS RE-VIEWING “DESTINATION EUROPE” FROM THE INSIDE

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In European policy arenas, West-African migrants (alongside other “unwelcome” migrants) are generally perceived as a threat to an integrated European space. Consequently, the mobility of these migrants across Europe are hindered by (re-)induced border control and immobilising asylum procedures. Moreover, individual member states still expect non-EU migrants to integrate in a specific nation-state. These national/sedentarist policies undermine and ignore the fact that the opportunities and lifeworlds of these migrants easily go beyond national borders.

Based on a trajectory ethnography – that aims to follow the twists and turns of migrants’ mobility processes through time and space – this study investigates how West-Africans experience and (re-)view Europe differently in different moments of their trajectories. From there it pays attention to the varied ways these migrants actively contribute to the integration of European spaces through their mobility, connectivity and border transgressions. In so doing, I mirror the lifeworlds and experiences of these *Afrostars* (that includes Senegalese, Gambian and Nigerian un/documented migrants), with the lifeworlds and experiences of the *Eurostars*, being portrayed by Favell (2003) as the mobile EU citizens that were the pioneers in the creation of an integrated EU. These insights suggest that, despite the exclusionary mechanisms of EU mobility regimes, the *Afrostars* are not very different from *Eurostars* in their creative ways of making and navigating European post-national spaces.

DEGREES OF “EUROPEANESS” ON THE AEGEAN TURKISH-GREEK BORDER: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SHIPS, MIGRANTS AND TURKISH TOURISTS AROUND THE GREEK BORDER ISLANDS

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In this paper, I use the conceptual frame of the “ship” to illustrate concretely the materiality that is attached to the Aegean Turkish-Greek border, in relation to the two most recent patterns of mobility that have developed simultaneously on its waters; Turkish tourism and migratory movements. Through an ethnographic gaze along with some of the theoretical tools provided to us by the discipline of cultural studies, specifically Gilroy’s conceptual framework of the “ship”, as a micro-political and micro-cultural symbol in motion, I examine what I call the different degrees of proximity to “Europeaness” that is, who is excluded and who is included in the name of “Europe” within these intense spaces of movement: the ferry on which the so called “White Turks” cross the border under the EU approved pilot visa scheme and the unseaworthy vessel with which other travelers struggle to reach the “European” side. I examine, in other words, how the Greek-Turkish maritime border across the Aegean Sea becomes implicated in competing projects of re-essentializing and de-essentializing the historically racialized boundary between “European” Greece and “Oriental” or “Asiatic” Turkey, by focusing on two points:

Firstly, the ship as an ideal space in movement with which to elaborate on the differences between a neoliberal multiculturalism that tends to expand a European nationalism, with Greek and/or Turkish accents (that is, the “Greeks” and the “Turks” as the ultimate brothers/heirs of the Aegean) versus a more ‘planetary cosmopolitanism’ that captures what is already operational and a de facto reality on the Aegean space, despite the increasingly EU border controls against it; the much larger nexus of lived spatial connections of and on the Aegean, between “Europe” and the many places beyond its borders from which migrants and Turks come, as well as the connections linking Athens, the islands, and various places in Turkey from which migrants transit (e.g. Istanbul). Thus, what a study of these two journeys reveals to us, I argue, rather than an “open” door for some and a “closed wall” for others, is a floating frontier which has brought nationalism and racism together, as the result of the externalized projection of “European” border zones. Secondly, when referring to the so called “refugee crisis,” the Greek government emphasizes how Greece has shown a “human face” to the refugees arriving by boat on the Greek islands, and has thereby projected its “European values.” Contrasting this hospitality on the Greek islands with the “inhumanity” on the part of the Turkish state, Greece effectively re-inscribes itself within “Europe” by depicting Turkey as the site, just beyond the borders of “Europe,” where “the problem” of a “migration” or “refugee crisis” begins. Thus, so this particular, in fact, “European” discourse goes – the actual reason for “the crisis” is a combination of Turkish governmental disregard for both the humanitarian

needs of the refugees and the predatory inhumanity of Turkish “smugglers” who are continuously “sending migrants to their deaths.” Nevertheless, Turkey is likewise figured as the ultimate site – emphatically “outside” of “Europe” – where a “solution” must be put in place, and, therefore, becomes “valuable European”.

Thus, I ask, what satisfies the requirements of upholding “European values”, in a context where such a high premium is placed on being useful and valuable to the EU-ropean project and the externalized projection of “European” border zones? How does “Europe” become visible on and through these movements? How, do these mobilities challenge the “Western”/ “Asiatic”, “civilization”/ “barbarism”, “hospitality”/ “hostility” and “legal”/ “illegal” dichotomies, when we think of, for example, the various so called “White Turks” on their ships, who, in order not to pay the port taxes, embark on the Greek islands “illegally” but, to whom the Greek authorities turn a blind eye? Thus, this paper examines the political instrument of the ship in order to understand where and as what does “Europe” emerges on the Aegean space, as it is shaped by and shapes the “European” travelers and its “others”.

HOW MANY EUROPE? EXCESS AND PROCESSES OF DIFFERENTIATION IN THE RECEPTION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS

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The paper reflects on the question of EUrope by examining the difficulties associated with the process of construction of the so-called “Common European Asylum System” (CEAS), which was started by the European Union (EU) in the Council meeting of Tampere in 1999. In particular, it aims at calling into question the smooth and undifferentiated image of EUrope as a “common area of protection” (European Council 2010), by looking at it from the perspective of migration. This implies adopting as the starting point of analysis the practices of mobility of those asylum seekers and refugees that subvert the politics of migration management imposed through the Dublin regulation and the policy of harmonisation. In this perspective, the reception of asylum seekers’ reveals itself as a privileged standpoint from which investigating what EUrope stands for nowadays.

The idea of a “common area of protection” underlies the creation of the CEAS, which is based on two main objectives. The first one is to provide asylum seekers with an equivalent level of treatment as regards reception conditions, regardless of where they lodge their asylum claim. The second one concerns the prevention or reduction of secondary movements within the EU, that is to say the movements made by asylum seekers between member states in opposition to the principles of the Dublin Regulation. The Dublin Regulation identifies the first country of entry as the one responsible for an asylum application, thus preventing asylum seekers from deciding where to lodge their claim and consequently being received.

The assumption implied by the idea of a “common area of protection” is that the EU is a smooth and even space, in which the context of reception does not matter. Such assumption has also been maintained by the recent emphasis on relocation and resettlement. Drawing from ongoing fieldwork in Italy and Sweden, the paper highlights the relevance of the contexts in which reception takes place and calls for identifying local contexts as privileged sites from which getting insights on the governing of asylum seekers. Even if it focuses mainly on two countries, the paper calls for moving beyond the national frame of analysis as it seems inadequate to analyse a regime of management of asylum seekers which operates by differentiating conditions and experiences both within and across national borders. The approach adopted is therefore multi-sited and implies an “ethnographic sensibility” (Shore & Wright 2011, p. 15) insofar as it involves an immersion in a space of governmentality, aiming at decoding the functioning of the reception dispositif, rather than an immersion in a specific place or institution intended to study daily practices.

The focus on local contexts shows that reception is constitutively in excess and thus open to multiple forms across as well as within states, while also being challenged through the unauthorized movements of migrants. The great heterogeneity resulting from such excess of reception frustrates the fiction of the smooth space of the “common area of protection”. On the contrary, this space looks very uneven and the “common area of protection” seems more similar to a machine for differentiation that multiplies asylum seekers’ experiences notwithstanding the supposed identical status.

The paper identifies three interrelated dimensions along which such machine for differentiation works. The first dimension is the geographical one and it relates to the differential experiences of reception deriving from the differences between local contexts themselves (i.e. cities vs rural areas, rich areas vs poor ones). The second dimension is the institutional one and it suggests that reception can be experienced in highly diverse ways even within the same local context because of different institutional arrangements (i.e. big reception centres vs small apartments, private accommodation vs temporary solutions like hotels, holiday resorts, former military barracks, and so on). The third dimension is the temporal one and it concerns the multiplicity of possibilities and future outlooks that asylum seekers encounter according to the place where they end up.

In conclusion, the paper argues that the provocative question in the title, which was originally posed by John Agnew (2001) already 15 years ago, is still a very pertinent one and can be fruitfully addressed from the perspective of asylum seekers. This perspective offers three main insights that can help in grasping the nature of EUrope in the present conjuncture. First, asylum seekers’ experiences of EUrope highlights that unevenness and fragmentation concerning levels of development, employment, and welfare provisions are an inherent feature of EUrope. EUrope has been multiple, contradictory, and uneven for long before the recent Eurozone crisis and “refugee crisis”. Second, the everyday practices of mobility of asylum seekers and refugees allow us to understand EUrope as a space of conflict, in which the reproduction of temporal and spatial borders and the governmental attempt to control and manage mobility are endlessly confronted by the “turbulence” (Papastergiadis 2000) of the practices of mobility. Third, EUrope seems

to be currently based upon a government of mobility which exploits the unequal distribution of opportunities and standards of living conditions both between and within states, while simultaneously differentiating subject positions.

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SESSION 19

DETENTION AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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PRISON VOLUNTEERS' PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF THE INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

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17 and 78 of Italian prison statute allows entry into prison to anyone “having real interest in the work of re-socialization of inmates and demonstrate that they can effectively promote the development of contacts between the prison community and the free society.” This rule is closely related to the art. 62 of European Standard Minimum Rules suggesting “use as far as possible, the cooperation of community organizations to help correctional facilities in the social rehabilitation of prisoners.”

The prison administration may authorize citizens to care and volunteer in prisons attend in order to share in the work aimed at the moral support of prisoners, and to the future reintegration into social life.

Assistant volunteers can cooperate in cultural and recreational activities of the institute under the guidance of the Director, who coordinates its activity and retains the power of supervision on them. If it is established attitudes contrary to the directives issued by the supervising judge or behavior that might compromise the security and order suspending the effectiveness of the authorization and informs the judge of the absence of a favorable opinion.

The goals of this study is to explore the nature of prison volunteering and to examine a profile of them: investigating issues such as why private citizens volunteer in prison, what their experience with inmates and interaction with facility staff are like.

Among methodological instruments improved for field research, ethnographic diary and semistructured interviews have been chosen because of their high suitability in observing everyday life of prison volunteers.

First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight members of the AVP association of Ivrea (Piedmont, Italy), regarding their experience, from November 2013 to April 2014: during that time, I was a volunteer at the Casa Circondariale of Ivrea (Piedmont, Italy) and I included this experience in the research through an ethnographic diary too. Starting from altruistic or faith-based motivation, volunteers pointed out the fact that they don't belong to the institution. With a clear process of distinguishing oneself from the representatives of the correctional facility, the interviewed volunteers typically described themselves as subjects that are not part of the institution, and therefore free from the logics and objectives that characterize professional operators. Even though they often complain about the fact that in the eyes of the inmate population, they are just the same as professional prison operators.

On the other hand the volunteers, even if they act following a help-oriented and maternal logic that aims to be external from the correctional facility, show themselves to be anything but immune to penitentiary logics. Even they get used to the non-answer of the institution, to the logic of concession and to the belief that a certain degree of violence is in prison's nature. They do not evade opportunistic dynamics, and just like prison staff, they also fall prey to the effects of an often unbearable environment, and of the claustrophobic tension that rules behind its wall.

Several volunteers spoke cynically about the political mainspring that emphasizes mass incarceration and correctional facility. They described staff as unwelcoming, irritated or imposed upon. Some volunteer commented on how administrative issues could be a barrier. A lot of programs sometimes were suspended and even if volunteers understood the administrative and security needs posed by lock-downs, they expressed frustration with not being allowed to keep the speed and strength of a program going, which potentially affected volunteer readiness and retention.

The present proposal aims to achieve a real focus on the role of private citizens in the prison system and will try to explain how volunteers bring the outside life in correctional facility and how they take the inside institutionalization out, in free society.

RESILIENCE INSIDE. BIOGRAPHICAL TURNS AND ADAPTATION STRATEGIES IN DETENTION PATH

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During a working period lasting one year in some Tuscan detention facilities, we could observe a general condition of apathy due to the inactivity of the prison population: the inmates are almost inactive during the course of their detention, they usually live in state of sloth. Nonetheless, there are subjects which challenge this passiveness, by showing some kind of agency. Their actions are conceivable as resilient forms defined in Zani (2013), as a buffer against despair and hopelessness.

The aim of this research is to find if there are some turning points in the biographical-detentive process that help the development of resilience in inmates. These turning points have been identified through a preliminary ethnographical observation, and they are: transfers between different facilities, assignation to a different prison section, temporary licenses and participation in working, schooling and sociality while inside the prison. Some of these points are “actively” pursued by convicts as they decide to take part in these activities, while others are passively experienced (often under a decision taken by authorities). Those points are the junction between the ordinary exercise of power and the suspension of routines and everyday life, when subtracted from institutional control.

This break-up of routines forces subjects to begin an adaptive process, resulting in a reorganization of the originary detentive frame (intended as hermeneutic horizon, point of view, referencing to Goffman, 1974) obtained during the time in prison. This reorganization may acquire both a negative (resulting in the incapability of the convict to adapt himself and lives in a situation of learned helplessness (Maier and Seligman 1976; White 2008)) or a positive (the inmate no longer suffers passively the prison-system, and he feels able to participate actively and have a greater understanding of reality) value.

The first stage of the ethnographic research lasted one year, then two researchers conducted some interviews outside prison facilities with both ex-convicts and convicts on temporary release, in order to evaluate the persistence of the resilience process that began behind prison walls. We examined aspects of the work sphere, of affectivity and residential stability. The other researcher has carried out further interviews in two penitentiary complexes, inquiring and deeply investigating the turning points that emerged during the exploratory phase. The decision to carry out interviews in these conditions reflects the need to make diachronic analysis of resilience processes, posing them on an ideal continuum that goes from detention to the return into society.

HEALTH PROTECTION IN PRISON. NOTES ABOUT A SURVEY ON PRISON HEALTHCARE IN EMILIA-ROMAGNA (ITALY)

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This essay concerns the study of the current organizational set up regarding the safeguard of healthcare rights in prisons, with specific reference to the regional context of Emilia-Romagna. Defining a health concept applicable to the prison context appeared initially rather troublesome. In the prison system, health is indeed indissolubly linked to the penalty and afflictive effects that the latter is able to exert physically and psychologically on each individual. If we admit that detention represents a legalized harm infliction, it appears complicated then to affirm that inside the prison a chance might be offered to create the suitable conditions to provide prisoners with physical and mental health. In other terms, it seems a paradox the idea that, on one hand, it is necessary to cause suffering so as the person understands the seriousness of his deviant behaviour; on the other hand, an effort is needed so as this suffering does not excessively overwhelms the convict body and mind, deleting even the most basic health conditions.

This paradox is particularly strong each time that is conferred to the same authority the power to impose the penalty and at the same time to protect and promote the welfare of the people affected by the same penalty.

In this context, transferring the responsibility on prison healthcare from the Ministry of Justice to the National Health Service has the advantage of subtracting the provision of medical treatment from a purely custodial institution.

Starting precisely from this innovation element, together with the increasing awareness of the huge discrepancies that occur in the prison's context between the law creation process and the implementing process of the same legal provision, I decided to conduct a qualitative research on prison healthcare in Emilia-Romagna Region, focusing on some provinces where penal institutes are located (Modena, Bologna, Parma, Ravenna, Rimini).

The goal of this work is to reconstruct and analyse the problems of the prison healthcare situation through the prison's healthcare workers perception perspective. This approach has been chosen in order to portray, even partially, an environment that is often impenetrable and unknown by the outside world. The research, based on a thorough examination of the legal provisions related to the topic, has been organized on the basis of interviews to doctors and nurses working in the prison and to program managers and nursing coordinators who deal with more strictly logistic and administrative issues. The adopted survey tool proved to be particularly suitable to investigate a phenomenon that, being so vast and complex, would be difficult to analyse using a questionnaire. Once assessed the assumptions and the initial goals, the research complexity and the specific context, it was decided to create a semi-structured interview, composed by questions arranged by topic areas, but not rigidly set and thus appropriate to ensure a mutual participation between interviewer and interviewee. The interview is subdivided into three sections: “the Health Reform”, “eventual specific intramural intervention” and “health and detention”, respectively. The first group of questions is aimed at understanding the Reform implementation level, the reasons behind the delay of this process, as

well as the organizational structure set up by the Reform, with particular attention to the responsibilities allocation, the operators turn-over, and their contracts. In the second part, the focus is on the specific prison health workers tasks, the safety requirements effect on their work, and the potential interpretation changes of their professional role.

Finally, the last part of the interview investigates the diseases which are over-represented in the prison context and the potential interventions, even preventive, so far implemented. Some interviews were performed in the infirmary of the institute, while other interviews were performed in specific healthcare facilities. This was not related to my personal choice, but instead due to the difficulties in obtaining a permission to access the institute.

In general, using the above mentioned tools, it has been ascertained that the transfer to the National Health Service has definitely produced benefits: the healthcare workers shifts hours have increased, several health professionals were hired (more nurses than doctors), the variety of specialized clinicians within the prison increased, and when this did not occurred, the medical examinations at external facilities increased. Moreover, through the Regional Council deliberations and through the provisions, it was implemented the transfer of facilities, goods and equipment and it has been defined a specific organizational model and precise care modules for caregivers were outlined. Despite the fact that the process is strongly conflictive and it often results in negotiation of choices with the custodial area players, it seems that the premises for a different professional culture are being inserted in the prison system, even though with difficulties.

AN ETHNOGRAPHY ON PRISON OFFICERS USING FORCE

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This paper is focused on the issue of the use of force within a custodial setting hosting both a prison (Casa Circondariale) and a forensic psychiatric hospital (O.P.G.). Prison ethnographers have hardly ever focused their observations on “doing coercion” so far. Let alone, doing or threatening coercion after a so called “critical event”. The theoretical framework is mainly grounded on the interactionist approach adopted by Collins’ work on Violence, and concurrently, the Popitz’ Phenomenology of Power. The ethnography was conducted staying side by side with the officers on duty on the wing and observing their daily work and the emergency squad’s interventions times and again; yet, it was neither on anybody’s side; nor was it a critical or an appreciative research. It will firstly, introduce the issue of the use of force. Then, it will present the research goals. Next, in the last substantive section it will illustrate the fieldwork and explore ethnographically the emergency squad threatening and using force. The paper is based on participant observation; the presentation will be richly illustrated with the ethnographic pictures and ethnographic video clips produced in the field.

WHEN LIFE MEANS LIFE: A CONVICT PROSPECTIVE ON SERVING LIFE SENTENCE

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The number of lifers in Italian prisons has notably increased. On 31 December 2001, 868 inmates were serving a life sentence. Twenty years later, their number had risen to 1.583. This represents an increase of 77 % in ten years. Of these, an estimated 1.200 are full lifers, i.e. prisoners permanently excluded from alternative measures to imprisonment including parole. Moreover, most of them spend several years (someone even twenty) in isolation, better known as Article 41*bis*, a restriction that affects many rights: the phone calls to the family, the visits, receiving food from the outside, all the cultural, recreational and sports activities.

The object of this study is the prison experiences of some lifers who have spent long periods of isolation under a particular law called “article 41*bis* regime”.

The theoretical frame is constituted of studies (mostly from the United States and from England) on the complexity of research in total institutions that focus on power relations, rites of passage, constructions of identity, institutionalization processes, prison (sub)culture, masculinity, self-ethnography.

This study draws support from the literature of the “New school of Convict Criminology”. I had a long prison experience, of which five years in a High Security unit. Following the practical-theoretical line of Convict Criminology, I gathered useful data to reconstruct the main practices of everyday life within the high security units. The ethnographic method, still gave me several emotive and reflexive inputs for that over-position of the *campo* with my *past*. Being some kind of participant observer, I used my knowledge of the *campo*, the codes and the language to understand the convict prospective: the challenge was to reconcile the role of the researcher with that of the “subject of the study”.

