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SESSION 1

THE INTIMATE LIFE OF POWER

Convenor: Pietro Saitta (Università di Messina)

Heirs in the Families of the Russian Elite: The Chances of Succession Of Business and Wealth

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The report is devoted to a qualitative study of the family context of big entrepreneurs in Russia. The overall goal of the research is to study the views of potential successors about the continuity of business and well-being and compare it's perceptions with the intentions of the parent generation, the owners of private capital. Empirical base – 40 interviews with the parents' generation (fathers) and 20 interviews with adult children of the business elite (5 girls, 15 boys aged 21 to 35), with higher education received both in Russia and abroad). The method of information gathering is semi-structured interviews in combination with the methods of compiling a family tree, suggesting free narrativization of the family history with the formulation of symbolic gendered messages from generation to generation and a technique for visualizing the expected life-course events with their subsequent narration.

The theoretical framework of the study combines a systematic approach (Distelberg, Ritch, Sorenson, 2009) and ethnography of elites (Harrington, 2015), anthropology of elites (Rothkopf, 2008). In the field of family business, historically there are three interdependent levels: the family system, the business system and the property system. We can say that the family consists not only of people related by blood relationship / marriage / adoption institution, but also from groups of people who share common goals, have common resources and are loyal to each other. Adult new generations of family businesses need targeted socialization and involvement in family-controlled business management and the organizational culture of their firms and enterprises (Habbershon, Williams, 1999; Sirmon, Hitt, 2003; McGuire et al., 2012).

As a result of the study, it can be concluded that the chances of a second generation of potential successors to reproduce the social status and successful transfer of business are quite high. This is facilitated by starting opportunities, first of all, the value homogeneity of parents and children and the unprecedentedly high level of professional training of successors as an object of parents' investments in the future of both children and business. The risks of the unsuccessful transfer of business also have certain contours: they are associated with a critical evaluation by the successors of the availability of the intra-family discourse of discussion of both business and wealth issues. The gender aspect of continuity reveals the features that are quite expected in the Russian traditional context: from the point of view of the direction / control of involvement in succession, a clearer preference is given to the sons than the daughters. In turn, the girls inherit rather contradictory patterns for social and professional orientation, receiving the maximum possible education, mostly for the father's support of ambitions, but also the maternal example of dedication to the home and family. Finally, the planning of one's own life path or the biographical timing of successors has significant differences from the parental pattern: these children are going to work to a certain age limit, up to about 45 years. And that they do not look like their workaholic parents.

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The Subtle Power of Neoliberalism: Influencing Conceptions of the Role of Tax Consultancy in a Post-Socialist Society

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The past decades witnessed an unprecedented worldwide rise of neoliberalist ideology. This ideology succeeded its diffusion from capitalist societies to countries outside the Western world in a relatively short timeframe. Prior literature examined various mechanisms deployed in making neoliberalist ideology to be accepted in society and be taken for granted both in the West and other societal contexts. Most studies, however, focus on diffusers and mechanisms of diffusion, while neglecting the agency of the ones located at the far end of the diffusion process. In particular, how these “end users” resist or accept new ideological thinking to which they are exposed is a particularly relevant research aim (Belal et al., 2017; Neu & Ocampo, 2007; Smith and Rochovská, 2007).

In this paper we examine neoliberalist ideology diffusion in the context of tax consultancy industry. In particular, we look at one essential element of neoliberalist ideology – profit maximisation, which in the case of tax consultancy implies tax minimisation for business customers. The contextual setting of this research permits investigation of how this ideological thinking diffuses from the Western world to a country with a recent democratic track, Romania. Interviews with tax consultants and tax inspectors operating in Bucharest reveal that profit maximisation via tax reductions is a recent phenomenon, present mostly in large, multinational accountancy firms. While these firms are highly pro-active in promoting tax minimisation, in contrast, local tax consultants are mostly concerned with tax compliance.

We identify various concrete mechanisms through which the diffusion takes places, such as education and social networks. However, we find that ideology secures itself in new places by being socially endorsed by its end users. This in turn happens by ideology’s ability to cultivate desires for the end users, such as a privileged professional status. Thereby, neoliberalist thinking succeeds in overcoming natural resistance to change and becomes accepted as such, as a desirable way of seeing and doing things.

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Folk devils on Ipanema beach. An analysis of the Operação Verão in Rio de Janeiro

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One of the peculiarities of contemporary cities is the mobility of their inhabitants.

People are constantly moving in the urban space and this aspect has always interested anthropological, sociological, urban and political studies.

However, how can a city control its inner mobility and which everyday tools and practices can be used to do so? Also, which groups in a given community are more controlled and why?

Considering these questions, the present work intends to critically analyse the control carried out on young people originally from the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro in the areas of the South Zone, the richest area nowadays. More specifically, the objective is to investigate the control on the group of low income young people, implemented by law enforcement officers in several areas close to the beaches.

The category of “low class youths” was chosen based on the Brazilian researches (Soares, 2004; Zaluar, 2004) and international studies (Baratta, 2003; Saborio, 2014; Wacquant, 2008) that point out how the media in Brazil contribute to create an “internal enemy” (Cohen, 2002). These studies also show how public security policies often address a specific profile: young poor, male, Afro-descendant, residents in suburbs and/or in favelas.

Before presenting the empirical work, it is important to highlight an important aspect that is frequently underestimated. Brazil, besides being a colony for more than 300 years, was one of the last Western countries to abolish slavery, in 1888. The country also suffered two periods of dictatorship, *Estado Novo* – from 1937 to 1945 – and the Military Dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. The legacy of these events can be found in several aspects of the current inequalities present in the country, as well as in various everyday social practices and circumstances, among them fear, violence and disparity (Caldeira, 2003).

Despite of the inequality and segregation existing in Rio de Janeiro, the beaches of the metropolis are considered to be some of the most democratic spaces in the city, visited by people from different places and social background. However, the *Operação Verão* (Operation Summer), a security policy enforced on the beach areas, could represent a threat to this democracy.

This strategy, among others goals, aims to prevent the so-called “*arrastões*” that occur over there, constantly condemned by the media. This word stands for collective assaults carried out in sequence by a group of people.

Group of young people from the poorest districts of the city (North Zone) have been accused of perpetrating these crimes. In this work I will analyse the aforementioned urban security policy, implemented by the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro State and the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Guard in the city's beaches.

In order to achieve its goal, I will present my ethnographic study on *Operação Verão* – which is still in progress. Therefore, I intend to show the *Operação Verão* from my field research work and through the observation of the activity of the Military Police on the beaches of Rio de Janeiro, realized from October 2016 until April 2017, and the observations of the work of Municipal Guard, implemented in march 2017. I will also examine the interviews conducted – semi-structured and unstructured interviews – with the Military Police officers, the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Guard officers, the Civilian Police officers and the Public Defender's Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

In addition, I will show how the *Operação Verão* changed from 2015 until nowadays.

Actually, before 2015, the young people from the suburbs were prevented to arrive to the beaches areas, because of a Military Police's blitz in the urban transportation lines bus that connect the North Zone with the South Zone. During these checks if a suspected adolescent had no money, or no identification, or if he/her was not accompanied by an adult, he/she was taken to a police station to investigate his/her criminal record.

Consequently, because of these actions implemented by the Military Police, the Public Defence Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro filed a *habeas corpus* to avoid that young people were taken to the police station without the execution of any flagrant infringement.

According to Military Police officers, these situations occurred due to the condition of social vulnerability of the mentioned young people.

In order to avoid these rights violations and in order to prevent these episodes in the future, the judge of the Department of Children's Services established that the Municipal Social Assistance also had to take part in the *Operação Verão*. Hence, now this other public authority plays also an active role in this policy.

The present paper will go through all this aspects.

After illustrating the main political strategies implemented in Rio de Janeiro to control the public space, the present work will demonstrate how the Operation Summer acts through a logic of *acting out* (Garland, 2001), emphasizing the exclusion and criminalization of the various “urban sufferings”. I will also show how this urban security policy transforms the beach in a “non-democratic space” for the groups of working-class young.

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“Magicians and Warriors of Justice”. Morality and Street-level Bureaucracy in Bailiffs' Everyday Lives in Milan

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The recent economic crisis has not only caused the real estate market to collapse, it has also made it more difficult for tenants to bear the economic burden of paying rent (Marotta, 2015). The data presented in the last annual report by the Ministry of the Interior confirms that there were 32,249 requests for eviction orders during the year 2015 in Milan alone (Ministry of Interiors, 2016).

At the same time, data from the municipality of Milan shows that an increasing number of citizens are applying to be assigned ERP housing. At present, in fact, more than 25,000 families are registered on the waiting lists, causing an already slow and highly bureaucratized housing allocation system to become even more congested (Eupolis Lombardia, 2015).

In this frame of reference, given the structural configuration of housing deprivation (Tosi 2017), eviction orders have a highly significant social impact (Tosi Cambini, 2014; Desmond, 2016): while in 2005 there was an eviction for every 515 families residing on national territory, in 2015 the proportion was one to 399. Between 2006 and 2014 the number of evictions carried out by bailiffs increased by 62% (from 22,278 to 36,340) before decreasing slightly in 2015 (-10.4%, equal to 32,546 evictions) (Ministry of the Interiors, 2016).

In this context, an intimate ethnographic perspective is a vehicle for conveying the socio-political value of home and “home loss” in the everyday life (Desmond, 2016) as much as for understanding the power relationships between State (and its agents) and citizens. Specifically, I propose to analyse this phenomenon through an analysis of the practices, narratives and representations of those institutional subjects that physically execute evictions: *ufficiali giudiziari* (Bailiffs).

Bailiffs are public traders, employees of the Italian *Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia*, that operate mainly in the regulation of the private real estate market. According to both the dominant juridical perspective (from an operative point of view) and widespread common sense (Herzfeld, 1992), these subjects are often described as “mechanical executors”, “cold bureaucrats” and “immoral people”. In this sense, the “secular theodicy”, intended as a process that “serves a more pragmatic goal [...] it provides people with social means of coping with disappointment” (Herzfeld, 1992, p. 7) produced by the inevitability of bureaucracy, works towards a de-humanization of this institutional subjects, relegating them in a kind of uncertain moral zone.

In contrast to general common sense, at a first level of analysis all these professions would seem to be characterised by the construction of a strong professional morality articulated on the basis of differentiated value models. In the specific case analysed, the value configuration is the result of an ongoing dialectic tension existing between the moral economies, intended as “production, circulation and appropriation of values and affects regarding a given social issue” (Fassin et al., 2015, p. 9), and the moral subjectivities that act inside, intended as a combination of “processes by which individuals develop ethical practices in their relationships with themselves or others” (*Ibidem*).

I propose to analyse the production of this dialectic tension through a critical focus on the everyday narratives, representations and practices of bailiffs in Milan. My perspective wants to enhance the elements of continuity between the professional practices of the street-level bureaucrats and the wider political configuration in which they work.

This approach shines the everyday production of class and professional ethical values related to the control of the social stigmatized representation of their “infamous” job as much as the creative tools through which the “executors” produce – magically – the law. As Raimondo, a bailiff who works in the province of Milan, said to me: “[my job] is to apply the law, because the law cannot foresee all the different situations. There are not many legal parameters that regulate the bailiff’s jobs and so essentially it’s you who has to *invent* the rules on the spot [...]”.

Raimondo’s statement invites me to think about how the uncertainty of the contexts where these professional figures operate is socially constructed. Considering his awareness of the dry legal regulations that define the execution of eviction and forced removal orders, or the paradoxes produced by the inconsistency of these regulations, Raimondo believes that enforcers must necessarily operate by means of original and situated performative actions that “invent the rules on the spot”. These practices seem to be premised on arbitrariness, structural violence and the principle of the moral righteousness of their actions as judged from the standpoint of the enforcers themselves.

To summarise, in this paper my intention is to analyse the intimate production of values that moves the power of a specific professional class to evict people, meaning – in general – the power to make Law. The analysis shows a coexistence of different senses of responsibility relating to their uncertain powerful position as much as the presence of specific cultural elements, that I consider part of a localized “secular theodicy”, that justifies the necessity of making bad actions (primarily against powerless population) to contribute to the equilibrium of the social and legal system.

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Against Excellence: Reshaping the Dynamics of Power in the Italian School

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Objectives and theoretical framework

A recent plea from Luc Boltanski (2013) has drawn attention to the way the category of “excellence” is currently spreading throughout society, as an apparatus that deeply affects social power dynamics. The paper will critically examine the role that the rhetoric of excellence is increasingly playing also in Italy as a powerful instrument to foster neoliberal school reform based on competition and standard testing. Traditionally, the primary focus of research on education has been concentrated on social disadvantage, rather than the on the educational paths of upper classes. With a few exceptions, the structure and dynamics of elite power consequently remains largely invisible within the field of social studies on education (Savage, Williams, 2008). However, we must acknowledge that the term “elite” is a still controversial one for social researchers, as it can refer on a case-by-case basis to different dimensions as economic wealth, political power, social exclusivity, or even cultural lifestyle. As for educational organisation, we need then to clarify whether, for example, “elite” is an institutional status or just an attribution of the families who attend the school (Ball, 2003).

Khan (2012) proposes to define elites by the kinds of resources they have access to or control. In this regard, we can identify elites that exercise control over the economy, political decisions, access to information and social knowledge, as well as social tastes, dispositions, and cultural development. Accordingly, elite schools are those that have “vastly disproportionate control over or access to a wide range of relevant resources”, which include significant economic capacity, academic capital, social ties to elite families and other institutions of power, and the capacity to guide and transfer culture (Khan, 2015). More precisely, the primary role of elite schools is to “inculcate and certify economically valued cultural capital” (Kingston, Stanley Lewis 1990), so ensuring the reproduction of capital through the acquisition of a specific students’ *habitus* that Forbes and Lingard (2013) call *assuredness*, i.e. the ability to assume that high status privileges are not in question.

Elite schools contribute to perpetuation of cultural hegemony by maintaining existing advantages and creating new ones through a system of exclusion and distinction (Bourdieu, 1998). In this respect, in Italy too the mantra of “excellence” has become an effective instrument to foster consensus about the adoption of new public management policy in school, which tries to align public educational organisations with the market, managerialism and performativity values of the private sector. This rhetoric devolves responsibility for educational disaffection from failing governmental policies to single schools, parents and students. As an umbrella term, lacking precise content but working as a linguistic interchange mechanism (Moore et al., 2017), “excellence” is highly adaptable tool aimed at cultivating a narrative where school is reduced to a ranking exercise, and a large share of lower attainers is requisite to support the actual lack of social mobility. As an ideological framework justifying privatization and commodification of public school, the “excellence” rhetoric substitutes solidarities based upon community and participation for an individual model of performativity (Gerrard, 2014; Tomlinson, 2017).

Through qualitative research, the paper investigates how becoming part of the public sphere of education, the “excellence bandwagon” has contributed to reshape the dynamics of power in Italian education, both at the organisational (school) and personal (teacher/head-teacher) level.

Methods

Investigation was developed by means of critical discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) helps describe, interpret, and explain power relationships between language and social configurations (Rogers, 2011). Differently from other discourse analysis methods, CDA offers not only a description and interpretation, but also includes an explanation of why and how hidden power relations are embedded in the construction and representation of the educational field through discourse. We applied CDA to a corpus related to the topic of excellence in school, which comprised both articles taken from ten Italian national newspapers and documents produced by national educational agencies (MIUR, Invalsi, Indire, Fondazione Agnelli) between 2008 and 2017. Collected texts were subsequently analysed through an examination of the following aspects (Fairclough, 2001):

- whole text organisation (narrative and argumentative structure);
- clause combination;
- grammatical and semantic features (transitivity, action, voice, mood, modality); and
- words (e.g. vocabulary, collocations, use of metaphors).

Categories emerging from the CDA analysis were then used to prepare and conduct semi-structured interviews on the research subject with teachers and head-teachers selected through an opportunistic snowball sampling method (Brinkman, 2013). Interviews held with twenty-four teachers and five head-teachers from fourteen primary and secondary schools in Northern Italy were transcribed *verbatim* and then coded through Atlas.ti© in order to compare data and identify emerging themes.

Research findings were finally validated through the triangulation of information sources and member checking with the participants in the study.

Results

Evidences provided by CDA and semi-structured interviews help highlight how also in Italy the pervasive rhetoric of excellence has been used as an ideological tool to subvert the power balance in the educational field by subtly dismantling common trust in the welfare tradition of supporting public schooling. As CDA shows, by insinuating excellence as a buzzword for education, performativity has been imposed as a standard model of achieving educational values by measuring school “outputs” that would classify best and worst school environments. This lead to the current spread of ranking systems

aimed at reassuring families and teachers about “what really counts in education” in an increasingly complex world based on global market and wild competition. However, according to the interviewees the framework of excellence is largely responsible, on the contrary, for the sense of increasing anxiety and loss of power and identity that permeates the social life of Italian school nowadays.

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SESSION 2

STREET-CORNER POLITICS. URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE AND THE ART OF LIVING TOGETHER

Convenors: Sebastiano Citroni (Università di Milano Bicocca), Carole Gayet-Viaud (CNRS-CESDIP, Paris)

SESSION 2A *Public commitments: urban life as ground for growing into a citizen*

“Illegal” Solidarity? An Ethnography of Projects in Support of Migrants in two European City

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Following the so-called European migrant crisis, in several European cities experiences of solidarity towards migrants have emerged alongside with increasing episodes of racism and xenophobia. A larger part of civil society has started to engage in experiences of participation aimed at the same time at 'bettering' asylum seekers' life condition and at supporting migrants' claims as a political stand. In many of these experiences, the boundaries between the humanitarian intervention and the political action seem actually to be quite blurred. Moreover, while meeting migrants' material necessities (i.e. provision of food, shelter or first aid), people often engage in everyday practices of 'disobedience' that basically contest the state authority in defining migrants' legal status, i.e. migrants' "legality" or "illegality" on the national territory. Aiming at reflecting on the relationship between citizenship and political lawbreaking, the presentation intends to show how, in many cases, "illegal" practices of involvement becomes a mean perceived as necessary to give substance to an idea of politics able to put the respect of human dignity ahead to the loyalty to laws which are considered as outdated and/or inhuman. The proposal focuses on the analysis of two case studies consisting in projects of solidarity towards migrants and asylum seekers carried out by two radical left social movements in Italy and Sweden. The data have been collected through ethnography and biographical interviews with young activists conducted between 2015 and 2017 within the projects Youthblocs (Horizon 2020 – MSCA) and Partispace (Horizon 2020 – Excellent Science). In the Italian case, the project was run in a quite big city in the North of Italy by a collective of young people, activists and volunteers, that occupied an abandoned building and created inside this space a self-managed social dormitory aimed at providing shelter for migrants, refugees and homeless people. Although the place was very small for the actual need of the city (just 15 beds), it assumed a certain symbolic relevance and a strong political value in order to criticize the limits of the institutional and quasi-market-provided welfare system, and to express disapproval towards local, national and European border control policies. The second case study focuses on the practices of solidarity towards migrants and asylum seekers enacted by the activists participating in a Swedish radical left wing social movement. The case study has been conducted in a big city located in the Southern part of the country. Since 2015, when Sweden decided to take in an unprecedented 163.000 asylum seekers, the city has represented a focal point in the unfolding of the so-called refugees and migrant crisis in the country. Local and national authorities have demonstrated often unprepared in facing the arrival of an unexpected number of asylum seekers and their social integration. Moreover, after the introduction of stricter controls on migrations (i.e. controls at the borders between Sweden and Denmark), the city has witnessed an increase in the number of migrants facing difficulties in obtaining asylum and living in precarious conditions. In relation to this complex situation, activists have attempted to meet the emerging needs of the "new inhabitants" of the city providing them with accommodation, food, clothes, helping them with legal procedures, as well as in crossing borders. A network of solidarity has developed in the city, involving the activists and the local population in activities which challenges institutions and their approach to migrants. Both the considered projects imply the adoption of a series of "illegal" practices of participation, such as the occupation of abandoned buildings, the help in crossing national borders, and similar activities. The narrations about these practices from the perspective of activists and volunteers performing them, that will be the focus of our presentation, are going to be analysed in order to shed some light on the 'battlefield' cornering the porous borders of 'citizenship' and 'legality', and on the role of the politicization and de-politicization processes in society.

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The Beggar's Play: Homeless, Passersby and the Moral Twist. Improvised Performance and Creative Tactics of Street People in Rome

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Background and purpose. The focus of this paper is one central point of the performative approach to homelessness that is still inadequately explored by the current literature: the strictly entanglements between homeless people and the urban space. Literature has traditionally considered the homeless people adopting a "punitive framework"; few studies have highlighted the agency capabilities that homeless people employ to survive in the urban space. Survival skills and strategies to cope with the street life adversities are pragmatic topics in the daily experience of homelessness, and not only theoretical frames. This paper argues that describing and theorizing the "street life" in terms of performative routines is useful in understanding the processes that constitute homelessness and the homeless people as agents engaging the social world, rather than as passive social burdens. From this perspective, street corner is the stage on which homeless people confront and overcome a variety of stigmatized treatments. Therefore, the paper aims to identify the various survival skills and strategies utilized by homeless people to understand their coping action in the face of street's adversity. More specifically it investigates, theoretically and empirically, how homeless stigmatization is constituted in the process of being and becoming beggars, and how the gift-giving open or close opportunity to them. *Methods* -- The empirical material presented carried out during more than two years of street ethnographic fieldwork with homeless people in the city of Rome, Italy, from September 2014 to December 2016. These narratives consist of field notes and exchanges (semi structured interview and informal chats) with homeless people gathered in various shelters and soup kitchens, as well as during daily street excursions with and following homeless people into a tour from "Roma Termini" Station to "San Pietro" Square, to the metropolitan surrounding and other public and semi-public place of the city. I approached most of my informants on the bases that they were homeless beggars rather than busking or selling goods and services. The homeless status and the act of soliciting a voluntary gift in a public place were the defining criteria. I focused with attention twelve beggars, interviewed forty-five homeless beggars and twenty-six gift-givers (between regular donor and passers-by) and met more than two-hundred homeless. Part of those materials was utilized in the making of this paper. *Results* -- Homeless beggars are highly stigmatized collection of individuals. In addition to publicly displaying their status of marginality they suffer various other humiliations while begging passers-by for alms. Despite, many homeless enhance their self-regard and status developing relationship with givers who become regular sources of support. The ways in which homeless beggars engage with space and passersby, with social conventions and legal regulations, exemplify the creative tactics of self-conscious agents who are both produced-by and productive-of the social and material conditions within which they carry out their practices. This strategy is significant since it goes beyond stigma management and connects to a primary begging objective: to gain money and other type of help. But the "mixed contacts" -- between stigmatized (homeless) and "normal" (passers-by) -- are not easily created, nor maintained. How this relationship is sensed, and what those sensations signify, is inextricably bound up with the social norms and the cultural framework within which those relations are soaked. The begging is a "work" with and against the daily constraints and possibilities posed by material characteristic of the space, as well as her formal regulations and the dominant social norms. These creative strategies are based on various scenic effects. A close examination of the exchanges between homeless beggars and passers-by reveals that these interactions are multilayered enacted at the face-to-face level and is strictly based on the dominant categorizations between poor and non-poor. In other word: the beggar, like a street performer, staging the public drama of poor. *Conclusion* -- The empirical materials suggest understanding begging as a relational process of *cobbling together* that is never entirely fixed or bounded, but dispersed and always in-the-making. This process can be considered as a collective storytelling, temporally and spatially localize at the convergence of multiple lines of flow, and based on a reflexive awareness and on the common system of meaning-making the world, in which the homeless is the main actor. The beggars are "provocative performers", and their performance become strategic and situated enactments, based on social, religious and, more specifically, cultural vision of the world. While many previous researches has focused on the unsafe and transient lifestyle of street people, these finding capture the variety of survival skills and safety strategies that homeless employ to live and cope with the street difficulties. The results of this study may present insight for policy maker and social workers who provide direct care to this multidimensionality of homeless experiences. Understanding how they navigate in the tumultuous street environments may assist in development of street corner policies, and programs that take into account their unique capacity to face the street life. Only recognizing that the homeless exceed through their capabilities the stereotype, the discourse imposed over them, and the ordinary moral regime, we have been able to recognize the necessity for a new political approach that could really change their condition. Furthermore, actual bureaucracy, with its attention at the street people as deviants, or the welfare system crisis and austerity create a situation of increased precariousness for people on the street. Not only the government is not able to take in consideration the homeless' capabilities or their multidimensionality, many local authorities also continue their campaigns against begging. Money is often a material necessity for homeless people that are cut-off from stage strings, but it can also have positive social effects. Political attention in this direction could be another fundamental step.

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Is Parenthood an Unnoticed Inquiry on The Art of Living Together in Democracy? A Sociological Account of Parenting in Public Places

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This contribution aims at broadenig the focus on ordinary forms of citizenship by considering how becoming a parent changes and makes more conscious and self-reflective the experience of public life. What does it mean and entail to live together (Bidet, Boutet, Chave, Gayet-Viaud, Le Méner, 2015 ; Gayet-Viaud, 2015)? Being with a child in public settings and in relations in public challenges the parents takes on what counts and deserves to be transmitted or cared for in our common world.

This proposal draws on a collective research conducted by observations and interviews with 72 parents of young children in two major French cities in 2015 and 2016.

The issue of values and valuations underwent recently many debates in sociology. We intend to show how interesting, for the analysis of citizenship, is changing the way values are addressed: from the perspective of taste to that of commitments, beliefs, opinions, habits and their making. To do so, a pragmatist perspective suggests to analyze how people invest their daily activities with an inquiry about *what is worth* – not as simple judgements but as concrete capabilities and imagination of possible worlds (Bidet, Quéré, Truc, 2011). In our case, parents, who go with their children in public places, parks, trains,

etc., test and discover, in an especially intense and effective way, what they care about and the ideal of the good life they wish to defend and transmit.

Such public settings are part of those places of everyday life which, according to Erving Goffman, approach the very definition of literal activity. Yet, when examined, they can reveal a remarkable superimposition of different activity frameworks (Goffman, 1974). For parents coming along with their children, this translates into a plurality of normative expectations embedded in the places they choose to go to, and then in how to accompany their child: health, safety, urbanity, education, etc. In other words, we will stress that the educational point of view on the art of living together deals constantly with practical considerations such as time, distance to home, fatigue, as well as with the attitudes of other parents. Therefore, the educational perspective on citizenship is not really planned by parents – and they rarely report it as the purpose of the walk in the park or elsewhere with their child. Rather, this very perspective emerges in the course of their street-corner activities. This is not to say, of course, that it does not matter to them. On the contrary, the analysis of their narratives shows that these inquiries and habits made through parenting are huge resources for them to act and even to change the world – the world they will want for their child.

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Vernacular Creativity in Urban Civic and Cultural Transformations: An Ethnography of «NoLo»

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Today «creative economy» (Florida, 2012) constitutes a powerful buzzword at the core of contemporary discourses and policies for economic development at urban scale. Its relevance is the result of a long-lasting historical process rooted in political discourses (Reagan, 1968), economic transformations (Bell, 1976; Fröbel, Heinrichs, , Kreye, 1981), cultural changes in bohemian culture (McGuigan, 2006) and gentrification processes in urban environments (Zukin, 1982). Recently, it is exerting its influence on an expanding number of areas, as creativity became a skill and an immaterial asset required for every worker, independently from the sector (Von Osten, 2007): in particular a trend is observable in which creativity from knowledge, high tech and innovative sectors has colonized also the economic imaginary of more traditionally labor-intensive, low-skilled and low-status jobs, as the ones in popular food and beverage economy (Ocejo, 2017), promoted also by urban policies (Grodach, O'Connor, Gibson, 2016).

This contribution, developed starting from an ongoing ethnography part of my doctoral research, seeks to analyze the potential role of this kind of «humble creative economy», when concentrated in localized urban zones, in the generation of an economic and cultural milieu (P. Hall, 2000; S. Hall, Jefferson, 2006) that through processes of vernacularization of creativity (Edensor, Leslie, Millington, , Rantisi, 2009) influence also everyday civic and political practices and lives (Berger, Cefai, Gayet-Viaud, 2011), that needs to be accounted not only at a general and collective level but at an individual level of analysis too (Pink, 2012).

The case study of our research will be Milan, in particular the area at north of Loreto between the two vial axes of Via Padova and Viale Monza that has recently been re-framed by some inhabitants as «NoLo», a term that has rapidly spread in the area as well as in local media.

Via Padova can be better defined as a zone than a neighborhood for its vastness and the plurality of its centralities, but can be considered an observation field characterized by some historical common key features: to be an area of movement, a belt between the city and the territory, to be from a long time ago a popular zone, inhabited by workmen and small commercial and artisan bourgeoisie, to be a stable «harbor» for different immigrant flows to Milan (Novak, Andriola, 2008). The affordability of the rents made possible the arrival of a last flow of principally young creative people, partly expelled from other gentrifying neighborhoods of Milan and other cities, that experience a hiatus between their cultural and economic status and the birth of «NoLo» as new identity of the zone based on the idea of a diffuse creativity (Guerini, 2017).

The taking over of activities managed by immigrants has meant that the commercial and nature of the zone did not died under the competition of the shopping centers and supermarkets, also maintaining intact the city's ground floor composed by small businesses (Novak, Andriola, 2008), favoring the diffusion of the aforementioned «humble creative economy» in strict contact with the area.

Interpreting the city as a stratification of visibilities (Brighenti, 2010) re-articulated by modalisations of human gazes, the humble creative economy of «NoLo» can be analyzed as a veil superimposed on the one of «Via Padova», characterized by immigration and insecurity, and on the precedent popular neighborhood lived by workmen and small artisans and

traders. These stratifications do coexist and are porous one to another in ways that can be made visible and explored through the affordances of spatial and physical elements experienced in urban interactions (Brighenti, 2010). Food and beverage shops are not only places of economic production but also places of everyday social and cultural public interaction, a feature that favors the diffusion of a vernacular creativity, intended as the ensemble of everyday «creative» practices embedded in the local zone and enclosed in a general and collective cultural and creative milieu. This milieu is synthesizable in the concept of realization of an «authentic urban life», a process that can give a new sense of place to the neighborhood (in particular in the case of the publicly infamously frame of Via Padova) but bears in itself the seeds of top-down gentrification (Zukin, 2011).

The ongoing ethnography, following established models of ethnographies of everyday and microsocial life (Burawoy, Burton, Ferguson, Fox, 1991)¹, is composed by interviews to traders and cultural mediators, participant observation to social events organized by shops or networks of inhabitants and discourse analysis of podcasts of a local webradio as interactional local media (Bonini, Monclús, 2014).

We propose, from first results by this corpus of data, that a network of individuals composed principally by young people that has used cultural creativity and innovation as a way to build their life projects after 2008 crisis (Orlandi, Leonini, 2017), but also from traders of foreign communities or of older generations, can form a tribus distinguished by their members shared lifestyles and tastes ethos (Maffesoli, 1996). Through everyday tactics and «microbic practices» (de Certeau, 1988)², performed principally in physical and digital social spaces (Glass, 2010), this tribus is also politically expressive and prefigurative (Yates, 2015) and builds a sense of community that starting from simple pulses to sociality and to «live together» and individual needs of economic sustenance develops political actions devoted to community cohesion and urban renaissance – facing and exorcising the aware risks of gentrification – and a vernacular version of local authenticity and distinctness.

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SESSION 2B *Performing the public, right to the city and ways of belonging*

Alternative frameworks of citizenship and belonging in central Naples

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As is the case with other Mediterranean cities, Naples' urban development largely took place without two distinctive pillars of modernity, namely industrialisation and planning. As a consequence, overcrowding and urban poverty characterised its city centre for centuries, reinforcing the perception of Naples' 'otherness' vis-à-vis other large European cities. In particular, informality emerged as the prevalent logic of spatial organisation among the inner city dwellers of both the upper and lower classes, and a wide array of urban transgressions remains visible today at the intersection of private and public space. In fact, the publicness of the latter is generally constructed, negotiated, and sometimes contested in accordance with alternative frameworks of citizenship and belonging which depart from those ones formally established within the state boundaries. Drawing on a one-year fieldwork carried out between 2016 and 2017, this presentation explores Naples' everyday politics of public space vis-à-vis the material conditions of existence in its 'porous' city centre; by doing so, it aims to unravel the sociological underpinnings of citizenship and belonging in informal urban settings like the one under consideration. The presentation focusses on two case studies observed in the field. The first case concerns an urban ritual marking the yearly feast of San Antonio Abate: on such occasion, kids in central Naples come together in their neighbourhoods to arrange a bonfire to salute the Saint and display in-group cohesion. The celebration dates back to centuries-old rituals widespread in rural southern Italy but has been lately contested as a dangerous and inappropriate use of urban public space, and is now in the firing line of the city administration. The second case concerns the regeneration from below of a public square formerly used as an unauthorised parking lot, which featured a neighbourhood conflict over the (meaning of) publicness of urban space. Both cases are analysed in the light of the recent decline of organised crime and the concurrent rise of tourism in central Naples as a way of linking the micro-level of street-corner politics with the macro-level of urban political economy. Ultimately, the presentation aims to extend the discussion on Naples' alternative frameworks of citizenship and belonging to other scholarships of informality at the intersection of postcolonial and urban studies, rejoining a broader conversation about the nature of cities and the geography of theory.

Festivalization of Minority Claims for Public Belonging: Between Visibility and Active Participation

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Recent years have seen an increase in cultural festivals trying to shift symbolic boundaries in society and promote more inclusive city environments (Bennett et al. 2014, Quinn 2005, Citroni 2017). Although the specific form and content of these events are formed directly in response to local conditions, certain patterns can be found across different cases. The organizers often frame their initiatives in terms of *enhancing the visibility* of marginalized groups and their cultures and/or *increasing their active participation* in public space. While both of these strategies can potentially lead to positive outcomes, neither of them is unproblematic, and their implications for inclusive boundary work are often far from straightforward. The aim of my contribution is to critically discuss both *visibility* and *participation* as the main means and goals of activist cultural festivals. Based on the ethnography of two festivals taking place in Central European cities – the festival of new minorities [fjúžn] in Bratislava and the activist cultural festival WIENWOCH in Vienna – I'll introduce different modes of enhancing visibility and participation these events brought about and discuss their implications for boundary work processes.

Exploring Normative Strain in Thailand: Life Crises as Identified by 13 to 15 Year

Old Young People in Pathum Thani Province, Northern Krungthep (Bangkok)

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In developing and researching a concept of normative strain, this paper presents the results of work undertaken with groups of young people in outer urban districts of rapidly expanding Krungthep (Bangkok), Thailand. The work focused on the life crises to which junior high school students are vulnerable and the interpersonal and public methods they had available to address them. The work revealed interactive and public restrictions on action along with shared desires for workable solutions in the context of young people conceiving personal and intersubjective visualisations of citizenship.

In this context, 'everyday citizenship' is construed within the normative grid of school, family and the uncertainty of developing social relationship within it. For them, the public reaches into the private and the expression of that strain can become public. Young participants in this project applied their thought and imagined action from within their personal understanding of the strain endemic to this grid.

The concept of normative strain is built upon previous studies, classically linked to criminology, which put the concepts of strain, anomie and deviance, and the interactions of these concepts, within a sociological framework. A strain framework has more recently been widened to explore strain affecting broader groups within populations. The work described in this paper takes that conceptual development of interactions between strain, anomie and deviance further by considering the role of normative constraints in the aetiology of both strain and of group-derived ascriptions of deviance within crisis.

Groups of young people at three High Schools in the Pathum Thani province of Thailand participated in brainstorming activity focused on "the best and worst of teenage life". Encompassing themes from the brainstorming activity were identified through phenomenological analysis of the responses of the groups of teenagers and were based on phrases used by the participants.

It became clear from the analysis that two broad outlooks were present in the themes. These outlooks can be classified as representing normative success on the one hand and crises occurring in response to normative failure on the other. The concept of 'normative strain' can serve to explain such crises.

Themes were then represented as stories and played as improvised dramas (Replays) by the groups of young people. These Replays aimed to understand critical effects of strain and to explore methods of averting crises. Not surprisingly, many methods explored by young peers were restricted to normative frameworks. It was the task of a Replay moderator to encourage the groups of young people to retain the realism and particularity of the strain experienced and attune methods to the conditions, as opposed to simple affirmations of normative structures.

The resulting interactions demonstrated pressure to see normative methods succeed. Nevertheless, young people in this study also observed that normative responses to challenges, which they were regularly facing, risked deepening potential crises. Young participants successively embodied such disjunctions in improvised Replays testing different actions in critical interactions. For participating young people these explorations of observed experience highlighted the tasks of defining personal responsibility and its likely actions beside public commitments set within normative bounds.

SESSION 2C *Uses of public space and urban sociability as tests for diversity and tolerance to difference*

Performing Sociability: The Chinese Baristas' Everyday Social Encounters in Bologna, Italy

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Neighborhood coffee bars, one of the main points of community socializing in Italian urban lives, have been experiencing the process of marginalization and multi-ethnicization. The main clientele is often composed of working-class retired men, internal migrant workers, and transnational immigrants. Many of these coffee bars have been taken over by the Chinese immigrants since the economic downturn of the new millennium. They work mostly as self-employed family entrepreneurs who are both coffee bar owners and baristas.

Apart from labor skills, social skills of a barista are another fundamental aspect in everyday coffee bar management. It involves what Hochschild (1983) refers to as "emotional labor". Good baristas do not only manage their "hands" to serve good coffees, but also manage their "hearts" to provide proper services. A competent barista, as a service worker in everyday interactions, must engage in bodily and emotional performances in such a way that conforms to the societal norms expected by their clients. Thus, how do the Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs, the supposed cultural outsiders and strangers in the Italian society, deal with everyday social interactions in coffee bars for economic ends?

This paper specifically focuses on these Chinese baristas' strategic performance of sociability. Data comes from 14 months of ethnographic fieldwork primarily conducted in the city of Bologna. In this paper, I will shed light on how the Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs socialize with their clients from various sociocultural backgrounds in the routine context of everyday interactions, while pursuing entrepreneurial aspirations. I will firstly illustrate their three strategies, including name and language use, smile service, and gendered sociability, then I will provide details about how they strategically differentiate clients and display social skills differently, so as to create and construct their coffee bars as a multiethnic and convivial neighborhood-scale local community.

The Chinese entrepreneurs strategically created and constructed coffee bar communities through the reproduction of locality and the performance of sociability. They have learned to adapt themselves for the particular coffee bar community in order to integrate themselves as a part of the locality. The Chinese baristas often take an Italian name for themselves at work, and use it in place of their original Chinese names. The Italian language is the lingua franca in Chinese-owned coffee bars, while they only use Chinese language in a restricted way. They intentionally accumulate local knowledge for socializing with the clients. They cater to each one's distinct personality, preference, and hobby for building up a positive interpersonal relation with them. In this way, they represent themselves as the sociable people, who obtain local knowledge and understand the local norms of everyday socializing.