Methods: Using a narrative approach, I have done 16 interviews with convicts who have spent long periods (from 8 to 12 years) in isolation “41*bis* regime”. I had the authorization to interview them individually in a room without the presence of prison guards. This helped us to have some sort of privacy. I could use an audio recorder. Since the registration was not subject to control or censorship, I could transcribe the interviews shortly after leaving the prison. I also observed six Focus Groups that involved both the convicts already interviewed. The topics argued were: life imprisonment, forms of struggle inside prison, codes and prison culture, health in prison, relations with family, conflict mediation among peers.

Data collection: From a narrative perspective, we can identify some affinities within the various biographical trajectories: geographic origin, criminal history, time spent in prison, breaking of family relationships, feeling cut off from the outside world, lack of prospects, resignation and depression.

The distinctive feature is the absence of any hope of release. It is difficult to identify any traditional conceptual categories to define those who live situations of permanent exclusion from the rest of the world. But, what makes full life in Italy particularly troublesome is the fact that the exclusion from any parole measure is not clearly stated in the sentence. Many lifers only become aware of the real nature of their sentence when they apply for parole and find out from the judge that they do not qualify because they belong to one of the categories excluded from Article 4*bis*.

We believe that there is more than a study hypothesis the fact that, life sentence without parole together with a long period of isolation produce extreme sufferance and strong effect of detachment from reality. Some of the conceptual keys emerged from this study are: loss of ability in communication, internalization of specific "high security" codes and culture, consequent identity shift (also related to individual histories in the criminal justice system and to the experience of trial), identification with media representation.

"WORKING ON THE FRONTLINE". PRISON OFFICERS IN THE DETENTION WINGS

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In Italy there are a few sociological researches about prison staff carried out using qualitative and ethnographic methods (cfr. Degenhardt, Vianello, 2010). With this contribute we want to try to fill this void discussing the results of an ethnography on prison officers' world done in a Northern Italy prison. This research was carried out in two years (2012-2014) with participant observation (both "covert" and "overt") and ethnographic interviews.

As emerged from the fieldwork and from many international researches (cfr. Jacobs & Retsky, 1975; Lombardo, 1981; Liebling *et al.*, 2011), the main everyday prison officers tasks are numerous and very different. Some officers work in the prison offices (for example the command office, the surveillance office and so on..), others officers deal with the management of the accesses in the various areas of the prison (the work in the reception or in the so-called "rotonde"), others manage the everyday prisoners' activities (working activities, educational activities, recreational activities and so on..) and others, in the end, work in the places where a lot of prisoners spend most of their everyday time: the detention wings. The detention wings are the places where the number of the prisoners far exceeds that of prison officers, where the detainee overcrowding is often dramatic and where the prisoners' sufferings and frustrations are highest (Sykes, 1958; Cohen, Taylor, 1972; Goffman, 2010; Crewe, 2011). It is due to these structural conditions that officers think that the detention wings are the "real prison" and that consider the colleagues that work there as those that "work on the frontline".

In this contribute we'll focus on the prison officers that work in these places. We'll describe the main tasks that they have to do everyday: (1) the control of the prisoners through the "count", the "searches" and the "beating of the bars"; (2) the management of the prisoners' movement in the other places of the prison; (3) the management of the entry in the detention wing of the other prison staff (for example educators, social workers, psychologists, physician, nurses, volunteers etc.); (4) the communication with the colleagues that work in the other places of the prison; (5) the management of the many prisoners' requests and complaints. We'll focus our attention especially on the description of this last task because it will help us to understand its very important role for the fulfilment of security and order within prison. We will also highlight the skills (for example communication skills – cfr. Crawley, 2011) that prison officers have to learn and use in order to carry out their own work with prisoners smoothly. In the end we'll present and discuss the main difficulties, problems, risks and fears that characterize the work in these places and that contribute to the construction of prison officers' perception to work in a dangerous and unpredictable place. This perception increase the need to be always "on the alert" in order to face with everything that could happen (for examples aggressions, violence, critical events and so on..) compromising both the quality of their work and their health (Arnold, 2005).

In conclusion of this contribute we'll underline how not only the prisoners' control but even their everyday management represents a very important practice that, especially inside the detention wings, contribute to maintain order and security in prison. An order that is always precarious - because continuously exposed to the risks of disorder - and that is the result of incessant negotiations between prison officers and prisoners (cfr. Banguigui *et al.*, 1994; Sparks & Bottoms, 1995; Rostaing, 2014).

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There is a substantial body of literature both on mafia-style criminal organizations and on prison issues; at the same time the clear relationship between these two has yet to be thoroughly investigated. Prison has a historical and conceptual importance for mafia organizations. It has been a generative context of mafia-style organized groups and it performed a franchising role, being one of the main environments for recruiting new members. The members themselves considered it a compulsory stage in their life careers and, during the expansion into non-traditional territories, prison has represented a platform of potential cooperation among embryonic mafia-style groups. The introduction of more rigorous detention practices, such as high security sections, implied a change concerning the possibilities offered by the prison context for the development of mafia's recruitment or networking processes. Nonetheless, prison is still a relevant place of passage for mafia members, as much as it is possible to talk about a normalization of the prison experience, which could be framed as a quasinormative event in the mafia subjects' life careers.

Aside from a historical and empirical relevance, prison shows a methodological pertinence when researching mafia organizations. Studying mafia-style groups the researcher cannot have any direct contact with his/her subjects of analysis. The impossibility to obtain interviews with members is related not only to their illegal status, but rather to the secrecy which characterizes these groups. What is more, according to the Italian penal code, it is technically *illegal* to entertain relationships with known members without reporting them to the police. The possibility of doing research in prison practically entails overcoming some bias imposed by the particularity of this research subject. Indeed, it allows the researcher to physically *meet* mafia members, without incurring personal risks and penal consequences. In addition, forasmuch as prison is the place par excellence in which mafia members are spatially segregated (particularly in the high security sections), this approach seems appropriate to go in depth into the comprehension of many organisational and cultural aspects of this criminal phenomenon. Therefore, the research focuses on the analysis of mafia subjects by contextualizing them in the prison context. It analyses the possibility of studying mafia organization by electing prison both as place to be investigated and as valuable point of vantage to better understand some aspects of mafia cultural universe.

The paper refers to the research activity carried out in the female high security section of Vigevano prison (Casa di Reclusione di Vigevano, Pavia, Italy). In more detail, it examines in-depth interviews with women convicted of mafia offences and tied with two of the principal mafia-style criminal organizations: the Camorra and the 'Ndrangheta. The fieldwork considered is part of a wider study that entails interviews also with penitentiary staff (officers, psychologist, social worker and medical staff), and with mafia male prisoners. The article, however, debates only the challenges when interviewing female mafia prisoners.

Being a complex and conflicted institution, prison is mainly considered as a hostile research setting. For this reason, firstly, the article proposes some methodological reflections - based on the fieldwork experience - concerning the complexities faced when conducting qualitative research in a female high security section using in-depth interviews. In particular, it concentrates on the complexities confronted when i) accessing the field, ii) presenting the self, iii) designing and conducting the interviews. Once have examined the fieldwork, the article moves forward into the preliminary analysis of the data collected. It raises some ethical and methodological dilemmas paying special attention to the epistemological problems when analysing female mafia prisoners' biographical narrations.

According to a narrative approach and to an ecological definition of identity, mafia prisoners' identity can be seen as a cultural acquisition rooted in the material and symbolic practices of interaction between individuals and collective, developed both in the mafia family, in the criminal organization and, later, in the prison institution. In consequence, the participant's range of possible discourse strategies might be reduced by the boundaries of the family and of the criminal organization and by the prison background. More empirically, mafia prisoners' narrations are affected by the two interactive environments they took place: the prison institution and the mafia-style organization's prison community. Mafia prisoners *physically* experienced the discipline of these two panoptical systems that, in consequence, they do influence both the form and the content of their narrations.

Last but not least, the article reflects also on the gender issue. Despite their subordinate position to the male members, mafia women perform an active and central role in mafia organizations. Different degrees of involvement in the organization exist for female members and the different role performed in the organization changes with the different criminal organizations. Moreover, when dealing their narrations a paradox raises: these women are convicted of mafia offences, without being formally enrolled in the criminal association because of their gender. Therefore, they are mafia members for the law, but not for the criminal organization. This can implicate oblivious consequences in the way they frame their position and the legitimacy of their sentence.

Concluding, the analysis of mafia prisoner's narrations implies a close reading, not only of the content of the text, but also of its form; of the cultural premises of the subject and the conditions in which the narration itself has been developed. The objective is to underline the positioning work of mafia subjects who reconstitute themselves in the particular social setting that is prison. Evaluate the "trustworthiness" of these accounts is not relevant; rather, the focus should be on understanding the dynamics of a specific kind of narrative - the mafia prisoners' one - and its social consequences, and on asking whether these narratives in fact may be essential for mafia subjects when they make sense of their own lives.

FAMILIES BEHIND BARS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DIARY STUDY UPON ITALIAN PENITENTIARY SYSTEM'S FORGOTTEN VICTIMS

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The family, essential nucleus of each one personality's growth and, for this reason, subject of a strong constitutional defense (art. 2, 29 Cost.), pays, on the other hand, the effects of a constant carelessness throughout penalty's executive process. Institutional punishment, in fact, has a bilateral capability: its effects, far from affecting just the inmate himself, necessarily distress his relatives too.

According to legislator's intentions, family is just the "*subject to whom the prisoner has the right to relate*". A perspective aimed to safeguard the family itself, able to improve its role into inmate's re-integration process, is totally missing. For this reason, our system turns out to be more careless than mass incarceration's homeland: even some States of U.S.A. have the so-called "*love rooms*" and "*conjugal or family visitation programs*".

The relevance of this need can be, easily, understood by observing the existing law of averages on these families: 200.000 relatives are supposed to be involved by penitentiary system, of which more than 50.000 are underage.

Detention implicates a transfer of decision-making autonomy from the guilty to the State and this transfer's peak is represented by the shaping of relationships (which, when, how many and how deep). Simultaneously, his relative also endures this strong decrease of personal environment, not as a sentence's result but just because of their kin.

Among methodological instruments improved for field research, ethnographic diary has been chosen because of its high suitability in observing everyday life of imprisonment's hidden victims. It has been drafted paying specific attention to visiting families' connections: with the prisoner himself, toward institution and with regard to "the rest of the world" (including other prisoners' families).

This research's diary is referred to a three months span, from April to July 2015, of periodical (once a week) visits into two jails of North Italy (Casa Circondariale Lorusso & Cotugno -Turin, Piedmont- and Casa di reclusione Rodolfo Morandi -Saluzzo, Piedmont).

These prisons are worth of a particular interest because of their differences: Turin' structure is a metropolitan jail, inhabited by more than 1.200 inmates (more than half non-European), characterized by an high degree of turnover and a record number of 900 State correction officers; Saluzzo's one, instead, is a small structure with about 200 inmates, all serving long-time terms of imprisonment.

These peculiarities have deep consequences on visiting people because of the unfair treatments, the various condition of meeting rooms and the different levels of overcrowding to withstand. Starting from the need of giving effectiveness to constitutional families' protection, the present proposal aims to achieve a real focus on penitentiary system's forgotten victims and divides them into three different and progressive categories, named according to waiting rooms' lingo: newbie, discreet and institutionalized.

Ethnographic diary, April 28th 2015, Casa circondariale Lorusso e Cotugno di Torino.

It is early in the morning and 32 of us are waiting for the first block-house door to be opened.

Meanwhile we attend first turn's families coming out: first in the line a 20 years old girl, maybe from South America, and a three years old kid. They're linked up by the arms and, bouncing along, they shout "free, free, free". The boy, laughing, says "when are we playing the prison again?"

PRISON INTERACTIONS AT THE TIME OF PENITENTIARY INDIVIDUALISM

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This paper is focused on the interactions inside prison. Starting from a symbolic interaction perspective, the cultures and subcultures are *explained* through the significance to the actions given by the same actors. The analysis of interactions inside prison is aimed at developing some reflections both on prison staff professional cultures and on inmates sub-cultures.

Some structural issues, however, are analysed alongside the micro perspective. Indeed, we'll see how the recent normative and organisational changes within the Italian prison system make one talk about *multiple* professional cultures and sub-cultures, depending on the specific context observed. In this sense the *penitentiary individualism* concept will be notably useful in order to reflect on the many facets of the interactions and on their impact on the daily-life in prison. The author will use an ethnographic approach which is based on a period of observation spent inside many sections of a big Italian prison, over the course of 7 years. As tutor of the detained students, she had the opportunity to spend much time inside a variety of prison areas where the students were constrained: the proper university branch (where the mid-security detainees enrolled at the University are located, under a low custody regime), the women's section, many "common" sections, the "collaboratori" separate area (that is the one which houses those who collaborate with justice), the section reserved to people affected by hiv, etc.

As known, the conditions inside prisons deeply vary according to the institute and the specific area inside the facility. Such differences rely on a variety of aspects. Firstly, the prison regimen: in the last years, the so-called "circuits" have been established within the Italian prison system. It is a mechanism providing for very different detention regimes according to different categories of inmates, rehabilitative programs, social dangerousness, etc. Secondly, an important role is played by the frequency and type of interactions which take place inside a specific section: both among inmates and between inmates and prison staff (prison officers, wardens, educators, etc.) or external staff (volunteers, teachers, etc.).

Moreover, the two aspects are strongly related: socio-organisational researches inside prisons highlighted the link between the economical situation of the inmates living in a specific prison section – as well the global economic situation of that section – on the one hand, and the more or less liveability, on the other hand. The type and number

of claims submitted by the inmates may vary according to the economic condition and this has a strong impact on the relationship between inmates and prison officers.

Also the presence of the educators deeply varies according to the sections: each educator knows well which are the “treatment-oriented prisons” and the “punitive-oriented prisons”, and the same occurs among sections: in some of these the activities are more systematic and the presence of educators is therefore more structured and habitual, while other sections are almost ignored. The same happens as for the external people doing some activities inside prisons (volunteers, teachers, etc.) which concentrate more on those sections where some kind of activity already exists.

What changes, therefore, is firstly the relationship between inmate and staff. It is a bilateral variability: if detainees approach differently to the staff and the claiming activities changes according to the sections, also the staff attitude toward the inmates is strongly all-changing. Such a variability doesn’t depend just on personal attitudes (empathy, personality, etc.), but also on the context in which the individual is living and, broadly speaking, on the socio-cultural background. The so-called “ethnic sections” are a paradigmatic example to this end.

Secondly, relevant considerations stem from the observation of interactions among inmates. The “prisoner code” has more and more to deal with the adverse benefit mechanism: in other words, the disciplinary power expresses itself through the facet of fragmentation. The prison system, if closely observed, shows a great gap between the rhetorical aim of developing solidarity and cooperation – which is part of the ambiguous rehabilitative ideal – and the more hidden aim of breaking the solidarity in order to ensure an ordinate and secure prison management.

TACTICS OF RESISTANCE TO THE DAILY PRISON’S DEPRIVATION. CONSIDERATION ON THE SPACES OF “MIGRANT OTHERNESS” IN PRISON

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The morphology of the prisoners’ community is determined by the development of relations of power and dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (Crewe 2010). In this regard, many sociological researches have pointed out the central role of the ethnic dimension in defining the informal organisation of the prison (Phillips 2007; Genders, Player 1989; Cheliotis and alt. 2006; Earle 2013).

First, it is necessary to underline that the research in this area come mainly from Anglo-Saxon countries, describing and analysing the specific prison communities of those societies. The aim of this presentation is to take into consideration prisoners’ communities within the Italian context, analysing the definition of the otherness process involving the migrants in their relationship to the prisoner’s identity and to the detention spaces. Secondly, the approach adopted in the analysis of the data is what the most recent literature on prisoners’ society defines as “combined model” of production of prisoners’ cultures and identities (Crewe, 2005; Earle 2013).

Moving from this ground, the paper wants to present the data collected from an ethnographic fieldwork, conducted between 2012 and 2014 (through the dual role of volunteer and researcher), inside Padua’s prison. The data used are part of a broader research on prisoner’s communities and social changes in the age of mass incarceration. The research field has been chosen because of its epistemological and methodological adequacy and consistency: as it is a long-term penal institution, it is possible to assume that the prisoners are on an advanced level of prisonisation (Clemmer, 1958).

The paper initially proposes some issues in using qualitative methodology in researching prisoner’s community, with a focus on the role of reflexivity and on the relation between researcher and research field (Hammersley, 2015).

The second part of the presentation debates the impact of the ethnic dimension on prisoners’ community structure, arguing how the relation between the level of cohesion and the spatial dimension could define the otherness. The focus of this part is to describe the social construction of migrant otherness within the prisoner’s communities.

In the third part, considering the space as central, both in physical and social terms, the paper discusses the relation between networking capacity and definition of social tactics of resistance to the prison deprivation. The aim is to underline how the spatial definition of the prison’s communities could be seen not just as part of the demonization process, but also as part of the resistance tactics.

In conclusion, moving from these considerations, the presentation takes into consideration the idea of migrant prisoners’ agency, defining the idea of mobility in its spatial and social dimension. Finally, the paper recognises similarities between prison and the urban spaces, proposing some considerations on how the spatial dimension reflects the morphology of a community and the production of migrant otherness.

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RESISTING PRISON INNOVATION: THE LIMINAL EXPERIENCE OF PRISON OFFICERS' TRAINING

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The training of prison personnel plays a pivotal role in the process of prison systems' reform. Since 2013, following the "pilot" sentence of the European Court on Human Rights, the Italian prison system has been affected by deep organizational and structural changes, such as the introduction of the "dynamic security" in detention wings. In order to comply with the EU guidelines, prison officers' training in Italy was deeply reformed, with special emphasis on the acquirement of "soft skills" and socio – psycho – pedagogical knowledge. In Italy, the training course is divided in 4 months learning activities in classrooms and 2 months on the job training. Classes are so organized: 175 hours of prison law lessons, 174 of technical subjects (including marching, self-defense, but also cultural mediation), 70 hours of socio – psycho – pedagogical subjects and 94 hours dedicated to monographic classes on topic such as female detention and motherhood, inmates' mental health and prevention of suicide in prison. The official intent of the central Authority (DAP) is to enable officers to manage the complex and multifaceted nature of contemporary prisons. As well, recruits are required to embrace the current re - education ideology, identified with the ambiguous term of "trattamento". Apparently, prison system humanization and officers' professionalization are among the main objectives of the training course.

The presentation will provide an insight into the process of innovation of the Italian prison system by exploring officers' training experience. More precisely, I will discuss the use of the concept of "liminality" as a conceptual tool for understanding the experience of prison officers (Arnold 2008), basing on the results of a qualitative research conducted in 2015 in the Academy for prison officers of Verbania. Data were collected through the participant observation of the training course over a period of nine weeks, during which I attended classes with recruits and participated to traditional teacher-centered lessons as well as nontraditional learning activities facilitated by trainers (such as self-directed group discussions, case-scenarios exercises, active debates). Eight focus group interviews were also collected among recruits in order to investigate their expectations and perception about the training experience.

First, I will briefly identify the main points of the current ideology of "trattamento" promoted by the central Authority (DAP). Then, I will analyze how the liminal experience of recruits is shaped within an institution with total characteristic, such a police Academy. I will here regard liminality as a contested and conflicting terrain, shaped by divergent interests and meanings. The aim is to highlight the dynamics of the training experience that help us to understand officers' resistance to prison innovation and their premature identification with a role model antithetical to the one promoted by trainers and prison system's managers.

The purpose of the presentation is twofold. First, it aims to improve our understanding of prison staff and the challenges officers face in the process of role identity construction, at the early stages of their professional experience. Second, it provides food for thoughts around a wider and complex question, that is to say: how and under what conditions innovation in prison can effectively take place?

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PRISON PRACTICES AND SELECTIVITY OF THE CRIMINALIZATION PROCESSES. NOTES FROM AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

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The contribute I would like to propose analyzed the prison practices. In particular, the theoretical references of my research are in the field of the sociology of imprisonment that study the prison practices in the production of internal order and the connections with the selectivity of the criminalization processes.

The research that I am presenting has been carried out by 12 months of direct and participant observation in a medium-size prison in the north of Italy. In particular, the observation has been done carrying out the duties of prison educator in the institution object of the research. During this period I joined the formal employment with an ethnographic research of prison practices. In particular, during the observation I collect informations using three main methodological tool: ethnographic notes on the diary covering what directly observed; transcription of conversation with other prison operators; collection and transcription of various kinds of documentation (juridical, ministerial and internal circulars, operator's reports etc.).

Working as prison educator I had to opportunity to analyze the prison practices from a privileged perspective. Doing my job I was able to observe how prison work direct observing the every day work of prison staff. Due to the perspective of observation, the direct object of observation were not prisoners, but the job of prison operators. In particular, the direct object of the research has been that part of the prison staff which has the task of organizing the "treatment" activities and to evaluate offender's progress in the rehabilitation process: educator, social workers, psychologist, director, police officers. Obviously a research on prison staff practices involve the description of the impact of this practices on prisoners, and their reaction, besides the connection with practices of others social actors acting in the prison field (voluntary, doctors, chaplain etc.).

In this paper I would focus on two main aspects of prison staff practices.

The first one, is the violence of incarceration. As known, one of the factors characterizing prison is the structural violence of the institution. Prison practices, acting on time, space and relationship of the prisoners are able to product

a particular form of institutional violence, typical of prison. At the same time, not all the prisons produce the same level of violence. There are some prisons highly punitive, where the pain of punishment is higher than in other prisons, less punitive, more respectful of human rights of the inmates. Several factors determine the level of violence of different prisons. Among them, are very relevant the choices of prison staff in the management of the structure. These choices are not only organizational options but the result of several small daily decisions able to heavily influence the climate in the structure and the daily lives of prisoners. In this paper I will describe some of them of the prison where I played the observation.

The second one, is the selectivity of the criminalization process. Prison staff has not only the task to survey and help prisoners, but they have also the duty to report to the execution judges about the behavior of the inmate. Into this report prison staff, in the fact, give a prognosis on the future behavior of the convicted, in particular in relationship with the risk of recidivism. This report are very important because they producing a selection between the prisoners that have chance to benefit from an alternative to prison and the other. In our point of view is important to discover how does this selection works, which are the forms of knowledge used by the prison actors and the impact of the choices on the criminalization processes of the prisoners. In the paper I will present some models of decision and I will discuss the connections between this decisions and the organizational goals of prison staff.

SESSION 20

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AS A PROFESSION

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MEASURED SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AS A VOCATION

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Drawing from a range of scattered ethnographic mini-observations and micro-intuitions, this paper advances some reflections on the impact the array of a new generation of measurements is having on the social and human sciences. In particular, in their actual everyday work, social scientists are put under strain from different and even contradictory forces. From my point of view, such a reflection should strive to clarify both the elements of difference and those of similarity between our current situation and the one described by Weber in his 1919 conference.

Furthermore, the power geometry at play should be assessed from both the internal and the external point of view: internally, that is as concerns the relations among social scientists, between social scientists and other disciplines, as well as between scholars and university managers; and externally, that is as concerns the relations between social scientists and the society at large.

In my view, just as in other domains of social life, what we are facing in the academia is the emergence of new value-measure circuits. Measures are never neutral tools. It is simply impossible to make sense of them outside of local contexts imbued with an array of techniques, values, cultural attitudes and expectations. Measure-value circuits may thus be better characterised as measure-value “complexes”, “entanglements”, or “environments”. Which sort of environment are these? How could we describe them ethnographically? How could we capture their social meaning in terms of the new architectures of power, the new dynamics of relation, the emergent imaginaries embedded in them? In my contribution, I aim at a broad reconstruction of this problem field.

BOREDOM AND DIRTY WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT

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The Concept of *dirty work* originated from Everett Hughes's paper from 1962 titled *Good People and Dirty Work*. He defined *dirty work* as an activity or a task that for some reasons is perceived as something that should be done, but nobody willingly wants to do it. Hughes' example of dirty work was “liberating” German society from Jews during the Nazi regime. However, the concept of dirty work not necessarily must involve such ultimate matters.

The phenomenon of task and activities that no one wants to do willingly is present at the university milieu. Many PhD students and academic staff are involved in dirty work activities within their academic duties. In recent years, academics are forced to do more and more administrative and bureaucratic work, which they often perceive as dirty, unwanted, unnecessary or simply stultifying. This problem is clearly visible in Polish context, where the bureaucratization of academia is still overwhelming and financial support by state not sufficient to hire additional administrative staff (e.g. European grant's experts). Due to these, many academics are diffused and in their own opinion, not properly focused

on their core work (didactics and researching). Some of them express even a strong discontent by this situation. For many, exhausting and humiliating is the parametrical system of evaluation scientific work, which makes them engage in many *dirty*, senseless, meaningless, purposeless activities, which includes, among others, forms filling and reports/applications writing. Some of them perceive as dirty even such activities like teaching students or conference meetings. In many cases, dirty work is conveyed to PhD students, so it can serve as a visible sign of social status. As in many other work types, the higher is your position in the hierarchy, the smaller amount of dirty work you have to do by yourself, because you can delegate it to others.

This subject is organically connected to boredom, which for many is taboo, because it is a widespread conviction that intelligent men is never to be bored. However, contrary to this assumption, boredom is prevalent at the university (see Finkielstein 2014, Baghdadchi 2005) and many research show that the most intelligent individuals are the most susceptible to boredom and the cause of that is inadequacy between task difficulty level and individual's skills (see Csikszentmihalyi 1975). Dirty work is exactly the case inasmuch many such tasks are felt to be under one's qualification or even dignity and are incompatible with one's professional vocation. In many cases, it causes boredom, which is characterized by lack of subjective meaning (it can have some sense for somebody else), meaningless routine, lack of engagement, weariness, decreased satisfaction and effectiveness and sense of dragging time, to number a few.

Presented material derives from my qualitative sociological research on academic boredom, which I have carried on at the University of Warsaw since 2012. In the research, I used the principles of grounded theory by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser, which stresses the importance of the inductive method of empirical research. Theories and thesis are to be grounded in empirical data. Thus, researcher should start without any hypothesis or previous theory background. In this manner, I pursued participant observation of university classes, scientific conferences and other staff meetings, then interviewed students and university teachers (casual interviews, focused group interview and individual in-depth interviews). As an additional material I used internet survey with students, which provided a lot of qualitative data as well (open questions).

In the presentation I would like to show connections between concept of dirty work by Everett Hughes, one of the most influential Chicago authors, and academic boredom, which is still an understudied phenomenon, most likely because of its latent and shameful character. For many people, scientist's work is still strongly connected with passion, interest and scientific curiosity. Not so many are ready to overtly admit that there are moments of painful boredom and futility in their work, and that it is probably inescapable element of academic work or maybe even its integral, inward quality. Instead neglecting the issue, it should be pursued in order to receive its better understanding, which is important to improve and change academic life, both students and university teachers.

QUALITY ANALYSIS REPORT - RELIGIOUS RITUALS AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE TERRITORY: HOMILETICS ANALYSIS IN NVIVO

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The analysis project has as an object of study "sermons" delivered by Cardinal Paolo Romeo of Palermo, during the festive cycle of the patron saint Rosalie.

The fundamental distinction to be implemented, since the festival is characterized by numerous moments secular and religious, is to divide, so methodological and through the help and using the software NVivo, the different moments that mark the festive time. Through the program NVivo you can describe, analyse, interpret multiple data, which are produced in this qualitative research. The program gives the opportunity to organize the various documents produced during the research process, thus identifying the possible links between the contents of the different materials, to organize conceptual schemes and reports the analysis of qualitative data using charts.

You can group the detection techniques of qualitative research in four broad categories: direct observation, in-depth interviews, the use of documents and analysis program NVivo (in our case). Actions related and linked to the three main categories above to analyse the social reality are those who identify as: observing, and read the question.

The use of documents is to analyse a certain social reality from the material, in writing, that the company produces by individuals, as in the autobiographical accounts, letters and also through institutions such as in the minutes and cards. The production of computer programs specifically aimed at the analysis of qualitative data has changed this situation by introducing the basic applicability of standardized methods by cable.

Community studies are those that are affected by the ethnographic model. It is research on small social communities that involve the physical transfer of the researcher analysed within the community on a specific territory where he is about to experience a certain amount of time.

The physical context is of substantial importance because the researcher must give a detailed account in its research report, observing and reporting in compliance and structural spaces in which develops social action analysed.

The analysis of the physical needs of the present value-free descriptions. In the social context it comes to describing the human environment that is, persons who frequent the streets of the area analysed at various times of the day and night, such as how to dress, purpose of travel, customs and costumes.

The ability to study the dynamics in a public meeting is given initially by a description of the physical and human, such as the room size, the number of visible characteristics of the people who are inside. In this case it is possible to identify the genre this male or female, or to determine the social class observing clothing. The provision itself of the presence of the authorities, such as when the Church the assembly takes place in the nave, the civil institution in the left side of the aisle. Both figures, in this case the religious institution and a civil institution are located within a context, public but confined within a religious institution: the cathedral.

The informal interaction takes place not only inside but also outside the cathedral during Mass, but also during the celebration that closes the path to the streets marine and whose protagonists all the institutional, religious, civil and military.

The homily is made after the function of the procession, it is no longer homily in itself but a trace along with the present what was said during the celebration of the eleven.

The study of a formal organization can be done through the specific decision-making, decide whether to observe a religious institution, in particular in our case that the Catholic-Christian, or an institution of civil and / or military. But in our case study analyses the interaction of all the social and institutional actors within a well-defined path, that of the procession. In this case the communication channels used are the peculiarities to be reckoned with, that the interaction of a formal official.

The informal interaction involves a myriad of different cases; it is impossible to give specific rules. For example, at the beginning, you can see a large influx of institutional and social actors with hundreds of acts, which seem devotional, but are not.

These are actions that seem to be governed by time, almost like a dance or just a ritual.

Observation means detect behaviour of ordinary type to a non-ordinary behaviour over a period of time that seems to be built by a series of mechanical acts from which the actor observe is completely unaware.

Very often it happened to observe behaviour's aware of daily life, such as in the way in which we organize small parties called the *"festinichi"*.

All this leads to a new awareness; one that might be called a sense of community is not a district but a small street.

Seize the interactions of the people is not easy, because the dynamics of the choice of location is an important process to focus on the relationships and interactions.

The organization of the environment, clothing, gestures, generally act as overall view of the phenomenon. Participate, observe, ask the reason why we have chosen a particular social actor to watch, given time, or what pushes me to move to a place rather than another. My daily reflections arise from the interaction between what is observed and the observed reality. The homily during the celebration recorded through the microphone of the camera. Observation is always complicated but may be revised and resent not only through my impressions written but also through the photos and recorded videos. "Near" means to be present, without fail, trying to capture the behaviour, the gestures, speech, and the symbolic act that may act as a key to understanding.

The benefits from the tools of audio-visual media offer a more valid than the traditional ones. For example through the camera you can also be observed in slow motion, gestures and body language of the social actors, devotees, during the celebrations. The description of participant assumes the character of scientific product; by the note of sensory what you see and hear is primarily a description of enriched meanings, interpretations of subjective and objective in a cultural and historical context precise.

NVivo software enables the management of ethnographic observations through the use of photos and video. The software is available thanks to people – researchers – who believed in the possibility of electronic information also qualitative: "NVivo [...] can respond to various needs of the qualitative researcher: import texts, expressed by node-concepts, manage notes (memos) together with the attributes related subjects, create matrices of intersection and difference, analyse texts through professionals – and, or, not, less – conducting proximity searches you create arrays of occurrence and inclusion, see graphically the construction of the theory from empirical evidence" (Cipriani, 2008-187). From July to September each year, the entire cycle of opening and closing of the celebrations takes place in four specific times; this provided a precise path of the liturgical seasons.

So are four distinctive moments, collected during a specific time frame 2007 to 2015:

1. Homily at the Town Hall in the Hall of Tombstones in the Municipality of Palermo;
2. Homily in the Cathedral of the Pontifical (July 15);
3. Homily - Closing speech of the Procession to Piazza Marina (in the evening of July 15);
4. Homily Mass on the Feast of Santa Rosalie - the Sanctuary of Monte Pellegrino (4 September);

The question of quality and quantity leads to examine in social research to demonstrate concretely through the software NVivo the quality we can draw the amount that is through the analysis of a text of a document, a photo, a video can be numbered and therefore quantify: "1- storage of materials collected for example in our case the homilies; 2-coding and categorization of information content; 3-grouping of the materials; 4- exploration data to define the relationships between the different content; 5- representation of the processing executed in the analysis process; 6-create the connections; 7-defining features" (Coppola, 2011-11).

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE THROUGH TEAM ETHNOGRAPHY

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Starting from an ethnographic research carried out for one year in two neighbourhoods of public housing in the city of Livorno in Italy, the paper aims to contribute to methodological reflection on team ethnography.

Although ethnography is conceived in the collective imagination as a solitary activity, a good deal of sociological and anthropological research is often the result of teamwork (Douglas 1976; Salzman 1989). The methodological reflection on team ethnography was launched (Erikson and Stull 1998; Mitteness and Barker 2004; Fortune and Mair 2011), but still needs to be developed.

The paper proposes a reflection in particular on the various activities relative to access to the field, immersion in it, note-taking, and interpreting the information gathered.

Access to the field is perhaps the most difficult moment in ethnographic research. Initially, the researcher finds him/herself alone in a context that s/he does not know. As members of a group, we were able to handle our solitude, not to feel out of place, and not to suffer significant exclusion from the context. Initially, when we only knew a few people in the area, we decided jointly where to go and what to do, and whether or not we should talk to a particular person.

Moreover, each of us individually would have had greater difficulty in managing our entry into the various situations furnished by the field. It would have been hard for a female researcher to sit in the bar in the main square of one of the neighbourhood alone for hours – it is mainly frequented by elderly males – without prompting a negative reaction from them. Similarly, it would have been difficult for a male researcher to enter the home of an elderly woman on his own.

In such a research, investigating a public and open environment, the difficulty is not physical access to the field, but rather social access, in order to gain the social actors' trust (Gobo 2001). For this reason it is fundamental to enjoy the help of people who can facilitate the researcher's contact with the researched environment. Each member of the group, with his or her own characteristics, got to know different people and gained their trust; but as in a game of mirrors, they also reflected this trust on to the others. It could be said that, in practice, it was as though each of us acted as the "guarantor" for the others.

Again, during the immersion phase, the fact that there was a team gave us the chance to obtain a wider perspective on the field, and to observe several situations that might be occurring simultaneously. For example, at the same time as one researcher was working on an interview, the others were watching the demolition of a building.

Carrying out our research in a team reduced the problem of tiredness, and helped us overcome emotional problems, offering psychological support not only during the period of access to the field, but also during our entire stay, above all at times when there was an accumulation of stories of life problems, or when minor accidents occurred. Being a group allowed us to share immediately all our states of mind, fears and emotions.

Most of the ethnographic notes were written up in the evenings, after a long day in the field. Doing research in a group meant that we had different ethnographic reports to write every day, and these reports sometimes started from different viewpoints. This is undoubtedly one of the advantages of teamwork, but it also had disadvantages. We often talked among ourselves about events, and the mere fact that we were discussing them already involved interpretation of our notes and going beyond straightforward description. This meant that report writing, already a laborious task (Cigliuti 2015), became even more so, and that occasionally we did not write up our notes at all.

The fact that there was a team in the field fostered polysemy in our interpretation of the information gathered (Colombo and Navarini 1999). Even when we had been simultaneously present in the same situation, our initial interpretations were not always the same. Each researcher immerses in the context to be studied in a personal way, according to his/her own socio-economic characteristics, personality, theoretical references, conceptual categories, and life experience. These personal aspects influence the way he/she observes, understands, brings to completion his/her own "ethnographic performance" (Sacchetti 2012). In our research team our personal characteristics were partially different. Different were, above all, our birth socio-economic status, our social origins. That meant that two different cognitive strategies have been present at the same time within our group: "to make the strange familiar" for some of us, and "to make the familiar strange" for the others (Van Maanen 1995, 20).

Being in a group meant also that we were engaged in an exercise in which we had to deal not only with the social actors in the field, but also with each other. This was the case both at the later stage, while we were writing up our research, and directly in the field. The exchange of views among us has given us the chance to increase the inter-subjectivity of interpretations. Even in a research conducted by more than one researcher subjectivity can not disappear, as each researcher keeps his/her own subjectivity, but we do agree with Salzman (1986) when he argues that the presence of more than one researcher permits a control of the first interpretations, even directly in the field. The exchange of ideas about what it was observed produced complex interpretations far beyond the ones conceivable by a single researcher, and allowed us to exclude the unconvincing interpretations, giving us the chance to debate and compare the different interpretative hypothesis, also immediately after observation.

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF A THEORY – AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON KNOWLEDGE DIFFUSION WITHIN ACADEMIA

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Social representations Theory, arguably the most anthropological of all theories coming from social psychology, is known to have emerged from Moscovici's pioneering work in 1961. It has since made an arduous but interesting journey and was disseminated throughout all five continents. Within a PhD project devoted to the mapping of the

theory's diffusion, I will be focusing on how the knowledge of the theory has been and still is being transferred in Europe, i.e. how do the different groups of researchers within that field communicate and transmit knowledge between themselves. I aim to explore the researchers' personal experiences and connect them to cultural, political, and social "domains" which influence knowledge transmission. By unveiling "the biography of a theory", and stemming from a will to deconstruct academic practices, I will be investigating academia from the ethnographic angle. An anthropological perspective invites us to go beyond the obvious channels of knowledge dissemination within academia such as scientific publishing or the organizing of conferences, and observe instead the overall circulation and deployment of academic knowledge—the interwoven stages of its construction, distribution, and reproduction. Although there is a thriving field of educational ethnography, there are only few ethnographies of academic life and by focusing on the dissemination of the Theory of Social Representations, we will gain a clearer picture of practices within universities and disciplines, and answer pressing questions such as how has the "business" of higher education affected the environment in which academics work, balancing scientific and economic imperatives; how do globalization and technology affect scientific collaboration; or how do power structures affect academic freedom. The study will be carried out using three anthropological frameworks: anthropology of science, institutional ethnography and an auto-ethnographic perspective. My thesis will be supported by a large bibliographic database, video material, interviews and by a prolonged interaction within the Social Representations academic community over three years of PhD.

ADJUNCT SESSION 21

GENDER AND CULTURE IN PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE LIFE

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ENCOUNTERS OF CLASS AND GENDER. A PERSPECTIVE FROM A GROUP OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN PUEBLA, MEXICO.

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Studying issues involving women's participation, whatever the field, is not an easy task. Despite all the legal guarantees conquered so far, day by day women around the world are still facing a variety of situations of disadvantage and/or discrimination based on their gender. With varying degrees of difficulty and depending on the geographical context in question, being a woman today still carries a series of assumptions that mark guidelines in the different spaces in which they get on in social life.

In this context, work is a social activity that has continued to experience many changes through history. This acquires a specific meaning depending not only of the society and the time in question but also of the subject which carries it out. The different processes through which work is subjectively understood and objectively applied, as well as the meaning that takes this interaction, contribute to the construction of identities of particular subjects.

Even though the access to the labor market has ushered an economic autonomy for many women—a prerequisite for their emancipation, it is necessary to go beyond the merely instrumental value of work and ask to what extent the changes in the quantity and quality of women's work have brought the necessary alterations to subvert the different relationships of domination, exploitation, dependence, among others; currently experienced by women in different societies.

In this sense, it is essential that any study focused on the analysis of female labor takes into account the background of the sexual division of labor and of the changes in the gender relations. Work, as a basic element in the construction of an individual's identity and as a powerful instrument of social value, holds a whole range of meanings for the different women. Work is more than a simple activity and comprises a plurality of meanings and complex relationships that are expressed in a particular way depending on the specific condition in which women are embedded.