The Chinese entrepreneurs' performance of sociability is gendered. They commonly demonstrate the gendered preference in the coffee bar management, as they believe the Chinese femininity itself is an effective business strategy in service business, especially in a social space often dominated by the males. The Chinese male baristas, however, often perform other social skills and construct a particular masculine image more carefully so as to compensate for the gender disadvantages in everyday business management. The Chinese entrepreneurs do not passively adapt themselves for the local community, but actively participate in the creation and construction of a segregated and distinctive social space by performing a particular mode of customized sociability among the constantly shifting contexts and situations of everyday social and cultural encounters. They socialize with clients in different ways in order to police the kinds of people, who enter, patronize, or are excluded from the social space.

They categorize clients into the familiar and the unfamiliar, the good and the bad. In front of occasional clients, they attempt to provide a more standardized smile service in their efforts to represent a proper image conforming to the local expectations of a barista. In everyday interactions with regular clients, they strive to construct more intimate interpersonal attachments and friendships, rather than mere business relations. In contrast with such displays of sociability, they exclude unwanted clients through performances of unsociability.

While actively representing Italian-ness in interactions with local Italians, the Chinese actors often show ambiguous and ambivalent attitudes towards the transnational migrants. Their differential performance, based on ethnic hierarchy, is intersected and negotiated with other positionalities and power dynamics, such as class and gender. On the one hand, they often equate transnational immigrants with "bad" clients. They tend to share the negative perceptions with the Italian public discourses on other immigrants from the Global South; on the other hand, they tend to differentiate the "good" ones from the "bad" ones. They often highlight the way in which conformance to local social norms of civility is combined with the ethnic hierarchy in the Chinese entrepreneurs' selection of clients. It is to be noted that, racial and ethnic discrimination in Italy often becomes a common topic during everyday interactions between the Chinese entrepreneurs, who are themselves stigmatized transnational immigrants, and the other "good" immigrant clients.

My research demonstrates that a kind of sense of community has been shaped between the Chinese baristas and their clients from multiethnic social backgrounds. To some extent, their attachments do transcend mere business calculations and ethnic boundaries. However, I argue that, these Chinese managed coffee bars become a new "contact zone" (Pratt 1991), that is a social space within a context of highly unequal power relations. Within this process of community construction and boundary making, Chinese entrepreneurs are both reproducing ethnic hierarchies from the larger Italian society and negotiating unequal ethnic relations, which are deeply intertwined with issues of race, class, and gender, in order to meet their economic expectations.

Urban Citizenship Walks on a Line: Slacklining, Every-Day Encounters, and Conflicts in Public Parks

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A multitude of different subjects and groups experience urban spaces, each one with a different activity, purpose, modality of use, and rhythm. Authorized and planned activities coexist with unexpected and unpredictable practices, that share the same space and the same temporality. The vitality that emerges from the contemporaneity and the compresence is a constitutive element of the city, described by Amin (2008: 8) as a surplus that makes the public spaces "open, crowded, diverse, incomplete, improvised, and disorderly or lightly regulated".

The plurality of practices changes the city concretely and symbolically, redefining it as the locus of politics, lifestyles, cultures, and imaginaries. The urban space is contested, becoming at the very same time terrain of interaction and cross-fertilisation, as well as conflict and territorialisation. Moreover, the activities and practices are significantly shaped by their publicness, the extent to which they involve or are consciously directed toward strangers (Lofland, 1998).

When leisure practices and urban sports disciplines are not relegated to playgrounds specifically dedicated, but realized in public spaces, alongside other activities, including productive and reproductive ones, they become particularly interesting for a deep understanding of the dynamic tensions which shape everyday life in public (Stevens, 2007). Playful activities

challenge the established boundaries and in general, the acts that divide the city into territories (Brighenti, 2010). The changes in the meaning and in rules (both explicit and unsaid) create temporary alternative uses of the space, that are ephemeral and, at the same time, radical (Pinder, 2005), in their ability to highlight the functioning mechanisms and the underlying relations of power in the planned public space.

Among others, slacklining is an interesting discipline that is rapidly and strongly increasing in the Italian urban context. It basically consists in balancing and walking on a flat line, anchored to two trees or other standing points, and suspended in the air. It is realized both in natural environments (according to its origins, connected to the climbing) and in urban environments, mainly, but not exclusively, in parks and green areas.

In this contribution, I am going to present the fieldnotes of two days of participant observation with the community of the slackliners in Padua. They are selected between the wider materials of a 14-month ethnographic fieldwork, realized for my doctoral research, also concerning buskers and parkour. The first of them is a night session of practice in Prato della Valle, one of the most important squares of the city, while the second one regards an afternoon in the Iris park, located in a semi-peripheral and residential area. The decision of selecting two specific moments of the fieldwork permits to deepen the richness of the daily interactions, in which the liners (re)construct their discipline and interpret the space and its uses through practice.

Indeed, both the selected moments present a rich series of meaningful episodes, but they don't constitute exceptional or memorable days for the groups of liners, and the situations that they manage are seen as routinary.

The starting point of the present contribution is the exploration of the different interactions between liners and other "inhabitants" of the two contexts: children at play; their surveilling parents; girls and boys that spend time in other, more or less planned, activities; traders and workers; residents; police officers... Every encounter is different each other, they diverge by roles, by legitimations, and by the power to define the context and the uses of the space. Episodes of conflict, misunderstanding, and fear, as well as curiosity, conviviality, and entertainment, pass through and characterize the liners every-day life, interrupting or fostering their activities, shaping the discipline, that is performed starting from a strong relationship with the environmental and social context.

More specifically, I will focus on a central element of these encounters, that is the role of the body and emotions and, in particular, by highlighting the key role the idea of slacklining as dangerous. Liners' bodies are considered "out of the ordinary", for their skills, equilibrium, and courage. Unexpected and inconceivable uses of the bodies are framed as the cause of risk and a danger for the physical, environmental and urban security. Through the counter-posed definitions of "dangerous" and "safety" practices, it is possible to comprehend what is permitted and what is forbidden to realize and perform in public.

Partially related to the construction of the danger, the second element that the contribution will highlight is how the policies of *decoro* are concretized and located in the everyday encounters. With the term *decoro* (written in Italian in order to emphasise its peculiarities, it is only partially translatable in the English word "decency", and it is strictly connected with the French debate about *incivilité*) I intend a non-homogeneous and non-unilateral series of acts and interpretation of the urban contexts, between official regulations, widespread social control, discourses of exclusion, socio-technical tools, police interventions, citizens struggles and alliances, discursive tactics of legitimation (Pitch, 2013; Pisanello, 2017).

The choice of two different episodes of participant observation permits to keep in connection the concepts of (in)decency and danger with the situated interactions of the liners, and with their geographical and temporal context: there are strong differences between day and night, as well between central and touristic areas or peripheral and residential areas.

Going through the specificity of the slacklining, in conclusion, I intend to show how those are a useful starting point in order to re-interpret the idea of public space. The concept emerges in the daily urban encounters as situated in the spaces enacted with the multitude of activities, and lived in their concreteness, through bodies, emotions, and sensoriality (Staeheli, Mitchell, 2007; Castelli, 2016). The living together, both in the aspects of coexistence, negotiation, and contention of the space, reconfigure the idea of urban citizenship, now placed outside the restrictive "legal" term, and relocated in the relationship and interaction of the different activities and different conceptions of those who cross the urban space.

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Hasidim and Non-Hasidim in a Montréal Neighbourhood: Controversies and *vivre ensemble*

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This presentation analyses three subjects of controversy around the Hasidic Jewish community of the neighbourhood of Outremont – Montreal, between 2014 and 2016: the dispute around the celebration of Purim; the installation of cabins for the Soukkot celebration and the proposed law to ban places of worship on Outremont's commercial streets. Through ethnographic research in the neighbourhood, it examines the way these controversies, considered as conversations and practical accomplishments, took place. By closely considering the borough question period and public consultations, the informal encounters between Hassidim and non-Hassidim and the more intimate conversations between the neighbourhood's inhabitants, it investigates how the controversies manifest themselves in the every-day life of Outremont. Whilst the discourse surrounding the controversies in the public space tends to crystallise around municipal regulations, the individuals' discourse change, when they switch from the public to the intimate sphere. This produces what we have called the 'grammar' of Outremont. In this grammar, public speech about religion and the issues of cohabitation between Hassidim and non-Hassidim is avoided because it is considered taboo in the Outremont public space. Although this avoidance manifests itself in the political arena of the borough council, we will show that its roots lay in the everyday interactions of the residents in the urban spaces and in what it is expected of a good neighbour (Gayet-Viaud, 2015). Our presentation consists of three parts. In the first, we contextualize the issues raised by ethno-confessional pluralism in Quebec (the reasonable accommodations crisis, the Charter of Values, Bill 62, the Commission on Systematic Racism) and . We will then propose a theoretical framework on which to base our reflection on the public presence of the Hassidim in Outremont and the controversies arising from it (Goffman, 2013 [1963]; Gusfield, 2009 [1981]). Based on this, we will turn our attention to the actual field in order to examine more closely how these controversies play out in the various venues where Hassidim and non-Hassidim discuss these issues. We conclude the presentation with some considerations on the place of the pious citizen in Western democratic public spaces (Amiriaux, 2014).

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SESSION 3

CULTURES OF COMBAT: QUALITATIVE STUDIES OF MARTIAL ARTS, FIGHTING SYSTEMS AND COMBAT SPORTS

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SESSION 3A

I am a Female Wrestler... So What? An Ethnographic Approach to the Female Wrestling Field in Barcelona

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Wrestling in Spain is a sport not very considered by society, since other sports occupy a more important place (mainly football, basketball or tennis). Then, we see that the context in which we situate ourselves has an influence on the practice of sport. One of the most important acts that occurred in Spain (related to wrestling) was the broadcast in 2006 of the wrestling television programme called RAW and SMACKDOWN (Pressing Catch) on television. This made the sport re-emerge and was very often followed by children and adults. Since the last time wrestling was broadcast on public TV, it was in the 90s.

The TV programme called Pressing Catch was on the rise for four years. Its emission finalized by low hearing in the last year. Later, was transferred to another television channel although already at that time it had lost an audience. Currently, the only public TV channel that is broadcasting wrestling is NEOX (Television network that belongs to the Atresmedia corporation). Regarding local wrestling (BCN), there were independent shows. But it was not until 2013 that the first academy was not opened and it began to develop this sport in the city. In Barcelona, three wrestling schools have been opened, but currently only one is active (RIOT WRESTLING).

Our context is important to describe because we focus on the visibility attributed to women's wrestling (in this case). If we do not have feminine references in sports, it is difficult to see a large participation of women. In addition, we collect the speeches that wrestlers have about the visibility they had of the female wrestlers they saw on TV and how they have had an influence on them (negative or positive). Through the narratives of our female wrestlers will give us the keys to understand certain factors that may affect the visibility and participation of women in this sport. The cultural transmission that is established in our society is important at the time of wanting to analyze this area.

The world of wrestling is dominated by men and this aspect is fundamental to understand the possible inequalities that exist. Socially and culturally, this sport has been attributed to men. It seems that only their practice is valued when it is exercised by men. In the case, that the figure of the woman appears, this one should make a twice effort (or at least pretend it) to be respected and valued. It is very common in this sport to see female athletes who have success or have great visibility if they are especially beautiful and attractive. This is a social media problem because it reflects a model in which if you're not pretty enough, you will not have all the same opportunities. Hence, certain stereotypes about femininity are created that negatively influence women who practice this sport. If a female wrestler has very good movements and is beautiful, her beauty will normally prevail over her technique.

Here there can be a confrontation even among the women who practice or consume this sport. Since some women blame others for having reduced their figure to a mere sexual object. That is why, the way in which female wrestlers are visibilized is important both for their and for the spectators into their appreciation of the sport. In this case, we focus on the experience of the female wrestlers themselves that are starting. What were their role models, beginnings in sport and first contact with the world of wrestling. Thanks to our interviews and participant observations, we have been able to analyze the experiences and perceptions of female wrestlers after their practice in this sport. In addition, we attended shows held by two schools that were active in 2017 (now only one) and also some training sessions where the girls participated. It is interesting how through the spectacle of wrestling in a ring some discourses are created among the public that affect the visibility of the female wrestler. The ring, therefore, becomes a scenario of values where stereotypes that have been established in our society are created and reproduced. Gender in sport is often a problem to practice and the fact of being a woman, offers inequalities in terms of assessment, participation and visibility.

Gender in sports is often a problem when it comes to practicing it. And the fact of being a woman, offers inequalities in terms of assessment, participation and visibility. The participation of women in this sport involves breaking socio-cultural barriers that all must support and work together (from the female wrestlers themselves to the male wrestlers, the academy of wrestling, the promoters...). The academy of wrestling can be a great support to reflect that women can also fight and practice this sport. Therefore, it is very important to break with certain cultural schemes (habitus) to empower women and eliminate gender stereotypes that have been established as natural and normal. Women can devote themselves to this sport; they are not weaker than men.

From all the comments, our hypotheses are based on the following questions: Do female wrestlers have the same visibility and impact as male wrestlers? How many female wrestlers are there in Barcelona? What has been the motivation to be a female wrestler? What speeches are given at the shows? Is the discourse important when promoting female participation? How do cultural patterns (stereotypes, inequality ...) affect the participation and visibility of the female wrestler? Who are the agents/actors that can make women's struggle visible? Is it important to have references in women's wrestling? What role models do female wrestlers have? How do female role models appear in female wrestlers?

Autophenomenography and Martial Arts: New Directions for Practitioner Research

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The various senses, including the classical five (sight, sound, smell, touch and taste) of Greco-Roman thought, are key to contemporary ethnography and other evolving qualitative research traditions. The sociology and anthropology of sport have made advances to the understanding of everyday and exceptional bodily experience, and this has extended to the field of martial arts and combat sports, as well as other bodily arts. This paper explores the novel and ever-evolving use of the method known as auto/phenomenography, which connects to approaches in autoethnography. Drawing on the pioneering work of Allen Collinson and Hockey, as well as that of their collaborators, we first examine the nature of what auto/phenomenography entails as a unique form of automethodology through field notes, reflections, audio recordings and also photography and other visual methods. Following this introduction, we consider some of the recent studies using this first-person, longitudinal design in the martial arts and other fighting systems, which vary from the autoethnographic to the more conventionally ethnographic. We then turn to our five separate but interconnected projects on the phenomenology of various senses. This has recently resulted in collaborations in the exploration of the sense of heat (thermoception) and related 'temperature work' (see Allen Collinson, Vaittinen, Jennings & Owton, 2016) during specific practices within running, MMA, the traditionalist Chinese martial arts and boxing. We also introduce an ongoing project examining 'weather work' during the so-called 'four seasons' in the UK using a specific form of movement: running, which could be used as a companion object of study for researchers interested in martial arts and combat sports. Finally, as based on ongoing reflections of our broader collaborative and comparative study of physical culture (Allen Collinson, Jennings, Vaittinen & Owton, forthcoming), we offer some strategies for the advancement of this method through a cultivation of 'quality' and 'rigour' in the original research questions, data collection, analysis and representation that are possible using this research design. It is hoped that ethnographers and qualitative researchers might benefit from an autophenomenographical approach, which could 'impact' upon existing or new studies they are engaging with in an embodied and reflexive manner. We thus invite debate on the place of first-person methodologies and cross-cultural comparisons from researchers working (and moving) in different cultural, environmental and physical milieux.

Conditioning Weapons: Ethnography of the Practice of Martial Arts Training

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Drawing on the inspiring work by Wacquant about apprenticeship in boxing, I present data generated from a five-year ethnographic study of one *Wushu Kung Fu* Association in Italy. Drawing on a bourdieusian version of theories of social practice the aim is to investigate in depth the relationship between habitus and materials, as it seems an underestimated issue both in Wacquant's presentation and in most martial arts studies developed from his work. The aim is to explore the relationship between the practitioner and the set of weapons – a chief part of the martial art training – as an endless work of *conditioning*. To this aim, according to what Wacquant calls *enactive ethnography*, I completely immersed myself inside the fieldwork in order to be able to explore the phenomenon and to personally test its operative mechanism. The challenge here is to enter the theatre of action and, to the highest degree possible, train in the ways of the people studied so as to gain a visceral apprehension of their universe as materials and springboard for its analytic reconstruction.

Drawing on the difference between the cognitive, conative and emotive components of *habitus* through which, according to Bourdieu, social agents navigate social space and animate their lived world, I show how conditioning works not only on the conative or cognitive components (learning techniques and incorporating a kinetic schemes); but a deeper psychological form of conditioning also comes into play, which aims to neutralize the shock due to the fear generated by the threat of a

contusion. It is at this point, therefore, that the affective component of the *habitus* becomes crucial in constructing a sort of intimacy bond with the tool. The detectable transformation in the *habitus* of the practitioner, eventually, can be deciphered starting from the characteristics of the tool that produces, in the ways and limits given by its material features, such a transformation.

In the end, I stress the relevance of recognizing the active role of objects in transforming the *habitus* and I briefly discuss the potentiality of enactive ethnography in analyzing social practices.

On Not Neglecting the Near for the Far. The Practice of Wu Style Tai Chi Chuan

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Drawing on a range of perspectives, this contribution presents a discussion of the philosophical principles underlying the practice of Wu Style Tai Chi Chuan. Based on the Daoist concepts of 'the constant within change' and 'movement within stillness', Tai Chi Chuan can be understood as the physical embodiment of these principles.

Relying on an analysis of the underlying anatomical structures, along with concepts of the theory of practice, the present discussion focuses on several aspects of the Wu family archive with particular emphasis on the process of 'practising of the self' as a means to martial skill. As a martial art it is a training system in which the practitioner prepares for the continual relational changes that an opponent might present. The presentation will include several exercises to help engender the sense of self as a practitioner and relate to recognising the mind-body interaction.

Through discussion, presentation of examples of selected forms and specific exercise, as well as pushing hands techniques, we seek to highlight the mental, emotional and physical components this state of 'constant readiness within the changing martial parameters' might involve.

From Wars on Terraces to Underground Fistfights: How Hooligan Free Fighting is Gaining Ground as Combat Sport

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Throughout the past four decades, an impressive body of research into football (or soccer) hooliganism has been produced within a wide range of academic disciplines. In recent years, however, less attention has been given to the study of the violent football hooligan lifestyle; paradoxically in a period in which a contemporary (and previously unaccounted) phenomenon within the football hooligan scene emerged. In consequence of a raft of regulations, policies and strategies introduced by governing bodies to police football hooliganism out of the conventional football venues, a situation arose in which self-confessed hooligans went "underground." While violent clashes on terraces appear to diminish, most dedicated elements of football hooliganism in (e.g.) The Netherlands have been dispersed to areas far removed from football stadiums so that hooligan formations are enabled to fulfil their violent needs to the extent which they desire. Hence, the bulk of Dutch hooligan fights now take place in remote woods, meadows and secluded tunnels – a phenomenon that was proclaimed in Dutch media as "modern hooliganism". Modern hooliganism as such can be seen as a developing branch within hooliganism, concerning pre-arranged violent confrontations between rival free fight groups in which (mainly young adult) men confront each other under specific mutually agreed conditions.

As a PhD candidate, I seek to provide sociological insight into the above-mentioned empirical reality of the *Dutch hooligan free fight scene* through ethnographic fieldwork. So far, neither the interactional and/or group processes nor the meanings which the participants themselves attach to this form of violence have been studied. Since no scientific research has paid close attention to this specific type of confrontations, we are currently forced to rely on speculative media coverage when it concerns hooligan free fighting. While Dutch media and police statements indicate that these hooligan free fights are highly undesirable because of their unregulated, and severe violent character, I aspire to uncover why and how these so-called "forest fights" are able to attain a degree of organization and orderliness in fighting, accomplished by self-disciplined performers. In order to indicate aforementioned issue, this study will use a micro-sociological perspective that considers both the emotional and situational dynamics of violence and its relationship to group processes. The emphasis throughout this project is therefore on the importance of context, social interaction (i.e. feelings of solidarity, collective and moral identity, and the drawing of boundaries), ritualized mutual alignment (i.e. bodily rhythms and emotions, verbal cues, and synchronization of movements) and standards of morality (i.e. group norms, values, and adherence to rules) for understanding hooligan violence. As such – by approaching the phenomenon from an interactionist angle in which group processes are central – this study eventually aims to offer an alternative view on the emotional meaning individual group members and hooligan formations attach to violence, and, as a consequence thereof, the possible outcomes of how violent situations can unfold.

To understand the emotional processes and situational dynamics of free fight groups and hooligans, current study will combine an ethnographic method through observations with qualitative interviewing and, if possible, video-elicitation during the interviews. It should be noted that data will be generated primarily through qualitative interviewing, conducting at least

sixty in-depth interviews with both “old school” hooligans and the new generation of hooligan free fighters. The aim is here to gain understanding of the lived experiences of group members, asking them to describe – in as much concrete detail as possible – their experiences in different antagonistic situations. The interview data will be supplemented by observational material, which will derive from at least five observations of combat training sessions regularly organized (in secret) by fanatical free fight groups in preparation for their actual, upcoming confrontations. During these training sessions, I will specifically pay attention to the bodily practices and social interactions, thereby trying to obtain an understanding of groups’ sense of moral community (i.e. how group members create a sense of group belonging and moral identity) and how their members engage in (pre-ritual) mutual alignment (i.e. how group members focus and adjust their attention and actions towards one another). Lastly, it is my belief that the method of video elicitation would add a different layer to the overall data collection as it turned out in my prior research that the joint viewing of video footage has the ability to evoke strong emotions through which fighters’ are able to relive their violent experiences in a certain way. In this manner, by obtaining a sense of the intensity of the fights, one may shed light on the embodied practices of the fighters and reveal the situational and emotional group dynamics (and the regulatory aspects) of the hooligan confrontations otherwise. During my presentation, I will further present my PhD research plan according to the (by then) made theoretical and methodological considerations. In addition, I will discuss preliminary findings and ethnographic pre-fieldwork experiences, including some of the results that I have collected during my prior research on the emergence and the dominant features of contemporary pre-arranged violent confrontations between rival hooligan formations in the Netherlands (I conducted 23 interviews with hooligan free fighters). Given this data and current preparatory fieldwork, it is my opinion that this study fits well with the ‘Cultures of Combat’ session as it discloses the ordinary functioning of a contemporary emerging phenomenon in which participants seemingly share a mutual understanding on how to engage in confrontation, which in turn indicates that public violence is not necessarily equivalent to hatred, rage and conflict.

Violence in the Streets: A Study on how Violence Works in Groups of Urban Young Adults

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Violent behavior of urban young adults who are involved in criminal practices is often explained by psychological mechanisms, socio-economic factors or cultural context. And while all these explanations do contribute to our understanding of what factors enable violence, they are less suited for explaining why so many people in the same environment or with the same characteristics do not show violent behavior. The central question here is; when do groups of deviant urban young adults escalate or de-escalate violent situations, when do they make peace or retreat? Most ethnographies done in this field study young adults from one particular place and ethnic background, which makes it hard to discern what interactions and meanings are produced locally and which dynamics are part of a more general ‘street culture’. Therefore, I study groups from multiple places with different ethnic backgrounds. To answer these inquiries this study looks at how different groups of deviant urban street youths, of which some are physically violent, react to one another, their opponents and third parties before, during and after violent situations. To be able to understand why people in specific situations act violently or not we need to move closer to the situations, the use of bodies and bodily interactions in and around violent episodes. Ethnographic methods enable us to do just this.

First, through participatory observation, the focus lies on the role stories of violent or almost-violent events play in groups of young urban adults. Telling and reliving stories and events contribute to the creation of a specific moral community – a sense of the identity of the group and what its boundaries are. This moral community can legitimize certain types of violence, depending on what is deemed ‘good’ or ‘bad’ violence. By looking at how stories are being told, observing both the content, emotions and bodily expressions of the performers and audiences, this study gains insight in the workings of these stories for the community at hand. Here I want to uncover how violence is experienced by the group, and how these stories construct a shared memory of violent events which in turn might influence future violent interactions. Similar inquiries will be done when hearing stories about possible future violence; when boasting or making threats for instance. Through in-depth interviews with people who were present either as bystander, victim or offender of an actual encounter the focus shifts. By asking detailed information about bodily sensations/emotions, movements, actor positioning and what was being said, I try to uncover what influences the direction of the situation. How are the bodily sensations and behaviors present during different episodes of a violent situation interpreted and acted upon? How did others present acted on the situation and why did they do as they did, also here looking at bodies and spatial positioning. During the interviews, I will use video elicitation to understand and sharpen these interpretations on violent bodies and interactions; to understand how violence is embodied in practice. Video elicitation enables respondents to talk about violent behavior more easily than asking respondents directly to tell personal stories or re-enact situations. Video elicitation is done by showing violent, or almost-violent interactions on video asking respondents to interpret interactions or proposing what they would do in the same situation and why.

Contrary to former ethnographic research on violent young adults in The Netherlands I will study multiple groups from different places and with diverse ethnic backgrounds to see if there are differences in how they work with violence. The Dutch ethnographers before me often concluded that a specific ethnic background or street culture was most important for their respondents’ behavior. They made this conclusion referring to other studies, confirming the ‘codes of the street’ literature for example, but empirically they were only studying people from one particular place with a one specific ethnic

background, therefore unable to test themselves how this 'ethnic background' or 'code of the street' worked in practice in different groups. I aim to study different groups from different places in order to understand how violence and its meanings are constructed locally or part of a broader culture.

Personally I think this proposal fits best in the Cultures of Combat session under the theme Embodied knowledge. The deviant young adults I study deal with violence on a regular basis, a lot of them have combat sport experience and it is considered normal when people have a fight in the street or are threatened with weapons. Their bodies seem to carry a lot of meaning when talking about or engaging in conflicts. Bodily dynamics are of crucial importance for understanding what exactly happens; a gaze, a bodily posture or gesture seem to have the potential to drive the situation into a violent or non-violent direction. The presentation will include a description of the research project with a specific focus on the methodological challenges on how to get close to the embodied experience using ethnographic methods. In addition exciting preliminary findings containing stories of fights, masculinity and bodies drenched in violence, can be presented at the 7th Ethnography and Qualitative Research Conference.

SESSION 3B

The Antifascist Boxing Body. Political Somatics in *Boxe Popolare*

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Palestre popolari ("people's gyms") have been flourishing in the main Italian cities since the early 2000s. These gyms are venues for leisure participation run by several left-wing grassroots organizations belonging to the European antifascist movement. In recent years, these Italian people's gyms have been strengthening their connections with each other in order to codify an unsportized version of boxing, namely *boxe popolare* ("people's boxing"). At the present time, several illegal public fight nights between people's gym boxing teams take place throughout the year. The fights are arranged outside the jurisdiction of the Italian Boxing Federation, instead functioning with reference to an alternative regulatory framework in which trophies are not at stake. Drawing on an 18-month ethnography involving multi-sited participant observation, this presentation focuses on the situated practices of *boxe popolare*. It explores how the explicit and implicit regulation of people's boxing daily activities, as well as the material culture and symbolism related to the discipline, give shape to a set of distinct somatics. By applying Mauss' concept of techniques of the body and Bourdieu's concept of bodily *hexis*, the paper purports to highlight that dispositions containing values related to a far-left political identity – such as autonomy, commonality, mutuality, resistance, and respect for one's own self and the others – are being expressed thanks to the ways in which the boxers' bodies are invested and deployed. Although *boxe popolare* is conceived and rationalize aiming at contesting the narrative of boxing as a chauvinist practice, the production of an antifascist boxing body embodies virtues embedded in a milieu that puts highly premium on physical force, prowess, self-control, and toughness. These manly virtues are instilled in the boxing bodies regardless their gender identity, and shown publicly by the fighters, both males and females, legitimized to represent the broader political community to which they belong.

Symbols and Belonging: Breton Wrestling as an Expression of Breton Identity

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Breton wrestling (*gouren*) is a local style of stand-up grappling which is practiced in Brittany, France. It has an ancient tradition in the region, which is actually not easy to retrace with historical accuracy (Epron, 2008). However, Breton wrestlers consistently refer to the generic and indefinite Celtic/peasant past of the practice when they talk about their activity (Nardini, 2016a). Moreover, not only such an idealised history explicitly resonates in the rhetoric that describes and promotes *gouren*, but is also learned and re-enacted by Breton wrestlers through their gestures and daily practice. This manifestly emerges, for example, in the so-called "*Mod Kozh*" tournaments, the "old-fashioned" outdoor competitions. The way *gouren* is performed today hence involves a series of gestures, techniques, terms, and codified actions that, while evoking its Breton past, also underline the "bretonnity" of Breton wrestling; that is, its representativeness towards Breton culture and "character". However, these contemporary features of *gouren* have been mostly selected and reassessed over the last century, as a consequence of the gradual process of sportisation, normalisation, and institutionalization of the practice started in the late 1920es (Epron, Robène, 2006). In other words, through the modernisation of the practice, it has actually been possible to strengthen, redefine, and reaffirm it as an authentic expression of Breton culture and values (Epron, 2008; Nardini, 2016b).

For these reasons, *gouren* can be considered as a "*passion ordinaire*", an "ordinary passion" (Bromberger, 1998). In fact, it gives practitioners meaningful motivations to get involved into the practice, investing a considerable part of their time,

expectations, and social relations in it. Therefore, as a consequence of its hybrid conformation between competitive, institutionalised modern sport and traditional activity, Breton wrestling attracts new and assorted groups of devotees (e.g. women and children, who have not actively participated in wrestling until the 1970s: cf. Epron, Jollivet, 2007), encouraged by different cultural trajectories and collective or individual motivations. In other words, it truly acts as a polysemic practice. Nevertheless, all these individual and collective meanings effectively operate in a coherent frame that, paraphrasing Bateson (1972), indicate “this is [Breton] play”. In that way, *gouren* maintains strong local and traditional connotations that contribute to re-define and transmit, for many of its practitioners, a sense of regional awareness and belonging in the context of contemporary globalised France (given that the concept of “region” in France is actually a political and cultural “construction”: cf. Bourdieu, 1980; Bromberger, Meyer, 2003; Meyer, 2003).

From an interdisciplinary point of view, which involves both the historical and anthropological analysis, this paper examines the practical, performative, and symbolic aspects that still make *gouren* an emblematic activity. In particular, the analysis focuses on some distinctive and indicative traits such as the “*serment*”, the formal oath pronounced by Breton wrestlers at the beginning of each competition; the “*accolade*”, the ritual handshake that bodily ratifies such a commitment; the process of “*euphemisation de la violence*” (Clément, 1981) carried out by Breton wrestlers in the way they train, compete, and talk about *gouren*; the “democratic” and anti-hierarchical model of teaching and transmission of the technical expertise. By evoking in such a performative way the idealised, un-conflicting, and therefore unifying past of the practice, these features consistently and concurrently re-enact, at the same time, the sets of symbols, values, and features that have been historically selected to emblematically represent Breton people, culture, and “character” (Bertho, 1980; Le Coadic, 1998; McDonald, 1990; Simon, 1999; Delon, 2007).

Such a reciprocal link between Breton wrestling and culture acts as a “*profit de distinction*” – a “profit of distinction” – in the sense of Bourdieu (1979). Indeed, not only does it make Breton wrestling truly “Breton”, but it also differentiates *gouren* (in a positive way) from other coexisting wrestling practices in the social context such as Olympic wrestling and especially judo. Therefore, as Breton culture has historically defined itself in opposition to French culture and identity (Le Coadic, 2003), Breton wrestling correspondingly defines itself also in opposition to judo and other concurring physical activities, that are attached to the “hegemonic” vision of France and Western globalising culture.

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The Utilitarian Judo: The Adaption of Traditional Martial Art as a Program for the Improvement of the Quality of Life of the Adult Population

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The proposals for programs aimed at improving the health and quality of life of older adults are a reality that responds to the demand of a Europe that is aging at an accelerated rate. In this sense, the international scientific community is providing multicomponent programs with diverse approaches, such as the prevention of falls, and the maintenance of physical abilities and qualities.

Our proposal is an innovation, a pioneer worldwide, but based on tradition: The use of Kodokan Judo, framed in one of the lines established as innovation, longevity and quality of life for society. Using the fundamentals and technical elements of traditional Judo, adapted and contextualized to the requirements of older adults, collaborative and cooperative work methodologies are introduced that, under a system of assistance, make it a tool for maintenance and functional improvement, and for both useful and versatile, for the requirements of the older adult population. Under these premises, we define the concept of Judo Utilitarian and Adapted (JUA), as one that, *under the foundations of Kodokan Judo, develops specific motor skills adapted to integrate standards and life habits to contribute to the well-being of the Elderly, providing autonomy in the personal, domestic and social contexts.*

Through this new approach, the practice of the field of health and the improvement of the quality of life of the elderly is opened, which through the adapted work of its technical elements and its foundations, provide the greater adult population, in addition to an improvement of the general physical condition, a positive development of their process of socialization and personal acceptance, which result in the increase of self-esteem and personal security. In this way, the JUA maintains a vocation of maintenance and improvement of the functionality and autonomy of the Elderly, with respect to the performance of the Basic Activities of the Daily Life and of the Instrumental Activities of the Daily Life. This initiative implies a sport adaptation to reach a population with characteristics and needs of its own, which allows us to respond to a priority demand of our society, such as the intervention on falls (as pointed out by the WHO, 2017), of which adults over 60 are the main victims.

As you can guess, Adapted Judo not only allows us to act against the fall prevention in the Elderly, which limits the existing programs focused on this element, but also presents a pioneering innovation worldwide in the treatment of the fall. Thus, the JUA, based on the characteristics of the Judo's own techniques and the reduction of the magnitude of the impacts generated on the body by applying these techniques, acquires great social interest to reduce the risk of injury in the case of fall, becoming a valuable tool to reduce the frailty of the Elderly.

In the methodology and implementation, special care has been taken to contemplate the special characteristics of the target population, to facilitate the progression, making it accessible to as many recipients as possible, saving individual limitations (inclusive Judo), and avoiding at the same time the inadequate aspects for the reference population, which are far from the objectives of functionality, health and quality of life.

Eventually, it is proposed to be included in the so-called "Classrooms of Experience", thus giving it a social and integrating character, which makes the JUA an integral, formative and multifunctional physical activity, which contributes to achieving healthy active aging.

Why do People Train Martial Arts? Participation Motives of German and Japanese Karateka

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Meyer's (2012) qualitative research on motivation and fascination of German karateka initiated the WMA-project (Why Martial Arts?): several substudies were conducted to analyse motivation (and fascination) in various martial arts styles profoundly, like karate (Kuhn, Macht, 2014), judo (Liebl, Happ, 2015), taiji (Kuhn *et al.*, 2016), krav maga and wing chun (Heil *et al.*, 2017). By granting a fellowship, the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) supported a six-month project to transmit the research question to Japanese karateka and judoka. In the talk, the participation motives of German (Meyer, 2012) and Japanese karateka and their intentions will be compared.

Methodology

In the German substudy, 32 karateka were interrogated about their participation motives, their karate fascination and why they chose karate as their martial art. We used guided interviews, which lasted approximately forty-five minutes each.

The methodology of the Japanese study mirrored the contents of the German study. Due to the language barrier, a questionnaire was used, which was spread as paper and online versions. It contained three question sets: in the qualitative set, probands answered questions about their starting motives, possible time-related motive changes and their fascination. For the quantitative set, 48 participation motives had to be rated on a 4-tier Likert scale. The third set contained demographic items. In total, 105 Japanese karateka were interrogated.

Results

The results demonstrate that the motivation categories of Japanese and German karateka and their backgrounds share many similarities. Huge differences are although observed in the importance of several motives. The following table illustrates the ten most mentioned motives to practice. Both Germans and Japanese have in common that karate-affiliated family members and relatives where in many cases a key factor to start training. Another important reason are martial arts heroes/movies. Interestingly, Germans named Bruce Lee very often, whereas Japanese named Jackie Chan and manga characters (like Ran from the Detective Conan series). Surprisingly, not only many Germans were fascinated by the respectful manners (IIII) which are inherent in karate, but also Japanese people use karate to learn respectful manners, because they are considering them helpful for their further working life. Moreover, a key motive for Japanese to start or continue training is to become stronger (IIIIII), which has different causes.

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Mutual Alignment and a Sense of Moral Community: How Group Behavior Affects Escalation and De-Escalation in Street-Level Policing in The Netherlands

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Police officers are often faced with tense, antagonistic and violent interactions. Having or gaining control in tense situations, to prevent violence, is an important part of their daily conduct. Regular dealings with violence consequently means that police officers learn to cope with tense situations, also on a personal level. But how does a violent interaction between police officers and civilians unfold? This study focuses on the aggressive and violent interactions in street-level policing and uses a micro-sociological perspective on (experienced) emotional and situational dynamics of antagonistic situations (Collins, 2008) that police officers in street-level policing encounter. The aim of this study is to understand how group behavior and group feelings (i.e. feelings of solidarity and group boundaries), affect escalation and de-escalation processes of antagonistic and tense interactions. Furthermore, it aims to understand how the meanings of violence – to police officers – are constructed, and how these meanings relate to group culture. To gain insight into these (group) processes, within the field of violence, this study uses qualitative and ethnographic methods.

Two main concepts guide this research. First, the concept of mutual alignment of attention and action which focuses on how group members focus and adjust their attention towards one another. Second, the concept of a sense of moral community which concentrates on how group members create a sense of group belonging, and moral identity. Police teams may differ in the extent to which they close themselves off to others or opposing groups such as civilians, suspects or other police teams, shaping group norms and values, moral boundaries, and a moral identity. The central question is how and to what extent mutual alignment and a sense of moral community within police teams affects escalation and de-escalation dynamics in tense situations. How in fact do police officers work together as a team, how do they successfully de-escalate, and what happens when they fail to do so? This research also aims to understand how the meaning of violence is shaped through the experience of being part of the police as a moral community and how a masculine identity relates to this. What is the meaning of violence to officers, and how does this relate to the group? Previous research on police conduct has shown how police officers act situationally and focused on experiences but has not yet empirically demonstrated how group dynamics influence violent interactions and has not zoomed in on the intricate dynamics of tense interactions. Also, it remains unclear what group processes in police teams actually look like. This study focuses on processes between individuals instead of considering police work as the behavior of isolated individuals and therefore contributes to the discussion of police conduct on the streets by exploring the dynamics of group processes within police teams and violent interactions.