This paper attempts to analyze, from a qualitative perspective, the experiences of a group of Young Professional Women in the city of Puebla (Mexico). The central aim is to analyze the degree in which the domestic-family structure can determine the location of an individual in the labor market. This can show us the particular ways in which class and gender are intertwined in many experiences in all levels of social life.

My analysis is based on a series of in-depth interviews with a group of ten professional women from Puebla (Mexico) during the period of June 2013 to August 2014. The interviews were based on a set of semi-structured questions highly related to the everyday life as a young professional woman. For every professional woman I did six interviews, four of them were related to explore their family background, their educational background, their professional pattern, and their work-life balance, among others. The remaining interviews were conducted to approach issues not addressed in previous occasions or inconclusive dialogues from previous encounters. The duration of the interviews ranged from 60 to 90 minutes. In total, I got 49 individual interviews, but also I had the chance to casually interact with their family groups, in which case I obtained 18 recordings with a duration from 120 to 140 minutes.

The emphasis to observe the interaction between the work patterns and the family dynamics, attempts to offer a critical reflection that can lead us to understand the several—and sometimes contradictory—experiences shared by a group of women with clearly defined characteristics. By this I want to depict the specific ways of their participation in the labor market, but also to observe how the development of a certain professional path is not a neutral process, and encompasses a set of relationships (class, gender, ethnicity, etc.), which are indispensable to understand the current place occupied by this particular group of women in our contemporary society.

The analysis of the composition and the dynamics of the family background of the Mexican young professional women displays different patterns of upbringing and socialization which are reflected in the development of a subjectivity more attached to the traditional gender roles. Nevertheless these women show a clear awareness that their belonging to a particular class give them the ability to overcome the gender constraints.

Finally, from this contradictory experience, I want to reflect on the meaning of being a woman in a specific socio-cultural context, and also to understand her position with regard to the male order, the agency from their particular position on the work and family hierarchy and the different strategies that lead them to ratify or to challenge the established guidelines around the gender roles in the Mexican society.

“THE UNBORN CHILD IS NOT A WASTE!”. PROLIFE ACTIVISM IN ITALY AND THE QUESTION OF THE ABORTION’S “REMAINS”

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What can be defined as waste, and therefore treated as such? This question is not always easy to answer and can even be very controversial as we will show with the case of the abortion’s “remains”.

According to the Italian prolife activists that are at the center of my ethnographic fieldwork, it is impossible to consider the “product of conception” as hospital waste. For them the “product of conception” is “one of us”, a human being and thus deserves a proper burial.

Others, such as Lidia Ravera, a feminist writer and local councilor in Rome, consider that what remains after an abortion is just a “clot of organic material”. Its burial is not an “act of mercy”, but a form of “state’s sadism” against women (*Il Fatto Quotidiano* 4/11/2013).

The Italian law is not very clear on the subject. There is a 1990 presidential decree stating that a fetus of less than 20 weeks of gestation can be treated like other “non recognizable” human waste, and disposed of through thermodestruction. Fetuses older than 20 weeks have to be treated like “recognizable” human body parts (for example an amputated arm), and thus buried or cremated.

In Italy voluntary abortion can only take place within the first 12 weeks of pregnancy (unless the fetus is severely handicapped). The abortion’s “remains” are then usually treated as regular hospital human waste unless the “parents” request for the “remains” within 24 hours. Past this delay, the “parents” lose any property right and the hospital can proceed to the disposal of the waste through thermodestruction. The period of 24 hours, and the fact that “parents” are usually not informed about it, constitute the legal loophole exploited by the prolife activists.

The prolife group *Difendere la vita con Maria*, founded in 1999 by a priest, offers hospitals to take care of the abortion’s “remains” for free. The treatment of human waste is expensive and the hospitals often welcome the cost saving. After signing an agreement based on a specific protocol, this prolife organization is able to deal with the “remains”. Since 2000 it claims to have provided burial to 60.000 “children”.

In 2007, the Governor of the Lombardy region, Roberto Formigoni decided to enact a regional law about the “fetus burial”. Since then, in Lombardy (where my fieldwork mainly takes place), abortion’s “remains”, at any stage of pregnancy, from a voluntary abortion or a miscarriage, have to be interred or cremated.

The purpose of the law and the *raison d’être* of *Difendere la Vita con Maria* are quite clear. These initiatives question the definitions of the aborted fetus and embryos: human being or human waste? Saying that the abortion’s “remains” deserve a proper burial (whether or not the “parents” ask for it) is clearly saying that the “product of conception” is a human being, not a medical waste. In that case, why should legal abortion be aloud when murder is not?

This intention of transforming what was considered as a medical waste into an “unborn child” is very clear amongst the activists of Brescia, the town where I did most of my fieldwork. In the main communal cemetery, there is a separate place called *area bambini* (children’s area) with individual small plastic graves, all identical. Contrary to what the nameplate says, there are no children in this area, but only fetuses. Each tomb has a first name and a family name on it. The family name is the one of the “mother”. The first name is usually *Celeste* (one of the few unisex Italian names) since it is impossible to know if an 11-weeks fetus is a boy or a girl. In some cases, the mother or the parents did choose a first name, which usually means that it is a second trimester miscarriage or abortion (following a desired pregnancy). In this case the grave is often adorned.

It is very important to notice that this area of the cemetery is separated from the others. For the municipal funerary service, it might have been for practical reasons but, for the prolife activists, it is about showing the number of “deaths” due to abortion. They want the “unborn children” to be buried together so that the space occupied by their tombs shows the damages of abortion. In Brescia, the area is growing so quickly that the cemetery had to open a second one. In the eyes of the prolife activists that I study, this should help people realize that abortion is in fact a mass murder.

Once a month, in this part of the cemetery, the *Movimento per la Vita* (the most important Italian prolife organization) organizes a prayer for the unborn children and a service in the cemetery’s church. But real funerals are also organized: a group of around 15 prolife activists is always present when the fetuses are buried. They also bring a priest for a benediction.

With the activist's prayers and the priest's benediction, the processing cycle that transforms a "human hospital waste" into a dead (catholic) child is completed. With the burials and the tombs, the prolife activists give a body and a name to the "unborn children". With the prayers and the benedictions, they take care of their (catholic) souls. Of course, in the short term, this doesn't affect the right for a woman to choose if she wants to become a mother or terminate her pregnancy. But the prolife activists believe in the symbolic potential of this practice. They are convinced that the tangible presence of these tombs in the cemeteries will make people realize that the "product of conception" is not a waste and should be treated accordingly.

As Riva Kastoryano showed, who has the right to be buried, where and how, is a highly political issue. Palestinians convicted for terrorism are not aloud to have their name on their graves in Israel. Islamic terrorist's burial-emplacements are often kept secret in order to avoid the possibility that their graves become a place for political pilgrimage. This is also the reason why Osama Bin Laden's body was dropped into the sea. In short, she describes human beings that became unwanted dead and whose bodies are denied public burial. In my case study, we have potential human beings that need a public burial with religious and political rituals in order to be considered as actual persons with a body and a name. But in both cases, paradoxically, it is at the moment of the burial that someone decides who deserves to be considered as "one of us" and who is not. Considering the importance of this question, it is surprizing that, in Italy, public authorities leave prolife organizations to take this decision.

MEASURING GENDER EQUALITY: TOOLS TO ENHANCE GENDER AWARENESS IN ACADEMIA. SOME EVIDENCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA, ITALY

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The aim of the research. The aim of the research is to highlight the results of an on-line survey on the perception of gender culture in Academia that took place at the University of Padua in 2014. The instrument was tested within the FP7 European Project "GenderTime" and it was based on the indicators recognized as sensitive by the Athena Swann Charter (2010). The main purpose of the survey was to measure the perception and the level of awareness on gender differences in assessments, in careers, in the decision-making and in apical positions among the UNIPD academic staff.

Relevance. The cultural survey represents the first attempt to gather data and monitor the level of gender awareness in a very large university like Padua, that counts on 75,000 students and about 2000 permanent staff (professors, researchers and research fellows).

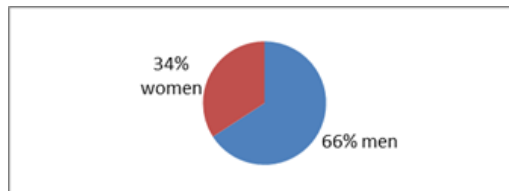


FIG. 1. Academic staff at UNIPD (2014).

WOMEN IN UNIPD	
20%	of the Pro-Chancellors
26 %	of the Delegates of the Dean
22 %	in Academic Senate,
25 %	in the Administration Board,
24 %	(in average) in different Academic Commissions.

FIG. 2. Over representation of men at Unipd (2014).

Methods. The cultural survey was carried out through a structured questionnaire of 40 items in which the respondents were asked to indicate the level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. Data were analyzed using SPSS software to highlight the indices of central tendency and variability.

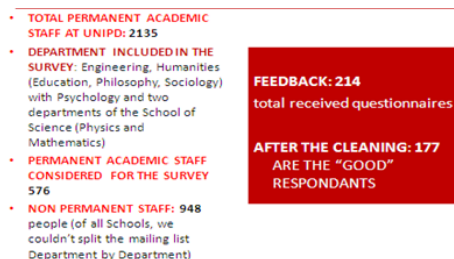
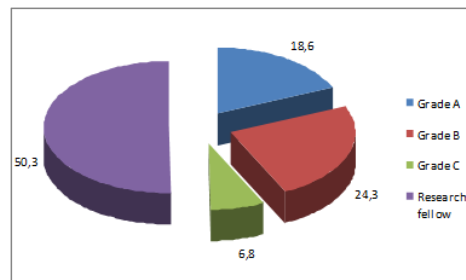
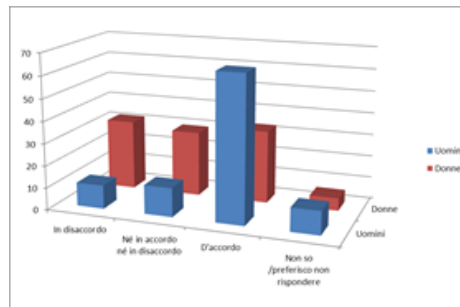


FIG. 3. Unipd Cultural survey at first glance.

Participants by grade

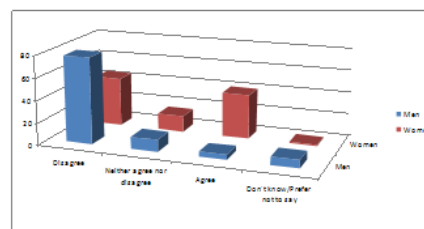


Item 8. Staff are treated on their merit irrespective of their gender



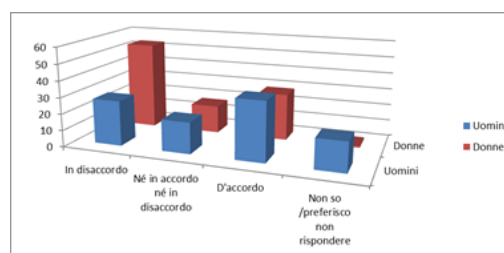
Men are convinced that «merit» is the main criteria (blu column) so the problem does not exist.

Item 24: I felt uncomfortable in my department because of sex



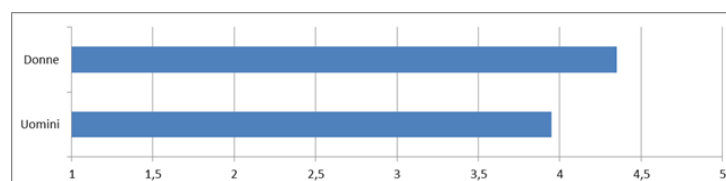
Men disagree, but women think differently...

Item 12. I'm actively encouraged by my Department to take career opportunities



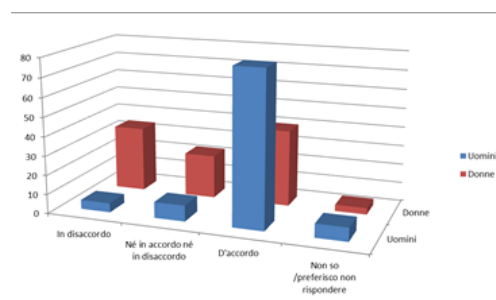
Women are strongly aware of the differences in opportunities for career!!!!

Item 22. It is necessary to undertake positive actions for gender equality

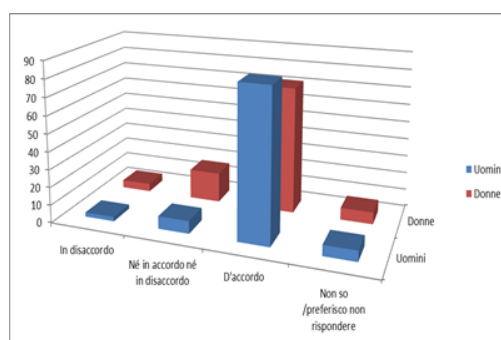


Why men say that everything is ok and then they feel the need of positive actions?

Item 28/1. I feel my department is a great place to work (for women)



Item 28/2 I feel my department is a great place to work (for men)



Women think that their Department is a very good place to work... for men! (But not for themselves....)

Some results. Men's perception of a "gender issue" in Academia is quite completely absent. For them:

- the current situation of consistent disparity is the result of decisions based in any case on merit
- both men and women can equally compete for positions and apical roles
- the organization of work interferes little with other aspects of life such as care and work-life balance.

Main conclusions

- gender bias show up and is perceived implicitly and tacitly by all the respondents,
- prevalence of non-awareness of the problem among men: according to men everything in academia is fine, they are not aware of any gender equality related problem
- men more than women believe that "merit" is the basis on which people are treated;
- women feel less encouraged than men to pursue incentives and career opportunities
- Women know that a problem of discrimination do exist but they don't declare it.

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IN GOD THEY TRUST. TWO OPPOSITE CATHOLIC VIEWS ON FAMILY AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

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The public debate in Italy has recently been noteworthy for its renewed focus on issues relating to gender and sexual citizenship. More specifically, in the past few years – especially since 2013, it has been nurtured by three draft laws that were intended to introduce recognition of partnerships and marriages between same-sex couples (the CirinnàBill, 2013)¹, educational programmes on gender relations in schools (the FedeliBill, 2014) and the introduction of the crime of homophobia into the law (the ScalfarottoBill, 2013).

These three proposals were developed in the context of a peculiar and contradictory political context. First, it must be observed that recognition of same-sex partnerships and marriages has reappeared on the political agenda after a relatively long series of unsuccessful previous attempts by the centre-left parties – particularly between 2005 and 2008 (for a reconstruction of the political debate see Ozzano and Giorgi, 2015). Secondly, the debate on the introduction of educational programmes on gender relations, bullying and homophobia grew in intensity following dissemination of a 2012 school publication issued by a public institution (the National Office against Racial Discrimination UNAR) that aimed at fighting sexual discrimination and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. This

publication generated considerable controversy, and is still at the centre of a significant political and cultural conflict, both in the media and in schools, led in particular by Catholic associations and groups. Thirdly, despite institutional pressures from the European Union, Italy remains at the moment one of the few Western countries that has not introduced LGBTQI anti-discrimination policies. In particular, the more controversial of the three proposals is the recognition of civil rights to homosexual persons and couples that generated strong internal contradictions in the Italian Catholic world, divided between more progressive and conservative positions. The Catholic movements and groups are very concerned with these issues, which involve profound cultural and social changes and question the traditional views on family and sexual and emotional relationships.

Our contribution focuses on the current Italian public debate on the sexual/intimate citizenship and the children education by focusing on the analysis of two specific public positions emerged in the frame of two types of demonstrations – pro and against the same sex couple partnership recognition and their possibility of adopting children – that we can interpret as the two extreme and opposite poles in the Catholic debate.

On the one hand, we will analyse the traditional position expressed in the *Family Day* events held in Rome on 20 June 2015 and 30 January 2016. These demonstrations aim to “protect” children from the dangers of *Gender Ideology*, which “confuses the natural complementarity of masculinity and femininity” (main topic in the June 2015 event), and to safeguard marriage between a man and a woman as the only legitimate and “natural” family. In this way, the Family Day organizers aim to influence the ongoing parliamentary debate (January and February 2016) and then contrast the law that would recognise the partnerships between same-sex couples and their possibility of adopting children (main topic in the January 2016 event). Even if the organising committee, which promoted these events, named “Defending Our Children”, rejects precise religious identification, its components belong to five main Catholic conservative organisations that have a high visibility in local and national mass media (*Non Si Tocca la Famiglia*– Hands off the Family, *La Manif pour Tous*, *Scienza e Vita* – Science and Life, *Giuristi per la Vita* – Lawyers for Life, and *ProVita* – Pro-Life).

On the other hand, we analyse the positions of the openly LGBT Catholic organizations, which are present in several Italian cities² and at a national level³, addressing the controversial issue of the recognition of same sex relations as forms of love compatible with the biblical religious perspective. Even though these groups do not directly belong to Catholic institutions, they explicitly refer to Christian religious identities and beliefs and their main claims relate to LGBT people’s equality within the Christian churches and the sensitization of the religious institutions to their acceptance. These groups openly criticise the conservative positions of Family Day organizers about same-sex marriages and families, by defending the LGBT people’s right to have equal rights as they are recognized in many other European and Western countries.

In particular, one of this group, the association *Nuova proposta* (New proposal), published a public letter to the participants to the Family Day that took place in June 2015, which had a strong media impact. (<http://www.nuovapropostaroma.it/category/documenti-np/>). More recently, within the debate the DDL Cirinnà discussed by Parliament in the last weeks, the national Network Jonata adhered to the national LGBT campaign “#SvegliaItalia” (“Italy Wake Up”) that claimed the recognition of same-sex marriages. The Catholic and Christian LGBT discourse is based on a broader interpretation of the religious concept of love and mercy, which are at the core of the Jubilee launched by Pope Francesco, and significantly share some of the most progressive positions of the laic LGBTQ movements.

In order to explore these two opposite positions, we decided to focus our analysis on the official statements issued by the Defending our children committee (press releases and political manifestos) and on the main documents specifically related to the recognition of same sex unions on the web sites of the LGBT Catholic associations and groups. We adopted the general framework and methods of *Critical Discourse Analysis*-CDA (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2001). We focus on the discursive strategies of the two actors, also comparing the two discourses in order to illustrate the ways in which they intertwine and their mutual construction. We also describe the two types of demonstration through an ethnographic observation (Buzard 1997, Stanley 2001) of the two events – the Family Day and Italy Wake Up – held in Rome a few months away from each other.

Summarizing, in our contribution we first analyse the main rhetoric strategies and arguments that characterised the two different identified positions. Second, we outline the frame of the religious identity to which the two positions refer by describing the conflict on the significance of the Christian-Catholic belonging in relation to different religious imaginaries. On the one hand, there is the opposition to the recognition of the same sex partnerships – strictly linked to the fight against the so-called *Gender Ideology*. On the other hand, there is a claim of the recognition of the identity and homosexual affectivity within the Catholic community: this position does not struggle only for the civic rights recognition in the law system, but it also challenges the current and mainstream cultural belief at the core of the Catholic community itself.

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Notes: 1. In Italian context, the surname attached to a law is that of its first signatory. / 2. LGBT Catholic and Christian groups are present in many cities, the main of which are Ancona (*REFO*– Evangelic Network Faith and Homosexuality), Bergamo (*La Creta* –The Crete), Bologna (*In Cammino*– On the Way), Brescia (*Il Mosaico*– The mosaic), Catania (*Fratelli dell’Epli*– Eplis Brothers), Cremona (*Alle querce di Mamre*– At the oaks of Mamre), Firenze (*Kairos*), Genova (*Gruppo Bethel*– Bethel Group), Milan (*Gruppo del Guado*– Group Ford; *La Fonte*– The Source; Varco-

REFO), Naples (*Ponti sospesi* - Suspension bridges), Padova (*Gruppo Emmanuele*– Emmanuele Group), Palermo (*Ali d'Aquila*– Eagle Wings), Parma (*Gruppo Arco*– Arco Group), Pinerolo (*La Scala di Giacobbe*– Jacob's ladder), Pisa (*Il Ponte*– The bridge), Rimini (*Narciso e Boccadoro* - Narcissus and Boccadoro), Roma (*Gruppo La Sorgente*– The source, *Nuova Proposta*– The new Proposal), Torino (*La Fenice*– The Phoenix, *La Rondine*– The swallow), Trento (*Ressa*), Trieste (*Progetto Ruah* – Ruah Project), Vicenza (*La Parola* – The Word). / 3. *Forum Europeo Cristiani LGBT* – European Forum LGBT Christians, *Progetto Gionata* – Jonata Project.

POSTER SESSION

“BEING LOST” AS A SPACE OF THE STRANGER, OR AS A SPACE OF EMANCIPATORY POSSIBILITIES?

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At a time of heightened anxiety, fear and the need to fix “the Other” – the Stranger – in place occasioned by unprecedented inflows of refugees into Europe, we pose the question to what extent, and in what productive manner, might Europe “get lost” in the world today. Starting from a fraught moment of racialized interrogation of supposedly “mistaken identity/location” experienced by one of the co-authors along the Dutch/German border of Nijmegen (The Netherlands) and Kleve (Germany), we contextualize such an encounter within a modernist tradition of 20th-century writing and reflection on the figure of the *flâneur*, while additionally drawing on anarchist-situationist practices of *dérive* and *détournement*, the better to tease out the political potentiality inherent in the act of “getting lost” in an urbanized cross-border region such as the one we collectively inhabit. Placing intra-European spatial practices critical of capitalist modernity in dialogue with postcolonial writings on 18th-century slave maroon societies at the so-called peripheries of European empire, we explore to what extent the act of “getting lost” conjoined with “going maroon” may be recuperated today by refugee and migrant solidarity groups within Europe’s borderlands so as to open up emotional pathways beyond fear, partition, isolation and the need for purified spaces of security. To empirically substantiate our argument, we build on a multitude of everyday spatial practices of migrant solidarity networks in which we are actively engaged astride our Dutch/German border.

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SILENT RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BIGGEST MINING COMPANIES: AN EXAMPLE OF CHILEAN DIAGUITAS

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The Diaguitas are the oldest inhabitants of the regions of Atacama and Coquimbo in northwest Argentina and northern Chile, having first moved here between 800 and 1000 B.C. They were involved in the cultivation of plants in the fields, supplied with water by means of irrigation channels. They kept llamas, the wool of which was used in the manufacture of textiles and were known for their ceramics decorated with geometrical patterns.

The Spanish conquest for the Diaguitas was almost synonymous with extermination. They were forced into slave labor and their communities entered into decline from the mid-18th century, due to the expansion of agriculture and the political instability of the two countries, which included internal conflicts and military dictatorship. The regime of General Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) favored major foreign investors, who were encouraged to set up companies in Chile, and led to the end of the protection of native forests and lakes, which had irreparable damage on the Diaguitas’ cultural traditions.

The Diaguitas presently inhabit an area of Atacama and Coquimbo in northern Chile (approximately 425,000 people or 3% of the Chilean population) and the provinces of Salta, Catamarca, La Rioja and Tucumán in northwestern Argentina (roughly 32,000 people). In August 2002 a Diaguitas delegation from Atacama submitted a request to Chilean National Congress for recognition of their community for Chilean indigenous people, in accordance with article 1 of the Law 19.253 from 28 September 1993. President Michelle Bachelet fulfilled this request in 2006.

Many of the Chilean Diaguitas live in the Huasco Valley, in the vicinity of Barrick Gold, the largest gold-mining company in the world, which pursues its mining project Pascua Lama in this region. In 2006, as compensation for the environmental damages it had caused, Barrick Gold created the Support Programme for Diaguitas in the Huasco

Valley, in which Indian growers have undergone special training in the protection of the health of animals. Tribal artists, encouraged by the representatives of the company, have held creative workshops for the younger generation, which have provided them with qualifications and the chance to sell their products at home and abroad. These forms of compensation, however, did not produce a solution to the problem of disease. With the development of mining, acids containing arsenic, aluminum and sulfates, have entered into the rivers of the Huasco Valley, which are the principal source of drinking water for the Diaguitas. Despite the suspension of the company's operations by the Chilean authorities in 2013 and some attempted agreements with Diaguita communities, Barrick Gold still appears to be more focused on profits than on the consequences of its activities. For instance, checks carried out by Chilean environmental inspectors indicate significant operational irregularities that have contributed to the deterioration of the Diaguitas' environment and health.

Barrick Gold is not the only mining company that the Diaguitas have had to deal with. Joint venture companies Goldcorp and New Gold have decided to implement a mining project named El Moro on the Diaguita lands. This project, however, has been stalled by the decision of the Chilean Supreme Court in April 2012. The Diaguitas have issued an official complaint to the Chilean Supreme Court regarding the damage the company's intended actions will have for the environment. The subsequent judgment put a stop to all further mining until the representatives of this company consulted with the members of the Diaguita tribes.

KNOWING ^{AS} BEING, OR THE POLITICAL SIDE OF ETHNOGRAPHY/ERS

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What happens in ethnography “quand on n'aime pas «ses indigènes»” (Avanza 2008)? This direct, simple and fundamental question represents the basis of my ethnographic experience: a research on the militancy in an Italian right-wing, populist and regionalist political party, the Northern League. “Political entrepreneur” of the systemic crisis of the Italian party system at the beginning of the 80's (Diamanti 1996), the party has skilfully ridden the wave of socio-political changes by elaborating a political programme no longer based on the left/right dichotomy and the class vote but on populist (Biorcio 2012) and communitarian (Diamanti 1993; Bellè 2015) forms of post-ideological identification. For my ethnographical work, I selected two different local branches (which have been given the fictitious names of Contrada and Metropolis), selected for their location at the opposite extremes of two analytical axes: a territorial axis and an organisational one. Contrada is a Northern League branch in a small town of Veneto (North-East Italy). It is in a central position from a territorial point of view, because Veneto was the birthplace of the Northern League, but peripheral with respect to the political-organisational axis. By contrast, Metropolis, located in a large city of Lombardy (North-West Italy), is peripheral from a territorial perspective. Large urban areas are in fact the places of least consensus (Passarelli, Tuorto 2012) for the Northern League, a “valley-dwelling and provincial party” (Agnew *et al.* 2002). Metropolis, however, is central on the internal organisational axis because it is close to the managerial and political heart of the party. Data were collected through overt participant observation of ordinary activities: mainly the weekly branch meetings, but also various kinds of political and social initiatives (public demonstrations and events, fly-posting, social dinners and so on).

In my contribution, I will try to examine to main problematic aspects related to the ethnographical work as location of politics. Firstly, in relational terms, the research experience on politically “hideous” subjects can be viewed as a sort of Copernican revolution in the relationship between the ethnographer and the field. Several contributions have pointed out the non-neutrality – interpretative and, in a broader sense, political – of the ethnographer with respect to the text that he/she produces, underlining the relevance of positioning and reflexivity (among others, see Becker 1967; Clifford 1988; Clifford, Marcus, 1986; Marcus, Fischer 1993). However, in the specific case of my research, the issues related to reflexivity and positioning were partially different and particularly problematic. In fact, ethnographic investigation of groups and social phenomena labelled as “deviant” or “marginal” by society has often coincided with the ethnographer's positioning on the side of the social world under study. Many of the most important and celebrated ethnographies (Whyte 1943; Goffman 1961; Becker 1963) attempt not only to illuminate what lies at the margin, but also to give it voice by siding with the “marginalized”. It is clear that this vast ethnographic tradition should be critically revised when the researcher finds that s/he not only cannot “stand by” his/her object of study but even harbours quite critical feelings towards it (among others, see Fielding 1982; Boumaza 2001; Bizeul 2003; Black 2004; Blee 2007). In these controversial cases, what is the “right ethnographic distance” (Bensa 1995) (for that matter, always a problematic aspect in ethnographies)? How far is it possible to push the necessary and inevitable immersion in the research field without endorsing values, attitudes, actions or beliefs that conflict deeply with the ethnographer's vision of the world and his/her values? Moreover, how is it possible to preserve the quality of the ethnographical relation when the researcher harbours aversive feelings? In what ways can ethnographers cope with the ambivalence between the feelings of critical distance and humane empathy that they feel during the fieldwork?

Secondly, besides and intertwined with the difficulty arising from the difficult subject of the study, my research mobilized other contradictions, particularly because of my personal story as feminist and left-wing activist, which remained a sort of “unspeakable secret” during the fieldwork. This “secret” raised major deontological, epistemological and political problems. At a relational and deontological level, in fact, I was concealing from the research participants a part of my personality deeply involved in the research process. At the epistemological level, the story of my hidden identity is the story of another, possible research, with different relations with my natives, and of another, certainly different,

trajectory in the field. And last but not least, at a political level, I was constantly forced in the field to choose between “loyautés incompatibles” (Bizeul, 2007): either to maintain non-conflictual relations with the militants, or to express my opposition to political and gender views at odds with my own, thereby revealing my political experience and vision.

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THE RIGHT TO LIVE, LEARN AND WORK IN EUROPE: MIGRATION POLICY AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CIVIC INCLUSION

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Traditionally, the Left has led the way in finding progressive solutions to migratory movements; and the right to opportunities such as access to decent work and education for migrants were at the heart of these solutions. We argue that European migration policy needs to be reconsidered to reflect the opportunities that work and education present for the civic inclusion of migrants. Currently, not all migrant children have access to education at the point of arrival, and adult migrants are often excluded from education and employment for long periods. Furthermore, the increasing casualization of work creates new patterns of social exclusion that is detrimental to basic living conditions for migrants, and fuels anti-immigration sentiments. Our paper draws on interdisciplinary approaches, including ethnographic field work conducted by some of the authors, to address how progressive immigration policy should recognise the dangers stemming from the deregulation of labour markets and migrants' lack of access to education, and see the current debate as an opportunity to advance a coordinated approach to education and work as the route to the civic integration and inclusion of migrant populations. We contextualise this within the history of migration in modern Europe through an exploration of the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 as a case study. From this case study we show how current policy has departed from being able to effectively include migrant populations in civic life, particularly those who seek safety in Europe for humanitarian reasons; and why we therefore need to reinvigorate support for opportunities to live, learn and work in the EU.

SPIRITUALIT(IES) OF “MOTHER GAIA” IN THE CONTEMPORARY WEST. AN “ALTERNATIVE” (H)ISTORY TOLD BY THE “HETEROTOPIAS” OF MONTE VERITÀ AND GLASTONBURY

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Monte Verità and Glastonbury are two “heterotopias” – two places in which the utopias of the so-called “alternative wave” have been realized. Rooted in 19th-century Romanticism, this cultural phenomenon has spread throughout Western society first within the counterculture of the 20th century, and later within the contemporary phenomenon of “New Age” spirituality. This historical development can be followed by analyzing these two European “heterotopias”. The sanatorium Monte Verità (Switzerland), founded in 1900, became a meeting point for naturism, anarchism, expressionist dance and art, occultism and theosophy during the century. Similarly, the Christian pilgrim place Glastonbury (England) has attracted esoteric circles and mystics, Hippies, New Pagans, Ley-Line Hunters and “alternative” healing groups, especially since the 1970s.

Amongst others, both places have gathered several “new” spiritual currents sharing the belief in the “Mother”: the energy-source of all creation which is mostly identified with nature and the earth (“Gaia”). Derived from an eclectic

mixture of elements taken from European pre-Christian and Eastern traditions, this belief has been presented as the “new” alternative to repair those losses brought within Western society by industrial capitalism on the one hand, and from the rather “Father-oriented” Christian tradition on the other. In particular, in both places this “Mother-belief” has been put into practice in three ways:

- 1) in the New Pagan Mother-oriented cults;
- 2) in nature-based healing;
- 3) in the (often politicized) ecological struggle of the green part/ies.

In conclusion, the “heterotopias” of Monte Verità and Glastonbury provide a great starting point for the discussion about the revolution in the way/s spirituality is experienced and lived in contemporary Western society.

FORCED MIGRATION AND LABOUR MARKET OF MIGRANTS IN SICILY. THE CASE STUDY OF THE CARA OF MINEO

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Despite the internalization process of decision-making mechanisms, severe criteria for the selection of human mobility have been established in order to strengthen migration control policies (Fassin 2011). Alongside these images, Italian and international studies have highlighted an opposite perspective: the embitterment of migration policies and the dearth of legal entry channels for jobs express the need of States to govern the foreign labour in order to maintain the “pervasive and systematic” condition of inequality of immigrants (Saraceno, Sartor, Sciortino 2013).

Within the new European geopolitical order, Sicily represents a privileged “place” in which to study forced migration paths and economic and political dynamics behind the practices of control and selection of migration toward Europe. The region has been involved in the “re-articulation of the modern system of border” (Campesi 2015) that has generated a significant impact on the mobility of people and on the mechanisms of “reproduction of the illegality” (De Genova 2002). Having become one of the necessary escape routes for hundreds of thousands of men and women, Sicily has been called upon to guard the borders of “Fortress Europe”. Within the restrictions imposed by these “regimes of mobility” (Schiller, Salazar 2013), the militarization of Sicily has played a decisive role in the production of the European space. In this scenario built through and due to migration policy, the devices of “layering of mobility” (Ambrosini 2014) have found in Sicily their adoptive country. The high concentration in the region of centers of formal and informal reception and identification of migrants is clear evidence of such processes.

My research aims to explore the relationship between the control of human mobility and migrants’ employment segregation in Sicily, starting with the most important results of a specific case study. My focus is on the Cara (Centro di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo) of Mineo that, since 2011, has represented one of the most important places to analyse the link between Italian migration policies, the economic and political dynamics associated with the governance of forced migration and the social practices of subjects. Specifically, through the outputs of my field research conducted from September 2014 to March 2015, I want to explain how asylum seekers of Cara of Mineo have been recruited in the local agricultural sector.

My analysis will draw on semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with ninety-two people (asylum seekers, migrant workers employed in the agricultural sector, trade union officials, priests, local farmers and farm hands, members of NGOs, legal experts involved in the protection of migrants’ rights, local and national politicians, journalists working on the issue of migration in Sicily, administrators of the Cara of Mineo, social workers employed in the same Cara, and local people living in the town of Mineo). I will also devote attention to the ethnographic observation conducted during my study. Through the help of people met during the research, I was able to carry out many interviews in homes, workplaces and meeting areas of foreign workers. This fostered a better understanding of the relationship between the status of migration, the social networks and the working conditions of migrants within the Sicilian labour market, and allowed me to come into contact with situations of extreme hardship.

The first aim of my empirical analysis is to shine light on the subjective reasons why immigrants residing in the reception center of Mineo go to work in the local countryside for a few euros per day. The second goal is to explain how the informal and irregular labour of asylum seekers has modified both the forms of coexistence between natives and immigrants and the balance between demand and supply of the agricultural labour market. Finally, my paper wants to underline how the presence of the biggest reception center for asylum seekers in Europe within the small town of Mineo has produced a significant impact on the social, political and economic organization of the municipalities of the surrounding Calatino area.

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THE MODERN MIGRANT'S EXPECTATIONS: RECEPTION OR "DETENTION"?

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This essay - which focuses on the topic of the reception of people who decide to migrate from the southern bank of the Mediterranean Sea towards Italy - is part of a wider ongoing research project started in 2014 by a partnership of the IULM University, the University of Milan, the La Manouba University of Tunisi and the ATPIC Association with the goal of dealing with the theme of the prevention of illegal immigration. The authors of the essay will pay specific attention to the analysis of the initial expectations belonging to the people that arrive illegally to Italy (usually seen as the "portal" of a migratory path which identifies its final destination within the European continent). The research has been conducted thanks to surveys and interviews, supported by videos, which have been taken in the Tunisian departure localities, in the Lampedusa Centre of First Aid, and, furthermore, in the Isola Capo Rizzuto First-Reception Centre (for the last two, the entrance authorization has been provided by the respective Prefectures upon request from the Ministry of Interior). The migrant's reality has represented the nerve centre of the analysis: on one hand, at the moment of the departure, the migrant perceives Italy as an El Dorado, namely a place which is ready to "welcome" him/her in order to satisfy his/her first material needs (a sort of Eden), but, on the other hand, when the migrant arrives in the Centres of First Aid/First-Reception, he/she suddenly undertakes the role of "detained migrant" and this happens independently from his/her identification as an applicant for political asylum or for subsidiary protection. The two terms (reception/detention) are undoubtedly incompatible from a semantic point of view since they represent a proper antithesis. However, the reality of the national reception system - which is to date (13rd January 2016) paralyzed by complicated procedures which end up restricting for several months the migrants' personal freedom, including the possibility of moving outside the Italian boundaries - actively merges the terms to become an oxymoron, where reception and detention melt together into habitual practices of bad management of the migratory emergency. Besides introducing the elements that characterize the different structures intended to illegal migrants - where by "structure" we do not solely mean the physical place of temporary residence but the "systems" of the actors involved in its management - the essay elaborates the results of the interviews from a dual point of view: the one of the "supervisors" of the centres and the one of the "hosts", who often report a sense of anger and oppression, which could give rise to disorders and conflict situations either with the police or with the fellow-sufferers, with whom they share their new living spaces. Moreover, the phenomenon of the resilience/conflicts finds further support in the surrounding areas too, where usual "life witnesses" take place and where media participate at the intensifying of the conflicts rather than offering a "virtual forum", where a reflection could be possible in order to develop tangible solutions to the European migratory crisis.

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DENTRO LO STUDIO. UN'ESPLORAZIONE DEL VOCABOLARIO DI MOTIVAZIONI ALLO STUDIO IN CARCERE

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Qual'è il repertorio di motivazioni a cui i detenuti attingono nel dare discorsivamente senso al proprio percorso di studi in carcere? Attraverso quali stili e modelli d'interazione queste motivazioni prendono forma? Come i motive si adattano a diversi frame dell'interazione e viceversa? Come tali motivazioni sono "usate" dai detenuti? Attraverso quali strategie? Con quali scopi ed implicazioni? Che cosa l'analisi di tale vocabolario di motivazioni è in grado di dirci sui significati della vita quotidiana in carcere? Cosa dell'immagine del mondo esterno e delle sue istituzioni?

Tali domande sono affrontate a partire dai dati etnografici relativi alle esperienze di volontariato e tirocinio svolti nell'anno accademico 2014/2015 dagli studenti del corso di laurea di Sociologia presso il polo universitario attivato nel carcere di Opera, in provincia di Milano. Le osservazioni si sono concentrate su un gruppo di detenuti-studenti del circuito alta sicurezza e con ergastolo ostativo. Le attività svolte con i detenuti studenti sono state legate principalmente allo studio in preparazione degli esami e sono avvenute sempre nell'area pedagogica del carcere. Gli incontri, in alcuni periodi anche plurisettimanali, sono durati non meno di due ore.

Il lavoro proposto esplora le motivazioni associate dai detenuti alla loro iscrizione ai diversi corsi di laurea presso il polo Universitario, intendendo tale esplorazione non come la ricerca di possibili fattori propulsivi di tale scelta, ovvero dai quali questa deriverebbe. Piuttosto, oggetto del contributo è l'analisi situata di come tali motivazioni sono usate ex-post, dando conto di tale scelta attraverso pratiche discorsive che prendono forma in modo situato. Teoricamente, il focus dell'analisi si concentra sul rapporto tra ciò che Wright Mills (1940) definì come i "vocabolari di motivazioni" e le situazioni in cui questi sono attivati. Empiricamente ci si è concentrati sullo studio del linguaggio, della verbalizzazione

dei motivi in relazione ai comportamenti e nelle differenti situazioni. L'analisi proposta verte sul nesso tra le motivazioni e i frame attivati nei setting in cui queste sono discorsivamente praticate. Scopo ultimo è quello d'illuminare i rapporti di potere nel cui ambito i vocabolari di motivazioni si collocano e come tali elementi interagiscano reciprocamente.