I will conduct a comparative study of four street-level police teams in two cities in The Netherlands: Amsterdam and The Hague. I focus on street-level police teams, because this is the core business of police work. Street-level police officers are most at risk of working in tense interactions and daily dealings with aggressive individuals. They encounter the most diverse violent situations: domestic violence, nightlife violence, violence when resisting arrests, and violence against the police, which can escalate suddenly and quickly at any given time. Finally, they are less trained to deal with violence in contrast to specialized forces or units. To complement the study of street-level police teams I will include officers of riot-police teams to shed light on the differences in knowledge of crowd control and use of de-escalating tools. These street-level and riot-police teams enable me to compare contrasting cases on the management of

violence, and compare how officers from different teams' view, i.e., attach meaning, to violent interactions and their conduct. To understand the emotional processes and situational group dynamics of police teams, and specifically how they deal with these in violent interactions, this study combines an ethnographic method through observations with interviews and video-sessions in focus groups. I will conduct participant observations and ad hoc dialogue during daily work-shifts and police trainings, and observe riot police conduct. The observational data will be supplemented by conducting interviews with team-members about experienced violent situations, specifically paying attention to their embodied processes. During the interviews we will reconstruct different experienced antagonistic situations by using judicial case files as an 'elicitation method'. Finally, I will use video-elicitation with focus groups by watching CCTV footage of the observed and interviewed team-members police conduct during violent interactions. This is different from previous research where random (internet) videos of police conduct have been used, missing out on the context and first-hand experiences of present officers. By watching videos together, I try to gain an understanding on how officers make sense of their conduct and discuss group behavior in detail. Both elicitation methods – the judicial case files and video – enable me to stay close to embodied practices. In summary, the research subjects are: 1. Escalation and de-escalation patterns; 2. Cooperation during threatening of tense situations; 3. Group behavior and group feelings; and 4. Experiences and meanings of violent situations.

In my presentation I will discuss the theoretical and methodological considerations made so far, and how this relates to a micro-sociological perspective on violent interactions. I will elaborate and reflect on the process of gaining access to the police organization, on my preliminary ethnographic pre-fieldwork experiences during daily work-shifts with street-level police officers, and interviews with higher-ranked officers about violence, police cultures and group behavior. I will show some preliminary results on the embodied knowledge of violence by police officers and how this relates to the moral community of the group. It is my opinion that this study and presentation fits well with the session on 'Cultures of Combat' because it explores the linkages between embodied experiences, group cultures and identities, and the meanings of violence.

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To Beat or to Bounce? Preliminary Findings and Methodological Explorations Concerning the Violence of Bouncers in the Dutch Night-Time Economy

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This study aims to shed light on bouncers' embodied practices and their experiences with antagonistic, threatening and violent situations at Dutch night clubs in the cities of Amsterdam, Hilversum and Rotterdam. Although Dutch jurisprudence allows bouncers to use appropriate violence when necessary, the media often blames them for their excessive violent behaviour. These people at the door are essentially stuck between 'two evils' as they have equal policing rights as ordinary citizens only but at the same time they are expected to protect the safety of clubs and their visitors. So far, the story of their actual bodily practices and the meanings they give to violence remains untold. Although scholars have written about night club door supervision, this branch of private policing remains an under researched field. The main questions in this study are how bouncers use and manage their bodies and emotions (notably tension, fear and dominance) to gain control over situations and to position themselves towards patrons, how they give meaning to violence and the threat thereof personally and collectively and under what conditions these groups of (predominantly) men commit violence, make peace or actually choose to retreat. While the existing body of literature predominantly seeks to understand door-related issues from the viewpoint of particular individuals or just one specific group of bouncers, this project compares different groups of bouncers in different cities using ethnographic methods. Instead of focussing on the actions and experiences of bouncers as individuals, the aim is here to view bouncers' practices and experiences as part of the group dynamics that make up antagonistic, threatening and violent situations: how bouncers respond towards each other as a team, how they react to patrons (both bystanders and potential opponents) and third parties (such as bouncers from nearby clubs or law enforcement). This presentation aims to shed light on preliminary results and on the theoretical and methodological choices that have been made so far. Through purposeful and snowball sampling, the first teams of bouncers in Amsterdam and Hilversum have been approached, observed and interviewed. The presentation will outline how a combination of ethnographic methods such as real time observations, interviews in action, and in-depth interviews will be deployed. Furthermore, the use of elicitation techniques such as interviews supported by video data (footage of the clubs in which the bouncers work themselves and footage available on the internet) and nightly logbooks (of the bouncers themselves) will be discussed for their potential to tease out bouncers' embodied knowledge and to reconstruct their collective memories about the antagonistic, threatening and violent situations they encounter. In sum, the aim is to develop a research strategy that allows to capture the situational complexity of escalation and de-escalation processes that occur during night club door supervision.

SESSION 4

ETHNOGRAPHY OF UNIVERSITY LIFE IN THE ERA OF EVALUATION

Convenors: Marco Pitzalis (Università di Cagliari),
Filippo Zerilli (Università di Cagliari)

SESSION 4A

Academic Subjects between Performance and Competition. Hidden Gendered Mechanisms of Quantitative Performance Indicators in Academia

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In the last decades management methods of the private economy have been transferred to universities, namely as new public management (NPM). This NPM approach aims to enforce monitoring and controlling systems as to enhance effectiveness and efficiency not only in public administration, but increasingly also in higher education and research institutions. One way to conceptualize the methods of NPM is to regard them as control mechanisms in the form of accountability systems (Power, 1997). They constitute audit and control systems, which not only function at the level of the organizations down, but even focus on the individual subject. In order to achieve higher levels of efficiency and success, such “technologies of the self” (Foucault, 1982, Foucault, 2009) target the individual.

From a critical point of view, it is striking that the alleged effectiveness of the accountability rules of the private economy is *a priori* taken for granted (Power, 1997, pp. 41-43). Following this, quantitative indicators have become the main criteria for measuring success and efficiency in academia (Boer *et al.*, 2007, Gillet, Gillet, 2013). There has been some debate about whether scientific productivity can or should be measured by quantitative indicators like citations indices or the Hirsch Factor (see f. e. San Francisco Declaration, 2012, Weingart, 2005, Müller, 2013, Halfmann, Radder 2015). Nevertheless under the governance of NPM and management by objectives, such quantitative forms of measurement have become the core of evaluating research and the production of scientific knowledge.

The aim of this paper is to develop how these new forms of governance have affected career conditions of female and male academics from the postdoc level onwards in France and Germany. Quantitative indicators give the impression of gender neutrality in the way in which they measure academic performance and provide objective criteria for capability, competitiveness, and efficiency. However, it is this assumption that this paper seeks to empirically and theoretically problematize. The performance criteria at work under NPM rely on the figure of the *homo oeconomicus*. This figure typically represents male attributed characteristics, capabilities and living conditions (Deem, 2003, Barry *et al.*, 2012, Thomas, Davies, 2002, Bagilhole, Goode, 2001, Gill, 2009).

Theoretically, the study is based on Pierre Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1988, Bourdieu, 1998) analytical concepts of practices concerning the recognition of performance in the academic field. To study gender effects of the new governance on academics, we also engage with feminist theory, inspired by Foucault's (Foucault, 1982) concept of subjectivation. The process of subjectivation – meaning both agency and subordination – is dependent on power relations, which are gendered (Butler, 1990, Butler, 1993, Butler, 1997).

Empirically, the research is based on a qualitative study that encompasses 80 semi-structured interviews with female and male academics at two German and two French universities. Both universities are representative in terms of size, disciplinary breadth and the gender distribution. Comparing the cases of France and Germany (Yin, 2014) – societies with historically different gender arrangements and academic systems – gives the opportunity to explore different processes of subjectivation and their determining factors.

The NPM reforms intensified competitiveness on the academic labour market in Germany. In particular, they led to a tremendous imbalance between a fast growing number of young academics demanding a permanent position and a restricted supply of professorships and other unlimited appointments. Working conditions deteriorate, as short-term contracts, often combined with part-time positions became increasingly prevalent. As a result, academic careers have become very risky; high levels of uncertainty prevail for a very long period in the life of junior scholars. It is this uncertainty that particularly affects female scholars. These are facing cumulative risks not only because of their work-life-balance in case of a family. But also, as our interviews show, under the governance of management by objectives and quantitative performance indicators, gatekeepers often do not ascribe properties of the *homo oeconomicus* to female academics. Uncertainty and risks in their academic careers increase, even if they incorporate the rules of the game in their self-management, e.g. by adapting their voice, their outfit or their style of leadership to a masculine one. Thus, meritocracy in the entrepreneurial university (Clark, 1998) remains a construction in the field of male dominated power relations. When a scholar is selected for a permanent professorship, negotiations take place with university authorities, e.g. about the financial and personal resources, the equipment of the position, teaching reductions and the salary. Male ascribed negotiation skills often play a decisive role for the benefit of the candidate, while female candidates seem to be less successful. This can have a negative influence on future performance of female professors e.g. in research, thus reducing their competitiveness.

In France NPM reforms (Chatelain-Ponroy *et al.*, 2014) have also changed academic careers in profound ways as they

introduced a postdoc phase. Instead of getting a permanent position at the university as *Maître.sse de conférences* or in a research institution as *chargé.e de recherche* after finishing the doctoral degree, short-term contracts and therefore a non-standardized career await young scholars. Precarious employment conditions and uncertain career perspectives have intensified competition for permanent positions. As a result, it has also become increasingly difficult and risky to take on an academic career, while also building and taking care of a family. Our interviews demonstrate that qualifications for an academic career became more (re)masculinized – something that the French academic system was thought to have overcome since many years. A more strict time- and space-regime at the academic workplace makes it more difficult for women to comply with the rules and expectations. The governance of “management by objectives”, the external evaluations of the performance of the laboratories and of the *unités de recherche* has intensified the pressure to perform. Not enough publications or too low figures of their citation index can be sanctioned with the exclusion from the budget flow or from the research group. Thus, female academics often face less chances for a permanent position in academic careers. An appeal for directors of the *unités de recherche* being published in a journal of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (=CNRS), the biggest state research institution in France, brings to light how the French top academic is depicted as a *homo oeconomicus*. The article shows a picture of a “superman” who displays a “masculine” leadership (Demarthon, 2013).

While the NPM methods introduced in the German and French academic system are similar, our informants refer less to the gendered effects of the quantitative performance indicators and control systems in France than in Germany. One way to interpret this is that French female interviewees have more fully embraced the entrepreneurial academic self fostered by NPM. Indeed, they have often been academically socialized in very competitive elite institutions, the *Grandes Ecoles*. Taken together, this paper will develop how NPM in academia, in particular in form of quantitative performance indicators and management by objectives, does not function gender neutrally. Put differently, it has gender effects that seem to increase gender inequality in academia. At the same time, the very emphasis on competition and objectivity, e.g. “objective” numbers and figures of quantitative indicators, serve to hide the very nuanced mechanisms of gender differentiation.

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Assessment at “Sciences Po”: New Selective Criteria in French Higher Education

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The methods of learning assessments used in the French higher education system have greatly evolved since the creation of the LMD system (Licence-Master-Doctorat) in 2002. In universities, as in the French Grandes Ecoles (highly competitive schools that require a 2 year preparatory program) the practice of end-of-term or end-of-year exams has declined, and has been partially replaced by the generalization of continuous assessments.

Because of its supposed proximity with the methods of assessment that are used in secondary schools (middle school and high school), these new methods are supposed to be advantageous mainly to students who benefitted from the massive democratization of the universities.

In reality, the multiplication of grades for one single course has made the teachers' work harder, since they now have to multiply the opportunities to assess the students' acquired knowledge, while daily “reinventing” methods of assessment.

Because of a lack of improvement in the creation of efficient “tutoring” systems, or any system of help and advice about the methodology required in higher education, students find themselves unable to keep up with the constant and heavy workload, which demands them to be continuously productive and to master requirements that tend to be more and more vague. This seems particularly problematic for the new students that benefitted from the democratization of the universities (Beaud, 2002) who, when they start their university classes, feel they often underperform and get low grades.

Our paper mainly focuses on the assessments conducted in two first- year- courses offered at Sciences Po, a highly selective institution of higher education in France: a theatre class and an English class (English as a foreign language).

Our work is based on an ongoing ethnographic study, which led us to observe almost all the classes given in those two courses for one semester, and to conduct semi-structured interviews with the two teachers and 17 students. We use this qualitative material to provide answers to the following questions: how do teachers assess the students? What requirements and criteria do they take into account? How, and to what extent do the students understand these requirements and these criteria? What effects does that have on their work and academic life?

Our interest in the issue of assessment led us to focus especially on normative judgments that are developed by the different actors: how, and to what extent, through informal assessments do the teachers also express informal judgments on their students? How, and to what extent, do the students assess the work they have to do and assess themselves?

The first results show that the requirements and the criteria that the assessments are based on, are very complex and often implicit. This transcends the question of academic excellence that is traditionally at the core of assessments (Perrenoud, 1998). Besides the socio-historical reasons already evoked, this trend towards complexification and invisibilization seems to be amplified by the particularities of the classes that we observed:

- The theatre class is part of the compulsory artistic classes offered by Sciences Po, and gives few academic credits to students. As a result, they hardly ever choose it as their first option. Among the many objectives that the teacher expressed, the most visible is making the students acquire the skills of comedians. This goal leads him to assess the students according to their “personal” skills, focusing on potential improvements linked to their efforts.

- As regards the English class, the assessment leads to a validation or a non-validation of the B1 level, whose description and requirements were established by the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). The teacher never grades the students; therefore s/he has to multiply and repeat assessments (short oral presentations, summaries of press articles...) and take into account the students' oral participation in class.

These new methods of assessment, which are repeated and hardly objective seem to focus less on the assessment of formal knowledge that the student acquired than on the assessment of the personal skills of the student and his/her “commitment” (Becker 2006) in the activities organized during and/or for the class in question. Moreover, the promotion of personal skills seems to be a priority for the school since they are part of the requirements that need to be met to pass the

oral entrance exam, where the members of the jury often test the reactivity and wit of the students more than their formal knowledge (Fernandez-Vavrik, Pirone, van Zanten, 2018).

This kind of assessment can have important effects on the way students, especially those whose social and academic origins are quite remote from Sciences Po's environment, develop a feeling of legitimacy or illegitimacy (Pasquali, 2010) about their presence in the institution; on the way they take part in the school's student life and on their academic work.

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The Elective Affinity Between Bureaucracy and Audit Culture at the Time of Neoliberal University. A Case-Study from the Spanish Context

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In the context of the "global knowledge economy", research was subordinated to the logics of competition, efficacy and effectiveness, and re-organized according to the teachings of new public management and audit culture -paving the way to plenty of practices addressed to measure, assess and monitor researchers' "productivity", "impact" and "excellence" (Wright, Rabo, 2010). It was the triumph of a new rationality based on "governing by numbers" (Shore, Wright, 2015), manifest in the growing resort to indicators, rankings and benchmarking techniques originated from an entrepreneurial management model.

This governmental shift affected both the timing and the knowledge(s) implied in (social) research practices: on one side, short-term, fast-result and easily profitable pieces of research were privileged in spite of more long-term, reflexive and "blue-skies research"-based experiments (Greenwood, 2012); on the other, a new concept of "neoliberal science" (Lander, 2005) or "neo-liberalized knowledge" (Brown, 2011) was fostered, favoring the (re)production/legitimization of "immediate", technologically-transferable and market-applied knowledge(s) and pointing to the hegemony of a neo-positivist, scientific and quantitative approach (Ceglowski et al., 2011).

This communication is meant to address some of the aforementioned issues in the context of Spanish university, in which I have been researching during 10 years (2008-2017). Through an auto-ethnographic approach aimed to recover and value the "experiential", "auto-biographic" and "emotional" dimensions (Denzin, 2006; Del Valle, 1995), I will deepen into how some of the aforementioned logics work at micro-level. In particular, I will specifically deal with: 1) the (re)production of researchers' subjectivities and 2) the relation between audit culture and bureaucracy:

1) The relevance of notions such as "excellence", "impact" or "accountability", which were spread all around the academic world, lies not only in their wide dissemination but also -and foremost- in the fact that they were conceived as core-values meant to characterize the subjectivity of the researcher, increasingly problematized as an "entrepreneur of his/herself" who only "works only for him/herself, incorporating the cost-benefits analysis when it comes to planning a research or managing social relationships" (Colectivo Indocentia, 2016, n.p.). In my specific case, I started a Ph.D. course at Granada University in 2008 and obtained the title of Doctor in Social Anthropology in 2014. After then, I underwent three years of academic job-searching in precarious conditions, applying to 49 job calls and continuously "building-up my CV". By showing how my researcher subjectivity changed throughout this process, I will contribute to the discussion on how the hegemonic institutional practices, rather than fostering an uninterested "meritocracy", often end up strengthening conformist attitudes and self-censorship practices -for example, by favoring "getting by" on an individualist basis rather than supporting the claiming of collective rights-;

2) The rhetoric of neoliberal university managed to seduce important sectors of the research (and teaching) personnel, partly thanks to its instrumental re-appropriation of the criticisms directed to the endogamy and autoreferentiality of the academic institution -the famous metaphor of the "ivory tower" (Risager, Thorup, 2016)-. However, some scholars observed that neoliberal university does not really aim to eliminate bureaucracy, but rather to re-frame and re-articulate it, putting it at the service of the new public management logics (Shore, 2010; Chomsky, 2014; Alonso, Fernández, 2016). An interesting example of this are the bureaucratic troubles I had with the homologation of my Italian graduate degree: in one case, they entailed my expulsion *a posteriori* from a public competition I had already won. As a consequence of these troubles, I filed many administrative appeals, taking both the University and Spanish legislation to administrative courts. Throughout this process I had many conversations with public servants, professors/researchers and members of the University administration, who provided me with a big amount of discursive materials and a body of administrative

and judicial texts. These materials helped me deepen into the contradictions existing between the neoliberal emphasis on 'openness', 'accountability', or 'internationalization' -such is the case of the European Higher Education Area or the European Research Area rhetoric- and the micro-political, bureaucratic daily practices which take place on the ground. Here, the so-much-criticized bureaucracy appears in all its power and its functioning logic often ends up fostering processes of 'differential inclusion' (Mezzadra, Neilson, 2014), attributing differential rights to stratified categories of citizens (Ávila, García, 2013) in a context of social cuts and deemed 'scarce' resources.

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Ethnographies of University Life from a Troubled Periphery: Audit Practices and Quality Assessment in Private Universities in Egypt

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In this paper, I present three different threads of my recent ethnographic researches on university life, with a particular focus on Egypt. I have been studying Egyptian universities since 2007, with interest in their structural transformations and on how these can be described as occurring along societal transformations. As in my previous research in Jordan, I have dealt with the university as an institution, referring to recent literature on how institutions function, and on their role in the creation of social orders and at the same time in how they constitute the possibility of critique, which in turn brings change (whether institutional or broader societal change rests to be seen). The paper relates to the panel theme by discussing a largely homogeneous set of reforms and practices, albeit concentrated in a neglected periphery – and as I will show, particularly so in the more marginal sectors of higher education in Egypt. A focus on peripheral, liminal places has long been a core business of social anthropology, in the belief that global trends become particularly meaningful, and are best analysed, when they are translated into practices and policies in local, often marginal contexts.

I will first present a discussion of privatization efforts in the country, with a particular reference to the relatively recent (early 1990s) introduction of low-fees, for-profit private universities in a country in which education had been nationalized since

the post-independence era,¹ since it played a fundamental role in the plans of the then socialist regime. By briefly focusing on how private universities were established, their context and history, I introduce a discussion of universities' changing business models and operations. These changes are not limited to the private sector, and contribute to the establishing of a reference model to which also public universities increasingly have to conform. The university as a core institution in modern nation states is currently undergoing a serious revision. This first section offers fresh insights into the actual meaning of 'private' in different higher education contexts, contributing to a deeper understanding of the actual effects of global policies in local contexts through ethnographies.

Then, I will briefly introduce some of the recent reform packages proposed in the 2000s in this pivotal country in the region, as well as the resistances they originated. These reform packages include internationalization and privatization policies, as well as programs intended to enhance the higher education sector, sponsored by the World Bank, and are marked by a high degree of isomorphism with global trends. Yet they are rarely implemented, and their translations are shaped by the logics of the local contexts. I will also briefly mention some of the resistances that are articulated along understandings of the university as an institution, examining in particular the case of the 9 March group for the independence of the university (Egypt). Looking at post "Arab spring" developments as well, in this part I offer a reflection on the continuity of reform packages amidst political turmoil, and the ways in which these reforms are translated in local contexts.

Lastly, I will come to the discussion of how audit and quality measurement practices are implemented at a particular private university, the 6 October University, an Egyptian for-profit private university on which I carried out ethnographic research in 2010 and 2012. In this context, I will discuss the ways in which audit practices are shaping the academic endeavour in ways that seem to threaten the very understanding of what higher education should be. As an example, the quality commission becomes a tool for having an extraordinary degree of control over adjuncts, who make up the best part of the faculty in all disciplines. Similarly, the broader audit revisions with the Ministry of Higher Education enable a degree of political control unprecedented even in Egypt. More broadly, the understanding of what a university should be is radically changing, with the campus treated like a corporate facility, and faculty members as employees.

By way of a conclusion, I introduce the ways in which such audit practices could be understood with reference to the notion of care. While the notion of care is on the rise in anthropological studies, it is nonetheless a complex, ambiguous and polysemic concept, which needs to be understood in its logics and practices, to show how this notion hides as well as reveals dynamics. My contention is that a reference to care opens up spaces to think critically audit practices in highly contested setting, such as the one of higher education, its privatisation and the consequences for political participation in post-revolutionary Egypt.

Enacting «Study Success». Guidance and Tutoring Policies Within an Higher Education Institution

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The share of young individuals with a university degree in Italy has increased substantially over the past decades, but it is still around 24% (Eurostat, 2015), far from the goal set up by Horizon 2020 of 40% and much lower than the majority of EU countries. On the one hand, secondary-to-tertiary education transition rates are modest and have suffered a decline (modestly reversed only in the in the last two years) after reaching a peak in 2005/2006 (Trivellato & Triventi, 2015). On the other hand, Italy suffer from traditionally high non-completion rates and time to degree, two outcomes that within contemporary policy discourse are increasingly pointed out as paramount indicators of system's inefficiency (Schnepf, 2014, ANVUR, 2016).

Following the Bologna process, the Italian university system has been significantly reformed with the two major reforms (in 1999 and in 2010) enforcing significant changes in the structure of the university system. Beside the 3+2 restructuring of degrees (and the subsequent reorganization, in 2004), this season of reform has significantly increased institutional autonomy in educational curricula, has moved teaching management to departments (previously devoted only to research) and has enhanced accountability processes, increasing the emphasis on quality assurance and the efficacy of the educational programs (Gunter, Grimaldi, Hall, & Serpieri, 2016).

Institutional attention on completion, time-to-degree and dropout has increased, and measures/instruments to address "study success" have been introduced at different levels. University institutions are requested to report on selected indicators, including dropout and completion, as part of the legal regulation of quality assurance for accreditation (Dlgs. 19/2012). As part of a more general increase of the share of performance-related funding to tertiary education institutions, indicators on student retention and time-to-degree are used by the Ministry of Education among the criteria for public resources allocations (law 1/2009). Overall, the wide production of indicators, standards and incentives defined at central level have mobilized resources and institutional engagement at the level of single university institutions, departments, degrees courses and, eventually, individual teachers.

Based on an ongoing qualitative research carried out within a University institution in the North of Italy, this contribution aims to analyse how policies addressing the field of "study success" (in particular those devoted to first-year students' guidance and drop-out prevention) have been imagined, designed and enacted in recent years (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012).

Research has been conducted through an analysis of documents and regulations produced at different organizational

¹ The American University in Cairo is the only exception, a high-reputation, expensive, elite institution that nonetheless underwent some changes in the early 1960s to adapt to the new situation.

scales (national government, University, Departments) and on interviews with key informants. The aim has been to reconstruct the genesis and the functioning of specific measures by consulting the following institutional actors: head of the guidance and tutoring commission within the central governing body of the university, head of departments and degree courses, individual actors particularly engaged as leader of innovative practice in the area of promoting study success, administrative staff and professionals working within the counselling, tutoring and career guidance services.

Paralleling, the analysis use interviews carried out with a sample of students directly addressed by a number of interventions (in particular guidance and tutoring). Here the analysis is devoted to explore how these policy actions and instruments are experienced by students from different social background and highlight ambivalences and points of attritions. On the one hand, I show the processes through which these measures contribute to produce students' subjectivities which respond to the governmental ambition of making the overall study experience as a matter of efficiency. On the other hand, by mobilizing Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *hysteresis*, I point out that these measures can only address superficially the issues of 'study success' by leaving unaltered deep-rooted organizational features and practices responsible of producing considerably different educational experience (and outcomes) according to students' social origin and previous school trajectories (Lehmann, 2007).

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SESSION 4B

Between Experimentation and Accountability: Challenges for Academic Teaching Innovation

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A recent publication, entitled "*Modernization of Higher Education in Europe: Academic Staff – 2017*" (European Commission/ EACEA/Eurydice, 2017), highlights the challenges that academics face in the changing context in all European countries. "*Quality of teaching can not be taken for granted*", it is the title of a paragraph. The reasons for this statement are based on some issues common to most European countries. The lack of cultural initiatives aimed at professional and continuous development of teachers, the almost total absence of training of teaching skills for PhD students who wish to pursue their academic career, for young researchers, but also for professors with more experience, highlights that university teaching remains a *taken for granted* in the hands of the individual teachers, a private and situated practice that is nourished only by individual experience, while all the transformations that invest the academic world claim the need to go towards an enlargement of the collegial dimension of governance. A further criticism regards the often unbalanced relationship between research and teaching highlighted by funding mechanisms and career progression of academics, despite it is daily work with students that can also contribute to the quality of educational and social mobility. Moreover, the teaching practice of university professors is subject to different and opposing pressures: the diffusion of institutional and governmental logic of New Public Management; the increasing pressure of academic policies oriented towards practices and devices of accountability, mostly realized on digital platforms; the densification of academic managerial work; the diffusion of quality assurance systems and quality indicators; the shift from teaching to learning and from knowledge to skills. These are complex and even uncertain dynamics that create a stratification (sometimes chaotic) of transformative instances in which teaching, on the one hand, is proclaimed as the new challenge for academic innovation, on the other, is subject to the constant pressures of reporting and rationalization.

This contribution, on the basis of a case study carried out in the Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology and Communication of Sapienza University, intends to question some issues about university teaching innovation analyzing its collective and individual dimensions in relation to the pressures deriving from the changed institutional contexts. Focusing on the everyday practices of academics, the aim of this paper is to understand what are the specific characteristics of innovative teaching (if it exist), what is the role of ICT in supporting it, and what does it mean to shift from a logic of teaching to a logic of learning. Considering the new centrality assigned to the student in the recent reforms and micropolicy, this work is aimed to analyze which feedback derives from the introduction of innovative teaching practices on the students' levels of learning and if there are any practices that allow a direct involvement of students in the planning of academic course. The theme of *deprivatization of teaching practices* (Ajello, 2000) is central to this work, whose objective is also the analysis of collective

and organizational processes in which teaching becomes explicitly a space of cultural and technological innovation, to experiment new methods, to share research results, to contact stakeholders (organizations, experts, institutions). In this sense we do not observe the formal requirements of the evaluation system, but the innovation practice emerging from everyday actors' modes of works, trying to identify the possible ways of sharing and generating organizational learning. For this reasons, about collegiality, we inquire also if the academic teaching is still an individual practice or is it becoming a practice of government and coordination. What are the practices of peer sharing? Are there ways of supporting educational experimentations able to set up educational innovation?

The second aim is to understand what means for academics to teach in the era of university of evaluation. What relations and tensions emerge between the logic of accountability and those of educational innovation? What about the singularity of being in the role and the request of compliance typical of rational organization? What response does the teacher give to the pressing request for new bureaucratic requirements in a constant state of contraction of funds from the State? When the university loses self-legitimacy, and is forced to submit to evaluation processes that put it in competition on the market, but also to processes aimed at compliance, which strategies put in place teachers? What space occupy the practices related to teaching in this new way of being an academic? Finally, assuming that the teaching can no longer be attested to a mere transmission plan, we have also tried to understand the changes in the teacher's competences. Analyzing the individual and collective dimension, we wanted to test the ability of the academy to become a learning organization (Argyris and Schon, 1998) and a community of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991) and practitioners (Gherardi, 2009) putting it in a position not only to survive contemporary challenges, but also to maintain its role and its social relevance (Janssen, 2015).

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If you are not going to pay me in credit points, I will not fill in the questionnaire! The making of the student subject in neoliberal academia

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Since the mid-1990s, a rich critical literature has emerged on the effects of New Public Management (NPM) on academia (Chandler et al., 2002; Davies, Bansel, 2007; Deem, 1998; Lorenz, 2012; Olssen, Peters, 2005; Prichard, Willmott, 1997; Steger, Roy, 2010; Willmott, 1995). Referring to neoliberal policies which are adopted in order to reshape the academic world on the blueprint of a market, NPM controls academics through practices that foster hyper-competition including temporary contracts increasing job insecurity, funding pressures, and performance accountability measures (e.g. audits, rankings, and research assessments) (Ball, 2016; Clarke et al., 2012; Lerner, Le Heron, 2005; Nikunen, 2014; Thomas, Davies, 2002).

This literature has emphasized that these practices do not only increase the workload of academics but also at once exert control by enjoining individuals into self-definitions, identities and social relations aligned with the neoliberal norms of individualized efficiency and performativity (Ball, 2012; Brunila, 2016), accountability towards multiple audiences (Frølich, 2011; Roberts, 2009; Zanoni, De Coster, 2016), academic entrepreneurship (Brunila 2012; Nikunen, 2014), and flexibility (Knights, Clarke, 2014). Once so redefined, academic subjects enforce control through self-regulation on the one hand (Foucault, 2008; McKinlay, Pezet, 2017) and come to undermine collegiality and collective resistance on the other (Davies, Petersen, 2005).

Whereas we have a rich knowledge of the changing working conditions and subjectivities of professors and other academic actors, the literature has to date addressed less how NPM has changed university students, with the exception of few studies on the increasing consumer orientation to academic study (Tomlinson, 2017; Williams, 2012; Woodall et al., 2014). Yet the neoliberalization of academia – as part of the neoliberalization of society at large – has not left student subjectivities

unaffected. Since neoliberal university is expected to provide the student with a tertiary education that is increasingly understood as a commodity to use in a changing, insecure and competitive labour market, graduate students' professional outcomes are seen as empirical evidence of its increased employability and labour market preparedness. At the same time, as students' educational performance and experiences (including numbers, duration to completion, scholarships, etc.) are themselves used as key measures of university performance, students have themselves increasingly become a means to access resources (Larner, Le Heron, 2005).

This paper relies on critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, Wodak, 1997) to explore how and with what consequences neoliberal discourses and governance practices have affected students' understanding of themselves, their opportunities and desires during the academic life period, as well as how university administrative and academic staff understand them. Specifically, it contributes to the extant literature on neoliberal academia by answering the following two questions: 1) How is the neoliberal discourse of higher education reshaping students' subjectivity? 2) How is students' subjectivity in neoliberal academia affecting the nature, status and function of university knowledge?

The questions are addressed empirically through the qualitative data collected in a large mixed-methods case study of a university of medium size in the north of Italy aimed at exploring the quality of life of students. The topics investigated include the impact of recent neoliberal reforms and new governance practices on students' lives, their needs and expectations in regard to teaching, to other university services, and more generally to academic life. Data was collected through 49 semi-structured interviews with key informants, lasting around 1.5 hours, including university students (n = 16), administrative personnel (n = 14), teachers (n = 12), and staff of agencies that interact closely with university and provide services for students (n = 7); 1 focus group with 5 students' representatives lasting 2 hours; a large amount of open comments left by the students at the end of 2,867 on-line questionnaires; and ethnographic notes taken by the first author during fieldwork in the period October 2016 – March 2017.

A preliminary analysis of the data shows how students' subjectivity is constructed in terms of individualized market relationships in four distinct ways: 1) the student as a producer of recognizable and instrumental outputs in times decided by someone else; 2) the student no longer as an active knower but as a consumer of education, which is reconceived as interchangeable information; 3) the student as an individualistic and not collective subject best fitted for a docile neoliberal society; 4) the student as a vulnerable subject to the extent it is hyper-responsible and an autonomous entrepreneur of itself.

Through the close examination of the discourses through which different academic actors take students up as the newly appropriate subjects to neoliberal society, the paper contributes to advance understandings of the processes of students' subjectification as well as of related neoliberal modes of (self-)governance, which are empirically poorly explored in the literature. Moreover, from a critical organizational perspective which draws on Foucauldian understandings (McKinlay, Pezet, 2017), and specifically on the concept of governmentality (Foucault, 2008), we discuss how this re-configuration of university students' subjectivity in turn contributes to changing the way knowledge is assumed to function in universities and how neoliberal discourse parasitizes students' academic life perverting its original meanings.

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Catching the Phantasmal Media in Academia

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Although for at least twenty years *Gender Studies* have been compared against new technologies and digital productions, there are still few studies, at least in the national context, that analyse the complex relationship between gender and the new visualization processes of academic work, which, through the proliferation of technological artefacts (Latour, 2005) aimed at evaluating merit, are profoundly redefining the practices, models of organization and, above all, the experience of professors/researchers (Landri, 2015). The gender issue is placed in a classical perspective as allowed by research in Italy on the academic profession, but we believe that the intersectional dimension of gender as a non-stable and performative set of various elements is the next step and implies mono-logical dissolution of assessment tools. In a certain sense, we hope for a methodological queer perspective which in this contribution, we will just introduce (Butler, 1993; 2004). The goal is to problematize any presumed neutrality of such artefacts, emphasizing how technology itself and gender are socially constructed categories, discursively reproduced and thus potentially re-definable. If gender is a technology, it is equally true that technologies are *engendered*. All technologies are in fact produced, conveyed and consumed within a complex network of historical-social relationships, within which they influence both gender relations and the symbolic and material conditions of existence of female subjects, in a sort of reciprocal and continuous feedback (Hayles, 1999).

Starting from these epistemological premises, we will stop to consider the forms and processes through which technology – specifically linked to the evaluation of merit – becomes gender-related. The focus will therefore be on the gender of technology, i.e. on analysing the removed contents of technologies through the use of discourses, practices and algorithms that are posed as intrinsically gender-neutral. Constructing analysis around this focus is a complex operation. The claim to neutrality of discourses and technologies and, more generally, of the «culture of evaluation» (Pinto, 2014) which, to quote Foucault, stands as «aleturgy» (Foucault, 2012), is in fact an expression of an attitude that Maddock and Parkin (1993) call *gender blindness* and which translates into suppression of gender awareness and an exercise in control, especially through organizational practices that depersonalize, objectify and reinforce existing cultural and power structures.

As we will try to highlight, however, technology is never neutral, and above all it is not simply composed of a set of objects, algorithms and tools, but is socially constituted and concerns the formation of power relations at different levels.

In particular, as Bevilacqua and Borrelli write, in the case of evaluative artefacts such power relationships are established and maintained through a justification and naturalization of a classification mode that is imbued with «symbolic violence» (Bourdieu, 1984), since «it also induces those who are in the position of subordinates within a relationship of domination to understand themselves on the basis of patterns and models of thought that are an internalized product of those classifications» (Bevilacqua and Borrelli, 2014, 81).

Referring to the concept of *phantasmal media* (Harrell, 2013), further pointed out, it will first be necessary to try to reveal the gender phantasm and make it explicit. Paradoxically, in fact, dismantling the gender order means first of all making it visible (Lorber, 2000), paying attention to discursive practices, to bodies and their language, to fractures, to “things unsaid” and to male-female dualism as an axis of separation inside and outside technologies (Martin, 2004). Only in this way is it possible to state, as Judith Butler did (2004), that gender is not a cold category of normalization. Gender is a space of individual and collective action that can and must be constantly occupied and challenged by subjects and practices that are deconstructive – undoing gender – and reconstructive.

In light of some international research we will try to show that the persistent inequality that muddies statistics is the result of processes that concern women social experience (Dubet, 1994) in academia. Statistics reveal that there are different forms of discrimination at national and international levels – described by means of various concepts, for example, glass ceiling, leaky pipeline, “double presence”, “horizontal” and above all “vertical segregation” (Bianco, 2004) – which still characterize women’s situation in the academic world. For example, at the European level the *She Figures* point out that women literally disappear at the top levels, i.e. where power, resources and influence begin to grow (*She Figures* 2003; 2006; 2009; 2015). Moreover, the proportion of women who in 2010 represented Grade A (full professorship) was, in fact, only 7%, while the difference in success rates in obtaining funds for research seems to suggest that the same category of “merit” cannot be defined as gender-neutral (Thornton, 2013). In the Italian context as well, data analysis (MIUR, 2016) highlights and confirms the same phenomena described above in a scenario that, as Bianco says, when observed transversally by disciplinary field, appears to show a female population divided into two groups: one – the largest – of women who have little opportunity for progress and remain confined to inferior roles for the rest of their lives, the other consisting of women who manage to have slower, but not very dissimilar, paths than men.

Starting from this quantitative evidence, we will try to go beyond the data to understand how media forms assumed by visualization requirements in research, teaching and practice related to institutional work influence the representation of professional experience. In particular, our interest is focused on how this performative level interacts with the dimension of gender. More analytically, the question we ask is whether the interfaces constituting the new academic spatiality “hold” a phantasmal media (Harrell, 2013) requiring conformity, and how this phantasm removes or accentuates gender performativity.

Teaching and Coping with Moodle. An Ethnographic Voyage into the Meanings of Blended E-Learning in Higher Education

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Universities have increasingly invested in specialized software and hardware designed to enhance and facilitate the instructional process for faculty and students (Raschke, 2003; Kergel et al. 2017). One type of technological assistance commonly used is the open source software named Moodle, which is understood to potentially enhance and enrich the classroom experience and provide internet-based access to course materials, assignments, grades, supplementary materials such as quizzes, PPTs and study aids (Costello, 2013).