GOVERNING IMMIGRATION THROUGH CRIME AT THE STREET LEVEL. THE METAMORPHOSIS OF AN IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTRE IN BELGIUM

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Based on ethnographic research in an immigration detention centre in Belgium as well as on document analysis and interviews with staff members and detainees, I discuss the evolution of the regime to which the detainees are subjected. In the official language of the Immigration Office, this evolution is called humanisation of detention, because it responds to pressures from the public, and in particular to NGOs, to show that action was undertaken to improve the situation of detention.

However, a reconstruction of the changes shows that instead the regime was changed for the well-being of the staff. In fact, though immigration detention is not considered a penal measure, but simply an administrative one, I argue that the birth of immigration detention in Belgium participates in the wider neo-liberal punitive turn of the "new penology" or "penal state". Therefore, it must be understood as a result of the rise of warehousing practices. The staff of the centres has the task of executing the punitive measure of detention. The first years of the detention centre were quite violent: arbitrary practices such as disciplinary confinement and harsh rules led to frequent frictions between staff and detainees and among detainees. This became too burdensome for the staff, as they did not feel safe at work anymore. Hence, the regime was gradually humanised without change in legislation. All levels of staff were implicated in this change, because different categories of workers had different interests in change. Departing from theories of accountability and street-level bureaucracy I argue that the changes were made to account to different actors: inside the Immigration Office accountability was directed to the staff and so the working conditions were central; externally this process was called humanisation to show the broader public and in particular to NGOs that action was undertaken to improve the situation of detention.

Furthermore, the changes reflected an ethopolitical (to use Nikolas Rose's words) approach toward detainees as they tended to increase their autonomy and to incorporate them in the functioning of the centre: allowing them to perform cleaning chores against small remuneration, responsabilizing them with regards to the tidiness of their bedrooms and common spaces, and last but not least, through a more "human" interaction staff realised that detainees provided them with useful information on evasion plans of other detainees. So, in conclusion, the change of regime was not only operated to improve the working conditions of the staff and to legitimise detention to the broader public, but it also strengthened the power relations within detention as tensions and protest diminished and prevention and control augmented. This approach is similar to the one analysed by Mary Bosworth in American prisons where prison inmates are no longer considered as detainees within the managerial framework, but rather as rational clients who are capable of self-regulation and thus "bear full responsibility for the decisions they make and must, as a result, be prepared for negative consequences if they choose not to follow prison rules."

FAMILY'S STRATEGIES EASE THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN GREEK URBAN BOUNDARIES

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The paper will try to describe how the present situation for both the housing policies and the new households and inner family strategies were developed against the severity of the economic situation of the latest period. Specifically, austerity measures that were realized from the last governments (since 2011) and the Troika (European Union, the International Monetary Fund, and the European Central Bank) affected the official policies towards housing and the economic statues of Greece's citizens, impacting significantly their accommodation choices. Moreover, the Greek imaginaries of the housing and the family – similar to the rest Mediterranean countries- are strong. Therefore, Greeks tend to choose the home ownership through the extended family's support and programming. However, while the economic reality changed and there is an unclear and gloomy future ahead "family's welfare" is still quite strong and becomes even more crucial for the choices of housing for its members, implementing certain types of households in order to survive the crisis.

Housing was always an important issue in the Mediterranean countries and especially in the major urban areas. Specifically, Greek housing situation was formed since the industrial era when because of the low national industrial activity there was no state provision for social housing that was an important characteristic of the northern countries where a lot of people moved from rural areas and "lives" to urban centers to work in the secondary production sectors (Allen, 2004)¹. Moreover, Greeks were used to private property from their rural reality and thus even when they were transferred to urban boundaries tried to acquire home ownership and even secondary houses (Allen, 2004). In addition to this, the major urban areas of Greece had always the need to accommodate citizens that needed a shelter, whose numbers were growing in certain periods from historic incidents like wars and immigration (Theodoridou, 2011). Nowadays, high rates of home ownership and absence of social housing are the main characteristics of the situation

in Greece in connection with the importance of the statute of family concerning the housing strategies (Allen, 2004; Balabanidis et al, 2013)².

What is more, in this paper, it will be attempted a description of the transformation of the policies around housing since the first migration wave in 1922 and the post war period (after 1949 for Greece) until the period after crisis was initiated and especially after 2011 when the first bailout package was finalized for Greece (Arapoglou&Siatitsa, 2015). At the same time, family strategies concerning housing will be researched for the period until the crisis of 2008 in order to propose a holistic view of the housing situation in post war Greece and especially Athens. Accordingly, the Greek state could never cover formally the social need for shelter of the less privileged and after the crisis, initiated in 2008(Kotz, 2009), the situation deteriorated. Precisely, bank lending was really important for the access to housing the previous years so people owed their houses to banks as the crisis strike and there were no high enough incomes to cover the loans(Balabanidis et al, 2013). At the same time, government applied heavy taxation to private property(European Action Coalition for the Right to the Housing and the City, 2014) rendering it unaffordable. What is more, the ambiguous protective frame and moratorium of evictions that was active until 2013 after a lot of discussions and political maneuvers is not existing and auctions and evictions commenced (European Action Coalition for the Right to the Housing and the City, 2014; Karagianni&Kapsali, 2015). Additionally, in 2012, Greek government abolished the Worker Housing Organization, the only public institution about accommodation issues³. However there are mechanisms in order for the citizens overcome these discontinuities.

As a matter of fact, concerning the Greek culture and ethnography, the family programming about housing is really important for the structure of the whole society(Allen, 2004; Carlos, 2008). Expressly, home ownership refers to multiple functions inside Greek extended family like shelter for the whole family, strong investment and additional income if it is rented to third parties (Balabanidis et al, 2013). Likewise, families have unofficial strategies against the crisis and the loss of homes that can act as suspensory towards collective claims for housing. Namely, multiple households unite under one home or houses are rented for no money but only the coverage of the bills and taxes(Μπαλαμπανίδης et al, 2013). The ethnographic urban phenomenon of Greek family tactics produce economic, political and psychological values that impact significantly the urban reality.

The methodological approach of this article is mainly bibliographical including both academic and radical literature. Moreover, the observation of the press was really important for the realization of an estimation of the current dynamic housing and relevant policies' situation. Finally, interviews were realized with Greek lawyers in order to clarify the recent law changes that are linked to the housing protection.

Even if it is still soon to value the impact of austerity in combination with these ethnographic characteristics, it is interesting to investigate the current signs and problematize for the future. Which is the impact in the family life, friendships and relationships of the new enforced households? Is this kind of self – management of the housing crisis oppressing the corresponding movements? How long will be able the family to act as welfare structure?

Notes: 1. The main pressure for social housing came from the industrial capital which “imported” workers and aspire the reduction of labor cost (Allen, 2004). / 2. Markedly, Greece had the highest rate of home ownership in 1950 among the 12 European countries(Allen, 2004). / 3. Law N. 4046/2012, ΦΕΚ 28/Α’/14-2-2012.

MIGRANTS IN ITALY, CITIZENS IN EUROPE? THE INTRA-EUROPEAN ONWARD MIGRATIONS: A CASE STUDY

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The 30th anniversary of the Schengen Agreement took place on 14 June 13, 2015. Over the last three decades, many things have changed. First of all, since 2008, the economic crisis (Bauman 2013; Chesnais 2011; Dinerstein and Schwartz 2014) has had a profound impact on the European Union and countries beyond its borders, with significant implications for migration movements. It has contributed to a shift in migration patterns, as many European countries, e.g., the Mediterranean countries, have re-emerged as sources of labour migration (Gjergji, 2015; Scotto 2015; Pugliese 2015; Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014) and are being re-imagined as peripheries.

Meanwhile, the crisis is contributing to the relatively new phenomenon of “onward migration” (Ahrens 2013; Ahrens et al. 2014; Della Puppa, 2014; Mapril, 2014), i.e., the reactivation of migratory mobility through Third Country Nationals (TCN), that is, migrants originating from non-EU countries, who, once they have acquired EU citizenship in one EU country, leave for another. EU citizenship is the ultimate goal for some TNC migrants (Carrillo, 2015), while others see formal citizenship as a means to obtain the freedom to move within the EU and start new (e)migration (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015). This has led to a transformation of the European citizenship, to a re-shape of intra-European relationships, to a shift in the Schengen Agreement’s meaning and implications from free mobility for (native) European citizens to free mobility for migrants within the European Union (Scherz and Welge 2014).

This paper is part of a broader research and focuses on the strategic use of Italian citizenship on the part of Bangladeshi migrants who, after having obtained their EU passport, plan to leave Italy and move to the UK.

This onward migration experience could constitute a strategy adopted by Bangladeshi families to improve their upward social mobility and, especially, the one of their children. Specifically, they try to avoid that the lack of social and educational recognition they experienced in Italy will not affect their children and, at the same time, they try to make the younger generations closer to the English language (Imam, 2005), perceived as a passkey to global opportunities.

Therefore, the secondary migration could also be interpreted as a coping strategy to the labour segregation which, in the Southern Europe, channels migrants into specific niches of the labour market (Perocco, 2012), and to the economic crisis which, in the Mediterranean Europe, hits them with particular virulence (Bonifazi and Marini, 2014), as well as a reaction to the Italian institutional racism (Basso, 2010).

The UK is represented as a more attractive destination than Italy because of its welfare system (Sumino, 2014) which is considered more inclusive than the “Mediterranean” one (Esping-Andersen 1990) that, in the current context of economic recession, seems to fail to meet the needs of the families of ever growing number of unemployed migrants. Within a general framework in which the Italian welfare state is undergoing sharp retrenchment, migrants are often further excluded from social protection based on their “nationality”, their type of residence permit and an informal “ethnic profiling” carried out by many local authorities (Ambrosini, 2013; Villegas 2015). Finally, the UK is perceived as a “culturally” closer social context than Italy, due to the historical colonial relations and to the British multiculturalism. Unlike Italy, the British society is described by Bangladeshi migrants as a social context in which is possible to express their linguistic, cultural, and religious identity in the public arena and to provide for a proper religious education for their children.

PREPARING OUR STUDENTS TO LEAP: LEARNING FROM THE EXPERIENCES OF MALTESE FEMALE ADOLESCENTS IN THEIR TRANSITION TO FURTHER EDUCATION

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Further Education (FE) is almost a new venture on the Maltese Islands particularly for UK NVQ Levels 1 and 2. In 2001 the Malta College of Arts, Science and Technology (MCAST) introduced the Foundation Certificate: A Further Education (FE) access course without entry requirements.

Drawing mainly on the study by Ball, Maguire & Macrae (2000), Evans’ concept of bounded agency (2002; 2007) and transition programmes by Sultana (1989), this paper explores the transitory experience of female students from Compulsory to Further Education. Between 2007 and 2010 these students narrated their experiences prior to entry at MCAST, as students on the MCAST campus, during their work placements as well as on their workplace. This poster will focus primarily on students’ experiences prior to entering FE.

Findings indicate that students opting for FE are not given due importance with regard to preparing for transition. FE is also portrayed as a lesser option to traditional academic routes.

Based on the literature reviewed and the analysis of findings in connection to students’ perceptions on their preparation, proposals assisting educational practitioners in helping adolescents for transition are presented.

ATTEMPTING A RE-CONCEPTUALIZATION OF WASTE IN THE “AGE OF AUSTERITY”. THE CASE STUDY OF A ZERO WASTE MUNICIPALITY IN ITALY

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The aim of this paper is to describe the attempt at re-conceptualizing waste as commons within the case study of Capannori (Tuscany), carried out by transformative practices in terms of daily life, policy and economics within the local community system. Taking into consideration the general background of economic crisis affecting Italy, it could be useful to understand the link between these changes in a bid to solve the crisis (at a local level, at least). Waste is here the key of analysis, since it is the focus of the transformations promoted.

Over the last few years, there seems to have been an attempt at re-conceptualizing waste understood as a valuable resource. In Italy, thanks to the environmentalist network “Rifiuti Zero”, which works toward the promotion of “sustainability” through the “Zero Waste strategy”, the idea of waste as a resource within a circular economic system has spread. Waste is also considered capable of helping a community out of the economic crisis and of contributing to counter climate change. Capannori, a rural municipality in Tuscany was the first municipality in Europe to declare itself “Zero Waste”. Since this declaration, citizens, activists, local government and industrialists have increasingly collaborated in order to create a sustainable community system, that with time has become a synonym for circular economy. Many activists call Capannori the “Italian Silicon Valley” because many businesses based on sustainable practices are setting up here, often thanks to the influence of the “Zero Waste Research Centre”.

Rifiuti Zero could be considered as a reaction to the economic crisis in Italy, an expression of integration of people with the austerity towards a creation of a shared sense of meaning about resource management, a tool through which the citizenship is creating meaning about the crisis in their daily lives. It could be considered a grassroots and alterglobal experience: it introduces itself in a context in which grassroots struggles coordinated at a national and transnational level – it is part of the transnational networks Zero Waste Europe and Zero Waste International Alliance - work not against the Globalization process, but towards the promotion of an “alternative” globalization. Rifiuti Zero seems to carry out a process of community empowerment (Kieffer 1984), towards the patrimonialization of the environment and its resources from a sociopolitical-economic-cultural perspective. This seems to lead to a re- conceptualization of waste as valuable resources for communities.

The attempt at re-conceptualizing of waste is based on a re-thinking about the sociocultural meaning of these objects within the social body in terms of “usefulness” in the daily life. This “usefulness” become concrete in the daily life practices, based on recycling, re-using and redesigning materials. These “good” practices are put into effect by the services organization – like the waste management –, the environmental education in schools, the municipal support to local sustainable businesses and the researches of the Zero Waste movement (embodied by the Zero Waste Research Centre) all ways are seen capable to reach the “zero” production of waste. In this way, waste objects seem to be re-absorbed by economic dynamics within a community system, beginning a process of re-conceptualization that seems

to take a different path according to different kinds and uses of waste objects: some kinds of materials are already considered as valuable because if recycled they can produce something else. In this case, the process of re-negotiation of the meaning of waste could be related to a process of commodization, since, in this context, waste could be seen as things with a particular type of social potential. They can be defined as a thing with a value that can be exchanged for a counterpart which in the immediate context has an equivalent value, getting an economic value according to the context and the implied power in the socioeconomic exchange.

The second path that a waste object can take refers to practices of creative and artistic reuses. In the case of disposable waste, they have to be put in a process that give them power (and a kind of social value) after they have been already produced. In this context, waste seems to become singularized objects, since each of them doesn't have price in the economic system and it is unique: a sculpture made by waste cannot be the same as another and embodied the social value of reuse waste. Another kind of singularized object is when something, already thrown out as trash, is recovered, for example old furniture: these items cannot be put in the regular economic dynamics because the Italian legislation forbid the trade of waste. Thus, an old sofa could be recovered by a private citizen for his own use, giving to the object a unique value which is only in that person's mind.

The process of negotiation between the Zero Waste strategy global ideas and a community's system of values and its economic-political needs seem to re-conceptualize waste as commons. Waste could be seen as pervasive and spread within the social body, as part of the mechanisms of production/consumption of the actual economic apparatus. Waste could be considered as part of the everyday life, influencing a community sociopolitical and economic organization; but once waste has been coopted, within the economic dynamics of a community, they seem to cooperate in the promotion of a social organization perceived as capable to promote changes towards a resolution of the crisis: waste seen as products of the neo-liberal system (which is blamed for the actual situation of instability) have been negotiated within this same system as tool of resistance to the austerity and perceived as commons. This process permits to reproduce social power dynamics needed in order to create and maintain the commons system, elaborated within the Zero Waste cultural frames.

MOVING FROM THE CENTRE TO THE PERIPHERIES. ÉLITES AND MARGINAL GROUPS AMONG THE BRAHMANS AT THE KĀMĀKHYĀ TEMPLE COMPLEX

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Exploring the lives and beliefs of the actors who play a central role in a given context is often not enough to portray a comprehensive picture of what goes on in that context. Actors who are entitled to perform the central, essential activities often delegate the activities considered marginal or less important to other persons who lack the qualifications that give access to the centre. The existence of marginal zones, within a larger, highly profitable context, naturally incites the intervention of actors coming from outside that context.

The Temple of the Goddess Kāmākhya is situated in the present-day town of Guwahati, the capital of Assam and gateway to North-East India. The Temple stands on the Nilachal (the blue hill), whose northern slope ends in the mighty river Brahmaputra. As well as the Kāmākhya Temple, the Hill hosts about twenty minor temples, dedicated to Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Around the Temple is a village, inhabited by the temples' servants (Brahmans and non-Brahmans).

The Kāmākhya temple complex is the largest pilgrimage place of Assam. It is considered by many Hindus to be among the most powerful sanctuaries of Devī (Goddess) in India and daily receives thousands of pilgrims coming from different regions of South Asia.

Two groups of Brahmans have hereditary rights over the Kāmākhya temple complex: the Bardeuris (the great priests) and the Nananbardeuris (other or diverse great priests). The Bardeuris have the right to carry out the core-activity of the temple complex, namely the worship of the Goddess Kāmākhya, taking place in Her Temple. The Nananbardeuris have the equivalent right over the minor temples of the complex. As a result of their hereditary rights, the Kamakhyan Brahman (Bardeuris and Nananbardeuris) can be said to be an élite. However, they are not the only Brahman active at the temple complex.

Due to the large number of pilgrims visiting the temple complex, Kamakhyan Brahman need other Brahman to assist them in various ways. This explains why the demand for Brahman manpower is so high in the Kāmākhya temple complex. It is no surprise that young unemployed uneducated Brahman from nearby areas would see it as a possible opportunity to (partly) earn their livelihood. Since these outsider Brahman do not belong to the rights-holder groups, they cannot worship any deity of the complex. Rather they are employed in the temples as well as in Kamakhyan households with different roles.

Outsider Brahman perform the rites of passage demanded by pilgrims under the supervision of Kamakhyan Brahman; they prepare and serve the food to be offered to deities in private houses (and sometimes in temples too); they assist Kamakhyan Brahman during rituals sponsored by pilgrims and may escort the latter to the sanctum of the Kāmākhya Temple. These activities, here only briefly outlined, differ from each other in many ways. Some of them require a specialization, either ritual (performing rites of passage) or practical (cooking), while others do not require any training; some of the outsider Brahman are free-lance, so to speak, while others are the employees of a particular Kamakhyan Brahman. Kamakhyan Brahman are not interested in carrying out these marginal activities; therefore they delegate them to the outsider Brahman.

This paper employs a centre-peripheries model to explore the internal classifications and daily interactions of the Brahman active at a popular pilgrimage place. It does so by focusing on the daily life of a particular individual. Rakesh

Sarma (a pseudonym), now in his early thirties, first arrived at the temple complex when he was sixteen. Since then he has been performing the rites of passage for pilgrims. His parents' house is in an Assamese village. For as long as I have known him, Rakesh has been renting a room in a Kamakhyan household; he is almost always available in the temple complex. With the passage of time he has been able to weave a network of relations with Kamakhyan Brahmins and eventually got his younger sister married into a Bardeuri household. Today he earns his livelihood not only by performing the rites of passage demanded by pilgrims, but also by cooperating with his sister's husband. Based on extensive fieldwork research, the present paper departs from the ritual and social centre of the society revolving around the Kāmākhyā temple complex with the aim of exploring its peripheries.

A LOOK FROM INSIDE MIGRANTS AND STEREOTYPES IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRISON AND SOCIETY

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The object of present investigation is to deconstruct the dual stereotypical image of the migrant, viewed on the one hand as a dangerous entity, and on the other as a productive entity. The investigation focuses on the experience of mostly first generation jailed migrants, ranging between the ages of 25 and 35 years, who on reaching our country very soon become entangled in the penal institution.

Choosing the prison as a starting point stems from the conviction that this institution has always served as a mirror of society, a repository for social differences, disorder, misfits, or the other ("alter") elements that need to be rooted out of society. As such, it allows us to pose some questions with relation to the consequences of the phenomenon of globalization. In particular, a central aspect of the present research is to verify if, as of today, a direct relationship still exists between the punitive practices and the distribution of resources, and if there is a close connection between imprisonment and the dominant system of production.

One recurrent concern disclosed in the discussion with the young men encountered is that of the availability of resources, of the necessity/desirability of work, with work being understood as the only instrument of legitimacy. Thus, on the one hand the migrant is perceived as a dangerous element, on the other he/she is seen as a tool to be exploited. In describing the jailed migrants' experiences, the project takes an opposite approach – from detainment, to the criminalization process, to the initial labeling and exclusion mechanisms – and examines whether there are any common aspects in the subjects' pre-incarceration period in Italy, especially regarding work related experiences. Parallel to this, the project aims also to verify if the two functions of prison – that of recruiting a disciplined work force and that of recruiting marginalized subjects – still coexist in the globalization era.

Methods included autobiographical descriptions and semi-structured interviews which revealed themselves to be excellent techniques for an in-depth analysis.

At the start, without providing specific directions, the subjects were asked to speak freely of themselves by means of autobiographical writing. Subsequently, after collecting and reviewing sufficient material, they were interviewed through a series of semi-structured questions. To give the subjects the possibility from the very beginning to choose freely what to relate of their lives, without the restriction of a pre-defined pattern, facilitated the development of a unique rapport between researcher and subject, allowing the identification of aspects that would not have come to light in a pre-structured interview. The interviewing method was utilized at a later moment and only in a semi-structured fashion, defining the theme of the conversation, leaving, however, the interlocutor free to focus on certain aspects rather than others.

A MULTI-SPECIES ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUMAN-HORSE RELATIONS WITHIN A PRISON CONTEXT

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The relationship between humans and non-human animals (hereafter simply "animals") is a rapidly growing focus of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research. Anthrozoology is an emergent but rapidly growing discipline in its own right, and the study of human-animal or multi-species interactions and relationships can be approached from a whole host of disciplinary perspectives. Scholars have increasingly sought to use the techniques of ethnography, long-term observation and participation, as a means of studying nonhuman animals and their interrelations.

This study focuses on inmate-horse relations and how it affects participants' lives.

Although research into the effects of participation in animal programs in prisons is relatively new, the existing literature supports the idea that animal programs in prisons are beneficial to inmate participants. In this context, equine-facilitated prison programs have become more prevalent in the US and in Europe. Deaton (2005) found that working with animals in prisons can be "highly therapeutic and rehabilitative" in addition to providing vocational training for inmates. Strimple (2003) found that inmates working in horse-training programs learned "life-enhancing skills" and that participation led to a reduction in recidivism rates. To-date, no studies have been undertaken on the benefits to animals that are involved in these programs. The purpose of this interdisciplinary research is to explore the experiences of humans and horses involved in the project "Horses in Prison" (ASOM)*, the first Italian equine-assisted activities for inmates in the house of detention - Milano Bollate. The study is carried out as collaborations between anthropologists and veterinarians through a mixed research methodology: participant observation, in-depth interviews, visual ethnography, vet check. Growing numbers of ethnographers and ethologists have recognized that many of their techniques and approaches have strong parallels,

and that the two disciplines can enrich one another. Both share practices of long-term field observation with painstaking notes, and both study behavior and interactions. Helmreich and Kirksey referring to multispecies ethnography, place an emphasis on using the meticulous observational and theoretical skills of ethnography together with biological knowledge and approaches that can give insight into these types of interfaces. Fifteen inmates and twenty-two horses are involved in the study. Which words, experiences, feelings inmates use for portray the relation with the horse? What our human informants think about them? (Ingold, 2000; Tapper, 1994). What the ideas about horses' individuality and horses' mental capacities, and also about what kind of relationships that are possible between human and horse? Which are the reactions of horses to humans? Which are the behaviors and emotional process of horses that are involved in this project? How this program rehabilitates both inmates and horses? In this research the horses were seen as individuals having their own agency (McFarland and Hediger 2009).

Multispecies ethnography is particularly attentive to Becoming's – what Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich describe as “new kinds of relations emerging from nonhierarchical alliances, symbiotic attachments, and the mingling of creative agents.” Data include observations of inmates, horses, and their interactions, qualitative semi-structured interviews with inmates and staff, vet check, photography and video recording of the inmate-horse interactions.

In the project “Horses in Prison” inmates are taught an extensive course in horse care, which involves theoretical and practical knowledge. Successful program completion requires participants to comprehend and demonstrate competence in advanced horsemanship, including but not limited to the following: learning how to be around and handle the horse; perform general stable procedures; identify horse behavior; identify horse confirmation; perform tack care; perform examinations of the horse; groom the horse; perform general horse care; understand horse nutrition; identify hoof-care procedures; identify equine health procedures. In this program inmates perform only un-mounted work.

The program aims to achieve two outcomes: the first relates to vocational training (social and occupational reintegration of inmates); the second outcome relates to behavioral and emotional aspects, the training course is primarily based on communication between man and horse on a non-coercive, but respectful basis.

Preliminary results show that “Horses in Prison” can change the atmosphere of prison, provide meaningful work and training for inmates, and be an appropriate project for the rescue of horses seized, abused, neglected or at the end of career.

This project seems to positively impact all parties involved: inmates get to transform themselves, prison get vocational program and the horses get devoted care.

Findings can be used to justify continuation of current programs, to seek additional funding, and to expand their scope. Such research may provide practical and theoretical knowledge to the fields of animal-assisted interventions (Animal Assisted Therapy - AAT, Animal Assisted Education - AAE or Animal Assisted Activity - AAA), and equine-assisted activities/therapies, specifically those in correctional facilities. In addition, this study will assist correctional scholars and administration in the design, implementation, and evaluation of such prison-based programs.

*ASOM - Associazione Salto Oltre il Muro (Jump Over the Wall) is present at the II House of Detention – Bollate Milano since 2007. The founder and president of ASOM – Claudio Villa – is the promoter of the project “Horses in Prison” – the first Italian and European Horse Program for the social rehabilitation of inmates. “Understanding Your Horse” is a training course organized for the inmates attending the Bollate Stable.

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UNDERSTANDING POST-SOCIALISM WITH PIERRE BOURDIEU: THE SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF (ORGANIZED) CRIME IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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The phenomenon of post-socialism has been widely studied across a wide spectrum of disciplines. A key feature of research has been the interpretation of the market economy as a “second economy” in relation to the pre-1989 structure, as attested by anthropological studies and political and economical analysis. The normalization of transgression during the pre-1989 period helped to legitimize similar behaviour after 1989 both within bureaucracy and in small-scale trades. Criminological and legal concepts such as organized crime or corruption - used to interpret this behaviour - have often concealed the daily experience of “the art of making do” embedded in the whole structure of society. My contribution is based on 1) a field analysis of bouncers in the post-socialist City and 2) the field analysis of attorneys in the Czech Republic from the perspective of legal trainees. I argue that the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu conduces a re-thinking of the meaning of “(organized) crime” in post-communism without the usual conspiratorial ethos, because it allows us to place the crime as the object of analysis within the frame of everyday life.

“YOU WOULD MAKE A GOOD POLICE OFFICER!”: ETHICAL, EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL TENSIONS IN AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF POLICE WORK

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While conducting research on the securitisation of the Roma in Italy, I have progressively become involved in an ethnography of police work which evolved from archive research within a precinct to participant observation during police patrols around Roma camps. Following a screening incursion into an informal Roma settlement, one of the officers told me admiringly that I would make a good police officer: he had observed that I “had no fear”. Undoubtedly a compliment to his sense, this statement arouse a complicated (self) reflection on the ethnographic relationship I had built with the police, as well as on the ethical and epistemological consequences of my ambiguous and continuously drifting positioning.

Fieldwork revealed itself to be the locus of an entanglement of tensions emerging from specific fieldwork situations. Ethical, epistemological and methodological tensions – whose clear-cut disentanglement alongside these precise categories is all but self-obvious – arose from my daily interactions with police officers. These tensions spawned a state of permanent unease which prompted critical reflection on an array of interrelated questions. How to remain ethical towards one’s respondents while continuing to perform engaged research towards the objects of their control and often, of their contempt? What kinds of engagement could be uphold, with whom and how? How could the tension between distance and proximity and between complicity and duplicity (Fassin 2013) be used productively? How is knowledge production molded by an ambiguous positioning and by shifting forms of engagement? What methodological missteps could surface from ethical and epistemological tensions, and how to minimise their consequences on the research process?

But while these questions – and many more – remained more or less unsolved during the research, fieldwork was going on and demanded improvisation. Progressively and rather experimentally, less familiar and more subtle forms of engagement emerged from ethnographic interaction, constituting fieldwork as the location of a micro-politics of renegotiation of what it means to be a “nomad” or a Gypsy, but also of what it means to be a police officer, and more specifically someone tasked with the control and repression of Roma.

The aim of the paper is to unpack the entanglement of ethical, epistemological and methodological tensions while exploring its productivity in generating critical knowledge, as well as to reflect upon the possibilities of an engaged form of police ethnography as a micro-politics of renegotiation. In the subtext, these interrogations open up the question of what it means, for the discipline, to engage in the “studying up” ethnography of dominant actors, and how such forms of ethnography enter in dialogue with debates on the shift of the “suffering slot” (Trouillot 2003) which gradually replaced the “savage slot” in anthropology.

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TROUBLING THE BORDERS OF FIELD. FIELDWORK AS FEMINIST POLITICAL PRACTICE

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In the history of anthropological studies fieldwork occupies indisputably a central place. Many oral discussions and written pages have been dedicated on it. Frequently fieldwork has been associated with places distant from “home”, in which researcher stay in order to study a specific social phenomenon with “scientific objectivity”. This traditional image demands today a critical deconstruction. Non only because split between “fieldwork” and “home” has more blurred boundaries than it appears, but also because the alleged “neutrality” of the researcher requires a more adequate investigation. Every researcher must be consider relations of power implied in his research and admit the partiality of his perspective. In this sense, feminist critic of phallogocentric discourse may open new ways of thinking in ethnographic methodology.

Starting from critical questions of the volume *Women Writing Culture* (1995), that specifically discusses the theme of women in anthropological research, we will see what are possible alternatives to contrast power relations of traditional male-orientated ethnography. With the example of our research in roller derby community, we concentrate on how fieldwork can act as a feminist political practice. We also analyze how the growing of Internet enables the development of new methodological perspectives, that make more problematic the concept of “fieldwork”. In effect the growing of Web in the last years permits, as in the case of roller derby, the creation of on-line communities for whom traditional research methods are inadequate. We will see how fieldwork can assume new patterns with an innovative method of research oriented to virtual communities, “netnography” (Kozinets 2010), and what political meanings it implicates.

SPRAR VS. CARA: DISMANTLING BELIEFS ABOUT TWO ITALIAN MODELS OF RECEPTION

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Research in refugee studies and public health recognise the importance of successful physical settlement for the recovery, empowerment and integration of forced migrants in the countries. In response to those studies and consequent political recommendations, many Member States of the European Union developed governmental housing allocation programmes, aside or in substitution of camps, accommodation and reception centres. In Italy, since 2003, the SPRAR (Servizio di Protezione dei Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati) administers a housing allocation programme at national level, whose capacity exponentially grew in the last three years. Academics, the third sector and multilaterals (ultimately the UNHCR 2015) advocate a shift from the reception centres CARA to the system of reception SPRAR.

This claim resonates with a wide literature formulating a biopolitical interpretation of the camp as “discipline dispositive”, which annihilates the identity and the political agency of the asylum seekers. It is argued that in practices of everyday life humanitarian assistance and control overlap. Often camps display a military architecture and they are situated at the outskirts of urban areas, where asylum seekers are physically marginalized from the mainstream welfare services, urban amenities and local communities. Conversely, housing allocation programmes allocate entrants to flats and small-scale structures in urban areas. It is assumed that this facilitates asylum seekers to reconstruct their subjectivity, rebuild a social world, and restore control over daily life.

This study presents unique empirical research testing this assumption. In fact, the two Italian systems of reception CARA and SPRAR are compared analytically, relatively to one geographical area. The case study is the Province of Foggia, in the southern region of Puglia, for two main reasons. First, Puglia constitutes a significant case. It ranks fourth among Italian regions for extension of the SPRAR network and hosts three reception centers CARA. Second, the CARA of Borgo Mezzanone (Foggia) is the only reception centre in Puglia that does not function at the same time as CARA and CIE. Therefore, the exit and entrance of the asylum seekers are subject to few restrictions, so that I could have informal access to respondents.

This study is based on qualitative research; emphasis is put on how asylum seekers perceive the reception systems. Data was collected through 6 in-depth semi-structured interviews with professionals in the field of reception, focus groups and follow-up interviews with 70 male asylum seekers (35 from the CARA; 35 from the SPRAR). As Eastmond (2007) remarked, while building their narratives, forced migrants may seek “to make sense of displacement or re-establish their identities in ruptured life courses” (p. 248). The context of a focus group was considered more suitable because it allowed asylum seekers to participate into a collective narrative and to familiarize with the research topic and the researcher. Individual follow-up interviews served to let respondents discuss on individual perceptions and personal issues.

In line with mainstream literature concerning European reception centers, I found that extremely critical material living conditions are negative for the recovery of the asylum seekers. Most respondents associated bad living conditions with threats on physical and mental health, determining loss of personal dignity. However, contrarily to literature, it emerged that asylum seekers in CARA have free agency on space. CARA guests are able to select their housemates, organize activities and personalise spaces. This is positive for the process of identity reconstruction and empowerment. Findings are opposite for the SPRAR system of reception: the housing allocation programme provides relatively better living conditions, while hindering agency on space. Not surprisingly, many beneficiaries described themselves as “prisoners” or “soldiers”, associating practices of strict supervision (control on flats, food consumption, and activities) to lack of trust, esteem and respect of the private sphere. Therefore, contrarily to expectations, asylum seekers felt far from restoring their subjectivity and control over daily life.

CARA guests attributed weak control and a mild regulation to lack of surveillance and protection by the public authority. While military force is present in the reception center, it is seen as phantom. In sum, I observed that greater material independence from humanitarian assistance translates into open attitude in denouncing the failures of the national system of protection (e.g. the indefinite length of bureaucratic procedures, the hostile attitude of public officials, etc...). Moreover, CARA guests are ready to articulate claims into rights, as demonstrated by the four marches organised last year.

On the contrary, SPRAR beneficiaries are less inclined to claim for political rights. First, they attribute this task to the SPRAR projects. Second, many affirmed that the SPRAR assistance generates “fear of punishment” and “obligation to obedience”; therefore SPRAR beneficiaries perceive themselves as impotent. Last, just like CARA guests, SPRAR beneficiaries manifest a severe lack of trust in the public authority, which is deemed unable to provide protection. For example, respondents who were victims of racial harassment felt untitled to report their cases to the police or, when they did so, they felt disregarded.

In sum, contrarily to some predictions by academics and policies, this research demonstrates that there is no one reception model necessarily facilitating refugees to restore their identity, a social world, and control over daily life. The theoretical superiority of the SPRAR model should be verified empirically, by interrogating asylum seekers' experiences and perceptions in real world case studies. This case study reveals that the SPRAR system exercises greater control on asylum seekers, hindering processes of identity recovery and empowerment.

More importantly, it emerged that asylum seekers do not feel protected and assisted nor in CARA nor by the SPRAR network. Relative to the case study, SPRAR directors had to recognise that social, economic and political local factors prevented the projects from operating as prescribed by the national system of protection. Therefore, the study argues that no model of reception can be successful in presence of structural resistances to reception, inherent to the local context.

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GO AND SEE WITH OUR OWN EYES "THE ORIGIN OF THIS WOUND": LITERARY EXPERIMENTS ON THE ETHNOGRAPHIC LABOUR CHAINS

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Social transformations related to the economic globalization and the resulting migration flows generated in Italian cities the forming of entirely new urban contexts whose cultural characterization is quite unpredictable. As for the Roman lumpenproletarians described by Pasolini in his two novels set in the Roman periphery,¹ we find ourselves in front of a multitude of individuals of different nationalities herded together into ghettos and deprived of any cultural reference or ties with their countries of origin and their individual stories.

The massive phenomenon of migration from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe towards the countries of Central Europe requires us an unprecedented reflection not only on the causes but also on the solutions which mitigate the adverse effects derived from these global processes. From our point of view the first problem which arises is to get in touch with cultures and the customs of people belonging to different cultures and not entirely integrated in the occidental culture. In fact, the deep cultural differences between those who flee and those who welcome facilitated broad and strategic political operations of disinformation. But even the ethnographic practice and the methodologies of social science got into difficulties in front of the obstacles due to a research stuck to more geographical contexts. Transnational studies constitute the first response to the need to understand and analyze heterogeneous cultural and social realities.

My poster aims to identify a reliable model of research aimed at analyzing multi-situated processes. The idea was born three years ago, while I was preparing my thesis for the M.A. degree, while I was reconstructing the relations between anthropology and Italian literature in the second half of the twentieth century I came across two literary texts,² recently published, focused both "on the so-called global value chains and global production networks".

In *Bilal* by Fabrizio Gatti, published in 2008,³ the Italian journalist recounts his long journey that from Africa led him to the reception-centre in Lampedusa and on to the fields of tomatoes in Puglia, where undocumented immigrants work without any protection and exposed to severe exploitation. Their individual and collective stories are perfectly summed up by Gatti who makes them filter through the perception of a westerner, eager to learn and expand his testimony to the general public of literature. I noticed that in a really unaware way the author identified himself with the experience of migrants and reported it in the text, according to the determinism of the *malinowskian participant observation*. Otherwise, ethnographic approach is compensated by aesthetic intents through which Gatti has been able to express with greater ease the identification with the migrant subject. The apex of this process of assimilation was achieved by Gatti during the period he spent in the reception centre for migrants in Lampedusa. His disguise allowed him to bring back even the dialogues which occurred between migrants and the police officers responsible for receiving and verifying the first evidence of the journey.

Also the second text that I analyzed, demonstrates the actuality of a literary style flanked with ethnographic purposes. In fact, on the basis of the story of the novelist Antonio Moresco is inherent a question whose meaning is implicit in every research dedicated "to the ethnography of labour chains". The novel *Zingari di merda* begins with a proposition of the author that works as a clarified intention beside the entire text: "We want to go and see with our own eyes, from where all this despair starts, the origin of this wound".⁴ In front of the impossibility of communicating and interacting with the community of the Rom ethnic group settled in the building of the Ex-Snia in Milan Moresco decides in 2005 to run through again the journey of the Romanians living in Milan coming from distant Romania. In the company of one of them, his friend Dumitru, Moresco confronts freely with social rules and codes, sometimes violent, of the Rom community. The freedom derived from a literary style, affects not only on the structure of the sequences and the dialogism but also on the whole anthropological experiment. Relying on his sense of humanity Moresco seeks to enter the symbiosis with the representative of the Rom community and goes beyond his preconceptions facing thorny issues like child prostitution and child exploitation which are two of the practices of the Rom community in Milan had been accused.

A comparison between these two texts allowed me to demonstrate limits and potentialities placed somewhere between literature and ethnography. Moreover, the subjectivist approach of both the authors has been studied in relation to the implementation of information and impressions characterized by a greater objectivity. The story of the African emigration and the journey towards Rom ethnic group described by Moresco reports two paths of identification with the cultural otherness. Even if the literary result agrees both the aesthetic intents and informative ones, it will be our purpose to specify the complex partition between these two expectations.