Process and practices of teaching and learning are key changing dynamics when Moodle is expanded via digital technologies and substitutes or parallels traditional classes (Nespor, 2012). This topic is the object of my ethnographical research: 14 teachers and circa 400 students (undergraduates) at Sapienza, University of Rome were observed and questioned for a whole semester throughout observatory participation in classrooms, in depth interviews with teachers and students, notes from the field (James et al, 2007; Brockmann, 2011; Mills, Morton 2013). It is an ethnographic experience as a means to negotiate meanings in context²: Moodle is told to support a social constructionist epistemology of teaching and learning within Internet-based communities of reflective inquiry (Goodfellow, Lea, 2007). The goal of that ‘holistic’ study is to outline some theoretical and methodological parameters of a critical practice approach to policies involving New Public Management (NPM) (Mitchell, 2004; Clarke, 2004; Davies, Bansel, 2007). Even though policy most often takes the form of language, or text, I here prefer to put this form into motion and analyse it as one reified instance of a broad chain of sociocultural practice (Larner, 2000). The use of Moodle can be seen also as an informal embedded policy: at various levels of Sapienza Faculties and Departments policies, Moodle is suggested, but never imposed as a mandatory device

2 Drawing data from a variety of perspectives allowed me to consider different views when constructing our interpretation and provided depth to the analysis. However, this attempt to triangulate within the data collected was not to establish “the truth”. Indeed, researching with qualitative methodologies creates particular challenges in establishing the “truth” in any analysis of data (Lincoln, Guba, 2003). Knowledge production clearly relies heavily on the researcher’s lens to make sense of the data, and this study is no different. Consequently, I recognise that my findings and outcomes are my interpretations and, as such are fallible and revisable, and that alternative interpretations may be possible (Alvesson, Skoldberg, 2000; Schwandt, 2003). Indeed, as more data become available, it is incumbent on researchers to continually revise, or revisit their initial impressions and interpretations. This is particularly relevant to this topic given the speed of development of e-learning.

directly enhancing students' performance in learning. I stress out that Moodle cannot be considered as a NPM technology per se – as a matter of fact in Italy no Faculty or Department has never required the use of Moodle alongside typical NPM policies such as continuous assessments of teaching and researching, competitive practices, use of indicators and rankings for almost every activity, etc. Nonetheless it can be easily incorporated as a personal device suited for a subjective sociocultural practice promoting the visibility of teacher reputations in local and global 'academyosphere'. The ethnographical study I carried on elucidates that Moodle is conceived rather as a Foucauldian 'dispositif' (Colin, 1980; Foucault, 1994), ameliorating teacher visibility inside and outside the academic community. I then argue that when actors appropriate top-down policies they are in effect often making new policy in situated locales and communities of practice, recombining institutional formal requirements with personal resources among which Moodle can be a crucial one (Levinson et al., 2009).

Apart from official and objective aims, using Moodle may be easily perceived and enacted as the consequence of an advanced and gifted mentality both on teachers' and students' representation of themselves, as an innovating technological revolution stimulated and activated by inspired and smart teachers, as a strategy of self-promoting visibility pushing teachers workaholic toward the online storing of their academic products.

The study highlights three key outcomes: i) in a climate of competition, there is a manipulation of the meanings inherent in teaching via Moodle in favour of practices aimed at enhancing the advanced technological and methodological skills of many teachers using the platform. This re-signification is expressed through subjective self-narratives depicting teachers as pioneers in innovation and frontier lands; ii) working practices behind the preparation of materials for Moodle are emphasized as a sign of adherence to the new performative spirit of university community; iii) the meanings that students usually associate with blended e-learning via Moodle would seem to be very consistent with respect to expectations of quantitative evaluation of teachers' performances by academic assessment bodies.

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SESSION 5

ETHNOGRAPHY OF FASCISMS

Convenor: Charlie Barnao (Università di Catanzaro)

Fascism and the City

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In the last year in particular, Italy has been the stage of a fast and furious multiplication of neighbourhood patrols: 'exasperated citizens' and '*gente per bene*' mobilize increasingly for the 'defense' of their neighbourhoods. The main legitimizing narratives of patrols articulate around two main themes: pervasive urban insecurity caused by a perceived unprecedented rise in crime, and the incapacity – or unwillingness – of the state to protect its own citizens. Informally called *ronde*, these forms of informal policing reminding of Italy's fascist past fare on discourses of law and order, which are apparently simple in their rhetoric: where disorder and illegality are thriving, the *ronde* are presented as one of the grassroots solutions to restore both order, and respect for the law. However, when studied under the ethnographic magnifying glass, the spatial practices of neighbourhood patrolling reveal complex processes of space production under neoliberal conditions. While purporting to defend a territory invaded by criminal others, these forms of policing also produce communities to be protected, reshaping spatially and politically urban and peri-urban neighbourhoods (Ivasiuc 2018, forthcoming). Practices of informal policing unravel according to particular visions of social and political order, at the intersection between race, nation, and class, and underlied by particular aesthetics of material order in the urban space. Grounding my analysis in fieldwork carried out between 2014 and 2017 on a neighbourhood patrol in the Roman peripheries, I will examine, on the one hand, the cultural tenets of neighbourhood patrolling, rooted in particular conceptions of order, power, and national identity; these conceptions reveal a banal fascism, insidiously naturalized through the critique of urban and moral 'decay' (*degrado*) that the *ronde* embody (Ivasiuc 2015), and framed as act of participatory citizenship. On the other hand, I will scrutinize the economic and social conditions from which neighbourhood patrols have recently emerged, through the lens of two interrelated processes: the social production of urban space, and dynamics of precarization and degentrification spurred by the effects of the 2008 financial crisis. Theoretically, the argument links the cultural analysis of the *ronde* as manifestations of fascism on the urban scene with theories on the production of space (Lefebvre 1991; Smith 1996) emphasizing the political economy of urban processes. It thereby also advocates for embedding ethnographies of fascisms in the wider social and historical dynamics in which they occur.

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The Fascist Man as an Adaptive Social Personality. A Socio-Cultural Analysis

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This analysis is focused less on fascism as a political and historical phenomenon and much more on fascism regarded as a set of typical behaviors relates to a particular social character [Gerth, Mills, 1954].

Starting from the epistemological premise that every individual establishes a different relationship with social reality (i.e. with material things, other individuals and social situations) [Simmel, 1998], that he daily experiments in his own biography, our focus will be on mental attitude and pragmatic action of a fascist man. Better, of Italian fascist man!

Fascism will be regarded here as a social phenomenon that is not strictly limited to a certain historical period. In our opinion, fascism is not a phenomenon with specific characteristics that can occur at any time and anywhere. We can find, of course, in different national fascisms, the same patterns and recurring features, especially in fascist ideologies as developed in 1930s (for example, one-party regimes, charismatic leadership, use of media for propaganda purpose, organized violence). So, what is the differential element? In our opinion, that is the mental attitude [Maslow, 1943] of individuals and, for consequences, the conditions of consensus toward dictatorship.

Starting from a qualitative evidence, political dimension of fascism, regarded both as a dictatorial authority [Sauer, 1967] and totalitarian society [Neumann, 1954], will be considered as an independent variable. At contrary, individual behavior will be analysed as a variable element that could assume different forms and that can change on the basis of historical context, cultural systems and social mentality [Bouthoul, 1952].

This is the reason why we fail to take account the genesis of phenomenon of fascism, its macrostructural causes, in order

to emphasize instead the forms of relationship established between subject and social reality. In particular, we want study deep, and also subconscious, individual motivations of social actions along with the significance that individuals give to their social conducts.

Our hypothesis is that, in order to find main characteristics of Italian fascism, we first of all should treat the sociological theme of socialization [Parsons, Bales, 1974]. We will use the term 'adaptive socialization' in order to describe the typical practices of socialization that make up the fascist personality, very widespread in Italy during fascist era. In our opinion, the fascist man used did pulsional investments [Jung, 2011] on social object. Our thesis is that pulsional investment, given its emotional contents, sets in train a dynamic cultural process which guarantees individual's adaptation to external social and, often very hard, material conditions.

Adaptation is, in our view, capacity for come to terms with actual facts in which we are operating. This is possible because of individual's ability to search and obtain moral and material gratification in every circumstances. Adaptation, this must be emphasized, doesn't involve criticism's loss, but we want demonstrate how it undermines individual ability to make plan, to act in a strategic way, and, in general terms, his attitude and his will to change radically the *status quo*.

In order to understand this psychosocial dynamics we could compare adaptive socialization with a second theoretical model, the so called 'perfect socialization'. In the latter, individual tends to identify himself primarily with the social object; in other words, with the symbolic and normative dimension of its own social context.

This study aims to demonstrate how social phenomena apparently very similar (for example Italian and German fascisms) could be placed in different cultural patterns. These cultural systems involve different types of behaviors and different frame of socialization.

Adaptive socialization involves affective actions [Weber, 1980] and expressive behaviors [Parsons, 1987]; at contrary, a model of perfect socialization often features 'traditionalist' actions and, finally, conformity. In the first case, individual acts following its own feelings and sentiments (for example, joy, resentment, love, wrath, and so on) [Heller, 1980]. The subjective significance given to own action is strictly related to the social situation that actually individual is experimenting. 'I'm strongly conditioned by situation because I can take satisfaction by it and in every circumstance'.

In the second model individual acts in a normative way. He wants observe the most widespread rules and the most respected norms of his social group. He believes that is the correct way to act because he feels that, in so doing, he belong to a community.

For instance, according to the first model, I can march or I can attend a military parade for the emotional content of this situation: 'I like it since it offers consolation and psychological gratification'. According to the second model, instead, the same action could be explained considering the effects of symbolic value of participation required by the norm.

So, fascist behavior may appears in various forms. Maybe it's depend on the prevalence in the social personality of pleasure principle [Freud, 1977] or, at contrary, of sense of duty. In our opinion, the two terms aren't incompatible: the pursuit of pleasure in every circumstance produces adaptation and, indirectly, among the people, compliance and broad consensus. At contrary, the practice of observing the requirements of norms and customary produces a massive conformity, and, at same time, self-confidence and individual satisfaction for belonging to a given social group.

In conclusion, fascism seems more related to social mentality (i.e. most commons social values, norms and traditions) than to a political culture (far-right politics, for instance).

Studying social mentality and more widespread social character into a national group offers us a theoretical instrument for analyse diachronic differences (for instance between Italian and German fascism) and, at same time, for understand historical differences: how could we explain opposite forms of government (monarchy, dictatorship, republic), different kind and style of leadership (Christian democracy, communist party, 'Berlusconi era') in the socio-political history of Italian society?

For this reason, in order to predict the emergence and the raise of new forms of fascism it's important to investigate, in addition to analysis of macrostructural variables and historical contingencies, recurrent elements in the culture of a given national community.

SESSION 6

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF ASYLUM SEEKER RECEPTION

Convenors: Michela Semprebon (Università di Bologna),
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SESSION 6A

Refugees in the Italian Alps: Emptiness, Conflicts and Creative Spaces

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There are some evidences in recent literature on repopulation in the Italian Alps (Corrado et al., 2014), showing the significant role of foreign immigrants with reference, firstly, to the longstanding phenomenon of “economic migrants”, and, more recently, to the new population of the refugees and asylum seekers relocated by the national government from urban areas to rural ones (the so-called “forced highlanders”)(Membretti, Viazzo, 2017). In fact, if “economic” migration appears by now a structural feature of Italian economy and society, in recent years Italy has increasingly become a land of arrival for new migration flows, mostly made up of people fleeing war, natural disasters or intolerable socio-political conditions. Taking the above into consideration, Italian small alpine villages, with their greater demographic weakness and emptiness, may represent wider “creative spaces” produced just by depopulation. A hypothesis that seems to strengthen the widespread – and often superficial – idea according to which, precisely because they are mostly empty areas, the Alps (and other mountain regions) are particularly suitable for welcoming new inhabitants. As a sort of corollary, the new forced highlanders almost automatically would be able to revitalize those territories by stimulating socio-cultural and economic innovations. However, not always immigrants find in these places more opportunities for social integration with respect to urban areas, nor they can avoid conflicts with native inhabitants – often elderly people, attached to self-defensive forms of local identity – in spatial contexts that may physically hinder social contacts (Bender, Kanitscheider, 2010).

The aim of the present study is to corroborate the hypothesis that small mountain villages can be a suitable environment for the settlement of foreign populations, mainly due to the presence of “empty spaces” (Schneider, Redepinning, 2011). The empirical analysis was carried out in the localities of Cadore and Pettinengo, through the observation of two experiences of refugees reception in Alpine contexts.

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An Ethnography of Spatial Dispersal

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Of the more than 205 thousand asylum seekers formally hosted in reception centres across Italy, over 77% are (ware)housed in third tier structures, known as *Centri Accoglienza Straordinaria* (CAS). Where are these CAS located? What mechanisms and forces define the location of CAS? How is their location used as a governance and disciplining mechanism? How is their location experienced, re-appropriated and refused by those living inside them?

The paper offers a socio-spatially textured understanding of the principle of “diffuse location” (*accoglienza diffusa*) that shapes the location of CAS across Italy. First, it identifies the top down institutional mechanisms that disperse asylum seekers across Italian regions and provinces, and that operationalise the principle of “diffuse reception” that governs such allocation. Second, more substantively, it maps the 65 CAS in the province, and in so doing a) highlights how their location fosters the marginalisation of asylum seekers, b) exposes how their location is used as a disciplining technique by the Prefettura’s contractors, and c) accounts for asylum seekers’ experiences of, and for the responses and tactics deployed by them to deal with, such-defined location.

The paper is framed by Billo and Mountz's (2015) geographical approach to institutional ethnography and by Chari and Gidwani's (2005) understanding of spatial ethnography. It is thus concerned with understanding the differential effects of institutional spaces and associated production of subjectivities and material inequalities, and it conceives CAS as a grounded and contested process of place-making, situating migrants' struggles in those social spaces within the limits and possibilities imposed by social processes, histories and power relations. It draws from field research material collected over 4 months in a central Italian province where 65 such CAS are located, and comprising in-depth interviews with government officials and NGO workers managing CAS and with asylum seekers hosted herein; field notes of daily visits to CAS, of discussions, debates and leisure time spent with asylum seekers, of participant observation in sites such as police offices, bus stations, mobile phones and food shops, gardens and squares in the province; maps and photographs.

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Between Emergency and Creativity in Asylum Seekers' Reception in Valsusa

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As historical crossroad of different people and cultures, the Valle di Susa has long manifested a sense of community which, far from being territorially and culturally bounded, acknowledges the potential enrichment brought about by process of incorporation of alterity as a way to create original strategies of co-existence. First, the local movement "No Tav" which has introduced the clash between local and global decisions is now becoming a way to reconsider the power of indigenous communities also making a sense of solidarity with other external realities. Then, in this context, in addition to the SPRAR and CAS traditional projects for asylum seekers' reception, more recent agreements allocating only a few asylum seekers in each village (MAD, *Micro Accoglienza Diffusa*) have renewed forms of bottom-up mobilization towards innovative social inclusion of various people bringing their own cultures. Trying to fight against the traditional image of alpine valleys as places of immobility and old traditions' keepers, the Valle di Susa is involving itself in transforming the supposed limit of being a "territorially bounded area", into a more dynamic alpine valley. Thanks to the asylum seekers already hosted in Almese, a network of local inhabitants, volunteers and migrants is now serving as a bridge between migrants in different hosting communities. This network of inhabitants traces back its origin from the "No Tav" movement which has also created an opportunity to start a collaboration between people in different villages (Aime 2016), renewing or creating various local associations. Based on the protest against an high speed train, the movement has extended its purposes to many different items: biological agriculture, music, theater and reception of migrants are few examples that can demonstrate the dialogue between local and global instances. People who take part in this movement has demonstrated an higher solidarity with asylum seekers', involving themselves in various projects with migrants: african dance, artistic sessions, theater. Asylum seekers are by definition caught in an uncertain and delicate liminal phase, in which the personality of individuals is fluctuating between a sense of loss of social and relation values and the need to learn new social and cultural traditions (Turner 2001). Nevertheless the "No Tav" movement has created a sense of liminality in which local communities are living an uncertain phase of development with no certain results for the future of their territories. Addressing liminality not only as a phase of interruption of the previous social status, but also as a period in which the actors can produce new forms of creativity, my aim will be to consider emerging strategies to incorporate alterity into the local communities, focusing on the important role of new forms of creativity implemented by local inhabitants and some migrants of Almese in the past, that could be able to include newcomers into local realities.

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My Name is Not a Refugee. Integration Throughout the Route from Shelter to Housing

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In Belgium, the past few years, almost 60 percent of people in shelter were formally recognized as a refugee or a subsidiary protected person. While the dominant political and public opinion argues that the asylum crisis is over, this unseen high percentage points out a major challenge for Belgium and Flanders (Belgium's northern part) in terms of housing and the transition from shelter to housing for refugees. Since housing and housing environments (public spaces) are important tools

in the integration process (Phillips, 2006), the biggest challenges are yet to come... Within this contribution, integration is understood as the interaction between refugees and residents to rapidly acquire the Dutch language and, more importantly, develop (local) social networks. In this so-called transition from reception to housing there are, however, a few problems. First of all, after being accommodated in a large-scale asylum centre while their request for recognition is assessed, refugees are expected to find proper housing on the regular housing market within a period of only two to three months. They are confronted with a lack of affordable housing and discrimination by landlords. Secondly, many refugees start looking for housing in cities, which can lead to segregated neighbourhoods. As a consequence, a lot of cities develop a discouragement policy. The main cause of problems, such as landlord discrimination and the attraction to certain cities like Antwerp, seems to be the lack of integration at the time of transition from shelter to housing. Hence, more focus on integration during pre-recognition stage is necessary. Part of integration, local social networks may cause refugees to search and to effectively find (local) housing. Unfortunately, the current Belgian reception system is characterized by isolated large-scale reception centres. The typology (barracks), location and scale (capacity) of the large-scale asylum centres allows little or no individual integration of refugees with the surrounding community. Moreover, a part of the mission of these centres is the integration or acceptance of the centre itself by the community rather than the integration of its inhabitants. This contribution hypothesizes that the location as well as programmatic organization of accommodation define the potential of refugees to integrate in society, starting from primary shelter to final housing.

This contribution demonstrates through qualitative research how refugee sheltering can enhance the transition from shelter to housing. As a reaction to current conditions, some (policy) recommendations were made on the refugee reception model. Firstly, small-scale individual reception must be regarded as a standard. In order to organize this small-scale reception model, there can be invested in the realization of a geographical distribution plan in which asylum seekers are spread across suitable municipalities, selected according to the presence of adequate social (schools, sports clubs, youth associations), economic (shops) and mobility services. Subsequently, the number of asylum seekers to accommodate can be decided, based on the population of the municipality. Thereby sufficient integration support can be offered within local communes. Then it can be obliged for suitable municipalities to supply housing for recognized refugees willing to establish themselves locally but which can't provide in their own housing. Hereby investments should focus on projects that offer temporary or permanent housing accommodation to refugees based on integration, e.g. co-housing types (Belgians/refugees) or buddy-projects. Today, due to the lack of governmental support, it is mainly initiatives by local NGO's, non-profits and CGW's that attempt to provide primary refugee housing.

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Camini, the new Riace. Where Utopia Becomes Reality

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My research deals with the social pressure on Camini, a small town in Calabria close to Riace that has become a laboratory/an experiment for people who are part of the massive immigration wave. This particular process is called "intelligration": unlike integration – that relies heavily on economic-centric subjectivity–, it means that the immigrants join a community that is in dire need of inhabitants (Ricca, 2010). In so doing, they find security and community with few Italians who still occupy the towns in the South Italy (Teti, 2011). Today the pressure on national borders, due to migration, becomes an opportunity for the rebirth of abandoned villages. Migrants are called to replace the physical and symbolic vacancies left by the abandonment of the towns by native Italians (Sedda, 2003).

So, although Southern Italy has been plagued for centuries with emigration, migrants have been accepted in the town's fabric through the housing, jobs, education, and healthcare (Bennis, 2009). In 1998 the mayor of Riace, Domenico Lucano, started this process of reception and intelligration. However, today the situation in Riace has become delicate because there is an ongoing investigation. In any case, it is significant to underline the fact that the "Riace model" have done school in Calabria, particularly in the province of Reggio Calabria, which has long been plagued by the phenomenon of 'ndrangheta. Among the many Calabrian villages, the municipality of Camini, just three kilometres from Riace, is acting to take the baton and wide the range of action of this unique coexistent. Since a year, the intercultural transformation of Camini goes through not only the opening the buildings left by depopulation to migrants (Guarracino, 2016). In fact, international association Project Abroad and Eurocoop Jungi Mundu from Camini have signed a collaboration agreement to bring volunteers from the five continents to Camini. In this way, students and researchers from all over the world come to study what is happening in Camini, that is, how a new community -that did not exist before- is created in Calabria. This social fabric is formed by Italians and migrants coming mainly from the Middle East and North Africa (Li Destri Nicosia, 2016). Since December 2017, some high school students coming from other regions have started to collaborate with international volunteers, to comply with the school work alternation period. Media coverage about Camini has long since surpassed national borders: Al Jazeera testifies what has been happening in Camini for some time.

What is happening here is therefore much more than a simple repopulation of abandoned towns. The rediscovery, encouragement, and support of handcrafted production are not only aimed at making the natives work with newcomers but is also intended to create a new social network. The protagonists of this anthropic laboratory share experiences and can create something that for someone is a mere utopia, while for others it could be the solution to many problems, from

depopulation to reception (Marfé et al, 2012).

According to Hermann Heller (1942), human beings create a subjective culture around themselves consciously or unconsciously. However, culture is alive only to the extent that it is experienced in the psychological dimension of the protagonists. My research is therefore aimed at identifying how Camini fits into the discourse of the social rights of migrants. The bottom-up revolution, underway in Calabria, is part of the process of changing policies on migration in Italy (Chiaromonte, 2013). My reflection also concerns the basis of the employment relationship, which is the synergy created between migrant labor and the occupation of the locals in the Sprar (Costello et al., 2014).

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SESSION 6B

Reception of Asylum Seekers in Padua and its Province: A Qualitative Research

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The Asylum Seekers reception model in Padua and its Province is organized based on emergency parameters. In fact, the available data tell us that, apart from a small percentage of asylum seekers (about 5%) received within the SPRAR circuit (known as Second-line reception centres), almost all the subjects are hosted in first reception centres (CPA) or in special reception centres, also called temporary accommodation structures, (CAS). If these data reflect the national trend, what particularly strikes us is the presence in the Padua Province of a large CPA, the Bagnoli First Reception Centre. Bagnoli, in the last two years, has hosted about 900 migrants, thus taking on the features and functions of a second-line reception. In this camp, asylum seekers constantly lack protection of primary rights and are exposed to a logic of segregation and institutional abandonment.

An ethnographical research carried on between winter 2016 and autumn 2017, has aimed to verify the subjective consequences of the reception system organization in Padua Province, both on migrants themselves and on other involved subjects (e.g. professionals) that work for the managing body. Hypothesising on the existence of an undermining process that treats the migrants as inferior and infantile subjects, we have tried to highlight two correlations: the one between the relevant legal provision and the social phenomena, and the one between the reception in large centres and the one in small or medium structures.

In disclosing the results of this empirical research, we mean to stress the methodological question. If initially we considered using the in-depth interview tool and the participant observation one, a few elements that have emerged during our work have led us to use mostly the latter.

Researching on this kind of field has brought us to deal with four set of problems that we will subsequently discuss.

First, we have encountered heavy access limits to the centres, since we were often considered as resources for gaining access to material and immaterial goods and sources that were constantly denied to asylum seekers.

Second, we had to acknowledge the almost complete unavailability of migrants in interacting with us about the situation in their countries of origin.

Third, we had to acknowledge the ineffectiveness of the in-depth interview that were often perceived in the same way as those carried out with the Hotspot authorities or for the compilation of asylum requests.

Finally, this work made us reflect on our "distance" with the field and its subjects, with whom we have built a progressively stronger trustworthy relation.

The immersion in the centre has made incredibly difficult separating our activity as researchers, thus the one of observation and study, from our personal involvement in a path of solidarity, support and condemnation of the living context.

Beyond the Service: How do Humanitarian Workers and Migrants Interact out of Their Institutional Role?

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The considerations I would like to share come from an ethnographic research I conducted in a migrants reception centre in the North of Italy (Como), which was established after the mass arrival of migrants (not all asylum seekers), stopped in their way toward Switzerland, in summer 2016. As volunteer of the association that manages the camp, I got the chance to conduct a participant observation during a year.

I first developed the project by looking at the dynamics between reception operators and “guests” of the camp through the services the staff provide. Yet, observation mainly confirmed what literature about humanitarian intervention (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Agier, 2002; Marchetti, 2006; Campesi, 2015; Ciabbari, 2015) say about the process of subordination, victimisation, and infantilisation of beneficiaries of humanitarian help. I realised that using the “lens” of the service to understand the relationship between workers and migrants was not enough, as it presumed fixed categories of “humanitarian worker” (in this case, within the reception system) and “beneficiary” (the guest of the camp). The former gives assistance, while the latter merely receives it. During the time and within the space of the service, those who interact wear these role masks. All this facilitates a self-reinforcing circuit of dependence and subjection of the latter from the will and the availability of the former. These are some pathologic, although common, consequences of the worker-beneficiary relation, which contains the seed of subordination.

So, I decided to look at any interaction between the two subjects *beyond* the service frame, to understand whether it changed toward peer relationship. Looking at out-of-the-service spaces within the camp was the key to analyse the interaction of two individuals who are no more worker and guest, but people who happen to share the same space, even though for different reasons, goals, and time. I supposed a reduction of distances between the two subjects when they did not cover their institutional role: I figured the attenuation of the process of subordination, as the interaction between them was not functional to the fulfilment of services, and disregarded their institutional labels. However, observation and analysis proved my expectations to be too optimistic. Within the camp, idle time between services is long, both for migrants and workers. Yet, the two groups prefer to spend it alone, and tend to adopt a closing attitude toward the other. The reasons over this lack of interaction, about which I would like to discuss, are many, starting from language difficulties, to mistrust and fear, to a veiled racism. Some can be generalised, while others are strictly linked to the specificity of this camp. Some migrants expressed their frustration in the lack of dialogue with reception operators, their closer introducers into the Italian community: “He (the worker) asks us ‘badge, badge’ all day. Then, when his working day is over, he leaves. He never sits close to us and talks.” This failed opportunity to engage with the other entails the difficulty to learn “how to live in Italy, whom to greet and how”, and so on. Many claimed the trouble to learn “*Italianness*”, i.e. a set of social practices and rules, rather than Italian language. At the very moment my interlocutors were telling me their isolation, a passing-by worker started to tease the ear of one of them with a piece of paper. This gesture, apparently innocuous, is emblematic of another aspect of the relationship between migrant and operator beyond the service: the dimension of jokes and funny games. At first sight, these elements suggest a peer and relaxed relationship. However, by looking closer, this jovial situation reproduces the dynamics of subordination and infantilisation that I detected within the spaces in-the-service. The worker is the one who tells, mostly speaking Italian, the joke; who mocks or teases the other; and who sets the rules of a game. On the other side, the migrant smiles, and plays along, used to be the object of hilarity. The attitude of workers in out-of-the-service time and space tends to shift from carelessness to mockery. Interaction, even though detached from the supply of a service, reproduces the pathological dynamics of assistance relationship.

I would like to offer a few considerations over the interaction between migrants and that part of the local society who, as being part of a humanitarian organisation who works in camps, gets easier in touch with them. Choosing to work within a camp, and “to help” migrants with a humanitarian purpose, the one legitimizing this camp (as legal documents say), does not necessarily mean willing, trying, or succeeding in including them, even in very broad terms. As camp regulations testify, integration does not fall within the functions of this centre. However, inclusion lies at a lower level. It implies to acknowledge the other’s presence – and not to ignore it when not strictly needed – and to look at him/her as autonomous and adult subject: jokes and funny games, although involving him/her, do not necessarily produce inclusion. In the camp, like in town, migrants, beyond or before being beneficiaries of humanitarian help (Harrell-Bond 2005), are subjects who share space and time with Italian people.

Finally, I would like to raise some issues concerning the double role of researcher and volunteer I covered during the observation. On the one hand, this ambiguous position opened otherwise closed doors; on the other, it brought difficulties from a methodological and ethical point of view. Questions about the distance with the object I observed, the impact of my presence and actions, my emotional involvement, the “proper” way to report “bad behaviours”, and many other issues, followed the whole research.

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Negotiating Oppression with Exploitation? Volunteering by Asylum Seekers as a Way to “Prevent Potential Tensions”

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On 27 November 2014 Mario Morcone, who was at the time Head of the Ministry of Interior Civil liberties and immigration department, wrote a circular about “Volunteering activities by migrants”. In this document, he invited prefects to put in place volunteering programs for asylum seekers, following the example of Bergamo. The aim of these programs, that are active to this day, is to fight against “migrants’ inactivity.” According to Morcone “migrants’ inactivity” represents “one of the critical issues linked to the reception of asylum seekers (...) which negatively affects/impacts the social fabric of the hosting area”. To the contrary, activities of public interest proposed to asylum seekers would offer them an opportunity of integration and, at the same time, “prevent a conflictual attitude towards them”. My aim here is to critically discuss the emergence and development of volunteering programs for asylum seekers in Italy. First, I provide the background of Morcone circular as well as the diversity of arguments used to justify these programs, among which prevention of tensions plays a prime role. Second, I show the resort to volunteering by migrants in contexts where some kind of contentious dynamics is in place. Third, I focus on the visual dimension and the concrete form taken by volunteering, based on a recent ethnography and many observations across Italy. Finally, I propose to analyse these programs as a form of negotiation between oppression and exploitation. The case of volunteering is also a way to rethink some assumptions underlying the asylum seekers dispersal programs in terms of naturalization of racism.

My initial hypothesis is that Morcone circular of November 2014 about volunteering by migrants has to be read as a governmental response to some incidents of opposition to the implementation of centres for asylum seekers. This opposition includes violent attacks against migrants and is often marked by the active participation of far-right groups. In fact, on the 10th and 11th of November 2014, two weeks before Morcone circular, a group of persons launched an assault against an asylum seekers’ centre in Tor Sapienza, a popular neighbour in the suburbs of Rome, using cherry bombs and burning bins, according to media reports. This context gives a sense of the words “potential tensions” used by Morcone to explain the interest in setting up volunteering programs.

Crucial important though it is, the prevention of tensions is not the only argument used by the government and local authorities: volunteering is also displayed and thought of as a means of achieving “migrants integration” in the local environment, countering their “idleness” and/or promoting these activities as a training allowing to access to the Italian labour market; eloquently it is also very often presented as a way for migrants to “give something in return for the reception” and to “make themselves useful to the hosting country”.

In spite of these various narratives depending upon relevant local differences, prevention of potential tensions with the “indigenous” population remains a central issue. Yet, the description of some local dynamics can offer a concrete example of how volunteering by asylum seekers is strategically put in place by authorities with the purpose of contrasting contentious dynamics by sections of the population.

In this framework, volunteering is a “leftist” response to racist reactions against migrants, with the aim to show the local population asylum seekers’ “gratitude” and willingness of integration in the hosting society: it is a form of “pedagogy” for white Italians, aimed to eradicate their prejudices through the implementation of a system of unpaid and often “dirty” jobs made by migrants, mainly black people.

Indeed, the kind of volunteering which is proposed to asylum seekers is mainly (even if not exclusively) related to green areas and streets cleaning, and can imply up to 30 hours of unpaid work per week. This peculiar “pedagogical” program implies and reproduces at the same time the dichotomy between the good migrant (the refugee who accepts to work for free so as to thank for the hosting) and the bad one (for instance, the figure of the so called “economic migrant”, used nowadays as a synonym of clandestine, who is lazy and ungrateful).

The mechanism of volunteering by asylum seekers being thought of as an “educational prevention” of anti-migrants tensions can be more clearly identified by analysing the role of the visual dimension in these programs. An ethnographic study in Bologna (spring 2017) as well as a media analysis (mainly online newspapers) allowed me to look into the “spectacle of migrant integration” represented by volunteering, which is put in place through fluorescent jackets, newspapers articles, television reports, photos on social networks and the choice of volunteering programs localization.

I argue that what is at stake in volunteering visual dimension is an authentic regime of visibility, which promotes “the scene” of the migrant body, hiding “the obscene”³ of the precarious and often blackmailed asylum seeker volunteers’ life conditions.

In conclusion, drawing on French materialist feminism (Kergoat 2009, Dunezat 2004) I propose to interpret volunteering programs for asylum seekers as an attempt made by local and national authorities to “negotiate” a form of oppression (the racist opposition and attacks against migrants by a part of the Italian white population) with exploitation (unpaid volunteer work).

Moreover, volunteering can be put into perspective and in connection with the contemporary management of migrant (im)mobility, defined by dispersal programs across the country. Volunteering and dispersal programs are grounded on many similar assumptions and can elucidate what racism is in the State view: a pedagogical issue and at the same time a problem of public order.

This vision tends to conceal the systemic dimension of racism while naturalizing racist episodes, which are understood as “immunological reactions” of an imagined homogeneous national body facing a racialised Other (De Rudder 1980, Balibar 1988).

As a result, anti-migrant hostility is supposed to be prevented, on the one side, through a modern “tolerance threshold” (dispersal programs) and on the other, through a putative reduction in violent oppression in exchange for a spectacle of integration and unpaid exploitation.

3 The concepts of “spectacle” and “scene” are paraphrased by and reworked from Nicholas De Genova (2013).

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Refugee Crises and Local Narrative-Making: A Comparison of Two Italian Case Studies

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City narratives are crucial in shaping public attitudes and perceptions and in defining the viable policy options and cities' responses to hot issues, such as migration and asylum. In this regard, communication by policymakers and media plays a relevant and acknowledged role (Moore *et al.*, 2012; Benson, 2013), but the literature on the relations between media and political actors – mainly focused on “mediation and protest movements” (Cammaerts *et al.*, 2013) and on the politicization of migration (van der Brug *et al.*, 2015) – is often unable to account for the complex local mechanisms leading to the production of media frames. The research we conducted (Ponzo, Pogliano, 2017) focused on two case studies defined by specific events, relevant both in terms of policy and media narratives, which occurred in the metropolitan areas of Turin and Milan: the illegal occupation of the so-called “ex-MOI” (the ex Olympic Village) in Turin, and the growing number of transit refugees in the Milan's train station, who drew concern from the city's civil society and policymakers. Both events started in 2013 and have been studied from the beginning up to mid-2016 by using both qualitative and ethnographical techniques and media frame analysis.

Research confirms (Pogliano, 2016) that the cohesion of the policy networks (Marsh, Rhodes, 1992) impacts on its ability to affect the local media narratives (the closer and easier the relations between local actors and the journalists are, the higher the respective narratives tend to converge), but other important variables have turned out as important.

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Exploring conflicts in SPRAR system: a case study

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Studying the activity of social workers in SPRAR projects gives the possibility to place oneself in a particularly favourable position regarding the observation of conflicts within the management system of those seeking asylum.

Their operating procedures, the leadership structure adopted by the management bodies (Lewin, 1980), the procedures which may be more or less innovative and are intended to be experimented and which actually take shape, the work of reporting and networking (Donati, Solci, 2015; Prandini, 2013; Folgheraiter, 2011; Di Nucola, et al, 2010) set up through the territory are variables that can influence the immigrants' pathways to adaption (Bennet, 2003, 2015).

Different levels of conflict precede the establishment of the service because they are intrinsic to the organisational context and to the professional background of the management bodies and the workers. Consider, for example, the controversial evolution of social policies and working relations in third sector organisations.

Think of the structural duplicity of the aid and control mandate, the terms whose perception in the operators' awareness are not to be taken for granted: the operators act within a sort of double constraint (Watzlawick, et al., 1967) trying to maintain a balance between two mandates and facing from time to time the critical issues that emerge from interactions.

The research aims to focus on the development of conflicts arising in the SPRAR "world of life" (Schutz, 1974) as a field for assessing the chances of success of the process of de-institutionalization of the beneficiaries, limiting the risk of infantilization (Tarsia, 2015) and providing instruments not only for economic but also social and emotional autonomy.

The work of the teams is based on the assumption that the beneficiaries must be equipped with a set of useful tools to understand the context and overcome situations of misunderstanding (La Cecla, 2005) that necessarily belong to integration paths intended as processes of social transformation rather than reproduction of the asymmetries present in the aid report (Galtung, 2010).

My work in this field, started in 2014, and has focused on second reception, considered as a privileged area in which the alignment between professional mandates, rhetorical reception and practices of mediation and control have a wider range of action. Over a period of three years, 45 social workers have been interviewed through in-depth interviews and focus groups in Sicily and Calabria and 4 beneficiaries about to leave the reception system or having already left and remaining in Italy.

Starting from an explorative phase in which we tried to understand the differences in the operating methods and strategies used by the operators, we focused on SPRAR services because we believe that they can be "playing social space" (Bourdieu, 2009, pp. 26 and 45) in which it is possible to start paths of inclusion of the beneficiaries based not only on their motivation and intentions but also on the relationship of reciprocity and the implementation of social capital (Donati, 2007) that develops in the construction of a personal network triggered by the operators that guarantee reliability (Adinolfi, et al, 2014), starting from their personal knowledge, from the asset of relational tools possessed and from the social capital that is meant to be invested in the relations with the residents of the host community and other operators.

Starting from the considerations that emerged from the individual and group interviews, it was decided to start a direct observation process of weekly team meetings and training orientation interviews within the SPRAR in Sant'Alessio, Aspromonte. This SPRAR, aimed at men, adults and families, is one of the first initiated in Calabria and it is considered a good practice by the Central Service.

The observation activity is still underway and it is providing useful help to understand how the operators use their agency in the refugees' paths towards autonomy.

We are investigating the strategies and methods of action chosen by the team of operators, the methods of accreditation of the management bodies towards the outside according to the activation of networks in the territories and the management of the leadership in the field of social practices that are configured in relation to the responses to critical issues and moments of conflict (Barberis, Boccagni, 2014; 2017; Tarsia, 2010), experienced from time to time such as failures of training periods, complaints and controversies with neighbouring apartment members, where the beneficiaries are hosted, contrasts on lifestyles and operating methods in the workplace, management of the critical issues between refugees in their living space, and between refugees and operators.

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SESSION 6C

The Local Dimension of Italy Reception System

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Background

Italy has a strategic geographic position which places this Mediterranean peninsula in a crossroads of flows of asylum seekers and it has been challenged to face issues of migration due to the humanitarian crisis affecting Middle-East and North African areas. For migrants, Italy represents the first safe country of arrival.

In the last few years, local authorities and third sector organisations have impacted positively on the social perception of migrants, putting in place policies to facilitate asylum seekers welcoming and integration within the Italian social context. These policies put forth an understanding of migration as a process which “cogenerates” society.

Following European guidelines (Roadmap 2015), local institutions have taken the responsibility to allocate and distribute asylum seekers throughout the Italian territory. It has been observed that this capillary migrants' allocation has promoted a better integration level. In Italy there are two government institutions which are dealing with asylum seekers welcoming: the SPRAR (Sistema di Protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati) and CAS systems (Centro di accoglienza straordinaria). Both institutions are involved in the migrant reception but on a different country level.