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“THE NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR INNER AREAS”: REMOTENESS AS A TOOL FOR GOVERNMENT AND POLICY-MAKING PRACTICES IN ITALY

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Much of the Italian territory is organised around “minor centres”, often small hubs that guarantee their residents only limited accessibility to essential services. The specific features of these territories (defined under the expression “Inner Areas”) represented in 2012 the starting point for a wider reflection on the development of rural/mountain areas and the consequent policy making process. As a consequence of that, the Italian Minister for Economic Development has recently launched the “National Strategy for Inner Areas”, aimed at finding an integrated approach that could help provide the inhabitants of such territories with basic services (i.e. transport, health and education) currently perceived to be insufficient. The final goal of this strategy is to generate an inversion of the negative demographic trend, which has been affecting the “Inner Areas” at least since the end of the 1950s.

As of today 20 of the 65 selected areas are already drawing up their preliminary strategy, which shall be the result of an in depth analysis of the available human, cultural and natural capital, to find those elements that could foster a sustainable, durable and localised development model. So far it has been possible to observe two sets of processes: a top-down one, that has the objective of preselecting the areas and providing the general guidelines for the strategy, and a bottom-up one that sees those same areas as actively involved in drawing up their future development plans. The paper aims to investigate, from an anthropological perspective, whether “Inner Areas” can be defined as “remote”, as if so to what extent. Using remoteness as a theoretical framework to address rural/mountain areas could be considered as a means to analyse the existing relationships between urbanised centres and their peripheries, implying the existence of a set of power relations that influence policy-making strategies, as well as identity-making processes. “Inner Areas” could be not only a spatial definition derived from the use of precise indicators, but could also correspond to a way of being and inhabiting one’s social space that originates from historical, economic and geopolitical factors. This aspect leads to the question whether the supposed remote and backward character of “Inner Areas” can be considered as one of the elements that actually empowers them and legitimates their agency in this specific development strategy.

CAN THEATRE REVEAL CONFLICTS AND LATENT EVERYDAY TENSIONS? DRAMATIC METHODS AND TECHNIQUES AS TOOLS FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH: TOWARD A THEATRICAL SOCIOLOGY APPROACH

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Since the birth of theatre, it has always had the function of telling stories as a self-celebration of society: it is just “a play a society acts about itself” (Turner 1982, 104), and thus “the form best fitted to comment or meta-comment on conflict” (ibid.105). In contrast with other forms of comment and debate, such as the mass media or other cultural products like movies in modern societies, every theatrical event is a creative communication process in which actors and spectators are both present at the same time in the same place. This “co-presence” characterizes theatre and all live art performances as a peculiar form of social interaction: an active agent of change, a form for communal reflection, and a space in which to imagine different ways of living together. Indeed, many acting games and drama exercises have the ability to show some elements of the social construction of reality process; to break the suspension of doubts in the *commonsense* world of everyday life. This is most evident in all experimental and immersive theatre forms grounded on audience involvement and widely used in psychology. Exploring this possibility to use theatre methods and techniques as instruments for sociological experimentation (Gurvitch 1956), I focused my Ph.D. thesis on an ethnographic research, studying different theatre professional groups and their performances and workshops in which the audience become a *spect-actor* (Boal 1973) and have to *rekey* (Goffman 1974) the meaning of a situation, belief or behavior.

One of these groups was the *Playback South*, specialized in the *Playback Theatre* method (PT) and engaged, in 2008, in the *I.P.S.A.* project (Identity, Performance and Social Action: Community Theatre Among Refugees), realized by the *University of East London Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging*, which brought together theatre and social sciences in the study of the lives and identities of four refugee groups in East London: Kosovan, Kurdish, Somali Women and a mixed group of migrants who were participants of a counseling course in Hackney (Yuval-Davis, Kaptani 2008). Inspired by *psychodrama* and *sociodrama* techniques for sociometric analysis (Moreno 1936), the PT was founded by Jonathan Fox and his wife Jo Salas in 1975. It is based on an improvisational storytelling theatre in which single individuals or members of a specific group (for example refugees, students, families, ethnic minorities, etc.), tell stories from their lives and then watch them played by actors on the spot and not by themselves such as in Moreno’s model. Far from the positivistic perspective of the sociometric approach, this way appears less invasive for participants because it gives them an emotional distance when watching their stories, memories and experiences played by actors.

The potential of PT is to reveal the hidden stories behind the conflict separating people from the conflict itself and involving them in co-creating alternative stories on which participants may build a healthy relationship. The PT can be used in any analysis of social issues and it is particularly operative combined with other qualitative modes of inquiry such as participant observation or interviews (such in the IPSA project). It represents a powerful tool for research on life experiences and identity-building processes, common sense, collective imaginaries, conflicts and their links.

Indeed, sometimes a Playback performance may begin with an explicit theme (chosen by researchers for example) and the stories are offered following this thread. The story is told with the support of the *Conductor* in a sort of brief interview in which the *Teller* also chooses actors to play roles in the story. Actors and musicians will spontaneously improvise a re-enactment of the story, and this may happen in different artistic forms, often without dialogues and only with physical actions, aiming to present and capture the heart of the story. At the end, actors look to the *Teller* to receive feedback on their performance: this moment represents the opportunity to say something more about feelings provoked by the performance or a chance for a correction or a transformation of the scene that actors will replay it again.

Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) is another interesting set of theatrical exercises to discuss and find solutions about social conflicts, also used in *IPSA project*. The term was coined by the Brazilian artist and activist Augusto Boal who wanted to encourage his audience to react directly to the action. Two of its most popular techniques are *Forum Theatre* and *Image Theatre* already used in many psycho-pedagogical approaches. The first consists of getting a group of spectators to replace actors, after having watched a play about some form of injustice, and to try to improvise variations on their actions in order to suggest the right way to solve the problem. *Forum theatre* relieves audience of the obligation to be passive, so everyone can also play a part in the therapeutic process playing his own role, expressing his ideas and going to practice the actions he thinks necessary to liberate him/herself from a status of oppression. The second is composed by a series of physical exercises based on the concept of a multiple mirror of the gaze of others. People looking at the same image realized on the stage and offering their feelings, what is evoked for them, what their imaginations throw up around that image. This multiple reflection will reveal to the person who made the image its hidden aspects. It is up to the protagonist (the builder of the image) to understand and feel whatever he wants to or is able to take from this process. The Image Theater has a lot of variations: from re-building the image in another way of static poses to completing the image built by others. In conclusion, the use of theatre in social work is not only desirable, but sometimes it is necessary especially in critical contexts such as in cases of social and economic marginalization because it influences thoughts and feelings about lives and encourages ways of solving conflicts and social problems through self-reflection in a ludic mode of communication more helpful for researchers.

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URBAN RENEWAL AND SOCIAL REGENERATION IN NAPLES: SPATIAL EXPERIENCES

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The concepts of renewal and regeneration take very different connotations in urban and social studies depending on the object/action on which the concept is declined. Although we explicitly refer to direct interventions on urban locations, whether intended in their physical, relational or social sense, these concepts relate to the need to act on urban voids, places in which the identity and functional connotation have gradually eroded. This process has currently left, on the one hand, urban blight in *brownfield* land – such as for example old industrial sites or landfills with a great impact on the environmental quality of the urban system – and, on the other hand, abandoned and derelict areas that are socially and physically deprived. We refer to the latter as *social fields*, by which we mean areas where social functions (local administrative offices) and connotations (schools and parks) were located.

Bringing this remark in the broader reflection developed on Naples as a *de facto* city, there are many scholars who have investigated, from different perspectives and in general in confined spaces of the city, the meaning and the operation of renewal and regeneration strategies that take place in this large and multifaceted context.

Therefore, reconstructing the processes of urban renewal means referring to both top-down and bottom-up interventions. The former, understood like *top-down* public or mixed public-private partnerships, refer to operations that aim at changing territories by producing economic and productive impacts on *brownfield* land (for instance the port area, the ex-refinery and the industrial-manufacturing areas in East Naples, the former steel factories in Bagnoli, Pisani or Chiaiano's landfills in North-West Naples, and the physically deprived areas of the city's historic centre). Frequently, however, these operations have neglected the issues concerning their impact in terms of territorial and social development. The second, understood, this time, like actions connoted in the *bottom-up* sense, mostly self-organized and self-managed. Examples are actions of social regeneration implemented by grassroots urban and social movements through the direct intervention on social problems (like housing, social exclusion, integration, education, culture, but also legality, safety or socio-spatial degradation) that aims to change urban space primarily identified as a *social field*. Even in this context, however, the complexity of local realities involved makes it difficult to immediately perceive impacts related to territorial development aimed to act primarily on the quality of life in the broadest sense and not only in terms of economic and productive development.

The objective of this exploratory study is to investigate the different impacts that come from experiences of urban renewal and social regeneration favouring a descriptive perspective.

City and society, by definition unstable, constantly redefine the relation between places and actors, generating constantly critical situations that are addressed with temporary solutions. The unexpected and uncontrolled social conditions and lifestyles change builds new geographies and new centres. The activities of disinvestments, degradation, reuse, abandonment, land use, blend continuously materials and relations, and create a new image of the city that looks like chaos. The complexity of existing phenomena, requires therefore a necessary rethinking about the methods of describing city and the definition of a new grammar of representation closer to the contemporary space and materials. Starting from continuity and discontinuity with which the phenomena under investigation occur in some areas of Naples (comparing West and East Naples and the northern part of Naples with the historic centre), the aim is to articulate the debate around the questions of policy and possible development trajectories for such a complex urban system.

LIVED RELIGION IN TRADITIONAL AND NEW CATHOLIC GROUPS

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Religious practice is more evident in traditional society than in modern society. The sense of belonging was obvious; it derived from a specific religious socialization that was not questioned as it is so often nowadays. Religious belonging and practice were part of everyday common sense. In modern society, instead, religious experience and knowledge have become central to the religious experience. Belief and belonging are not so obvious but they have become an individual choice.

Modern believers are continuously exploring the truth of their beliefs and this exploration can generate new religious identities and new forms of spirituality. This personal quest often takes place in religious groups, movements and associations.

The focus here is on lived religion within Catholicism, comparing traditional and new religious groups, in order to reflect on the nature of contemporary Catholic pluralism and on modern forms of catholic religiosity.

MUSLIM DEATH RITUALS BETWEEN ITALY AND MOROCCO. ISSUES ABOUT THE REPATRIATION OF THE BODY

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Muslim migrants (who reside in a non-Islamic country) have two options regarding the burial of the dead: either a burial in a specific Islamic cemetery area – if there are any in the country where they have migrated – or the repatriation of the body to their homeland. This contribution aims to describe the implications of Muslim migrants' choices and their motivational, structural and relational aspects. Two different research settings, Italy and Morocco, have been chosen in order to explore both the perspectives of migrants and of those who remain in the homeland. This contribution is the result of four years of ethnographic research that has involved a number of Italian cities as well as several cities and rural areas in Morocco. It considers the Islamic concept of death and funerary practices connected with it. *Janazah* is the Islamic term which means "funeral", but it is also used to indicate all the funeral activities from death until the closing of the tomb. There are several steps of this peculiar funeral ritual that mark the right way to treat a Muslim and to prepare, in the proper way, his/her mortal remains while his/her soul tackles the journey in the afterlife.

Although Islamic cemetery sections have been established in different cities in Italy, the practice of repatriation still accounts for about 80% of burial practices. In accordance to Islamic religion, death is considered under several aspects including a theological dimension, a ritual dimension, and a dimension in which the daily life of Muslims has the task to prepare the way to eternal life. However, the religious dimension – private and collective – also involves economic issues: we must point out the constitution of Islamic funeral homes in several parts of Italy, specialized in the ritual of this religion. This is part of a business related to a demand characterized by religious groups with different symbolic meanings. Islamic funeral agencies stem from the move between service agreements born on the territory that meet a need for care of the dead body according to the Islamic spirituality. At an international level, these agencies are used to organize the transportation of the body, and the bureaucratic dealings with the countries that will receive the corpse.

The sociologist Yassine Chaïb (1994; 2000) has focused on the body's repatriation issue: his argument is that repatriation is a central aspect of Muslim people's integration challenge. Repatriation represents a new migration to "the place of eternal rest" (Chaïb 1994).

Beyond the complex organisation concerning the body's repatriation, several aspects of migrants' choice must be considered. It should be noted that there are no requirements in the Islamic religion involving the return of remains to the country of origin; however it is essential that the body is the subject of the ritual that includes washing, being wrapped in a shroud, prayer, and burial on the ground in the proper position. This burial process can be carried out in a Islamic cemetery of an Islamic country, as well as in a Muslim dedicated cemetery section in the country of migration – if there are any. The choice is an individual decision, in which various aspects must be considered in addition to the religious one, such as the personal connection with homeland – especially for the first generation of Muslim migrants in Italy – or the plans relating to the migration project and its meanings.

It should be noted that cemeteries are an opportunity for Italian Muslims, who in many cases, given the absence of Islamic cemeteries, opt for the repatriation of the body, with substantial economic costs. All this undermines the consolidation of migration project at the expense of the social climate in general, by imposing the choice between ritual respect – therefore the repatriation of the body – and the possibility to keep close his/her loved ones in a “not suitable” cemetery area.

Another important aspect on the issue of repatriation must be taken into account: the perspective of a migrant’s family that remains in the homeland. The research on Morocco aimed to investigate what happens in the homeland when the body is repatriated, in particular the perspective of “those who remain”. Most of the interviews conducted in Morocco were with families living in rural areas and, in several cases, who have never left their birthplace. These interviews reveal that several families who have experienced the migration of one or more family member feel the need to receive the mortal remains in case of the death of the family member in order to pray at the tomb and carry out all the ritual process required (including the vigil with food to people who come to extend their condolences).

This situation is of particular significance to second and third generations of Muslims born in Italy. The lure of the country of origin remains strong especially for the first generation that is tied to traditions: this often leads - not only due to a lack of alternatives on the spot - to desire the return of their mortal remains. Subsequent generations are faced with a problem that has no simple solution: to respect the will of the parent (and his/her Moroccan relatives) and repatriate the body, or search an area of proper burial in the country where they have chosen to live (with all the problems related to local mortuary police rules). The question of the location of Muslim burial indicates two key concerns: first, that political and administrative action needs to be taken in direct relation with the Islamic communities in Italy; second, the private aspect related to the last will of the deceased, and to the problem of the descendants of being able to build a memory path has roots in the country where they have decided to build their future.

ON THE SUBJECT IN/OF PARTNERSHIP RESEARCH

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For over 30 years, qualitative methods have been at the forefront of the critique of positivism. They made the dialogue between the actors involved in the research the foundation of their renewed popularity. The knowledge is presented not as a “discovery” made by an omniscient subject, but as the outcome of the productive interaction between participants. Among qualitative methods, partnership research is noticeable because it has made the duality of positions and the epistemic difference between the participants the dynamic basis of its heuristic potential. The collaboration between professional researchers (usually academics) and actors from the field of practice (Tremblay 2012), and hence, the different social anchoring of the participants, is at the root of their understandings and of the analyses they produce during the research process. It thus differs from other participatory approaches, more oriented towards homogenizing the positions or explicitly refusing the division of labor (Tremblay 2014).

This meeting of different social universes makes partnership research a more overtly political epistemic practice than is usual in the social sciences. This is evident in at least two ways. First in the research group itself, where each of the participants (researchers / practitioners), offer their own interpretation of the situations, roles, agendas, modes of conduct, etc. That are at play. Second, between the research group and the community that is the object and is usually seen as disadvantaged. The crucial question therefore focuses on negotiating the modalities of these relations and putting them in synergy during the research.

The fundamental assumption of this paper is that partnership research puts into question the subject positions that are present in what is a continuous, open negotiation. In this context, the relations between actors go through an intense reflexivity manifest in research practices, but also in that of social development action.

In order to avoid a purely epistemological and methodological presentation, this communication will show how these issues presented themselves during a research undertaken by a team of researchers from the Centre for Research on Social Innovations (CRISES) in collaboration with the Local Development Corporation of the village of Saint-Camille (Quebec, Canada). This village is well known in Quebec as a success story of local rural development because, after experiencing a significant population decline, it implemented from the mid-80s a succession of projects that succeeded to halt, if not reverse, the demographic decline. The numerous organizations at the core of public life (there are around thirty of them, for a local population of just under 600 people) have a very high degree of interaction that permits a rapid flow of information, a pooling of expertise and experiences and of financial, human and organizational resources, all these being instrumental in achieving results. Around this “core”, many activities take place to mobilize local expertise in permanent education. These activities offer the occasion to interpret the past and current situation of the village, to identify the causes of its problems and the solutions that can be implemented to bring the desired future. These moments of reflection allow for the emergence of creativity, something too often neglected by development plans.

One of the recent activities is notable by its objective: “modeling” the experience of the village. Its aim was to develop an abstract representation that can help the local actors to understand their actions and which may, perhaps, be useful to actors from other communities (Dufresne 2014). This “model” showed the usefulness of reflexivity. Researchers from the CRISES joined the Development Corporation to organize what was known as “Workshops of shared knowledge”, a series of activities for those residents of Saint-Camille interested in development issues (Klein et al. 2015). The workshops took place from 2012 to 2014. They had two sets of goals. The first was practical: use university expertise, in partnership with the local actors, to develop training workshops on local development. The second was to use this

experience to further the modeling, using the understanding that social sciences could provide. This goal was just as practical as the first, for by developing more adequate intellectual tools, one can enhance or transform the action. This partnership research is remarkable by its object: it is the reflection on the village's experience that provides the "data". The analysis is not done by testing a hypothesis, but uses instead a hermeneutic approach: its goal is to analyze and understand the work of the last twenty years. The term used by the actors ("modeling") shows that this understanding is done by a process of abstraction; this retreat from immediate conditions will allow the participants to identify the elements of the model in that could be pertinent in other localities (transferability). A second notable aspect is the way it was conducted. Beginning with a demand initiated by local actors, all the subsequent steps put these in interaction with university researchers, thus partnering two types of participants defined and distinguished by their social location, by their own particular skills and by the source of their knowledge. The challenge was to turn these differences into complementarities. The process was therefore not to transform the roles nor the participants, but to build a "partnership research space" (Fontan et al., 2013). Third, this activity is noticeable by its means: it is based on a dialogue between researchers and practitioners, a dialogue that is only meaningful if each party recognizes the other's relevant competence. The issue is as much political as it is epistemological: for the dialogue to prevail, one must abandon the idea of the superiority of theoretical knowledge (and its possessors') as much as that of the immediate concrete experience (and its players).

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A STORY ABOUT CAPTURING

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Everyday life in Turkey is shaped by several versions of domination. Popular culture and media are the representatives of these dominations in our daily lives.

In this study I chose Istanbul as it is the city where neoliberalism and politics of waste intersect. The aim of the study is to examine the scavengers as an aspect of labour in the city, their living condition and the role of state. It will illustrate this relevance with a reading of Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of apparatus of capture, deterritorialization, flee from state and overcoding. It is generally considered by among the triangle of state-city-capitalism. Deleuze & Guattari describe that state is bound up with capitalism through the process of overcoding. State apparatus is identified by an abstract machine of overcoding of a society but also it makes pressure on a society codes by marginalizing, maintaining some codes with continuity to eliminate other social codes. Moreover, Deleuze & Guattari support the view that if state stops the overcoding society, it is time to begin escape from the state (flee from the state). In this context the study is argued whether scavengers who live and work in an abandoned shopping center create a "line of flight".

This bears important relevance in our study of a shopping mall. This began to be built in the 1990s in the affluent neighbourhood of Ata ehir, Istanbul but the investors had financial problems and the shopping mall turned into an abandoned place where today huge numbers of scavengers live and work. Some of scavengers had worked on the building but never received their money from the investors. They are involved in collecting recyclable waste and therefore pay a monthly rent.

In this study the shopping mall is examined as a social, cultural, environmental and political issue. The building is also considered "trash" from the perspective of its affluent neighbors. There is an interconnection between the story of shopping mall and story of scavengers make their living finding, sorting, and recycling garbage. Moreover, the shopping mall has been transformed into a collecting waste center, and not as the space of consumption originally envisaged by the municipality. It is certain that the scavengers will soon move to another place due to decisions taken by the municipality and to the disturbances caused to the surrounding neighbourhood. It seems that while they flee from the state and they are simultaneously captured by a state that wants to privatize the waste system.