SPRAR is a multi-level governance project which involves local institutions and third sector actors. The main aim is to provide a programme that could help refugees to re (acquire) self- autonomy and to get an active part in the Italian society in terms of finding employment and housing and getting access to local services, social life and child education. The voluntary adhesion allows the coordination of local policies providing them a stronger awareness about the hosting town capability. Indeed, SPRAR guarantees better integration levels, when the number of host refugees has been compared to local density population and economic resources. Instead, CAS is a government reception system imposed by national policies. They are created as first reception structures to fulfil procedures of fingerprinting and of asylum seeker requests. The chaotic and long-term procedures have caused a functional collapse of the reception system.

Usually CAS structures are big and the number of host refugees keeps on raising. In this case, the migration perception is high and the tolerance level about any other ethnic belongings is very low.

Where there are good political and economic requirements, SPRAR works better than CAS and the perception of refugees is well tolerated.

Aim

This abstract focuses the attention on local decisions making process about how cities welcome refugees.

The first goal is to analyse the reception and welcoming tendencies of two local entities: Lecco and Varese.

Both of them are north Italian provinces, with the same density population and with a good number of SPRAR and CAS structures. Herein, it has been studied the two different provinces investigating their political background and social values linked to the reception system.

Methods

A qualitative research took place with the aim of analysing 13 interviews performed with key stakeholders with social and political involvement in Lecco and Varese provinces. The sample is very heterogeneous, including administration professionals of the two big cities as well as social workers located in towns and province.

Not only political environments but also organizations and associations involved in the migrant's reception have been studied. To identify more clearly each variable and context analysed, political environment and organizations effects have been evaluated separately; even if, it is from their collaboration that the society could gain effective results.

Professionals that have been interviewed are working closely with the emergency system as well as the “second reception” system SPRAR. This approach has been established to describe the huge welcoming framework and to better understand how the local context reacts to the migration dynamics.

Results

It has been observed that the SPRAR system offers a more successful approach of managing the migration governance, without suffering national welcoming emergency.

Therefore, political institutions have supported the SPRAR system to prevent social exclusion and poverty and to obstacle deviant behaviours.

Analysing the social values, it has been observed a will to support various social useful activities for refugees.

The main activities organized to promote social inclusion are: 1) social exposition, 2) talks of refugees' experience to schoolchild audience, 3) refugees' integration through travels across Italy, 4) the institution of an honour refugees' day, 5) the organization of soccer matches with refugees and Italian teams. All these activities are fundamental to establish cultural exchange laying the foundation of social integration and destruction of social blocks. From the interviews collected, it has been also analysed the reactions of the local population in regards of migrants' integration. It has been observed two different types of behaviour: the first very friendly, open and welcoming; the latter reticent, hostile and not open.

The last behaviour is associated with the presence of political party (Lega Nord) deeply hostile to welcome migrants in their communities and moreover resistant to migration in general.

Conclusions

Lecco seems to be very sensitive to the individual needs of the asylum seekers. The town social fabric is very careful to help migrants. In Lecco province, 81% of municipalities host refugees.

Varese welcoming status is more politically influenced. The province is less supportive, and it is characterised by a reticent approach. Indeed, only 30% of municipalities host refugees.

By this analysis, fear about cultural diversity and prejudices have been identified as social dangerous behaviours; it has been observed that in Italy it is present a changing mentality about migrants' perception. This has been due to useful social activities put in place in both the CAS and SPRAR systems.

Asylum, Solidarity and Social Movements. An Ethnographic Analysis of the Solidarity Reception Network of Madrid

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The arrival of more than a million asylum seekers, women, men, and children, forced to leave their homes in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, etc. to reach the European territory, is one of the most important and dramatic events of our century.

This situation highlighted the phasing-out, by the member states of the European Union, of the commitments made in relation to the 1951 Geneva Convention, and called into question the effectiveness and adequacy of the European policies control and the border management, migration and asylum, leading the Union to make questionable political decisions especially as regards the guarantee or violation of human rights; an example is the agreements between Spain and Morocco (Manzanedo, Forina, 2016), Italy and Libya, and the European Union and Turkey of March 2016 with the aim to curb the arrival of refugee migrants on European coasts.

Added to this are the discourses and practices that the member states have put in place in the criminalization of solidarity, judging in the courts, citizens who helped to cross borders (exemplary is the case of Cedric Herrou, a French farmer judged for helping migrants to cross the Franco-Italian border) or NGOs accused of trafficking in human beings in the Mediterranean, or as the last case of the trial in Morocco of the Spanish activist Helena Maleno, on trial on charges for trafficking with human beings.

In this context, the complex and articulate problem of "asylum" calls into question the sense of the Schengen area and the Dublin regulation, putting us in front of questions such as: is there a true common policy among the member countries of the European community? Who are these policies addressed to and who are they really targeting? What are the costs in terms of solidarity and human rights of these policies?

The political management of asylum, from reception to the increasingly massive closure of external borders, has contributed to building, producing and reproducing numerous exclusion speeches towards asylum seekers, building increasingly closed and hermetic categories, such as "Refugee" or "economic migrant"; categories full of problems and contradictions (Cortés, Forina, 2016; Freedman, 2015; Holmes y Castaneda, 2016 Long, 2013).

Faced with this situation, the European Civil Society has mobilized itself with various actions, practices and speeches in order to denounce these policies and the lack of response from the EU (Ataç et al., 2016). The cases of Refugee Welcome in Germany, Promaid, Bomberos en Accion and Proactiva Open Arms (small Spanish NGOs in Lesbos), the Solidarity Reception Network (Red Solidaria de Acogida -RSA-, in spanish) of Madrid, Rifugiati in famiglia (Italy) or the Mediterranean Hope project (carried out by the of the Evangelical Churches Federation in Italy, support by the Waldensian Evangelical Church), are emblematic.

In the last two years we have witnessed an important formation of organizations, help and reception networks in European cities, refugee camps, the construction of proposals and ways for the reception and protection of refugees at the international level, and the mobilization of the population to denounce the measures adopted by the European Union, overturning the point of view of the so-called "refugee crisis", underlining how it is instead a "European human rights crisis".

The purpose of this work is to analyze, from an anthropological perspective, the formation, organization, political discourse and the construction of these alternatives is channeling the mobilized citizenship around reception in aid and protest movements, as well as the exchange which is being produced in the form of conceiving and understanding European citizenship, starting from the field work, ethnographic, of a citizen collective, the Solidarity Reception Network of Madrid, Spain.

The Solidarity Reception Network was born in Madrid, in the Lavapiés district, on September 3, 2015 (the day after

the images of Aylan Kurdi, the three-year-old Syrian child who died on the Turkish beach) from the call by a group of people to other organizations and collectives in defense of the rights of migrants, of an assembly open to citizenship (Manzanedo, Forina, 2016). More than two hundred and fifty people were present at this meeting with the common aim of denouncing the European and national "tanatopolitics" and of helping, assisting and accompanying asylum seekers in transit to other European countries such as Germany, Holland, Belgium and England. The RSA has given today (social and legal) assistance to more than three thousand asylum seekers in transit between September and December 2015.

Subsequently, the activism of the Solidarity Reception Network focused on the situation of asylum seekers who were in an administrative limbo, finding themselves without any kind of help (economic, social, legal) on the part of the NGOs responsible for the reception and integration phases, and without a response from the Interior Ministry on the situation of the asylum process, finding ourselves faced with cases awaiting a response for more than three years.

This research, which forms part of the work of doctoral thesis in the Complutense University of Madrid, takes an ethnographic point of view, making use of participant observation within the collective RSA as an active member, semi-structured interviews with members of the collective, to asylum seekers and to political and non-governmental institutions, with the aim of qualitatively analyzing the speeches, practices and relationships that both the RSA collective and asylum seekers face daily in the context of European, national and local policies on the issue of asylum.

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Reception and Representation of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in the Venetian Lagoon Area Before and After the 2011 "North Africa Emergency". Sprar Venezia 2007 and Cas Conetta 2017

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The contribution aims to analyze, starting from a basic ethnographic study with participated observation and direct interviews with the main reception actors (guests, social workers, psychologists, Italian teachers, local government officials, representatives and activists of labor unions and local associations), the representation of asylum seekers in two distinct hospitality projects developed on the same territory. Particular attention will be given to the representation conveyed by the mass media, especially during significant public events (inclusionary and exclusionary actions) of both asylum seekers and civil society of the urban center involved, highlighting not only the positive or negative effects on peaceful coexistence and on the path of inclusion, but also the repercussions of these on the self-representation of the beneficiaries involved in such manifestations and of the power relations developed, after this, within the center.

The two reception projects object of our study are both located in the Province of Venice and represent (after an exact decade) the two mirror faces of the Italian reception system: a CAS (Hub for Extraordinary Reception Center), under the responsibility of the Prefecture, a direct consequence of the evolution of the national reception system since 2011; and a second reception project in the national SPRAR network, developed in 2007-2008 under the responsibility of the Municipality of Venice.

The hub is located in Conetta, a center of 152 inhabitants belonging to the municipality of Cona (2969 inhabitants), and has achieved to accommodate almost 1400 asylum seekers in the summer of 2017, occupying great space in the communication of the mass media after the death, in January 2017, of an Ivorian asylum seeker, Sandrine Bakayoko, and following protests by citizens and asylum seekers themselves, then united in a single protest through the mediation of a labor union. In November 2017, succeeding the umpteenth protest and the visit of a group of parliamentarians, the Prefecture agreed to a gradual reduction of presences. Thereafter the first transfers, a certain number of guests asked to be re-admitted to the reception center, preferable to the alternative solutions proposed. Among these, the asylum seeker and promoter of the demonstrations himself registered with the labor union. Meantime a great stir has raised by the position taken by the Church regarding the reception of the transferred asylum seekers. The neo-fascist political party, extreme right, named "Forza Nuova" has publicly attacked the Patriarch of Venice for the willingness to open receptive structures in favor of the transferred. The case involved national newspapers highlights and television networks coverage, focusing on the marriage between an operator and a guest in the center, as an icon of inclusion. Little was reported instead of the real problems experienced by asylum seekers and their suffering/intolerance induced by the Italian asylum system.

The second project represented in 2007, and still represents in 2017, an example of reception program's virtuosity. In particular, the agency implemented by the asylum seekers and the activities promoted for inclusion projects by the institutional actors, with the direct involvement of the citizens within the reception center, were the object of my PhD project research between 2007 and 2011. In this case also, the attention of the mass media and the involvement of citizens, volunteers and associations were closely monitored, combined with an ethnographic research based on interviews with the main reception actors (migrants, operators, territorial agency officials, citizens and activists). Particular attention was given to the relationship developed between the asylum seekers and refugees and the social center activists after the death, on 10 December 2008, of an Afghan minor, Zaher Rezai, in the act of crossing the border. The ethnography conducted for three years in Farsi and Dari language alongside the asylum seekers and within of the Afghan Community, has allowed to dissect the dichotomy between the self-representation of asylum seekers and the representation of the migrant exploited by the social centers to fight a political and social battle during public events. On the other hand, the highly inclusive policies promoted by the Municipality of Venice and the reception project have had an extremely positive impact both on the self-representation of migrants and on the outcome of the post-social inclusion path. A decade after, the refugees who were guests of this project study bring a concrete cultural and economic richness to the host city, through an extensive and dynamic social entrepreneurship project that involves new asylum seekers with training and internship programs every year.

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Migrant Place-Making and Re-Making: The Case of Polish Community in Lewisham (London, UK)

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Place and migration when studied jointly are phenomena each of which can shed the light on the other process. Migration offers a good vantage point to study sense of place and place-making processes. Being a newcomer enhances the sensitivity to space and the foreign space needs to be domesticated and endowed with sense within the process of place-making. Migrants' experience is shaped by places and the lense of place can help us to territorially contextualize the their experience. In turn, places are co-produced by migrants at various levels – their appearance and modification of space according to their needs, their expression in public in form of ethnic businesses, like shops or restaurants, or just sheer presence of visible minorities in terms of race, customs or dress.

There is a growing interest in migration as related to places, both in human and social geography under the label of "sense of place" in case of migrants and in migration studies as "migrant place-making". In migration studies processes of place-making have been indicated as crucial for social integration, embeddedness processes and identity formation (Carling 2015, King 1995). Some of these processes have been identified as constructive, other – as 'pathologies' (Gill 2008, Pemberton, Phillimore 2016). It has been noticed that Central Eastern European migrants, a prominent recently arrived in the UK group, has its specificity against the background of other minorities when it comes to place-making (Pemberton, Phillimore 2016). Poles in the UK, a diaspora that had been established shortly after Second World War, underwent dramatic changes and expansion since EU enlargement. Therefore it is an excellent case for studying the transformative processes.

In this paper we study these transformations on a case of the Lewisham Polish Centre and present results of the research based on ethnographical and qualitative methods (observations, IDIs and focussed group interviews, Kordasiewicz, Sadura 2017). In this paper we present one of the variants of the transformative process where the post-accession middle class migrants form an alliance with older upper middle class migrants (intelligentsia) to preserve the laic character of migrant institution and that undermines the domination of the Polish Catholic Church. It is worth to mention that hegemonic position of Catholic Church in Polish community in the UK was interpreted as a pathological aspect of migrant place making (Gill 2008). We argue with this case there is a need to look at migrant place-making as an ever-changing and reversible process in which diversifying migrant groups in diversified neighbourhoods constantly play between more constructive and more pathological variants of the migrant place-making.

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Which is the Border? Temporality of Awaiting in the Experience of Migrant Women Between Bolzano the Brenner Area

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This contribution stems from the research experience within the doctorate path on borders anthropology and the new European asylum policies as well as how they affect the daily lives of migrant women, asylum/international protection seekers in Europe. The ethnographic place is Bolzano and the border of the Brennero pass, the last Italian station before the Austrian border. My choice was driven by the peculiarity of the area, way less famous than other borders in Italy. A complex scenario where the game of Europe reveals its ruthless drama. For those who go in and out of Italy this is the place to suffer the consequences of European geopolitical choices.

The basis for my analysis focuses on the dimension of time as a lens to read the new European asylum policies and the consequent creation of new internal and external border of European Union countries. Moreover, it focuses on the effects they have on the construction of women's identity who require protection in EU member states. It can be summarized in three main points. Three dimensions like the time; the genre; and the border, which have not been explored exhaustively yet in a jointly way by the literature. I argue that these three are necessary to grasp the European political transformations in the field of asylum policies.

Firstly I shed light on the discourse of the *European Agenda on Migration*, which since 2015 transforms the management of migrants who request to enter into the EU countries by implementing an overlap of two regimes – humanitarian and security- thus building the transitory status of becoming refugees (Malkki 1996, Van Aken 2005, Fassin 2008, Pinelli 2017) the tightening of entry rules with the proliferation of new borders (Mezzadra, Nielson, 2013, Mezzadra et al., 2016), the creation of internal borders to member countries, a check point and securitization system (Cutitta 2014, De Genova 2016, Fontanari 2017) which is giving rise to a shift towards the use of camps (Pinelli 2017), inside and outside urban spaces: this is the direct consequence what has been defined the artifactual Refugee crisis (Mezzadra, Bojadžijev, Rajaram, 2015) which reveals that Europe as a political unit is an idea in crisis (De Genova et al., 2016).

With this in mind, the *temporality that becomes eternal* that Agier (2009) argues is experienced inside and outside Europe, and with different modalities that through the bureaucracy of the lives of international protection and asylum applicants (Sorgoni 2005) and the securitization of the borders repositions the European political game to the south the Europe. This game is to be understood in order to comprehend its future outcomes and its direct consequences on the lives of those suspended in time (Griffiths M., Rogers A. e Anderson B, 2013).

Drawing from *new paradigm of mobility* (Sheller and Urry 2006) and of the literature on boundaries, the perspective of an analysis through time takes on new shapes, in which space and time, in continuous transformation, become ever more fluid and ambiguous concepts, showing the function of the security logic to guarantee the asymmetry of the border (Nuzzo 2017).

In this direction it is important to review those categories that *migration studies* have used to understand the migratory phenomenon up to date. Specifically, it will be useful to rethink confinement, in its dimension of space and time no longer as a *non-place* (Augé 1995) but as a field for the play of subjectivity and production of practices by those who live it. Also through the recent literature on the camps (Augusti, Morone, Pifferi, 2017) it will be essential to examine to which extent the current migratory policies –with their paradoxical forms- nurture processes of violence legitimization and – in their function of protection and guarantee of protection- of law suspension, but also intended as the first instrument to hinder asylum-migrations (Costa 2017, Nuzzo 2017). This is how the experience of the *awaiting time* and the *suspension of time* of asylum seekers can be properly analyzed in its dual function of institutional / existential time. The position of women who live this double time allows us to grasp on one hand the practices of subjection; on the other the transformative processes of subjectivity and projection into the future.

Lastly, bearing in mind the theories of subjectivity and the categories produced by feminist literature, which aimed to understand the experience of migrant and refugee women, I believe it is interesting to explore the various forms of *agency*, in order to avoid the reproduction of a *passive* collective consciousness of the female objects / subjects of care and control. In recent years, refugee women ethnographies have privileged the observation of the conditions of women in the camps, but also those blocked in transit countries (Freedman 2016) and those present in Italy within the current system of asylum (Pinelli 2010, 2011, 2014, 2017): through an intersectional and gender perspective they offered not only a careful analysis

of the countries of origin, but also an insight onto migratory motivations; this allowed scholars to unravel the most authentic sense of migrations for asylum of women. These women are thus included in a humanitarian/security management system that in most cases perpetuates structural and political violence (Burgois P., Schonberg J. 2011), which is incorporated but also transformed onto a reconfiguration of the possibility of choices within the limits granted to them.

By using the dimension of time we shed light onto the active role of the woman starting from the analytical concept of subjectivity (Butler, 2005, Ortner, 2005). This is useful to understand the dynamic character of power relations, politically and socially experienced subjectively in everyday practices.

This introduction, intended as an attempt to contextualize my work and to place it in the interstices of the European asylum system, allows me to grasp, through an situated ethnography, the temporality of the border in order to analyze the processes and transformations involving migrant women in Europe. The desire to adapt the ethnographic discourse to the dimension of time is equivalent to the choice of observing time experienced by the subjects in those fluid and continuously redefined border areas, who build a subjectivity on which the game of future policies is played. A procedural perspective of subjectivity allows me to interplay the dimension of time in the deconstruction of the static categories of refugees/migrants, shedding light on those players that from time to time govern and define them, defining their future fate.

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SESSION 7

MIGRANT MASCULINITIES AND GLOBAL RELIGIONS. EXPLORING GENDERED RELIGIOUS CHANGE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY

Convenors: Ester Gallo (Università di Trento), Francesca Scrinzi
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On the Relation between the Interpretation of Religion and the Concept of Gender and Sex by the 2nd Generation of young Turks in Germany

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My paper is based on a sociological research project funded by the German Research Council (DFG) and conducted between 2012 and 2016 at the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI) in Essen, Germany. The topic of the project was „Migration and Humour. Social Functions and Conversational Potentials of Humour and Satire in Interethnic Relationships in Germany“ (see Leontiy, 2013). My own research was part of one of several subprojects, which was concerned with „Ethnography of Everyday Humour“ in families, neighbourhoods and migrant youth groups. The overall goal of the subproject was to investigate constructions of self and other and in-/out-group effects among Turkish migrants as well as people of Turkish decent in Germany. Humour and satire are socially, culturally and contextually contingent phenomena, which are structurally embedded in everyday life. They enable speakers not only to form in- and out-groups, but also to shift their perspectives voluntarily and revise their own body of knowledge. Therefore, humour and satire are particularly suitable for the study of inter- and intra-ethnic relationships.

My paper will focus on data (ethnographic group discussions) on a male Muslim youth group with (predominantly) Turkish migration background. The analysis of the relevant data sequences revealed that communication among the young men is not only used for entertainment, but also for the reciprocal negotiation, correction or confirmation of one's own identity (Leontiy, Yilmaz 2017; Neumann-Braun, Deppermann, Schmidt, 2002). To this end, the young men employ communicative instruments of competitive forms of humour like „dissing“ (from Engl. „disrespect“) (Deppermann, Schmidt, 2001) and „teasing“ (Günthner, 2006), ritual verbal abuse and laughing, direct moralizing and criticism.

Notably, the young men, in the material at hand, frequently reference homosexuality. However, the available data, on account of the ambivalence of the playful communicative interaction, allow for several interpretations. Firstly, the references to homosexuality can function as a norm marker: as a collective reference to normative notions of masculinity („who is the real man?“) and deviations from those norms. For the young men in this youth group, to be gay acts as a negative foil to their masculine identity, as an instrument of normalization. The young men associate homosexuality with weakness and sentimentality and frame it as a deviation from the norm of hegemonic masculinity. Simultaneously, the „mollified“ masculinity of young Turks in Germany is being revealed and corrected in different comic genres. This interpretation confirms results of previous scientific research on humour in Hip-Hop-culture-related youth groups and research on attitudes towards homosexuality in Islam. On the other hand, the data also indicate that the freedom of the assumedly playful homoerotic context allows for physical contact and the testing and checking out of alternative forms of masculinity (see Leontiy, 2018).

However, religion as a normative order is not mentioned in an explicit way in the leisure communication. For this reason an additional group discussion in the family circle of a member of the youth group was collected. The occasion for this talk was the recent vote in the German parliament for legal equality between hetero- and homosexual couples (s.c. „marriage for all“). Primarily the attitude of the brother towards this vote as well as towards homosexuality in general had to be determined. A lively group discussion, in which clear viewpoints could be observed, evolved from that. Whereas the sisters had a more liberal opinion, the brother opposed the vote as well as homosexuality in general. He justified his opinion by referring to the history of creation, from which he derives gender binary as only legitimate way of life. This reasoning is similar to members of conservative members of the other monotheistic religions, who have a fundamental, thus not a historical-critical understanding of the Scripture.

Subsequently his sister expresses (in the role of an involved participant) the everyday theories, which originate in the ethnic origin of the family. Although all siblings had the same traditional-religious education, their secondary socialization (e.g. school, friends, Higher Education) proceeded in different ways. This could be an explanation for their divergent values. The friends of the brother are mostly Muslim with a conservative attitude towards gender and sexuality. In contrast, the sisters demonstrate not only a more progressive view and knowledge about homosexuality, but are also acquainted with homosexual milieus.

The single case in this study bears resemblance with the division of position that can be observed in autochthonous German institutions (parliament, families etc.) as well. Yet the modes of explanation and interpretation are different. In my talk, which follows up on a recent publication (Leontiy, 2018) and newer data acquisitions, I would like to discuss the relation between exegesis of religion and notions of gender and sexuality.

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Religion, Ritual and the Social Construction of Masculinity and Femininity

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Drawing on ethnographic data from an empirical study of the Filipino Catholic tradition known as Santacruzan, this paper examines how a religious ritual can underpin the social construction and reproduction of ideas of masculinity and femininity within a migrant community.

The Santacruzan celebration, an event that began as a commemoration of St. Helena's discovery of the cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified (Santa Cruz), has a huge following in the Philippines and in many other Filipino migrants' countries of destination. Wherever it is celebrated, the Santacruzan involves the processional transfer of a statue of the Virgin Mary between two churches of the same town, along with statues of both male and female Saints and Biblical characters, as well as Christian virtues embodied by Filipino young women with male escorts of the same age.

The analysis of the visual material gathered over several years during the Santacruzan celebrated in Padova, Italy, where a large Filipino community lives, shows that the ritual mobilizes specific constructions of masculinity and femininity. These are related, on one hand, to the structure and dynamic of the religious representation and, on the other, to the system of social relations that ties together the individuals who embody such representation.

The ritual performance of the young women—who take part in the procession dressed in fancy attire next to men who demonstrate their masculinity by showing off their virility—and the honor granted to their families are two of the factors that contribute to shift the celebration from a religious domain to a secular domain. In the latter domain, the intersection of gender, ethnicity and class plays a key role in legitimizing and reproducing specific gendered identities and social roles among the members of the community.

The research findings support an interpretative hypothesis that during the Santacruzan celebration a symbolic exchange takes place between the male and female members of the Filipino community, as well as between the community as a whole and the Catholic religious institution that manages and controls the ritual. This symbolic exchange, the paper maintains, results in both legitimation and reproduction of a specific configuration of the male/female distinction—a dominant issue in the Filipino cultural discourse.

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Out of the Realm of Hegemonic Masculinity. Senegalese MSM Living in Italy

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Everyday life of Senegalese communities and individuals living in Italy has been largely studied during the last decades from a wide range of disciplines, including anthropology (Schmidt di Friedberg 1994; Ceschi 1998; Riccio 2007; 2008; Sinatti 2006; Degli Uberti 2014), sociology (Guolo 2001; Castagnone et al. 2005), human geography (Dia 2013; Moudain et al. 2013), international politics and cooperation (Ceschi 2011; Piga 2013).

According to statistics provided by the Italian national dossier of migrations (Idos 2016), Senegalese migrants represent the first national group from sub-Saharan Africa living in Italy and approximately 75% of them are men (ISTAT 2017). These data demonstrate that Senegalese mobilities to Italy have a significant gendered dimension, even though it is impossible to neglect the rise of women percentage during the last years (Ceschi and Lulli 2011).

Historically, looking at researches produced on Senegalese mobilities, some topics attracted the curiosity of social scientists dealing with migrations and religions. It is the case, for instance, of living and working conditions of *modou modou* (category commonly used by Senegalese migrants living abroad to describe themselves) and *talibés mourides* (believers of the main Muslim brotherhood prevailing both in Senegal and its diaspora), that revealed respectively the Senegalese *culture de la débrouille* and their religious vitality and solidarity (Riccio 2007).

This interdisciplinary literature demonstrated that moving abroad is not simply an individual decision, but it could involve also family members and compatriots left behind (Diop 2008; Moudain et al. 2013). As a consequence, the migratory experiences acquire more and more the social status of an initiation ritual to adulthood, especially for men. Considering this scenario, Senegalese networks in Italy fulfill a pivotal role in the experiences of relocation, providing information and material assistance for newcomers, as well as organizing social meetings and cultural events that could be relevant both emotionally and symbolically.

As already noted by Giulia Sinatti (2014), international migration is a complex process in which Senegalese men living abroad are expected to confirm a transnational image of successful men, but that could offer also the chance to challenge or reconfigure their masculinities. For these reasons, an analysis focused on how Senegalese men act in the Italian context could deep our knowledge on the construction, the maintenance or the adaptation of their masculinities, but also reveal interesting insights about their ideas on femininities and concrete experiences with wives, partners or female kin living in Italy or left behind.

If the gendered experiences of Senegalese migrants living abroad seem to be gradually highlighted, that of their sexualities continues to be understudied. Sometimes the topic of sexuality is interpreted according to "official" gendered and cultural/religious expectations. However, a similar approach to sexuality could risk to taking for granted that all Senegalese young adult men living abroad are heterosexuals or express their sexualities only with women.

Differently, this presentation aims to focus on the experiences of some Senegalese men who consider themselves bisexuals, homosexuals, queers or – rejecting these labels – define themselves simply as MSM (men who have sex with other men, or men sexually and/or emotionally interested in other men). Expressing dissident sexualities and stigmatized models of masculinity, these men face unusual and stigmatizing experiences in highly (hetero)normative social and private contexts, both in Senegal and Italy.

This restrictive attitude could be connected to contextual factors, like the existence of a law (art. 319, Senegalese penal code) that criminalize homoerotic acts with a fine (up to 1.5 million of FCFA) and jail detention (up to 5 years) for «improper or unnatural act with a person of the same sex». Despite the representative of Senegalese government stated in 2016 the intention to improve women's rights (mentioning explicitly topics like the educational gap and gender-based violence), the proposal to decriminalize art. 319 continues to be perceived as a Western imposition against the «traditional and religious values of Islam». As a consequence, the sexual lives of Senegalese men who contravene the model of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) and compulsory heterosexuality (Rich 1980) remains invisible or creatively adapted to specific settings, situations and people they are connected to.

Carried out through qualitative research methods (mainly ethnographic observations and interviews), this paper is based on a doctoral research and focuses on how migration experiences, non-heteronormative sexual behaviours and Islamic faith co-construct each other in everyday experiences of Senegalese men performing a subaltern model of masculinity. The research aims to consider also to what extent some biographic factors (age, class, socio-legal status, social capital) could influence the mobility trajectories of these men and the positionalities that they occupied in the transnational arena. The fieldwork illustrates the ways in which Senegalese MSM are strategically and creatively able to conform or challenge normative gender and sexual roles according to the Senegalese principle of *sutura* (discretion).

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Between Victims of Imperialism and Agents of Their Own? Brazilian Football Rotations in Central Europe

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This abstract is part of an initial effort to think through my research project as a PhD candidate in sociology. As such, it mainly reviews the previous literature in sports migration, and points out to possible ways of conducting future ethnographic fieldwork with Brazilian football migrants in Central Europe. The specific focus on Brazilian footballers is justified because Brazilians constitute a global workforce in contemporary football. The gradual opening of global markets since the 1960s, signified a more accentuated trend in Brazilian football migration. However, the increase in players' exportation followed the degradation of Brazilian football market. In contemporary migration, Brazilian players face a highly competitive internal market context. For instance, there is a steady decline in the number of football teams in Brazil. From 2007 to 2013, 146 officially accredited football teams closed their doors. The overall number went from 800 in 2007 to 654 in 2013 (Melo et. al., 2015). Data released by CBF – Confederação Brasileira de Futebol, the Brazilian football association show a steady increase in Brazilian football players' migration since 1997. From the first few 100 players in the end of the 1990s, the number of player transactions registered by FIFA between 2011 and 2014 jumped to around 5000 (Damo, 2014). Migration of athletes has often been interpreted through the perspective of dependency and world-systems theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank (1978) and Immanuel Wallerstein (1979; 1990). In this sense, the condition for athletes' migration is the persisting uneven development in the contemporary world. According to this view, athletes' formation and migration could be conceptualised as a Global Value Chain: as with the production of other commodities, enterprises located in Europe and the US would be in an advantageous position to add value to the products from the Global South. This top-down view usually faces the global flows of athletes as a losing game for the sending countries. As the developing world would not be able to hold their athletic talent and the developed world would attract the most skilled athletes, the periphery would keep lower-levels athletic skills (Klein, 1991; 2009). Brazilians are often referred to as a "global football workforce" (Poli, Besson and Ravanel, 2017) because Brazilians are the majority of migrant players in the contemporary football. However, very little studies on Brazilian football migration exist. The most prominent researcher is Carmen Rial. Her works (2006; 2008; 2009; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015) on Brazilian footballers mostly in Spain, the Netherlands, reveal that Brazilian football players value the possibility of movement across borders, but they do not see themselves as "migrants". In their horizon, returning to Brazil is always placed as a possibility. According to Wallerstein (1979; 1990; 2000), semi-peripheries are countries or regions that fall in between the dual pair "core" (high profit, high wages, high productivity) and "periphery" (low profit, low technology, low wages, low productivity). The economic activity of semi-peripheral countries is more "evenly distributed" (Wallerstein, 1979; p. 97), and semi-peripheries act as peripheries for core countries and centres to the world's peripheries. This ambiguous character allows greater flexibility of semi-peripheries in taking advantage of global economic fluctuations. But, as Giulianotti and Robertson (2009) noted, the application of Wallerstein's categories to football is problematic. Brazil's peripheral character in football (with its precarious contracts) would not correspond to Wallerstein's classifying of Brazil as semi-periphery. On the other hand, the above mentioned middle-ground role of semi-peripheries as Central European region becomes even more evident in football. The region might attract footballers with better working conditions than the ones found in the periphery of the system. However, athletes usually see their passage through Central Europe as "temporary". In their discourse, Central Europe would act as showcases to Western European football teams. The possibility of plying their trade at the Champions League and the League of Europe makes footballers openly say that their jobs in Central Europe will lead them towards the West. Apart from the extensive works by Molnar (2006; 2007; 2008; 2015) and few other researches by Elliot (2012; 2014), Elliot and Bania (2014) Ungruhe (2013), Central European leagues are still much under-researched.

And, as much as these investigations contribute to our understanding of the different aspects involved in the migration of footballers to and from Central Europe, these works present some limitations. The most obvious being the linguistic access to players. Other limitations are associated with the scope of the questions researchers have asked. These researchers seem basically interested in understanding the motivations of footballers' migration movements to Central Europe. However, they have largely ignored some contemporary debates in sociology of sports.

While there has been a dialogue between gender studies and sociology of sports, no research which pays attention to footballers' migration movements to Central Europe would focus on players' gendered identities and expressions. Studies that research football and gender tend to concentrate on women participating in football (Caudwell, 2011): either because masculinity seems unproblematic for most of sociologists of sports or because scholarly work which focuses on women is closer to feminist political claims. The subordinate status of women in football leaves little room in avoiding the gendered character of power relations involved in sports (Scott, 1986; Orlansky, 2007).

I also departure from one of the key findings of Rial's (2012) works with Brazilian footballers: their faith expressions. Some of the Brazilian football players interviewed by Rial express a Neo-Pentecostal affiliation, and were proud to exhibit it when winning any title. The most striking examples are the winnings of 2013 Confederations Cup in Brazil, and the 2016 Gold medal in Men's Soccer at the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. Both of these winnings were celebrated with a clear display of religiously-inspired messages, against FIFA's rules. These faith expressions stand in contrast with footballers' perception that Central Europe is a more secular region (see Rial 2012).

A central assumption of my project is that taking a closer look at footballers' migration processes might help us re-construct not only their career trajectories, but also the emotions, and forms of investments in disciplining their bodies and constructing migrant masculinities.

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SESSION 8

BE(AR)ING WITNESS: TESTIMONY, EVIDENCE AND SUBJECTIVATION IN INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS

Convenors: Alessandra Gribaldo (Università di Bologna), Tommaso Sbriccoli (Università di Siena), Barbara Sorgoni (Università di Torino)

SESSION 8A

A Radiation Rashomon: The Politics of Radiation Assessment in the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis

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The nuclear disaster in Fukushima which followed in the wake of the 3/11 Tōhoku earthquake and Tsunami has profound implications for how nuclear energy is perceived. This paper analyzes the most dire phase of the Fukushima nuclear crisis, showing how the level of risk was assessed by nuclear experts and state-level actors who worked largely out of view of public scrutiny. In addition to examining how the accident progression in the reactors was addressed and conveyed to the general public, the paper addresses how the exclusionary zones were determined by Japanese and foreign governments in Japan. This research is a contemporary history of the Fukushima crises, looking at the emergency response to the disaster, examining the rationales for protective actions and the protocols which were employed to protect those in the path of the radiation plume disseminating from Daiichi.

The emphasis is on the crisis phase of the disaster (the first six weeks, approximately), as radiation exposure was not clearly understood and its actual effects were ambiguous, leading to widely varying interpretations of how significant the public health impact would be. Following up with these authorities, I also chart how the risk assessment has evolved, as investigative reports have been published, which among institutional authorities has converged to a general consensus that is in stark contrast to those most affected by the crisis, and among anti-nuclear activists.

This is primary ethnographic research, based on interviews with the nuclear Hibakusha (radiation-exposed populations) in the areas near-in to the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant, who were evacuated into shelters and now languish as nuclear refugees, awaiting return to their homes. This research also entailed interviews with prefectural mayors and city officials in the evacuated towns of Namie, Futaba, Minami-Soma, Kawauchi, Tomioka and in Koriyama. In addition to Japanese citizens who were directly affected by the crisis, I have interviewed radiation experts in the Japanese regulatory agencies, military officials in the U.S. Pacific Command (United States Forces Japan) and the Japanese Ministry of Defense, and U.S. radiation experts in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Department of Energy (Naval Reactors [office of nuclear propulsion]). I also interviewed journalists, scholars and diplomats in Japan who responded to the crisis, which provides a basis

This paper analyzes the nature of international alliances in the Fukushima nuclear crisis and contemplates competing narratives that have evolved over time by defenders and detractors of nuclear energy, using the Fukushima crisis as a case study for understanding the way in which nuclear disaster has provoked a reconsideration of the viability of nuclear energy. While the international community mobilized to assist in tsunami relief efforts, the disaster management of the Daiichi nuclear crisis involved a more limited number of state-level actors from international nuclear agencies. Based on extensive interviews with Japanese and U.S. military, government and nuclear industry officials, this paper addresses the cultural and institutional differences between Japanese and foreign nuclear experts, whose collective efforts eventually turned the tide from managing the disaster response to the nuclear meltdowns to ameliorating their long-term consequences. By using what is essentially an extended case-study about how radiation has been conceived in the Fukushima crisis, this work opens avenues for theoretical examination of how health assessments are negotiated between the various organizations that establish evaluation protocols, which includes main-stream health ministries but also includes newly emergent citizen scientists, which supplements and in some cases replaces the assessments of government authority assessment. This touches not only on activism and civil society, but theoretically delves into questions of epistemological criteria and reality construction that goes to the very heart of how radiation is conceived, measured and dealt with in real-world context (a nuclear disaster being a dramatic case where public policy meets scientific assessment, in the political context and in the inner-workings of disaster management). The theoretical perspective that informs this work is on the social construction of risk, examining how institutional routines and vested interests have driven nuclear politics and influenced the radiological protective actions provided by governmental authorities. This involves analysis of how underlying paradigms of technical nuclear assessment have framed interpretation of events and mobilized bias toward particular policy agendas.

As time has passed, the Japanese government is attempting to return the communities proximate to the Fukushima Daiichi plant to their homes and establish a sense of normalcy. With the Olympics coming to Japan in 2020, the government faces a public diplomacy challenge to promote a historical narrative that acknowledges the anxiety and suffering of those whose

lives were disrupted by the disaster, while countering claims that they are subjecting their citizens to harm and ignoring their concerns in the rush to restart the reactors. Ultimately this political debt is coming due in the courts, as citizens have sued TEPCO for not taking appropriate measures to prevent such a disaster, and for radiation exposure and harm, which the utility and the government do not acknowledge and question the legitimacy of these claims. Over the long-term trajectory of this disaster, the safety of nuclear energy in a seismically active country and the relative risk/safety of nuclear exposure remains contested. This paper examines these issues in light of the experience of nuclear survivors in Japan (of all places), and shows how the incommensurability between competing radiological paradigms may be understood and reconciled despite competing interests and agendas, with underlying scientific reality providing a foundation and reference point upon which these narratives can be assessed.

No Witnesses. Identification, Biometry and the Post-Social Condition in Comparative Perspective

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Declaration of birth and civil registration of identity are necessary prerequisites of citizenship in modern States. Although implemented through bureaucratic procedures, identification produced by registration is based on well-known social practices. Name, surname, place and date of birth, marriage and death: the registration of the social events and relations defining the civil status of the individual rely on truths uttered by specific testimonies. They include the individual in a network of social binds. The relational character of these apparatuses of recognition is being progressively defied by biometric technologies of identification. The body, through the signs that can be detected on it (fingerprints, iris structure etc.), becomes thus the source of truth, attesting individual identity in the form of a unique number produced by a machine. Biometric identification, indeed, aims at defining and recognizing the uniqueness of a body, not the social person. In its working, testimony is not needed to confirm or disconfirm the truth of a given connection of a body with a name. A post-social identity based on merely biologic data (of phenotypic kind) is thus created; a creation that opens the way to new forms of governmentality. This is mostly apparent in postcolonial African States, where the experience of the colonial disciplinary technologies is still inscribed in many social practices and shared habitus.

Genitalia Out-of-Scope. Sex and Gender in Trans Court Cases in Italy

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Court verdicts asked to deal with several aspects of trans experiences, are key objects through which we can frame the relationships between gender and the law (between heterosexuality and citizenship), showing how the hegemonic forms of heteronormativity underpin the constructions of citizenship.

In 1982 a law concerning "the amendment of sex's conferment" (L. 164/82) was passed in Italy, thanks to trans people fights, along with the parliamentary struggle conducted by the Italian Radical party. Chiefly inspired by the need to rectify the status of those who had already undergone the genital demolition and reconstruction, the L. 164/82 does not define unambiguously what has to be considered as "sexual characteristics", if the paramount sexual characteristics alone, or the secondary too. The legislator took the trouble to guarantee legal relationships, particularly with regard to applicant's marital status: s/he was concerned with third-party.

Looking closely to the proceeding, we will see that, pursuant to a consolidated practice, the judge delegate the management of the transition process (the validation of its irreversibility) to several specialists: the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the endocrinologist, the surgeon. Whilst the first two are in charge to *diagnose* the gender dysphoria, the second *cures* it by pharmacology (hormones treatments). Eventually, the surgeon *mold* the subject accomplishing the transition by operating on genitalia. According with Herault (2004) this is an intervention that consists in a de-qualification of the body and its subsequent re-qualification. The transition process is considered over.

Until recently, the enduring trend was thus to consider the genitalia as the legitimate manifestation of gender identity: they were entrusted with the symbolic function of representing and certifying gender. Furthermore, such asseverating function was legitimated by the adaptation of their form or appearance (aesthetics), rather than their usefulness (functionality), which remains, anyway, often partial (if not problematic, as evidenced by the several testimonies). The law (and medical practices), in fact, enlist or conform the trans condition to the binary gender order, conveying the belief that gender originates from sex, namely from paramount sexual characteristics.

Thus, on the legal setting, two different verdicts had to be pronounced; many people had to be heard; dozen pages written. The legitimate witness, the person appointed to testify the truth about the trans person, is not the trans person him/her/herself alone; someone else testimony is required. Just recently, several ordinary courts first, as well as the Supreme Court, have been giving different interpretations of the law, thus recognizing trans-people right to "rectify their civil status" even without completing the transition up to the surgical sterilization and genital reconstruction.

In 2015, two twin-verdicts (Corte di Cassazione n. 15138/2015; Corte Costituzionale n. 221/2015) recognized the amendment of personal data along with the clearance to surgery. Dealing with the very definition of gender and sex, the verdicts meet important social changes, positively raising what the person has accomplished or achieved in his/her "subjective self-recognition" and "psychophysical balance". Indeed, the subject is granted the right to "correct" all the documents regardless of genital surgery: identity card, driver's licence, passport, health or insurance cards or any other licence, will bring henceforth the new gender (still to be selected between male and female) and the new name.

In order to assign and recognize someone's sex, genitalia are no longer an unavoidable fact.

Formerly, in 1985, the Supreme Court had already ruled about the lawfulness of the L.164/82 acknowledging how it "seats on the riverbed of an evolving juridical civilization, increasingly attentive to values of freedom and dignity of human person". Late verdicts, we will see, can provide interesting evidences as regards the ongoing transition of trans condition.

By focusing on interviews collected with trans people and on several emblematic verdicts, our contribution aims to highlight the multiple facets of witnessing in legal settings engaged in sex reassignment cases. Memories, diaries, medical and psychological reports, along with the body (and sometimes the voice) of the trans person, are all ingredients called to certify the body truth (which is the person truth) and to establish a new subject, whose sex does not reside in genitalia, but somewhere else, under the apparent truth of a gendered body.

Clashing Truths: Medical Evidence, Morality and Legal Norms

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The paper, based on two years of ethnographic fieldwork in an Italian hospital, aims to shed light on contrasting truths among health representations, legal requirements and moral discourses. By exploring the case of a 40-year-old Ghanaian man and irregular migrant who discovered he had a severe pathology, the analysis focuses on the multiple levels of truth and evidence produced by medical doctors, social workers and charitable organisations in the phase of diagnosis and hospital release. The severe pathological disorder could be considered justification for a health-based humanitarian permit, and records by medical professionals and social workers were crucial to meet the legal requirements involved. Institutionally charged with helping or treating this sick man medical and social service actors moulded his story by emphasising the diseased condition, legal irregularity, "laziness" and "alcoholism". How did dominant representations of migrants imbue the professionals' reports? How was medical evidence immediately re-interpreted by social workers? What kind of subject was fashioned, and for what purposes? In the clash between the aims and reports of medical doctors and social workers, what role did the anthropologist play?

SESSION 8B

Validated Subjectivities? The Assessment of SOGI-Based Asylum Claims in France and Italy

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Despite the fact that the Geneva Convention for Refugees (1951) does not mention explicitly LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, or trans) people as a "particular social group", the inclusion of asylum claims based on sexual orientation and/or gender identity (so-called «SOGI asylum claims») was gradually considered by international and national laws since the 1990s in North America and then systematized as well at the European level through the adoption of common asylum procedures. A person fleeing from his/her country of origin because he/she has undergone persecutions related to their sexual orientation or gender identity, or who has «a well founded fear of persecution» in case of return in his/her country, is eligible for refugee status or other forms of international protection. However, the assessment of SOGI asylum applications can vary significantly according to the countries in which these applications are presented. Considering this frame, advocacy groups and organizations supporting LGBT asylum seekers and refugees play an important role first and foremost in the support of asylum seekers and refugees, but as well collaborating with social workers in reception centres and more broadly with the asylum administration.

During the last two decades, both legal scholars and social scientists started analysing the rise in number of SOGI-based claims both in North America and in Europe. While the first group made efforts in developing tools for assessing the challenges related to these particular asylum claims, sometimes producing updated views and adjustments on policies and procedures in themselves (Hanna, 2004; Morgan, 2005; Berg, Millbank, 2009), the second advanced critical reflections and in-depth analysis coming from ethnographic researches involving both asylum seekers/refugees and institutional actors supporting or assessing their claims (Kobelinsky, 2012; Giametta, 2017; Akin, 2017). However, the analysis of

SOGI-based claims is still largely dominated by north American/European discourses, whereas the situation in countries like France and Italy remains understudied.

Based on two different extensive fieldworks in France and Italy, we propose a paper focused on the ways in which specialized advocacy groups and associations supporting SOGI-based claims play a controversial role, both on the legal and social side. In a context of growing State-repression and subsequent delegation of the support system to the civil society, volunteers and activists involved in these groups are in contact with lawyers and asylum boards/commissions and are requested and/or expected to provide «evidence» of SOGI-grounded claims throughout the procedure, therefore turning associations into «new immigration offices» (Pette, 2014; D'Halluin-Mabillot, 2012). Considering this specific category of claim, the main questions argued in this paper are: how advocacy groups and organizations specialized in SOGI asylum claims are perceived by institutional actors like asylum courts, lawyers and social workers? What is their role considering criteria of supposed «credibility» and «belonging to a particular social group» behind these claims? What are they expected to witness and in which ways? Which kind of subjectivities are produced through the intervention of these associations and during/after the assessment of asylum boards/commissions?

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Regimes of Truth and Denial. How do we Build a Witness in the Asylum Application Procedures?

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«In assenza di fiducia, l'idea stessa di "prova", per non dire di prova stringente e conclusiva, è tutt'altro che chiara e convincente. Come si presenta una prova credibile, veramente affidabile? Anche a vederla non la riconoscereste, neppure fissandola in volto» (Bauman, 2007)

«Le storie, i risultati dell'azione e del discorso, rivelano un agente che non ne è però autore e che non le ha prodotte. Qualcuno le ha cominciate, ed è il soggetto, nel duplice senso della parola, e cioè di attore e di chi ne ha subito le vicende, ma nessuno ne è autore» (Arendt, 2016)

This contribution aims to investigate the nexus between "the act of witnessing" (Das, 2007) and the narratives performed by the asylum seekers as a result of the procedures required for issuing the international protection. Starting the analysis from the legislative framework, will allow us to read the legal field as "semi-autonomous" (Moore, 1972), and to inquire into the "forces" (Nader, 2003) that it determines and by which is determined. In particular, the contribution will focus on the analysis of the documents that compose – and at the same time are produced by – the juridical process in which asylum seekers are involved (C3, hearing/interview, decision issued by Territorial Commission, lawyer's appeal, minutes of hearing and decision at first instance). Mainly, our analysis is aimed at highlighting how the "apparent neutrality and objectivity" of the documents turns out to be crucial in shaping "subjected" subjectivities (Butler, 2005). In order to achieve this goal, the investigation combines the reading and the analysis of documents with an ethnographic methodology – namely, the observant participation of the main phases, actors and places that come along the different types of interviews given by the asylum seekers along the entire legal process. Despite the numerous differences found in our individual fieldworks – primarily due to the geographical distance that divides the authors (the data reported are the result of two ethnographic studies respectively conducted in North and South Italy) – the regularity by means of which some factors occur in establishing the truthfulness of the stories and the credibility of the witnesses, it has driven our attention (and our gaze) into the same direction of analysis. Through an in-depth examination of our data and fieldworks it has emerged the need to direct our interests toward an "ethnography of documents" (Riles, 2006, Hull, 2012, Haince, 2014) since they constitute "the knowledge on which practices, strategies and actions are based" (Haince, 2014, p. 53).

By considering the “typical” way through which the legal process tends to “intertextualize” (Cabot, 2011) the “escape story” and its reasons, we aim to reflect upon the “denial reasoning”, and how it contributes in shaping suspects (Coutin, 2001). Being “shifted” from the status of witness to the one of culprit, for the asylum seeker it implies that his/her possibility to create a “plausible testimony” (Gribaldo, 2013) depends on his/her capability to become a “credible and plausible victim”. As widely demonstrated by the anthropological literature involved in this topic (Agier, 2010, Good, 2011, Sbriccoli, Jacoviello, 2011, Sorgoni 2011, 2015, Pinelli, 2013, Beneduce, 2015), the subjectivity of the asylum seekers is labelled by moral dimensions as well as by categories and indicators that are “externally imposed”. Regarding the act of witnessing, we should moreover consider how, actually, is not the content in itself that is taken into consideration, but, rather, the author and his/her particular “reputation” according to moral terms. In concrete, it is quite complicated to settle a trust relationship between asylum seekers and the actors in charge of establishing truthfulness (Sigona, 2014). If lacks, gaps and incoherence – which normally occur in experiencing the life as a narration – are entrusted with the drafting of “authoritative documents” produced by professionals (i.e. medical or psychological certificates) (Fassin, d’Halluin, 2005), and if the “facts” described by the asylum seekers are required to be validated by home country’s information and reports, then, what kind of “command performance” (Scott, 1990, p. 29) is put into being? Starting from this point of view, how the recursive narratives must to be interpreted since they are “normally” seen as lies? What kind of discourses are produced by the “mutual suspicion” (Griffiths, 2012)? What happens, in terms of *ratio*, then when the denial is “cancelled” by the judge’s pronouncement in the first instance appeal? Can we read all this “texts” and “stories”, apparently incommunicable and antithetical, in terms of hidden and public transcripts (Scott, 1990)

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Building Trafficking Victims' Identity Through Testimony in Trials for Enslavement and Sex Trafficking Offences

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This paper proposes an analysis of identity building processes of trafficked women through criminal proceedings for trafficking and slavery. Particularly, I will deal with how processes of subjectivation emerge in victim's testimony evaluation by Courts: to become evidence, declarations must respect specific assumptions and requirements that, as we will see, can restrict injured party's narration and blur the complexity of the exploitation experience.

Data come from an ethnography carried out between June 2014 and March 2015 at the Court of Bologna with the aim to discuss critical points of judicial process for crimes of slavery and trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This study is grounded on analysis of judgments delivered between 2001 and 2013 by the Court of Bologna, consultation of certain court files and observation of judicial hearings. The Court of Bologna has become through time the heart of research directed at the offices of Public Prosecutor of the Republic, District Antimafia Directorate of Bologna, and at offices of lawyers and local organisations dealing with assistance for trafficking victims.

Law, as conceived in classical liberal thinking, rises above social dynamics. It builds its own discourse of truth – in foucaultian terms – on the basis of abstraction and super parties' principles. Far from being separated from social and political context, law is instead informed by the representations of conventional wisdom as well as by the construction of procedural truth. In these terms, law helps redefine the social perception of phenomena and identity, hierarchical and sexual definition of parties. In trials, discourses of truth emerge from the selection and manipulation of gathered evidence. As established by the Criminal Code, existence of slavery or trafficking of human beings' crimes is proved by ascertaining woman's continued subjection for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In a complex and ambivalent relational context that underlie personal bonds of dependence, the distinction between trafficking crimes and sexual exploitation offences is nourished by dichotomic representations such as slavery and freedom, master and slave, tyrant and victim. These contrasts obscure the complexity of dependency and exploitation relations.

The emergence of minimal acts of resistance against oppression and violence of exploiters, during victims' testimony, usually leads to redefine charges as exploitation of prostitution (Law n.75/1958).

In criminal proceedings for slavery offences injured parties' testimony is one of the main elements in the evidence framework, especially during trial stage. This is assessed under the lens of two main factors: coherence of declarations and reliability of witness. From observation of the hearings and analysis of sentences, clearly emerged the Courts' preference for narratives without ambivalence, concise, punctual and full of spatial-temporal references emerges many times. However, precisely because threats, beatings and rapes take place within bonds of relationships marked by a continuum of oppression and violence, it is difficult, and sometimes meaningless, to reconstruct a precise chronological order of events for the offended part.

Moreover, Courts require a measured and free of emotional excesses narration. For this reason the narration of domesticated suffering (weeping, trembling, despair) cannot turn into a manifestation of anger, resentment against the exploiters or be used to claim social protection, due to unreliability of the victim.

Expression of suffering finds therefore legitimisation in the moment in which narration, through a confinement in cages of identity and gender, is attested in the semantic and cognitive field of victimisation processes. In the evaluation of witness's reliability, particular importance is given to spontaneity which, however, is elevated to virtue only if it is a sign of naivety and the lack of planning with which she has initiated criminal proceedings.

If Court suspects that the victim has filed a complaint also in the hope of benefiting from the protection system created by Article 18 of Legislative Decree 286/98, the testimony is considered unreliable. Indeed, such legislation establishes the right to obtain a residence permit for social protection purposes and to benefit from an assistance and integration project, when the dangerous situation arising from the attempt to evade the exploiters is established.

In this respect, an institutional short-circuit emerges. Due to partial application of legislation for trafficked persons' protection, a formal complaint is now an increasingly necessary requirement for obtaining a residence permit and access to assistance projects. However, if during criminal proceeding, the suspect that the injured party has filled the complaint also with the intent to receive protection from the State emerges, the Court generally claim that the victim is unreliable.

In conclusion, this paper aims at examining recent transformations of women trafficking and further criticalities in notions

of reliability in testimonies.

As a result of geopolitical changes in North Africa and Libya, namely Nigerian criminal networks' agreements with Arabic gangs to guarantee girl's control and exploitation, the multiplicity of figures intervening during the journey have risen. This further obscures awareness of existing links between various members of the criminal enterprise.

These changes have led to additional difficulties for trafficked women in denouncing or presenting their experiences of exploitation to the competent authorities: not being able to accurately reconstruct links between traffickers in the country of origin and potential exploiters in Italy, and not being able to trace names of many people encountered, their statements are considered insufficient, contradictory and apparently unreliable, thus compromising the possibility to access justice and social protection projects.

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SESSION 9

COMPARING WHAT? CONCEPTUALISING COMPARISON IN MIGRATION AND URBAN STUDIES

Convenors: Nicholas DeMaria Harney (University of Windsor), Andrea
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Ethnography and Traces: Experimental Comparison and Open Spaces in Riverside Turin

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The paper is about conceptualizing comparison in the fields of urban studies and ethnographic knowledge construction, by looking at the interrelationship between temporality and blight in two riverbank spaces that are located within the city of Turin (Italy).

These open spaces have little in common, not simply because they are shaped by different urban histories and socio-ecological patterns, in terms of both leisure spaces and natural landscapes. Additionally, they embody diverse spatial and social articulations of publicness, as well as different configurations of waste and marginal space.

Therefore, the study suggests an "experimental approach to comparison" that is retrospective and processual (Lancione and McFarlane, 2016).

The aim of the research is not to compare how processes of abandonment worked in different contexts. It was only while conducting ethnographic fieldwork in the two spaces separately that "correspondences" (Ingold, 2017), both similarities and differences, have emerged throughout the endless and intertwined operations of observation, description and comparison. The paper thus explains processes of environmental change without diminishing the contextual specificities of histories and conditions, while also foregrounding the practical and epistemological opportunities of engaging with the messiness of ethnographic practice in complex socio-spatial realities.

Having material traces as a guiding thread, the presentation proposes a work with images to give concrete exemplification of the potential of experimental comparison, where traces form part of a wider exploration of the ways through which "unintentional" landscapes (Gandy, 2016) co-rispond.

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Searching for Whose Homes? Riddles of Ethnographic Comparison in a Collaborative Research Across European Cities

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The paper discusses a series of methodological challenges emerging in an ongoing comparative research project. It specifically focuses on how a multi-sited ethnographic project committed with comparison across social groups and field sites can, in practice, do justice to and emphasize the uniqueness of each of its cases. While comparison is intrinsic to ethnographic work, most ethnographies become comparative *post hoc* (Miller et al. 2017); that is, developing comparisons after fieldwork. Contrastingly, our project seeks to build a comparative study as we conduct fieldwork in multiple locations, considering different social groups. In this paper, we reflect on how an investigation on home-making holds a potential for producing comparative ethnographic work on migratory processes.

HOMInG is a research study exploring the nexus between home and migration through a framework that highlights comparative ethnography across case studies with different social groups of reference and country-settings. We are

covering five European countries (Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Sweden), focusing on urban neighbourhoods and engaging with a range of people with specific migrant backgrounds. Three researchers are currently reaching out to economic and forced transnational migrants from Latin America, South Asia and the Horn of Africa, clustered according to their country of origin: Ecuadorians and Peruvians, Indians and Pakistanis, Eritreans and Somalis. In focusing on various 'ways of homing' among migrants, we address the tension between the specificities of ethnicity, human mobility and the experience of home, and the generalities across our cases and field sites. We argue that comparing among sites or specific cases is not something inherent in the topics we are researching or the materials we are collecting, but rather a possibility that comes from juxtaposing our specific cases as the project unfolds.

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How Are Borders Produced, Naturalized and Reproduced? Comparing Bordering Processes Across Time and Space

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How are borders produced, naturalized and reproduced? This paper explores the potential of multi-sited ethnography to analyse processes of material and symbolic border formation. More specifically, drawing on Burawoy's notion of the extended case method (1998) and global ethnography (2000), and on Hart's (1996) notion of relational comparison, the paper analyses the explanatory potential of two types of comparison: across different temporal moments, and across different geographical sites. In both cases, I understand comparison not as a counterposition between two independent and self-contained units of analysis, but as a means to understand processes of bordering which connect different sites. With regards to comparison across different temporal moments, I will compare processes of boundary demarcation between Italian settlers and Tunisian colonial subjects in 19th Century Tunisia (reconstructed through a historical ethnography), with processes of boundary demarcation between Italians and Tunisian migrants in contemporary Italy (reconstructed through ethnographic research conducted in Sicily). I argue that this type of comparison sheds light on how the symbolic boundaries of the nation have long been constructed through the exclusion of racialised difference, and – thus – that current debates about immigration re-articulate older ones about the management of colonial subjects. With regards to comparison across sites, I will compare processes of material and symbolic bordering on the US/Mexico border, Israel/Palestine, and the Mediterranean border. I argue that comparing processes of bordering between settler-colonial and non-settler colonial contexts sheds light on how borders are created and naturalized through the production of territorial and racialised difference. On the basis of these two types of comparison, the paper will then turn to discuss in more general terms the potential of a relational comparison between different spatio/temporal sites of border demarcation to understand processes of material and symbolic bordering.

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Fluid Ethnography: The Case of Migrant Construction Workers in Contemporary China

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For the ethnographer, how does the nature of site matter for conducting ethnography? Basically, two types of site can be identified: the institutional, fixed, stable and structural sites versus those are unstable, unsettled and disorderly. Contrasted with the ethnography in the former context, doing ethnography in the later context has its peculiarities and faces few challenges. In this paper, the author uses the case of migrant construction workers in China to illustrate this 'fluid ethnography'. It investigates the following aspects under this rubric: 1) qualifications of the ethnographer; 2) the relation of ethnographer to the site or the researched; 3) the internal dynamics of the site itself; 4) methods specific to this context; 5) theoretical findings generated from this site. In conclusion, this paper puts the concept of 'fluid ethnography' into the general principles or approaches of conducting ethnography in sociology, exploring both its potential and limits.

Background of this paper

On one hand, migrant construction workers are a group that has a high mobility ratio; they always move from one construction site to another. For some workers I interviewed with, they told me that they usually moved around their subcontractors' construction sites without a fixed schedule. On the other hand, the working site is loosely structured, devoid of bureaucratic

rules and contingent on the external intervention. The construction site is composed of different construction teams specific to multiple building trades and these teams are relatively independent within each other. Moreover, there is no strict rule or regulation that regulates workers' behavior. Workers are largely dictated by informal norms and verbal orders from labour supervisor or subcontractors. These two aspects constitute the context for conducting a 'fluid ethnography'.

Basic argument of this paper

First, the problem of saturation is more difficult to handle with when the ethnographer meets with the mobile population. The ethnographer dealing with mobile population may take a longer time to realize when the theoretical saturation is realized. In the case of migrant construction workers, the strategy to overcome such barrier is to meet workers from different construction teams; that is also the reason why I tried to approach workers in different places. It is not until in the middle stage of the ethnography that I realized there are different labor process patterns on the construction site. I examined the validity of what I have found within each construction team I encountered with. In terms of exploring the saturation problem with mobile population, knowing about their life histories would be very helpful, especially their mobility and working history. For some migrant workers that I have met, I would specifically go to explore their life histories, particularly their working experiences in different cities for different subcontractors. It is an efficient way for the ethnographer to solve the saturation problem.

Second, the issue of field politics is much more hidden and subtle than the case in a formal organization. In a formal organization, the power relations or the hierarchy is well established; everyone behaves according to their roles. In the case of unstructured context, there is no stable power relationship among them, making the ethnographer harder to locate himself in the context. As the construction industry is characterized by no substantial bureaucracy, the power relation is compounded with craft skill, personal relations (Chinese *guanxi*) and multi-tier organizations. In order to suit myself better in such context, the best strategy would be keeping good relationship with each side or trying to be neutral. To better understand the power relations on the site, focus group is a useful tool for the ethnographer to explore and find out what the real case is. With focus group, the ethnographer seizes a great opportunity to observe the tensions among them, which can help the ethnographer to suit himself/herself into a better position during the ethnographic process.

Last, the relation of ethnographer to the site is multi-layered. Since the people or organizational units are loosely coupled or structured in this kind of site, the ethnographer's relation to the site has many possibilities and has different directions. Furthermore, doing ethnography with mobile population demands the ethnographer to know more about the local knowledge such as folk tales, daily idioms, specific cuisine and local habits. Since the sources of mobile population are diversified, it is necessary for the ethnographer to learn these knowledge to facilitate the talking or interview process. When I was on the construction site, I realized how important it is to have this local knowledge to get a good start talking with workers that come from different places. For example, when I mentioned some famous figures that come from that particular place, the workers will usually be surprised and would like to talk to me. Thus, it is helpful for the ethnographer to be equipped with such local knowledge in the field.

SESSION 10

WORK, CONSUMPTION AND SOCIAL RELATIONS: PROCESSUAL APPROACHES TO THE PLATFORM SOCIETY

Convenors: Chiara Bassetti (Università di Trento), Annalisa Murgia (University of Leeds), Maurizio Teli (Madeira-ITI)

SESSION 10A

Digital Innovation and the Transformations of Work: Analytical and Political Dilemmas

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We are living in disruptive times. This apparently rhetorical proposition that sociologists are inclined to adopt when describing the profound transformations affecting the social system seems to hold today more than ever. A new technological revolution is indeed unfolding and spreading all over the world, whose size, speed, and scope are affecting and irreversibly changing the lives, the ways of communicating and behaving of humankind as well as the institutions and organizations producing and reproducing the social wealth. With respect to the latter aspect, we have been witnessing shifts across all industries, marked by the emergence of new business models, the disruption of incumbents and the reshaping of production, consumption, transportation and delivery system. In short, the introduction and diffusion of innovative technologies embedded in and shaping new systems of production and consumption are today the main drivers of social and economic change. For several scholars, political observers, and policymakers, such transformations gave rise to and propelled the emergence and development of a new industrial revolution, the so-called "Fourth Industrial Revolution" (Edwards and Ramirez 2016, Hirsch-Kreinsen 2016). This revolution began at the turn of this century and builds on the digital revolution. It is characterized by a much more ubiquitous and mobile internet, by smaller and more powerful sensors that have become cheaper, and by artificial intelligence and machine learning.

To be honest, digital technologies that have computer hardware, software and networks at their core are not new, but in a break with the third industrial revolution, they are becoming more sophisticated and integral and are, as a result, transforming societies and global economy. Our paper maps out the main social and political challenges set in motion by the current technological revolution, paying particular attention to the transformations occurred to the work conditions. More notably, our goal is twofold. On the one hand, we try to make sense of the above revolution by highlighting the main features and the current trends of such process. Building on the widespread but still heterogeneous array of studies and policy reports that have been recently released on the subject, we explore and compare the social and political meanings that are identified with it. To do so, we will critically revise and discuss the narratives and understandings that various key players (i.e. national governments, international organizations, and business firms) have provided of such process. In short, the first aim of this article is to investigate to what extent the current technological transformation we are experiencing constitutes a truly epochal social change. On the other hand, and in light of this discussion, we look at the changes that such revolution has brought about on the current organization of labor and production. More specifically, we illustrate the role that the recent digital innovation has played in the creation of new forms of labor and in the related transformation of work conditions. In doing so, we are interested in critically highlighting the main analytical and political dilemmas that this innovation is posing to the community of scholars and to policymakers, respectively. In other words, the second and most important aim of the paper is to shed light on the key societal and political challenges that the current digital transformation of work conditions is forcing us to think to envision and plan a better future for humankind.

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New Autonomous Workers Collectivism. The Belgian Deliveroo Riders case

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This research is part of a larger research project on atypical work arrangements. Among the dozen of case studies currently analyzed for this research program, this paper is based on the recent movement led by the Belgian Rider Collective to fight against the Deliveroo decision to impose the self-employed status to all its bikers. This decision terminated an alternative offered until then by the labour market intermediary "SMart.be" and used by a large proportion of bikers to convert their business activities into short-term salaried work contracts. This paper is built on a qualitative methodology.

Globalization and digitalization are two powerful change drivers in nowadays organizations. Resources agility is becoming the norm. Since companies seek access labour like « water » a resource to be turned off and on at will » (Gray, 2004, cited by De Peuter, 2011) they deviate more and more from the stable full time open-ended contract and enter to new atypical work arrangements: solo self-employment, freelancing, on-call work, crowd employment, etc. (Eurofound, 2015). The employers' strategy to resort to these profiles aims at increasing their organizational flexibility (Miles and Snow 1992, Marsden, 2004), to lower their cost structure or to take advantage of the technology (Altuzzara & Serrano, 2010). In these circumstances, the evolution of the fate of the workers warrants attention. Some studies from consulting groups underline the voluntary choice of opting for such arrangement, as the McKinsey Global Institute for which 70% of the 2016 respondents opted for freelancing as a « preferred choice » and not « out of necessity ». Another recent study, from ManPowerGroup indicates that 87% of the workers surveyed consider these activities as a « valid option ». Other authors, from the academic circles, are more critics over an evolution of what they name « cybertariat » (Huws, 2003) or « flexploitation » (De Peuter, 2011). In this line, Fleming (2017) shows how, in the gig economy, the power asymmetry allows the employer to externalize its entire workforce while keep controlling it thanks to *radical responsabilization* of the work provider.

Collective action seems a rather obvious choice to thwart this asymmetry of power. Previous researches on that topic show that these collective activities addressed to new autonomous workers may be grouped into three categories of collective: the *union expansion*. (Benassi & Dorigatti, 2015). the creation of *quasi unions*, (Heckscher & Carré, 2006; Sullivan, 2010; Jenkins, 2013; Milkman, 2013) and the emergence of *transient unionism* (Heckscher & McCarthy, 2014).

Another way to apprehend the collective actions of atypical workers is to consider the role played by these collectivities. Two main categories may be distinguished: the *servicing model* (Sullivan, 2010;) and the *organizing model* (de Turbeville, 2004).

Preliminary results

The three different kinds of actors and the two types of collective actions identified in the literature allow us to build an analytical grid useful to better understand the dynamic in play in the Belgian Rider Collective fight against Deliveroo's decision to impose the self-employed status. It shows how the role of the SMart.be quasi union evolved from the servicing to the organizing model. Fearing illegitimacy, it also underlines how SMart.be then favors the gathering of heterogeneous riders initiatives into a more visible collective transient movement and how it helps in creating links with a traditional union in order to take advantage of its expertise and to develop a solid, effective and very visible collective action.

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Working on a Platform: a Shadowing Observation of Digital Workers

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The platform economy fully represents new pathways of the global economy and the complexity of work in the post-industrial era. This depends on its tendency to generate non-standard and flexible activities that stand outside traditional forms of identification, protection and contractual regulations.

Codagnone et al. (2016), in classifying the various forms of digital work, distinguishes between cognitive tasks, which are electronically transmissible, and tasks requiring manual work or physical interaction. In addition to this, De Groen et al. (2016) stresses the need to distinguish between low-medium-skilled jobs and high-skilled jobs. It follows that forms of work emerging from platforms can vary. First, there are the most complex, qualified and specialized, provided by professionals on platforms like 99Dising and Upwork. Second, we find low-skilled microtasks that follow processes of global outsourcing and are considered the last frontier of an informal neo-Taylorism (e.g. Amazon Mechanical Turk). Third, we can also find forms of traditional work with different levels of qualification, which are offered first-hand (e.g. TakeLessons). Lastly, there are work forms requiring low qualification as to circumvent possible entry barriers of the market (as in Uber's case), or to overcome the traditionally informal nature of supply-demand matchmaking (for example domestic care in platforms such as TaskRabbit or Helping).

Moreover, forms of work can vary according to different levels of reward. One reason is that main jobs are often too inadequate to produce enough income to meet ends. This would force on demand workers to "collect" limited work performances, for more than one client and on several platforms. Secondly, other forms of reward consist of cost-sharing for temporary use of an underutilized asset. Besides, rewards are not always of an economic nature. Multi-tasking also represents a way to access other forms of recognition of one's work: for example, increasing social capital, or getting involved, or expressing abilities and interests. Moreover, working for a platform is often a transitional activity by which one could earn auxiliary income (for example a young off-campus student, who decides to make deliveries as to be less economically dependent from her parents).

Within such a varieties, it is difficult to trace and clearly classify the workers' needs and motivations, with the aim to plan specific programs on both the regulatory and social protection level.

The program of our analysis is based on a sequence of research activities:

- Mapping on-demand labour platforms that are currently operating in Italy;
- A netnographic analysis of the "communities" within the platforms (when possible), as well as in other social networking spaces, such as Facebook groups;
- Adopting shadowing as a qualitative method to observe the activity of workers. The method will draw on Codagnone and De Groen's categorization of four groups (namely high skilled/virtual services, low skilled/virtual services, low skilled/physical services, high skilled/physical services). This paper will focus on the analysis of a low skilled/physical services platform. The results obtained will be subsequently compared with results from other platforms.

We deliberately adopt a mixed methodology as to combine different perspectives. The netnographic analysis, stemming from consumer studies (Kozinets, 2009) considers workers as users of the platform. Shadowing methods, broadly adopted in management studies (Mintzberg 1970), look at the relationship between organization, process management and human resources. The goal is to gain a thorough understanding of workers' motivations and needs by investigating what people do, as opposed to what they claim to do.

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Organizational Culture of Informal Trade in Facebook

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The main activity in Internet of Mexicans is the use of social networks, being Facebook the most common one. The high consume of Facebook-services provoked changes in its interface, among that the promotion of the platform's commercial use, including the marketplace button in its principal accesses. This function allows an easy trade of products although without a commercial profile: the pages connected to the marketplace button are no virtual shops of official firms, but profiles created by private persons or groups for selling their products directly, wherefore it's possible to include them in the concept of "informal economy".

For the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2014), the concept of informality consists in two dimensions: 1) "Production of goods and/or services for the market, operates using household resources and does not keep basic accounting records", and 2) "all employment that is not subject to labour law or an institutional framework, regardless of whether the economic units employing the workers are unregistered enterprises or formal enterprises" (p. 4).

There are controversies among the ILO's proposal that intent to get over the economical and legal dimensions of informal economy that characterize this conceptualization. Several perspectives about informality, in the process of globalization, are related to the outsourcing promoted by enterprises in order to reduce costs, as well as to the voluntary exclusion from formal economy, when there are better chances by avoiding tax duties, political and legal actions (Perry y Maloney, 2007). Furthermore, in recent research of informality the importance of personal motivations linked to it has been analysed, assuming a psychosocial perspective. For example, Juárez-García, Flores y Sánchez (2017) found the following common motivations for informal workers in Mexico: gratifying tasks, sharing with others, attending clients, autonomy, comfort and pleasure.

Informality is central in Mexican economy. The ILO Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (2014) declares: "Mexico has a high, persistent incidence of informal employment, which affects some 60% of all workers in the country" (p. 10), present in diversified contexts (STPS, 2007).

So, informal economy and trade between Facebook users are emerging, where the rupture of physical structures challenges to rethink and identify the meanings of these new forms of interaction and organization. A proposal to a comprehensive approach to this phenomenon derives from the concept of organizational culture, which reflects on organizational behaviour, and marks out the "being" and the "must be" of organizational actors from an ethnographical perspective.

Since the study of organizational culture is focused on ethnography of traditional organizations, there is poor research of emergent contexts like Facebook. A possible approximation could be done from virtual ethnography that pretends "not only to study the uses of Internet, but also the social practices online, and how this practices are meaningful to people" (Mason, 1999, as cited in Ardèvol, Bertrán, Callén & Pérez, 2003, p. 73). Hine (2011) describes this as a flow of interactions, where organization is given by connection instead of localization. Thus, the analytical context for virtual ethnography is this virtual space where the communities are constructed by the associations of connected people.

According to Fortunati (2005), the growing commercial organization in Facebook is related to its success as a platform that offers the possibility to be used as a single service with different applications and tools to express ones subjectivity.

But how an intersubjective appropriation is constructed in virtual interactions? Díez Gutiérrez (2002) points out that the members of an organization acquire its structured "manners" and value implications by acquiring the categories of organizational language. So, communication and language give meaning to the reality of subjectivities. Schütz y Luckmann (1973) declare: "the world of everyday life we were born into is since its beginning an intersubjective world" where "live in its meaning by understanding it", and where there are "assets (tools), doings (practices, habits) and knowledge (representations)" (p. 28).

Being virtual interactions in Facebook different from those in a physical space, the discussion about understanding of organizational cultures of the informal trade in this platform is focused on the following issues:

- Users of Facebook do not share necessarily the same virtual time, so that their interactions are fluctuating; nevertheless, it's possible to distinguish shared symbols.
- It's difficult to assert the existence of rites, myths or ceremonies that take an important part in sharing meanings between organizational members.
- It's hard to identify clearly leaders: even in traditional and formal organizations managers are rarely aware of the cultural system, so that it could be remote that strategies or policies by understanding the organizational culture are be visualized or projected in the virtual and informal economy.

The growing penetration of the commercial use of Facebook invites to discuss the theoretical models that had described the organizational behaviour, since new technological platforms, economical changes and creativity are blurring traditional forms of organizations. So, virtual ethnography becomes a research method that allows understanding, describing and conceptualizing new virtual forms of organization.

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SESSION 10B

Triangulating Net-Nography and Digital Methods to Study the Peer2Peer Economy

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The analysis focuses on two digital platforms for collaborative production: the first is the community of a digital time bank that use a specific platform to exchange skills and information using time units as a complementary currency; the second case is an Open Data community that brings together a group of active citizens using open license data released by the public administration to produce new smart services and increase transparency and accountability of the actions of local administrators. In particular, the objective of this study is analyzing motivations and organizational structures in peer2peer production. A mixed approach is adopted, combining two different types of digital ethnography (net-nography and digital methods). The main advantages of this mixed approach rely especially on the synergistic collection of data that produces a mutual reinforcement and triangulation process to the hypotheses verification and the interpretation of results.

Pink (et al. , 2016) argued how digital ethnography is characterized by (pp. 8-15):

- multiplicity: there is more than one way to engage the digital;
- non digital centricness: media experience and interactions are inseparable from another type of experiences and actions;
- openness: the research design in an open-ended and flexible process;
- reflexivity: interrogate researchers about how knowledge is produced;
- unorthodoxy: based on data and information types that could be considered unconventional in traditional social research (foto, video, etc.).

Looking at this key features with could put in evidence two different digital ethnographic approaches: net-nography, theorized by Kozinets (2009), and the Digital Methods approach (also called Digital Ethnography to distinguish it from the previous one) of Richard Rogers (2013). Looking at the differences and peculiarities of each approach, it needs to be put in evidence how they are not strictly quantitative or qualitative approaches. They could be included in the mixed method approach. Their nature is intrinsically promiscuous, especially the net-nographic one that Caliendo and Gandini (2017) states that it is more an *ethnography for the Internet* rather than an *ethnography of the Internet*, which would seem a more appropriate definition to define Rogers' framework. The approach of Kozinets seems to move more in continuity with the previous and traditional ethnographic approaches but it is more flexible and oriented to the multiplicity and not digitally centricness of digital ethnography.

The complementarity of the two approaches is particularly important because we live in an *augmented society*, where the distinctions between online/offline are increasingly blurred. The way we interact and the activities carried out in the digital sphere have more and more impact on the physical sphere, and vice versa. This evidence is particularly clear when we refer to the peer2peer production (Benkler and Nissenbaum, 2006; Paccagnella, 2010): a new mode of production and exchange of goods and services based on human networks that interact and collaborate through a digital infrastructure.

This new economy is something hybrid, between formal and informal. It escapes the legal and conceptual framework traditionally applied in the sociology of work (Glucksmann, 2016). This economy is based on prosumers (producer+consumers) or produsers (producer+users) (Toffler, 1970; Bruns 2008), as hybrid social actors with fluid motivation and roles in the value chain.

It is evident that such a transformation represents a challenge both from the theoretical and the methodological point of view. The debate to find proper techniques and approaches to studying this phenomenon is still open but it starts with the recognition of the digital sphere as more than a simple space for interaction/production/consumption, but also as a “place” for data generation.

The case analysed wants to witness the opportunity and the advantages of a combined use of the two approaches applying them to the analysis of two prosumers communities within the peer2peer economy:

- the first is the community of a digital time bank that use a specific platform to exchange skills and information using time units as a complementary currency;
- the second case is an Open Data community that brings together a group of active citizens using open license data released by the public administration to produce new smart services and increase transparency and accountability of the business local administrators.

The objectives of this analysis are to verify whether, despite the differences in terms of goals and digital infrastructures used, there are some elements in common between the two peer2peer communities, looking above all to:

- the motivation of the actors: are they communities interested in producing any systematic change or they are more motivated by an individualistic narcissist attitude typical of the majority of the online users?
- the structure of relationships and the organizational modalities of the production/exchange processes: do they act really as a horizontal group without any hierarchy or asymmetry?

From both the analyses (Arcidiacono and Podda, 2017; Arcidiacono and Reale, 2016) emerged a social profile of young professionals in the ICT sector or operating in the digital communication industry (social media strategists, data journalists, etc.). This main profile was composed mainly by freelancers or consultants that use the community as a self-training and personal branding tools. This evidence was also confirmed by the content analysis, both qualitatively and quantitatively, that further emphasized this ambivalence, combining the micro perspectives and motivations, emerged by some interviews or a single conversation, with the macro analysis of the themes and words occurrences.

The observation and the analysis of this two communities have allowed us to gather evidence on how, despite the rhetoric of a peer network, these communities are deeply asymmetrical and vertical. The exchanges and transactions produced are rarely based on symmetric reciprocity: who give something, rarely receive something in return from someone else, but rather there is mostly a distinction of roles between people who produce and people who receive. The ones that produce are the central nodes of the network from which the majority of communicative flows started and they were also the most influential actors within the community.

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(Over)Exposed and Un(der)Paid Knowledge Workers in the Processes of Crowdsourcing

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This paper reflects on the social display processes (Codeluppi, 2007), the construction of the so-called “reputational capital” (Arvidsson, Giordano, 2013) and the self-promotion of subjective resources (Chicchi & Simone, 2017) in the context of cognitive biocapitalism. In particular we consider the phenomenon of crowdsourcing, as process of obtaining ideas or services by soliciting contributions from a large group of knowledge workers (often precarious) that participate in a project, offering their performances.

In today's society the traditional practices of job search and recruiting are changing as social network sites and digital platforms dedicated to work proliferate all over the online sphere, consenting demand and supply to meet in specific ways. For both companies and job seekers, digital platform have now become an intermediate territory that allows the search for the “ideal candidate”, based on what workers tell about themselves through their own online CV (eg LinkedIn)

and the publication and sharing of their portfolio, which makes the performance and the projects developed visible. They invest effort in the growth of the biographical capital (Cohen, 2001), refining the narrative of the (online) self, thanks to the deployment of specific skills that relate the work for self-exposure.

Scholars have showed the rise of freelancing (Cappelli and Keller 2013; Osnowitz 2010) that is looked with increasing in many professional sectors and a number of digital marketplaces dedicated to contractors and freelancers have emerged to become big actors in the allocation of 'piece-work' via the intermediation of an online platform. These seem to be primary interesting insights on the expansion of platforms that, beyond labour exchange, facilitate the sharing of contents, projects, services and goods. More than ten years after the claim of the rise of the creative class that, in face of Florida's ideas largely developed in a mass of precarious workers, the knowledge industry has also evolved towards embracing the growth of a gig and sharing economy that entails a broad spectrum of practices, including both forms of pooling, reciprocity and intermittent/flexible jobs. The cooperation and production of discourses/material online have also incentivized the codification of their social experience through algorithms (Zehle & Rossiter, 2009; Fuller & Goffey, 2012) and users profiling. Through a narrative biographical approach (Riessman 1993; Di Fraia, 2004), qualitative interviews were conducted online (10 interviews implemented through Skype videoconference) and face-to-face (8 interviews) with digital designer – freelancers – in the field of visual and graphic design (ex-students of the Degree in Communication Design, Naba Postgraduate Institute in Milan). The qualitative interviews aimed at gathering the story of the young biographies (study and work) of young freelancers and their experiences of using platforms that allow their CVs to be published. We focused on self-presentation practices and the participation of these workers in crowdcreative platforms, such as crowdsourcing in digital design projects (those mentioned were: <https://www.zooppa.com/en/>; <https://www.twago.it/>; <https://www.starbytes.it/>; <http://it.bestcreativity.com/>). We investigated the motivations behind the participation in crowdsourcing initiatives and the role in building network and professional ties, and managing their online reputation.

Starting from the literature that explores those media-related capitalist phenomenology such as the capability to generate meaningful experiences for the producers (Bruns, 2007), as well as the trend that characterizes the precarious free labor (Terranova, 2000) of workers as an opportunity of self-fulfillment of the subject/worker (Scholtz, 2012), we intend to investigate the productive activity of knowledge workers, which is based on informal and affective relations, the will to share, and the undefined boundaries between free time and free labor. We refer to the situation in which the user voluntarily and gratuitously participates to the creation of online personal and professional (social) network, propelled by different motivation linked to leisure and recreation activity, to the expression of identity through (digital) management impression (Gill & Prat, 2008). The critical approaches of information capitalism (Castells, 2002) and digital studies (Huws, 2014) have highlighted the ambiguity of work processes within the so-called gig economy: in the context of platform capitalism (Fumagalli, 2016; Armano, Murgia, Teli, 2017) there is the coexistence of an informal economy an accumulation system where digital platforms play a central role in capitalist development (Vecchi, 2016), where work performance requires the involvement of both cognitive and relational faculties of humans.

From the main results of the conducted research it emerges that in order to participate in the communication flow of contemporary society, users/workers believe that their exposure and participation in the web (in terms of building and management an online profile and participating in recruitment systems for freelancers) is a "fair price" to be paid to use digital platforms.

Faced with crowdsourcing platforms and logic, respondents cite the most emancipatory aspects and they said they had (their own life and) their work around "creativity" and self-activation (Armano & Murgia, 2013), according to which the hetero-direction logic typical of the Fordist model is replaced by a new sphere participation as self-responsabilization of choices (Salecl, 2010). In the jackpot economy (Ross, 2009), only one/few participants (of the crowd) is attributed to a reward in monetary terms: for most of the knowledge workers the expected remuneration seems the hope of reaching a turning point, a lucky break dedicated to the most deserving.

Digital reputation and the building of trust networks in online systems play a key role (as is also confirmed by interviews reports). The idea of a reputation economy located at the heart of the current neoliberal economic model poses therefore as an interesting and challenging perspective for the research on the logics of digital labour markets. These are mechanisms powered by algorithms that process a plurality of information by building the digital reputation of members of a platform. If, as Coleman says (1990; Rauch and Casella 2001, 32), "confidence is the will to engage in collaborative effort before even knowing how the other person will behave" and is based on interpersonal or community relationships, the collaborative economy feeds rather than a trust that develops from the reputation of members who use the digital service. In the so-called "performance society" (Chicchi & Simone, 2017) a user has access to another's share capital that is made visible on the digital platform.

In the online interaction emerge the personal exposure processes of the users/workers (Codeluppi, 2007) and modeling of identities based on online reputation, in which the "remuneration" of (unpaid)work done on the network is an economic but non-monetary and non-contracted social fact (Cossetta & Labate, 2014), centered on the recognition that actors acquire through information that is cumulatively published online in relation to their profile: a status acquired through a peer-reviewed evaluation through publicly available information on the web. Such reputable mechanisms we have achieved ambivalent results: on the one hand they can promote virtuous attitudes that are oriented towards the quality and the common good (Arvidsson & Pietersen 2009), but on the other they can lead to a sense of renewed individualism and exclusivity of their relational circle (Papacharissi, 2011). The high degree of homophily of these network of transactions can constitute real reciprocal traps (Arcidiacono 2016).

The ambiguity of the collected considerations and evidence continues to pose several issues in the uses and effects of platforms into the details of everyday practices of use, design, research. Their functioning in the gig economic dynamics and the consequences on interaction applied to several social activities, from consumption to work (and free work) relations, impose the need for researches that explore personal sharing strategies and how they are drawn from within mediating the platform.

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The Role of Platforms in (Re)Con-Figuring Social Relations: An Ethnographic Examination of the Social Accomplishment of Human Resource Management Induction Platforms

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This paper considers the introduction of a Human Resource Management (HRM) platform within the workplace and the implications of this platform for social relations. Such platforms and their introduction is not a new phenomenon, indeed any technical development has the potential to disrupt existing social relations. As such, we trace the effects such technologies hold in relation to creating opportunities for new forms of social relations (*cf.* Merton, 1936). It is in this vein that we aim to show the effects of an HRM platform technology as a means of demonstrating the implications it has for producing new forms of workplace sociality.

The focus of our analysis is upon a software platform that used in the induction of new staff and the ways in which this technology is already inscribed with assumptions about the nature of the employment relationship (*cf.* Latour, 1987). These assumptions enable those who use such technologies to behave differently, as has been seen elsewhere (Jones, 2000; Labatut, *et al.*, 2012; Woolgar, 1991) in terms of providing a *display* of accountability. Across domains, technologies enable a displacement of the *other* according to the logics of a given program (*cf.* Latour, 1991), which enable individuals to be kept in line, or more amenable to legitimate disposal (*cf.* Hetherington, 2011; Law and Liens; 2012; Munro, 2001). Specifically, such technological platforms not only reproduce a particular logic associated with the development of the program, but as we show, such logics have real impact upon careers and the kinds of citizenship that are institutionally valorised (Fleming and Sturdy, 2011; Kornberger, *et al.*, 2011). Employees are reduced in compliance with what the platform signifies, rather than create the sorts of social worlds they promise to foster.

The introduction of a HRM platform enables numerous policies and practices to be cascaded to the user, the employee, at the point of organizational need on commencement of the employment relationship. We take this starting point to show how such a platform may also introduce (and by implication enforce) specific capitalist (Jones, 2000; *cf.* Taylor, 1911) logics into the employment relationship as a mode of organisational practice. Reification of the platform as setting a precedent for forms of conduct focusses attention to those elements of induction that can be recorded and rewarded. In becoming a new member of staff, the HRM platform ensures the recording of practices as a proxy for engaging with these staff. The extent to which the platform can be considered useful is reduced to the interpretation of those in line management positions and the ways in which other platforms, workload models, performance measurement targets already shape behaviour. Such interpretive flexibility provides the potential for immediate tensions within the workplace among those who experience differences in induction and provide new modes of proximity and distance to the extent that the line manager may offer a link to induction training or engage with what it means to be a good organizational citizen at its extreme. Here the moral responsibility of developing good social relations in order to develop staff can be forgone in order to simply perform accountability (*cf.* Power, 1999; Rose, 1991) and in Bauman's (1989) terms be technically, rather than morally responsible (*cf.* Arendt, 1958). Here relations are rendered discretionary in order for the line manager to continue with their own work and provide time for their own metrics to be fulfilled.

Such hollowing out of social relations to the instrumentally necessary (platform) enables citizenship to be seen to be enacted for reasons of institutional accountability, whilst at the same time diminishing citizenship to that which can be effectively measured (*cf.* Porter, 1996; Denis *et al.*, 2006). Such platforms have the combined effect of increasing the sense of individuals' distance from the direct consequences of their actions within a complex system, whilst simultaneously enabling them to show how effective they are as managers and academics (Kornberger *et al.*, 2011). This is not inconsequential, for the danger lies with obliterating responsibility in its entirety (Bauman, 1989), for after all, nothing matters but consistency (Arendt, 1994). The significance of such (*in*)consistency appears not only through the potential for inconsistent interpretation of HRM platforms, namely providing a link, or spending time exploring the implication of the information at the end of the link; but also for the potential shifting of accountability, which is now placed with the HRM platform representing a further shift of responsibility from the line manager to the new employee. In effect, we reveal an inversion of the order of relations we might expect and which may be organisationally expedient. We witness the potential for the (*de*)responsibilisation of the line manager as they aim to offset additional work onto new employees through the introduction of a platform. However, the potential for the discretionary dimension of line management illuminates the practical distinctions between the spirit or the letter of the 'platform' rules in respect of promoting citizenship and simultaneously stripping it as in effect, what can be counted counts. Thus in this instance the HRM platform reveals how realities are enacted in practice. The potential exists for being seen to be doing and thus enabling a new form of performativity. This creates an environment in which a disconnect between what happens and what is seen to be happening (Goffman, 1963) where being there for the other (Bauman, 1993) is hugely contingent on the individual line manager. While HR platforms have transformed many workplaces in the sense that they enable access to contemporary management practices such a flexible working, diversity and equal rights which advocate consistency. However, through an exploration of the induction process we highlight new meanings on how we do citizenship within the organization and specifically how such platforms facilitate opting in (*or out*) of citizenship. As any technology demands interpretation of the user and configures (Woolgar, 1991) the user we show the social accomplishment of HRM platforms and how they may work against the very practices they are designed to promote.

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Digital Industries: Organizing, Producing and Consuming Private Life in the Age of Airbnb

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In which ways everyday private life becomes a productive element for digital industries?

In order to answer this question, in this paper we will focus on AirBnB, a company providing a website for people to list, find and rent lodging. Since 2010, AirBnB has expanded rapidly in many European and western cities. The company has gained a positive reputation as an emblematic case of the so-called sharing economy or collaborative economy, but it has also been strongly criticised for disrupting housing and local communities. Moreover, while the platform enables people to become *hosts* by listing and renting out their lodging on a global short term rental market (with a probably higher yield than a residential long term rental), at the same time it gives travelers the opportunity to book accommodation at often lower price than those of the hotel industry.

Given that the company makes profit by managing users' transactions and applying a fee on them (not by owning and managing lodgings itself), it is crucial for AirBnB involving as many users as possible. At the same time, it is also crucial for the company being able to deal with users' heterogeneity and unexpected/unwanted actions, thus setting constraints upon their likely future actions. Establishing an apparently flat hierarchy and dispersed organization in which hosts have a certain degree of freedom in listing their space and organizing it autonomously, and guests are able to search the listings and directly interact with the host, the company maintains its central role by managing payments, providing tools that enable communication between users and gathering information about them. Most of the information/content on the site is thus produced by its users either a result of their interaction (via users' feedbacks) or as a prerequisite to start the interaction itself (via profiles and listings). In fact, the crucial factor for the well-functioning of this network, whose central knot is the Airbnb platform, is its flexibility and capability to adapt to different local situations by leaving a broad space of interpretation to the users while maintaining a certain degree of control through a set of obligatory passage points. These

are to find in the calendars, statistics, chat and ratings provided by the company on its platform and are based on the broad diffusion of mobile internet technology, which permits and obliges the hosts to always be reachable and connected. The AirBnB phenomenon is thus a perfect case to look at the ways in which online industries, by means of their digital platforms, engage users in forms of production and consumption previously unknown. As aptly noted by Hyysalo et al. (2016, p. 2), looking at the new production of users points both to “the new production by users and the new efforts to produce active users. (...) The new production of users is thus about user creativity *and* about changing involvement strategies that produce creative users.”.

Referring to an in-depth qualitative research on AirBnB hosts recently conducted in a touristic north-east Italian province, this paper critically explores to which degree and how AirBnB pervades, changes and controls the hosts' domestic space and spare time, turning private goods and life into productive elements for the company and hosts themselves. In particular, by describing the everyday practices of “house-management” enacted by the hosts, we found that previously existing resources and conditions (such as available space, spare time, the internet, computers, smartphones, ‘social capital’, personal skills) are re-organized and lead to new forms of agency, social interaction and practices. In this sense, we will show the company-user relationship (as well as the one between the host and the guest) as the result of a continuous process of delegations and assignments enacted by a heterogeneous network of human and non-human actors.

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Cartographies of the Digital Governance of Education

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The policy instrumentations of the governance of education are becoming increasingly digital. Education policy and practice are more and more imbricated in digital technologies and platforms. We are witnessing a shift from the paper-based and analogue instrumentations to the digital technologies that are introducing new social, technical, and material dimensions in the infrastructure of the practice of governing of the education systems. The digitalization is constituting a ‘second nature’ of the landscape of the governance of education that is hardly conceivable nowadays without the technicalities and the related circuits of expertise of the digital worlds. For some scholars, we are entering in the digital-era governance (Dunleavy 2005), and in particular, in the digital governance of education (Williamson 2016) where the concatenations of data, algorithms, codes and expertise are profoundly, and fast reshaping the horizon and the very condition of the education policy and practice. While these changes have been to some extent anticipated in the long history of the media technological developments, there is need to test the ‘reality’ of these transformations to better understand the becoming digital of the governance of education and their implications. It is relevant, in particular, to explore how the new policy instrumentations are reconfiguring the educational governance, and to understand whether or not the emergent configurations are related to the discourses and the practices of the new public management.

The empirical exploration of the digital governance displays, however, specific challenges, and is soliciting, at the same time, the sociological research to focus and re-tune its methodology on the changing sociomaterialities of education policy. Digital platforms, software and devices are not completely transparent. They constitute and make visible the space-times of education; on the other hand, paradoxically, they have shades of opacity, as they are imbricated in trans-national and intra-national sociotechnical machinery that can be overtly fluid, changing over time, and not entirely open for investigation. The description of the digital governance is requiring, then, creative methodological arrangements, by following the complexification of the field of research.

The paper presents a methodology for exploring the emerging dynamics of the digital governance of education (Williamson 2016). The methodology, consists in the composition of historical reconstructions, semiotic analysis, and multi-sited ethnographies aimed at elaborating cartographies of the fabrication and the use of the digital systems in the management of education systems. By drawing on Actor-Network Theory (Latour 2005; Law 2009), the paper will argue that this methodology reveals particularly helpful to bring to the forefront the sociomateriality of the assemblages of people, technologies, and policies making up the digital governance of education.

The paper will first address the issue of researching the digital governance, by highlighting the topic and some of the research methods that have been currently mobilised to trace, register and analyze its dynamics. Secondly, it will present a project of making cartographies of the digital governance of education, by relying on the gathering and data analysis realized in a research project on the becoming digital of the governance in Italy and EU (Landri, 2018). It will be illustrated, in particular, how the fabrication of cartographies is related to Actor-Network Theory, and the peculiarity of this methodological apparatus.

Notably, the paper will focus on the case of ‘Scuola in Chiaro’ in Italy (SiC from now on), a digital platform drawing on school database infrastructures, and designed as a search engine for the school choice. The platform was highly advertised and considered as an instrument to break the closure of the schools, or by using a topos of the public discourse on education in Italy, to circumvent their ‘self-referentiality’, i.e. their alleged natural disposition of putting barriers to impede the ‘external’ to see into the ‘internal’ of everyday routines of education practice. SiC acted therefore as a ‘window’ making connections among social worlds; it was a case of non-human that was delegated a relevant role of mediation in education policy.

The project of making cartographies of the digital governance completes, and partly expands other sociological research protocols. It adds significantly the practice of the digital ethnography and the semiotic analysis to forefront the capacity

to act of the digital systems in education policy. It follows an ethnographic approach, sharing some similarities with the network ethnography (Ball & Junemann 2012; Ball et al. 2017). However, it is more interested in describing the co-implication of humans and non-humans and highlighting the agency of objects that remain in the research design of the network ethnography, even when they are followed, somewhat in the background (Ball et al. 2017). Moreover, it problematizes the very notion of 'network' that is taken more as methodological tool and not as in the network ethnography as the very purpose of the analysis.

The research on the emerging scenario is challenging as it is more, in general, the impact of the digital devices, and the development of the infosphere for the social science. It suggests to imagining and partly reinventing the social methods to account for the complexities of the sociomaterialities of the new practice of governing in many parts of the world (at least those in the affluent north). Critical issues are coming to fore that concern the opacity that accompany this form of governance that requires the definition of research strategies that could offer additional understanding on how this is changing the space-time of education, and how they relate with the current dominant trends in education policy-making.

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SESSION 11

MINORS IN MIGRATION: COMPARATIVE APPROACHES

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Unaccompanied Foreign Minors: A Case Study

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In the world of migrants and asylum seekers as depicted in the media and by political actors, the category of unaccompanied minors is generally perceived differently. Minors who arrive in Italy without adults are considered particularly vulnerable, and as such, need to be placed in protective contexts, such as special communities and foster homes. The majority of unaccompanied foreign minors who have arrived in Italy over the last few years have chosen, by and large, to request international protection in order to regularize their presence there, placing themselves on the same legal level as all the other migrants who have made the dangerous journey from Libya. Of course, the real or declared condition of being a minor means that there is greater likelihood of receiving more favourable treatment from the "Territorial Commission for the Recognition of International Protection" (humanitarian protection, at least), but more importantly, less hostility from local communities who see minors as more fragile subjects in need of greater solidarity, or at least deserving of tolerance. But what really happens on a local level when unaccompanied minors, who are mostly African in origin, arrive in Italy? What type of conflict can arise, and what sort of mediation is necessary in communities where there are unaccompanied foreign minors? What are the relationships between the various members of the reception team and the beneficiaries?

Some of the more recently published research (Sbraccia, 2011; Zamarchi, 2014) has painted an interesting picture of the life of unaccompanied foreign minors in communities during the past few years, especially for those situated in the North East of Italy, where the majority of minors came from Central Asia, the Balkan countries and Eastern Europe. The research highlights the types of conflict that can arise between community educators and the families of minors still living in the country of origin. Often, it is caused by the type of socio-educational programmes offered to the beneficiaries, but can also be due to the risk of their regressive infantilization caused by the need to return to school in Italy after working and being more independent in their country of origin.

The aim of this paper for ERQ 2018 is to describe life inside a community for foreign minors in Sicily, from the privileged observation point of one of the coordinators at the centre. The reception centre in question was only set up in May 2017 and hosts beneficiaries primarily from West Africa, most of whom have had to endure difficult experiences in Libyan detention camps. The project was organized by the local Municipality, but is run by two cooperatives with very different histories and structures. One is a small local cooperative with over thirty years' experience in social services, while the other is a branch of an important NGO responsible for reception, based in Tuscany and connected to an international NGO. The intention is to describe the various forms of interaction between the actors involved in the management of the structure, as well as the interaction with external social networks, such as voluntary associations, sports clubs, cultural and recreational associations, parishes, and schools, and relationships with the locals who accompany the beneficiaries to police stations, municipal offices, health care structures and doctors' studios.

It is also an attempt to understand whether or not the idea of colonialism is still present in public discourse today, and to see whether black migrants are still associated with colonial Africa, with the risk of reproducing the old dynamics of coloniser/colonised in our everyday interpersonal relationships.

Between Africa, Europe and America: The Increasing Phenomenon of Unaccompanied Migrant Children: A Geo-Social Analysis

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These years have seen the development of the phenomenon of unaccompanied migrant children, coming mainly from two areas of the Planet: central and south America and sub-Saharan Africa. In addition to these realities, the Syrian conflict which started in 2011 caused the coming in Europe of hundreds of thousands of migrants-children. The phenomenon of unaccompanied migrant children is an emergency: according to data provided by Unicef, there are 31 million children in the world who live outside their Country, 11 million of whom are asylum seekers and 17 million children are displaced. Always Unicef indicates that, between 2015 and 2016, the number of children arrived on European shores has increased by 71% and the number of unaccompanied minors has doubled.

The condition of unaccompanied migrant children raises a threefold reflection in their being migrants, and, at the same

time, weak subjects, kids that haven't anyone who could take care of them. they are lonely in the travel, and lonely on arrival in a foreign Country.

At a normative level, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), ratified by Italy in 1991, focuses on the condition of the child, which must prevail over everything, even on the status of a migrant and talks about some fundamental rights such as life, health, education, rights that pertain to all children, regardless of their condition. These rights are also mentioned in the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) and, in Italy, already the Constitution of 1948 has dedicated several articles to the minors, identified as persons worthy of specific protection.

The aim of this paper is to show, through the reasoned use of official international and national sources such as: UNHCR, the Un Agency for Refugees, Unicef, Caritas Migrantes and the Ministry of the Interior, the factors of thrust and attraction of migrations that involving unaccompanied children from Mexico in America, and from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe, investigating many types of migrations.

It will be analysed economic and forced migrations, determined by social, environmental, territorial and geo-political conditions in the States of origin such as to put at risk the lives of the people. Specifically, it will be given special attention to the geographical and ethnographical background of the Countries most involved in this phenomenon: Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador in the case of America and Guinea, the Ivory Coast and the Gambia in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, region that includes some of the poorest countries in the world such as Niger and Mali that have a HDI (Human Development Index) among the lowest in the world.

Finally, we'll discuss the main migratory routes towards Europe and United States putting the accent about the risks and dangers faced by migrants, especially in the case of unaccompanied minors who can become victims of trafficking in human beings and criminal groups, or, still worse, victims of the commerce of organs, such as repeatedly denounced by the reports of the Un Agency for Refugees and others humanitarian organizations.

"It's Impossible to Stay Alone". Doubts, Discourses and Representations Around "Unaccompanied Foreign Minors" in Morocco and Italy

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Even though the place reserved to children as subjects, in anthropology and ethnography, could be quite recent (Honwana & DeBoeck 2005; Allerton 2016), the general interest around childhood has been part of the discipline since far (Malinowski 1927; Mead 1928). In the contemporary scenario, where mobility strongly increases, a new juridical entity comes into being – around the 90s – and becomes more popular day-by-day, especially in euro-american backgrounds: the unaccompanied foreign/migrant minor – with all the different nuances and attempts to alternative definitions it has recently taken as "isolated", "abandoned", "in danger"...etc (Senovilla Hernandez 2014). Whether the mediatic, and partly scientific, interest around this new actor has developed in recent years, relational tissues of the people so defined are still not taken too much into account. Institutional representations and practices around these relationships share this lack of knowledge too. Although, as two young guys juridically fitting the category told accidentally to me, in no way they could think to 'stay alone' or describe themselves as 'lonely'. Which kinds of histories and representations of families and relationships could lie, therefore, under juridical narrations and definitions of "unaccompanied foreign minors"? Does relationships disappear just because they are "erased" in the juridical lexical level?

Through the discussion of a three-months fieldwork experience with some young asylum seekers in Rabat (Morocco) in 2016 – converged in my master degree dissertation – where the research question grew, and by referring as well to the starting fieldwork in Italy both with institutions and young guys, I will try to provide some examples of accompanying ideas, representations and aspects emerging around this label, by institutional codes, subjects voices and everyday practices. Italy and Morocco have, of course, different institutional settings around this topic, where also international agencies play a fundamental role: analysing these different contexts together can lead us to make some reflections upon the "unaccompanied foreign minors" definition itself, underling more deeply its historical, political and social construction.

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Diversity of Schooled Migrant Pupils in France: Challenges of a Segmented Inclusion

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France has historically been a huge country of immigration and has never been a country of emigration (out-migration). At the same time, this country has had a large colonial empire. These two features have influenced the public policies, especially in the fields of education and migration. Although some changes can be observed, these policies tend to remain focused on assimilation, with a post-colonial approach.

In this pattern, the linguistic perspective is a major issue as the highest priority is to master the French language. Behind this idea, the pedagogic goal is to master the upper class language; however, the pupils who are schooled today are heterogeneous. A lot of them are coming from French-speaking countries (but not only) and experience some vulnerabilities. The data are based on a survey conducted during 3 years in different schools and middle schools in the Paris area. For this paper, we will underline the inclusion challenge for every pupil in a context of a segmented educational system.

SESSION 12

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF TOURISM

Convenors: Monica Gilli (Università di Torino),
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SESSION 12A

Industrial Debris on Tour: Sightseeing among Sicilian Petro-Cultures

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Decadence begins when a civilization falls in love with its ruins (Derek Walcott 1964)

Public spaces covered in pyrite powder, the skeleton of an old bromide factory left to rust on the coast, the remains of an ancient Greek necropolis sitting under a refinery, an illegal dump covered by tattered tarpaulins, oil pipelines stretching across illegally farmed land or the wastewater generated by ceaseless industrial production in one of the largest petrochemical hubs in Europe... Can this kind of debris, industrial debris, be put on display and serve to attract tourism? Drawing on anthropological theories on imperial ruins and ruination, colonial rubble and debris (Stoler 2013; Gordillo 2004, 2014), this paper focuses on a specific form of tourist practice that hinges on the "sacralization" of sites displaying the tangible effects of industrial processing on humans and the environment. Also nicknamed "toxic tours" or "petro-tours" (Pezzullo 2003, 2007; Klawiter 1999, 2008), these excursions reveal the uneven temporal sedimentation of disputed pasts in local areas with a long history of energy exploitation, bringing the tangibility of late industrial landscapes and their vanishing political life under the ethnographic lens. Describing the organization and enactment of toxic tours in a large petrochemical pole in south-eastern Sicily locally known as the "triangle of death" (Benadusi 2018), this article sheds light on two convergent phenomena: on one hand, the alternative senses of history either revealed or concealed by the trend of transforming industrial debris into tourist attractions and, on the other hand, the way this sacralization of local areas makes it possible for certain groups to advance consequential claims on different futures or future losses. The paper employs a narrative that unfolds through "shots", reminiscent of snapshots, seeking not so much to focus on the tourist sites themselves as to highlight the viewing modes (from concealment to unveiling) that industrial ruins elicit among toxic tour participants. The research results derive from long-term ethnographic work, initiated in 2015 and still in progress, which enabled the author to take an active part in a number of guided tours variously organized by environmental groups, political movements and civic associations dedicated to heritage preservation. By showing the divergences between different types of tours, therefore, the paper also seeks to show how the abandoned objects that re-tell stories of "industrial culture" and modernization are not simply found there, they are tactically created and refashioned to assert contrastive visions of what social ruination means in people's lives.

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“#TRENITALIA vi augura buon viaggio”: l’ironia corre su Twitter

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Recent developments in the research field of tourism sciences show a growing interest in customer satisfaction and in online reputation. The emphasis on these issues also depends on the improvement of information technologies that, in line with their features, allow the creation of new spaces for “online visibility” (Morales et al., 2014). Referring to the specific domain of tourism, they offer several opportunities for “product” promotion. On the other hand, social media and social networks enable users to empower both interpersonal communication and meaning making dynamics. In fact, the digital revolution has made the communication dynamics more and more mediated, enabling Internet users to experience new signification practices. Therefore, tourist agencies can investigate what users think about the experienced services – through, for example, Sentiment Analysis (Pang & Lee, 2008). In addition, the digital natives (Prensky, 2001) can produce short textual contents concerning services of tourist companies, as in the case of Trenitalia, resorting to various rhetorical strategies, such as irony. Irony is an intricate rhetorical strategy because the ironic enunciator aims to make opaque the meaning of a communicative act. Whether written or oral, directed or mediated, ironic communication always aroused the attention of linguists and psycholinguists, who have sought universal signals to recognize and understand ironic intents. As a consequence, in order to capture the underlying intent of an ironic communication, the listener should share a common ground with the enunciator (Bazzanella 2009). Irony is “the art of being clear without being evident” (Anolli, 2006, 275). This means that it is not a simple rhetorical figure, but rather a semantic inversion between lexical (manifest) meaning and implicit (latent) meaning. This feature allows persons to protect both one’s identity and interpersonal relationships as well as to manage different degrees of freedom in the process of meaning construction. Furthermore, as an oblique communication, irony is an allowed contradiction (Mizzau, 1988): it maintains the ambiguity either to avoid clashes or to dispel commonplaces and to reduce the constraints related to the use of language. The ironic communication act is often compared to fencing game (Anolli, Infantino and Ciceri, 2002): fencing the foil to hit someone in an elegant but licentious way. Irony differs from similar rhetoric strategies, i.e. sarcasm, since it is founded on the complicity between actors. In the absence of this agreement, the will to move someone or something is clear, as generally happens in social networks. Among the several social networks, the “social turn” offered by Twitter (also) allows to claim subjective opinions on the services offered by a company, such as Trenitalia which deals with tourist mobility on rails. As a mass phenomenon, tourism involves so many persons’ lives and can organize structural domains of entire communities. Certainly, tourism has been invested by the “big maelstrom” (De Kerckhove, 2003) of the Internet. In the discursive construction made through social networks, tourist experience is a “form of life” (Manuti et al, 2007, 1) that relates the use of mobility technologies with the possibility to express satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Identifying irony, so widespread among net users, is particularly hard for sentiment analysis software. Starting from this limit, a qualitative research has been carried out to understand how social actors, Internet users, construct signification practices of the embarking on a journey, and to what extent the discursive practices in social networks are modulated with masked rhetorical strategies. The main object of this study is to investigate the different types of irony emerging from the Twitter users’ “voices” about Trenitalia. Our general hypothesis is that social networks offer a new context to the enunciative practice of irony, although it maintains its uncertain and elusive nature. The second object is to study the existence of detectable signs of irony by artificial and human intelligence. To detect these aspects, the technique of thinking aloud (TA) has been used: TA allows to obtain discursive and interpretable data, in order to demonstrate how online reputation and customer satisfaction detection systems are not always effective in understanding why users, when they review a tourist service (such as transport on rails) use veiled communication methods. The thinking aloud procedure allows participants to verbalize the mental processes and thoughts occurring during a test proposed by the researcher. In our work, participants are asked 1) to define if selected tweets have/have not an ironic intent; 2) to clarify their functions; 2) to identify the linguistic elements supporting 1). An agreement was found for 34 tweets in 50 selected ones as ironic. Regarding the function, the judges esteemed the ironic tweets as aimed to complain about the service or the inconveniences, so irony would be mainly used to exaggerate situations. As for the linguistic elements founding irony, the research has allowed to confirm the existence of a generally taxonomy (Carvalho et al., 2009). In addition, the selection of judges of different gender, age and education demonstrate that the socio-demographic variables can intervene in irony detection. This shows that qualitative methodologies are useful in investigating the role of subjective features in the signification practices dealing with important life experiences, such as tourism, reaching the sentiment in the intricacies of a text and the detecting of a mystery rethoric strategy, as irony. In particular, socio-demographic variables can play an active role in detecting irony about the touristic domain, as especially explored in the world of social networks.

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Experiencing Sapmi at the Pace of the Drumbeat: Isogaisa and Riddu Riddu Festivals in the Context of North-Norway Cultural and Spiritual Tourism

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In this contribution, I would like to address the role of tourism in the construction of indigenous Sami identity in the Norwegian County of Troms.

The Sami, an indigenous people living in the northernmost regions of Europe, are indeed engaged in a continuous process of negotiation of their identity. They do so by resorting to symbols from their past (Cocq, 2014), often bestowing them with new meanings suitable for the construction of a modern, yet “authentic” and “traditional”, Sami identity (Mathisen, 2010, Fonneland, 2017a).

This analysis aims at investigating if the sacred has become a resource in the management and display of Sami cultural heritages. The focus of this contribution is on the ethno-political and cultural relevance of two summer festivals with strong links to Sami pre-Christian religious traditions: the Isogaisa and Riddu Riddu festivals (Fonneland, 2017b). These social gatherings represent an important opportunity and a cultural site for those Sami people who feel the need to express their own ethnic and religious identity in the Troms County, a region where the majority of the population is of Norwegian ethnicity. They also attract tourists interested in alternative spiritualities and hence make evident the economic potential of indigenous spiritualities (Fonneland, 2017a).

Looking for extraordinary experiences, many people visit the remote lands of the Sami: a stunning nature and the many activities available there attract tourists. The aurora borealis or the midnight sun along with the opportunity to travel on a dog-led sledge are proposed as, and hence represent, some of the main attractions of these regions (Fonneland, 2017a). A further element enticing tourists is the very existence of Sami people. Perceived as different and exotic, the Sami and their culture have long been the object of foreigners' curiosity (Baglo, 2015).

The constructed dichotomy, interiorised by tourists (Olsen, 2017), between modernity and tradition is at the basis of the exoticisation of the Sami people: seen as a bizarre, mysterious and primitive people, Sami are regarded as inherently close to nature. They are believed to live according to their traditional lifestyle. This idealised and essentialised version of Sami culture embodies the western construction of the other; it is based on the primitivist paradigm, and represents what many tourists are looking for when visiting Sapmi (Mathisen, 2004).

Many Sami entrepreneurs have tried to intercept this demand for the “authentic Sami culture”. The opening of theme parks (Mathisen, 2010), reindeer farms (Fonneland, 2017a) and Sami guesthouses (Fonneland, 2012) aimed at encouraging tourists looking for the authentic Sami lifestyle to visit Sami regions and take part to experiences where staged authenticity is performed (Muller & Petterson, 2006).

In this context, Sami spirituality is emerging as a driving force in local tourism as more and more people are getting acquainted with and look for new forms of spirituality which draw upon indigenous religions rather than New Age, often negatively connoted (Fonneland, 2012).

Riddu Riddu is a music festival where Sami performers engage in a revised version the old Sami chanting: the *Joik*. This practice bears strong links to the pre-Christian Sami religions (Jarvinen, 2005) and had been stigmatised so fiercely that, at the beginning of the XX century, it had almost disappeared (Jones-Bamman, 2003). Hence, its resurgence has both cultural and political implications.

Isogaisa is a festival devoted to Sami indigenous spirituality in the form of neoshamanism. In this festival, Sami people who engage in neoshamanic practices attempt to restore and make available to other people Sami pre-Christian traditions (Fonneland, 2017b).

The very existence of these festivals, immaterial loci of cultural identity with strong ethnic and political value, shows that religion and spirituality constitute intangible yet important expressions of culture. For what concerns their ethno-political dimension, these summer festivals represent a privileged opportunity to explore and examine why and how Sami people select specific symbols of their identity rather than others.

The process of resorting to practices and symbols formerly associated with the Sami indigenous beliefs system is of particular interest as pre-Christian Sami shamanism is a long gone tradition. After more than 400 years of persecution (Rydving, 2004), Sami ancient religions, and the symbols associated to them such as the *Noaidi* drum, have undergone a process of revival as part of a wider attempt of decolonising Sami culture (Mathisen, 2015).

Despite the strong unifying character of a shared history of repression and stigmatisation, Sami people have different, often conflicting, approaches to their pre-Christian religious traditions. These traditions constitute a controversial identity marker bearing a highly divisive potential as Christian, and especially Laestadian, Sami usually do not welcome the association between their ethnic identity and their ancestors' pagan religion (Kraft, 2015).

In conclusion, the aim of this contribution is to examine the display of Sami cultures in relation to pre-Christian religious traditions and contemporary ethno-political issues, with reference to Isogaisa and Riddu Riddu festivals.

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Participative Processes Aiming at Defining New Touristic and Cultural Strategies for an Ethnographic Museum: Challenges and Opportunities

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According to the International Council of Museums, community museum or ethnographic museum have been developed in recent decades in order to emphasise the specific connection that these museums wish to build with their public. These museums present themselves as establishments which have strong ties with their public, who is at the centre of their work. Unlike other kind of museums, ethnographic museums are more directly related to the social, cultural or geographical group which they represent and which is meant to sustain them. Although often professionally managed, they may also rely on local initiative alone. The issues they address touch directly on the functioning and identity of this community.

In order to recreate and reinforce the link between local population and the local ethnographic museum (Museo Etnografico di Tirano), the Municipality of Tirano, a town in the northern part of Lombardy Region close to Switzerland, proposed a participative process to its community, in collaboration with AlpLab. AlpLab is an association founded in 2016 by three professionals active in the fields of project management, communication and social research. AlpLab supports public bodies and private actors in designing and implementing projects related to local development, participative planning, tourism marketing, social and entrepreneurial innovation.

The Municipality of Tirano and AlpLab set up a project aimed at collecting from local population and associations proposals and suggestions about the renewal and requalification of the ethnographic museum. The project consisted in the organisation and management of ten public meetings that the population joined and where it was a central actor. Using different methodologies and tools (Parish Maps, open space technology, debates, wordcloud), the authors built together with participants a new strategy for the touristic revival of the museum. Indeed, the ethnographic museum of Tirano has recently lost its ability to attract tourists and involve its community. Thanks to this project citizens could express their points of view and their perspectives on relevant topics such as the reorganisation of the museum, the promotion of its events and its added value for the community.

The outcomes of this project are:

- Broadening the concept of ethnographic museum, by the identification and selection of sites and items outside the museum but within its surrounding area (vineyards with their heritage, smugglers' trails, old stables, watermills, aristocratic palaces), encompassing a wider local identity. The ethnographic museum shouldn't be only a conventional museum but a network of sites and items connected by a common culture.
- Placing in the museum innovative and interactive tools for the enhancement of touristic attractiveness and the increase of visitors. Thanks to multimedia contents visitors and tourists could enjoy a wide range of cultural aspects and broaden their experience. The new ethnographic museum will promote the collection of interviews to local key-actors and video documentations about local and traditional practices, in order to make them available to visitors.
- Establishing a new partnership with schools in order to include in the educational programmes ethnographic aspects. The active involvement of students and teachers in the collection of ethnographic materials and in the digitisation of documents.
- Integrating the ethnographic museum within the rest of the town through the creation of synergy with other cultural institutions, the organisation of public events on the museum's premises and the reinforcement of cross-border relationships and ethnographic elements.

The project demonstrated that thanks to the engagement of local population and associations, the ethnographic museum of Tirano has developed a new roadmap and a new network of actors around it. This approach will assure the enlargement of decision-making regarding the ethnographic museum and the increase of challenges and opportunities for all the community of Tirano, in terms of touristic attractiveness, social cohesion and community-based development.

Tourism, Consumption and Space: Ethnographic Performances

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Tourism represents one of the most significant way through which consumption is spatially performed, in so doing significantly contributing to place-making in consumer societies. Tourism studies have generally introduced consumption through marketing or consumer behavioural approaches. These perspectives often adopt quantitative and descriptive methods, and result in neglecting the social, cultural and political dimension of consumption and its entanglement with

space. To fill this gap, a stronger research engagement with ethnography may play a major role in framing a sounder interpretation of tourism and space.

Drawing on these assumptions, I have engaged in ethnographic research in the last 10 years (Rabbiosi, 2018). Ethnography has helped me to show how tourism contribute to draw, and are drawn from, 'maps of meanings' (Jackson, 1998). These are enacted by the triangulation of spatialised practices, urban and regional policies, and geographical imaginaries diversely dealing with tourism, consumption and space. In line with the 'performance turn' in tourism studies (Bærenholdt et al., 2003), I have relied on a wide dramaturgical metaphor to pinpoint for how places are made and remade in their physical, symbolic, and sensorial aspects through the joint performativity of bodies, narratives and images, i.e. searching for a souvenir, the setting of a tourist food shop, or place branding strategies.

Tourism is nowadays such a transversal phenomenon that it extends its scope well beyond the spaces, temporalities and categories that explicitly correspond to it. For instance, ordinary places are increasingly experienced in tourist terms (Minca, Oakes, 2014; Russo, Richards, 2016). This means that tourism can be considered as an analytical tool to understand social and spatial dynamics at large and not just the ones it explicitly delimits (Minca, Oakes, 2014).

To conclude, I claim that by observing the nexus between tourism and consumption through ethnography, it is possible to:

1. reflect upon the touristic capital of cities and regions, which is based on the hybrid co-performance of people, objects, and images exceeding traditional tourist destination models;
- consider the ever present tensions between creativity and commodification of tourism performances and sites, that are at the basis of social and political conflicts;
- give a new role to tourism within and across urban and regional policies based on the fact that tourism is eminently transectorial and transdisciplinary;

These acknowledgements will also contribute to move tourism research from the margins of interpretive social sciences to their core.

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SESSION 12B

Sensual Tourism Geographies for Understanding the Social Roles of Festivals Through Multisensory “Thick Description”

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Festivals are often staged by local authorities as a way to boost the local economy, improve social cohesion, and foster a sense of belonging. However, although it is arguably comparatively straightforward to conceptualize how such events may contribute in terms of economic impact, it is much more difficult to understand and assess how events can contribute to feelings of connectedness and belonging. This paper draws attention to what people do at festival events. Our interest is in how we might develop an ethnography for a sensual tourism geography that better captures how we respond to the various embodied elements of a tourist event – the sights, sounds, smells, experiences and feelings that are aroused – and what this may mean in terms of a sense of belonging or alienation (McClintchey, 2017).

Interest in bodies, and what they can do, has become a central theme of critical tourist studies building on critiques of John Urry's (1990; 1995) notion of the 'tourist gaze' (for example, see Bærenholdt et al, Urry, 2004; Scarles, 2009; Edensor and Falconer, 2011). While the notion of the 'tourist gaze' (1990; 1995) opened up ways to rethink power and how tourism sustains social inequalities beyond those born of economic relationships. and while his work has been critiqued for its

primarily representational and visual emphasis that recreated mind-body dualisms, since then, critical tourist scholars have considered the role in tourism events of bodies, the senses, emotions and affects. This research has particularly emphasised the 'ontologies of acting and doing, the corporeality of tourist bodies and their creative potentials' (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010: 3). When attention turns to bodies, then how a tourism event generates a sense of belonging, or not, is an outcome of not only ideas, but also experiences and affects that often go unnoticed but are always situated somewhere. We suggest that these social and spatial relations are central to understanding the significance of tourism events. In addition, we argue that tourism's shaping of these relations incorporates the everyday; that a part of tourism's significance is that it establishes ways of acknowledging and celebrating ideas of community and place. However, the mundane habits, practices and experiences of daily life often go unnoticed, even though recent arguments in social and cultural theory propose that such things matter profoundly (Lorimer, 2008).

Sarah Pink (2004) suggests that by turning to the senses we can expand our understanding of everyday life beyond the quantitative. Pink echoes the earlier work of Paul Rodaway (1994: 4), who argued that a critical examination of the senses contributes to "the fullness of a living world or everyday life as a multisensual and multidimensional situatedness in space and in relationship to places". Our bodily encounters in and with the world are "not simply perceptual, but always involve emotional, cognitive and imaginative engagement; they are always relational" (Ansell, 2009: 200). An important discussion that arises out of the sensual geographies literature – and which can contribute to ethnographic studies in tourism – questions how best to capture and communicate the ways in which we are entangled within the places and communities in which we live and visit. Our interest lies in the generation of strong feelings of connectedness that arise out of participants' responses to the sensual (visual, oral, olfactory, and haptic) (Duffy & Mair 2018 forthcoming) and atmospheric (Edensor, 2012) elements of a festival event, because these contribute to the generation of what Turner (1982) called *communitas*. In this paper, we present the methodological approaches we have devised in our festivals research on the process of belonging. Although literature on festival experience has focused on individual senses (e.g. sound or sight), researchers have broadly failed to take sufficient account of the interconnectedness of the senses, and the role this plays in generating a sense of belonging or not. In addition, accounts have tended to construe attendees of tourist events as somewhat passive rather than actively co-producing the sensory qualities and atmospheres of such events (Edensor, 2012; Duffy et al, 2011). The aim of this paper is to present our methodologies for producing a multisensory "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) to represent and consider in a more nuanced way the role of sensual tourism geographies in shaping the festival experience.

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Tourism and Ethnic Identity: Learning About who you are in Ethnical Touring

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Studies on tourism of ethnic minority areas in China, especially in southwest ethnic minorities areas, have drawn increasing attention. Most of the studies focus on how tourism influences the life and identity of local minorities, or tend to describe and analyse the representations of ethnicity in these tourism sites, both addressing the institutional economic factors to some extent. This paper, however, values a special type of tourists and their mentality. They belong to, or are identified officially as members of, one minority group, but have little knowledge and experiences about their own group because they live in city with mainstream ethnic group; they are “modernized” to a great extent; they have been schooled to value national (political) identity more than ethnic identity, etc. During the tour, these tourists learn about their own ethnic group’s culture, history and ethnicity, and interact with their compatriots who are supposed to be “purer”.

Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (GZAR) is one of five provincial ethnic autonomous regions in China which is famous for its tourism resources and diverse ethnic groups. Zhuang minority (Ⅲ) is the most important ethnic minority in GZAR, holding the largest population among all fifty-five minorities in China. Using ethnography on several tourism sites in GZAR and focusing on Zhuang minority (Ⅲ), the paper is expected to demonstrate the delicate encounter mentioned above in which tourists meet their “root” and what happened to their understandings of their identity during the tour. The tourism to these tourists not only presents the edutainment but also plays role in (re)forming and reflecting on their ethnic identity.

“Instagrammable”: Exploring the Social Ecology of Tourist Places

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How we think about and conceive of place is very much tied up with ‘mobile, embodied practices [that] are central to how we experience the world... Our mobilities create spaces and stories – spatial stories’ (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011, p. 5). Social media offer new ways of thinking about mobile and embodied practices as they reconfigure dimensions of the tourist experiences; particularly places and tourist sites. Image-based social media applications encourage users to craft the most aesthetically desirable images of places they consume creating a particular and specific representation of the tourist experience. Assessing image-driven tourist-produced representations of place requires a qualitatively driven analysis of images that situates them within the assemblage of the ‘tourist experience’. However, as MacDowell and de Souza (2018: 4) point out, while there is a growing scholarship around text-based social media, Instagram is only recently gaining scholarly attention, even as artists (and more specifically perhaps graffiti writers and street artists,) have ‘enthusiastically taken to Instagram and incorporated it into their everyday practice’. Visual content is an important aspect of social media activity (Highfield & Leaver, 2015; Hjorth & Burgess, 2014). Yet part of the difficulty in using Instagram as a focus of research has to do with its architecture and the extraction of data (Highfield & Leaver, 2015; MacDowell & de Souza, 2018). Highfield and Leaver (2015) note that Instagram has offered large-scale analyses of images from specific locations, but that we still lack significant analysis of Instagram’s user practices, shared experiences, and approaches to content.

This last point is significant. As Tufekci (2014, p. 505) argues, we need to find ways to examine and understand how social media is not confined to a single, closed platform but rather embedded within a ‘wider social ecology of interaction and diffusion.’ Tufekci adds that while difficult and possibly expensive, more research ‘is needed to understand broader patterns of connectivity. Sometimes, the only way to study people is to study people’ (2014: 509-510). We propose that the study of the ways in which places are represented through Instagram as a social ecology offers an important avenue into the constructions and experiences of tourist places.

In addition, social media is about mobility. The new mobilities paradigm brings to our attention the ways we have tended to ignore or trivialise the importance of mobility in its impact and takes seriously the impact of movement at all scales on contemporary life (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Bringing together frameworks from the sciences, social sciences and humanities enables thinking through contemporary life in terms of ‘complex assemblages between these different mobilities that may make and maintain social connections across varied and multiple distances’ (Urry, 2008, p. 13). All places are tied through networks of connections and the significance of this is that what we have is more than a geographic mobility and its associations with migration at differing scales. Mobility is thus reconceptualised in terms of making and maintaining social connections across varied and multiple distances (Urry, 2008; see also Sheller & Urry 2006, p 209; Kaufman & Montulet, 2008).

This paper offers our initial exploration of an Instagram methodology. We use a case study of a “picturesque” rail bridge at Noojee, in the Latrobe Valley, Victoria, Australia to examine how digital images and physical tourists sites intersect. We

argue that the “Instagrammable” nature of this place (like many other tourist sites) relegates it to a role as backdrop for the construction of an online visual narrative of the self for the photographer. Instagram further mobilised tourist images, and disciplines them through a regime of hashtags and competitive popularity. That is the aesthetic properties of place must be able to be framed in such a way to make them shareable and able to produce an affective response in the viewer who responds with ‘likes’. The photograph becomes more about platform based engagement, rather than the place, the time or the phenomenon. This decontextualizes, dislocates and de-politicise place; focusing on its hyper-local aesthetic properties represented in tightly framed images.

While this is a longstanding photographic practise, the affordances of social media, and the romanticised subtext, mean that these images have substantially greater impact. Bringing together the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ and the notion of a social ecology, we explore the impact of mobile practices on how we construct and engage with place, and what this may mean in terms of the study of tourist places.

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Italy far from Italy: Authenticity in Las Vegas

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The concept of the postmodern city has been a part of the urban sociological literature for more than two decades now. While some may celebrate these postmodern urban forms as exciting and new, for others they are the source of a variety of political, economic, and cultural controversies. With this qualitative research, we examine one especially prominent issue here, the so-called problem of authenticity. This ethnography is part of a bigger research project that we are conducting in four Italian-themed attractions in Las Vegas: three integrated resorts, the Bellagio, the Venetian, and the Caesars Palace; and an open-air mall, MonteLago Village at Lake Las Vegas. We do so by comparing reproduction (both on and off the Strip) of Italian culture in Las Vegas, considered by many urban scholars to be the quintessential postmodern city, with the original places in Italy that they are supposed to represent. Are representations of Italian culture in Las Vegas authentic? In the conventional sense of the term, clearly, they are not. Europeans, especially Italian visitors to the city are surprised, even confused, to find that reproductions of some of their best-known places are factually inaccurate and/or situated in what are, for them, bizarre contexts. In his book on Las Vegas, David Dickens has coined the term “authentic inauthenticity”, derived from interviews he conducted with local residents, who repeatedly argued that “here in Las Vegas, our fakes are real”.

The field of this ethnography is MonteLago Village, an Italian-themed open-air mall and tourist attraction that is part of a residential complex on the banks of Lake Las Vegas. MonteLago Village’s architects decided to recreate an environment that recalled a traditional Italian town, including colorful little stores, nice restaurants with a lake view, a replica of Florence’s Ponte Vecchio bridge, and elements such as a bell tower and Mediterranean-style fountains. Several restaurants in MonteLago Village are owned by people who were born and raised in Italy, and we interviewed them (and Italian people who work for them) trying to understand the meaning they give to the place. We tried to understand how they feel working in a replica of an Italian Village, and how they perceive Italian themed tourist attractions in Las Vegas. Although they define elements such as the Ponte Vecchio replica as fake, they declare that MonteLago Village’s architects did a good job while replicating an Italian town. They declare that Lake Las Vegas became a home far from home, stating that they feel like they are in Italy without paying for the plane ticket. Another interesting point that this research highlights is that MonteLago

Village became a reference point for Italian people who live in Las Vegas, who enjoy meeting there to create a sense of community far from home.

Reflecting on the myth that Las Vegas creates in terms of Italian culture, we address the complaints of those scholars who accuse Las Vegas to be an inauthentic copy of something else. Several tourism studies in Las Vegas focus on the guests' side, analyzing the tourists' experience in the so-called "Sin City." With this research, we tried to fill a gap in the study of the host-guest relationship in Las Vegas, focusing especially on the host's point of view. The attractions we analyzed do not aim at being an exact representation of the original: they just use foreign-style themes and replicate them, privileging the aesthetic aspect over the functional and historical one. As the findings of this ethnography show, however, also the functional and historical aspects often play a crucial role, especially for the Italian people who work there.

Souvenirizing Shamanism: Tourism and Mimesis in Eastern Siberia

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Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), together with other Siberian Sovereign Republics within the Russian Federation, witnessed a revival of shamanism. This has meant, up to our days, not only the return of effective shamans on the sakha religious arena, but also the re-establishment of elements belonging to the spiritual and material culture of the Sakha before Soviet times.

A wide range of crafted objects, specifically protective amulets, ornaments portraying spirit-masters, shaman-dolls, shamanic drums, shamanic masks, cloaks and other paraphernalia represent a new type of souvenirs which are displayed and sold in souvenir shops or in souvenir stands all over the Sakha Republic, mostly in the capital-city Yakutsk.

Souvenirs usually refer to objects that tourists acquire when traveling on vacation, however the souvenir market in the the Sakha Republic, a 3,083 square kilometers area with 958,528 inhabitants and around 100.000 tourists visiting the Republic in the past four years, cannot rely totally on tourism. These items are in fact purchased above all by Sakha natives who keep them for themselves or give them as a gift to friends or...shamans.

So, what would a shaman do with a shaman-doll souvenir in his house?

My paper wishes to assess the ways in which the display of shamanic motifs and imagery in "shamanic souvenirs" acts in the Sakha Republic, bringing to light issues such as native self-awareness through the resurgence of shamanism and mimetic processes in contemporary Sakha Republic.

The Tourist, the Migrant and the Anthropologist: Ethnographic Account of a Problematic Encounter Within the City

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Cultural diversity related to global migration is a key element of tourist attractiveness that many cities have used to transform their multi-ethnic neighborhoods into places of leisure and consumption where tourists can enjoy "the whole world in a city". This kind of urban tourism has been often portrayed in negative terms: many authors underlined how the processes of gentrification exclude migrants from the economic and social benefits brought by tourism, while at the same time the reification of ethnic differences represents their cultural heritage in an exotic and over-simplistic way. Recently, the project "Migrantour" has launched an innovative approach to intercultural urban tourism in several Italian and European cities: migrants of different origins are actively involved in walking tours, leading citizens and tourists to discover the history of immigration that shaped the development of the neighborhoods. In this paper, I present an ethnographic account of this peculiar kind of responsible tourism, focusing on the key role played by anthropologists in the development of this project and analyzing how the anthropological gaze could track the crucial link between migration, tourism and urban transformation.

The starting point of my presentation aims to put in an historical perspective the theme of the ethnic neighbourhoods as places of leisure and consumption of cultural diversity. The origin of this process can be traced back to the 1800s, when in London and, shortly after, in New York, a new trend spread among the well-to-do classes: slumming. Ladies and gentlemen would "walk the slums" for the curiosity of observing how migrants lived, "people of whom they had heard speak but whom they were as ignorant of as if they were inhabitants of a strange and distant country" (Heap, 2009). So started a process that would soon transform neighborhoods of the great metropolises that were subject to great flows of migration into tourist sites. This kind of urban tourism was immediately seen as problematic and ambiguous but also potentially charged with a great transformative force at the political level. For much of the well-off bourgeoisie slum walking remained merely a useful hobby for satisfying a taste for the exotic; yet for other tourists, the visits took on a different value: the tours inspired philanthropists, intellectuals, and politicians leading to the birth of charitable associations and significant reforms

in the field of welfare (Koven, 2004). In the arc of a few decades the great international metropolises began, therefore, to build a part of their own tourist offering on the theme of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. New York made its Little Italy, Little Odessa and Little India the distinctive features of an image based on the touristification of the melting pot, Paris elaborated the charm *bohémien* of its Latin Quarter, San Francisco proposed its Chinatown as a model for all the Chinese neighborhoods that were forming across the Americas, Europe and Oceania. Indeed, it was Chinatowns, with their high degree of aesthetic elaboration and architectural stylisation that became over the course of the twentieth century, the symbols of “ethnic quarters” as places for entertainment and the consumption of diversity (Lin, 1998). Post-World War II, and even more in the last thirty years, with the acceleration in processes of economic and cultural globalization, neighborhoods have emerged in many other European cities that due to their “multiethnic” label have become significant tourist destinations such as Raval in Barcelona or Kreuzberg, the “Turkish Quarter” of Berlin. Alongside the dominant narrative that describes metropolitan areas subject to significant migration as places of poverty and degradation, an alternative discourse was formed that represents “ethnic quarters” as places of encounter with the different aspects of a “day-to-day multiculturalism” (Semi and Colombo, 2007). As highlighted by Volkan Aytar and Jan Rath (2012), the processes of touristification of cultural diversity brought by migration is ambivalent: on one hand emerge the vitality and dynamism of migrants in attracting visitors and investment to the areas where they live and work, especially entrepreneurs engaged in various sectors of “ethnic business”. On the other lies criticism of the dynamics of planned transformation and “regeneration” of those areas by local governments and international investors that aim at their gentrification and end, if not by expelling migrant residents altogether, then by excluding them from the benefits brought by visitors.

Such analyses show how the links between migration, tourism and cities are a complex phenomenon with rich potential but also risks that must be confronted with knowledge and awareness of their symbolic and political meaning. Going beyond the interpretative level and embracing an applicative dimension, could anthropologists play a significant role in making the encounter between tourists and migrant within the cities less problematic? Could an anthropological approach give its contribution in translating the tourists and migrants experiences making them mutually understandable?

In the second part of my presentation I will try to answer these questions through an ethnographic account of the “Migrantour” project: an European networks of cities (including Turin, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Marseille, Paris, Valencia, Lisbon, Brussels and Ljubljana) where since 2009 has been developing a peculiar kind of “intercultural urban walking tours” designed and led by first and second generation immigrants. The perspective developed by responsible tourism about the economic, social and cultural impact of tourism in countries in the global South, is here assumed as an innovative approach to imagining a collaborative way to value the contribution that generations of migrants have made to the history of European cities (Vietti, 2015).

The research has been conducted by a significant but problematic point of view, because of my role of scientific coordinator of the project, beside an interdisciplinary team including professionals of the touristic sector, members of NGOs and other anthropologists. As a matter of fact, my study has a self-reflective character and it's grounded in a corpus of qualitative interviews (involving colleagues, migrants and tourists) and in a long-term critical observation of the decision-making dynamics within the project.

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SESSION 13

EXPERIENCING THE SACRED BETWEEN RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Convenors: Stefania Palmisano (Università di Torino), Nicola Pannofino (Università di Torino), Emily Pierini (University of Wales Trinity Saint David / The American University of Rome)

SESSION 13A

God Across Borders: Patterns of Catholic Immigrant Spirituality in Milan

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1. *The inside innovation*

In order to elaborate the binomial spirituality- religion, this contribution will take into consideration the religious experiences of international catholic immigrants in the city of Milan.

Indeed, following important migration flows, Italy has witnessed over the last decades an unprecedented diversification of its religious landscape (IDOS, 2017). While both the research and the public debate on immigrant and religion has been mostly concerned – as elsewhere in Europe – with Islam, several reasons (including data) lead us to claim that immigration is also deeply reconfiguring and pluralizing its Christian denominations, included Catholicism (Warner, 2004; Alba & Foner, 2008). New patterns of catholic spirituality are arising inside the mainstream religion; different forms of rituality, worships and beliefs are introduced and created (Ebaugh, Yang, 2001). Therefore, it's possible to elaborate interesting insights between individual immigrant patterns and institutional frames.

However, their spiritual attitudes are often explored only as temporary residues of ethnic identity, and their attendance at Italian church is taken for granted. But many immigrants bring a much broader understanding of what religion is and where to find it.

2. *Transnationalism at the individual level*

Like the transnationalism theory highlights, religion is one of the principal supranational areas where migrants connect places and symbols beyond traditional borders (Levitt, 2003); starting from their ties, feelings and ethnic practises, they use and renovate their spiritual experiences in the host country (Levitt, 2004). Through this view, international migrants also have a religious agency, capable of creating new catholic experiences. To sum up, migration processes can also be account for as a "theological experience" (Smith, 1978), that means an intimate experience of sacred and a negotiation of personal attitudes or beliefs between two different social settings.

The liminality implied in the crossing of borders deprives the migrants of their traditional references/securities; indeed, at the individual level, the believers try to re-elaborate their spiritual relationship with transcendence. These psychological aspects are often underestimated by the local parishes, and the immigrants produce various outputs out of traditional outlines.

Taking stock of these dynamics has implications also for the ethnography; it means looking for religion in places different from those where it is traditionally studied. It means seeing spirituality in other everyday activities (Cadge et al., 2011). It means going where people actually practice their faith and noticing its spontaneous, informal incarnations; for example, the religious reunions or worships created by small informal groups in private homes during the week.

3. *Some empirical evidence*

This study focuses on the city of Milan, which has the greatest diocese in Italy; in particular, various religious outlines evolve from this ethnography:

- *Spiritual geography*: it's possible to elaborate an alternative spiritual map of the city. Rather than local/Italian structures, the new sanctuaries, such as personal parishes and ethnic or multi-ethnics chaplains, are the salient landmarks in these immigrant landscape.

- *Everyday activities*: before and after the ordinary mass, several mundane performances are implemented to share their spiritualities, also out of sacred spaces. Lunches, dances and choirs are regularly planned, and during these common activities it's possible notice various religious references.

- *Homeworks for the week*: During the week, they create various small groups, where the people put into practice the "bible sharing". The group reading of stories from the Bible is an important activity that keeps their faith alive, and makes sense of their social problems. Biblical exegesis empowers their souls to face the reality and the daily work.

- *Exercising faith*: The immigrants create and negotiate their personal religious training inside the local Italian parishes (catechism). Often, the immigrants don't have official sacraments and need a specific treatment. Furthermore, these activities empower the role of lay immigrants, and make their identities more respectable.

- *Silent prayers*: over the ordinary celebrations, it's also important to consider the personal practices: in some local churches there are nooks where the immigrants place images, objects or symbols of their saints. In the early morning, before going to work, catholic immigrants regularly recite their personal prayers

4. Conclusions

In Italy, the changes in demography are creating religious innovations. From below, these processes are slowly shaping some traditional settings and assets within national denomination. Starting from a specific case study on catholic immigrants, it's possible to analyse the relationship between spirituality and religion including the various sacred frames that are arising.

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Ethnographic Study of Monasteries In Poland. Towards Relational Analysis of Monasticism

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On the verge of XIXth and XXth century Catholic orders were recovering from losses caused by secularization politics of XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. If we look on statistical data we see that this process of compensation had been stopped in 60s/70s of XXth century. Between 1974 and 2015 there was a general drop of religious sisters by 32% (in Europe by 55%, in North America by 66%), religious brothers by 23% (in Europe by 53%, in North America by 55%) and religious priests by 9% (in Europe by 26%, and in North America by 44%). In comparison to Europe Poland case is quite different. Even though we observe a drop of religious sisters and brothers (-22% and -15%) there is also a remarkable increase of religious priests (+72%). A closer, anthropological look unveils that this general drop is complicated and it need a careful examination. If we move from focusing on number of religious sisters, brothers and priests, to study monasteries and relations in which they operate locally, we uncover complexity of monasteries functions. Locally monasteries overcome religious field – their functions are related also to social and economic development and identity issues. Within my paper I show that a statistical thesis on a crisis of monasticism today may be balanced by ethnographic focus which shows their vivacity.

Qualitative data from my field studies conducted between 2012-2017 in five towns in Poland where Cistercian monasteries are located uncovered complexity of monasteries functions in local context today. So, locally monasteries overcome religious field – their functions are related also to social and economic development and identity issues. Hence, I do claim that contemporary vivacity of Cistercian monasteries in Poland is related to its extra-religious functions in local communities.

Agency and Self-Transformation in Catholic Vocational Discernment

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This talk is concerned with the specific religious technique of the “self”, typical for the modern Catholicism, namely the practice of vocational discernment. After the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) the principle of ‘the universal call to holiness’ and new opportunities for spiritual growth of lay people affected modern Catholics attitudes, and the perception of the Christian life as a whole. Generally, holiness could be achieved by discernment of God’s will towards a Christian’s form of life or a so-called vocation. According to basic Christian anthropology there are two major vocations – for marriage and for priesthood or monasticism. From the Second Vatican Council onward, vocations remain one of the main vectors

of pastoral politics of the Church. This project is aimed at increasing reflexivity of lay people about them being Catholic by drawing their attention to the fact every Christian has his or her own unique vocation for life and the question how this God's plan could be perceived.

Vocation for Catholics is not a matter of personal choice as it is in secular culture. Vocational discernment is a meditation about the appropriate way of life which implies acquisition of specific interpretative skills that include working with inner states – mind and emotions, and with the external signs indexing that God is really calling a person for this particular form of life. The practices of discernment can be also found in some other Christian communities, where the direct and full contact with God and feeling of His presence are highly problematized (Luhmann, 2006; Klaitis, 2016). Within the Catholic Church there is a sophisticated system of the techniques and instruments of vocational discernment, realized in the disciplinary institutes – seminaries and monasteries. However, before getting into such institutes a Catholic has to show convincingly him- or herself that he or she was really called by God and that this idea about vocation is not just a personal whim. In this talk I will try to explain how a Christian appears to be 'called', in other words, how the specific religious subjectivity is formed and maintained.

Vocational discernment as a technique of the self in terms of Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1988) is a way of revealing the truth of the self by consistent self-interpretation and "reading" the signs from God. This practice is placed in the wider context of learning to communicate with God directly and privately. Today the practice of a direct personal dialogue with God is accessible not only to the religious specialists, but also to all Catholics. However, gaining a full access to this communication presupposes continuous uncertainty or even doubts in correctness of understanding God's call. Discernment demands self-discipline of the Christian for differentiation of the person's desire to be, for instance, a monk and will of God as true vocation for this form of life. The result of this discernment should be self-denial and full subordination to God and His call, irrespectively of person's own view on his or her life.

This talk is based on ethnographic research material gathered among the Russian Catholics during the fieldwork in some Catholic parishes in Saint Petersburg and Moscow, Russia in 2017-2018. The Catholic segment of religiosity constitutes a small but a conspicuous part of the contemporary Russian religious landscape. Russian Catholicism has existed since the beginning of the 1990s. That period is usually associated with religious revival or de-secularization in modern Russia, and witnessed the construction and the reconstruction of Catholic churches, parishes, monasteries, as well as multiple conversions of previously Orthodox or secular people to Catholicism that is still going on. Arguably, for converts it was the beginning of their religious re-socialization according to the Catholic perspective. Basically, this process presupposes the acquisition of a new religious language, or "sociolect" used to formulate religious experience and practices of self-cultivation leading the believer to the state of holiness.

Most of my informants were socialized in the modern secular culture with its accent on the individual agency, and, particularly, the necessity to follow uniquely own desires for finding 'true self' and choosing their way of life. The modern secular project of self-searching in contrast with Christian techniques of the self does not presuppose self-denial and subordination to another person. But what is similar for modern practices of self-searching and Catholic vocational discernment is that desired state of happiness to be achieved. Discernment of God's call as a technique of the self is always tied with changing of modalities of agency (Mahmood, 2011) – from secular to a specific religious one – and this changing is often demonstrated by the Catholics in their narrative of vocation as an evidence of spiritual transformation. But the secular understanding of happiness as absence of negative emotions, fears, disappointment could contradict the successful discernment of signs from God and finally provoke the person to define his interpretation as wrong. By concentrating on this paradox this talk will show how secular and non-secular understanding of appropriate emotions could be involved in forming religious subjectivity.

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Ordinary Lives in (Extra?) Ordinary Times. Understanding Everyday Spirituality of Young Congolese Refugees in Kampala

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Although the phenomenon of refugees living in African urban contexts (sometimes referred to as "urban refugees") is still understudied, some 62,000 asylum seekers and refugees live in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. More than 28,000 are Congolese, mostly from the Kivu region. This is a young population, navigating the urban life with little or no aid from the Ugandan state, or from international

organisations. Despite the spectacularity and spectacularization of migratory processes, especially in the Western media, these young Congolese live ordinary lives in Kampala (often with the perspective of waiting for the resettlement for long years), trying to find a way to secure livelihoods for themselves and, often, for their younger brothers and sisters. In this context, they often rely on Congolese associations and religious groups (both Catholic and Evangelical) to build new social networks, find job opportunities and reduce the uncertainty and vulnerability of their living in Kampala. Churches thus become both service suppliers and places where to express emotions and have a break from the strain of everyday life.

The paper focuses on the dialectic relationship between continuity and transformation in the religious language “refugees’ churches” use, and its impact on the everyday spirituality of young Congolese in Kampala. The Pentecostal focus is mainly on discontinuity (Daswani, 2013), as it is clear from the reference to the ‘break with the past’; this idea can help refugees make sense of their new situation, of the fact of not having the possibility to go back to the DRC because their families have been killed and their houses burnt. And yet, as Matthew Engelke (2010) has shown, languages of break and continuity are not mutually exclusive, but can be complementary.

The language of continuity, with its identification with biblical stories, especially the story of the forced migration of the people of Israel, thus becomes a frame through which refugees find continuity in a discontinuous experience, find solace in the parallelism with the ‘elected people’ and rebuild a moral world based on the assumption of a future redemption (that is, in refugees’ experience, the possibility of being resettled in a Western country). Based on a two-year research on Congolese churches in Kampala, this paper starts from Veena Das’ assumption that the goal of ethnographers is not an ascent into the transcendent but a descent into everyday life (Das, 2007); it begins by exploring the life-worlds of 3 young Congolese refugees, their different trajectories and ways of experiencing spirituality in the urban space, to contribute a phenomenological perspective on these ordinary lives in (not so extra)ordinary times.

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The Invisible Infrastructure of a Spiritual Metropolis. Religious Ties Between Jihad De L'âme and Practice of Everyday Life in the Sufi City of Touba (Senegal)

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In the Sufi city of Touba (Senegal) the cult of saints is the main liturgical and ritual apparatus of the religious system of Islam murid. It draws the economies and the baroque ceremonies of this impressive *spiritual metropolis* (Ross 2006). It composes the geographies and historical memories of the brotherhood that rules the region (Gueye 2002). It draws boundaries and identities of the communities that animate it (Audrain 2013). But this cult does not take its strength only from sanctuaries, monuments or ritualized spaces dedicated to worship practices. The profiles and the prophets of the cult seem rather to concentrate their activities in the houses of the spiritual guides of the religious order: the *marabouts* and the *sokhna*. It is in the daily routine of these places of life that the “religious itineraries” (Bayart 2015) of the disciples meet and support their guides. Here the ethical and aesthetic exemplariness of this figures of power, immersed in the transactions and the microeconomics of everyday life, are confronted with the gaze and the paths of moral formation of the *talibé*, their faithfuls (Zingari 2016). It is in the intimacy of its spaces and its relationships that ties and affiliations are created, that the relationships between guides and disciples, between teachers and pupils, between preceptors and young women are refined.

Thus these domestic and public microcosms are not just the residences of religious leaders or their *sokhna*. They are the location where communities of faithfuls gravitate around the families of the *marabouts*, the *sokhna* and the lineages of the saints from which they descend. They base their organization on the profound articulation between Quranic instruction,

prayer spaces and places of life and work. An ethnography attentive to the body and the sensorial dimensions of experience (Asad 2001; Csordas 1994; Hirschkind 2006; Howes 2003, 2005; Ingold 2011, 2013; Katz & Csordas 2003; Mahmood 2005) reveals how much the moral and spiritual formation path of the *talibé*, the *marabout* and the *sokhna* – path that C. A. Babou (2011) translates with the expression *jihad de l'âme* – develops inside a continuum of ritual practices, techniques of the self and social relationships in which the *house* becomes the center of the *world*. Only in this perspective the spiritual metropolis of Touba, and even its transnational pilgrimage, reveals all the surprising and intimate vitality of an “invisible” but efficient urban infrastructure” (De Boeck and Jaquemin 2006). Only in this way can we understand how religious experience and the practice of everyday life (De Certeau 1990) intertwine in a multitude of irreducible processes of moral and spiritual formation.

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The Invisible that we all See in the Valley of Mākua in the Island of O'ahu

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This is the story of Mākua, a valley, seen as a collective or rather a multiplicity of human and non-human entities that interact. The core of this relationship is spirituality, rediscovered and elaborated in the encounter between the local population, the anthropologist and nature. This paper is the result of a recent one year field work in Hawaii, and it is based upon fresh data on the spiritual relationship that binds human and non-human. In Hawaii the word sacred can be best translated with the term Kapu. Kapu means being a source of mana a source of life. Kapu is one of the most important institutions of Polynesian societies and refers to the state of a person, thing, place or period where mana, power from divine influence, is present (Bambridge, 2016). With kapu I do not refer to a cultural object, but to a subject that incorporates a relationship. The relationship that I would like to present is with the valley of Mākua that is currently occupied by the US Army. Despite this situation the relationship that binds humans to the Valley goes beyond the simple two-monthly allowed cultural access, is made of daily practices of gestures, songs, invocations, offers and responsibilities that mark the daily life of the members of the Mālama Mākua community.

What is Mākua Valley today? For geologists Mākua is a huge exploded crater, for archaeologists is the cradle of the first civilization settled on the island of O'ahu, for botanists a valley that holds the secrets of some of the last endemic species of the archipelago. For the Kanaka Maoli is a sacred place of procreation and rebirth; the place that gave birth

to the first man, the same place where Papa (mother earth) and Wakea (father sky) meet and was subsequently visited by Hi'iaka (sister of Pele) on her journey through the archipelago. For the US Army is the perfect place to test their weapons and for life fire training. For me it is an unexpected field of work. I did not know the history and existence of this valley. However, as reported by many of my interviews Mākua calls; and some respond. I did, and this response forced me to change the perspective of my work. Mākua is located on the Leeward coast of the island of O'ahu away from the bustling life of Honolulu and exiled in the past, and now voluntarily, from the crowded tourist routes. This research work is focused on the participation on the cultural accesses in the valley, documenting the rebirth of forms of communication and interaction between the native population and the environment, through the re-construction of altars for offerings and the observation and collective interpretation of the "signs" that occur during the access. The re-appropriation of the modalities of communication with the valley leads to the re-discover of one's personal history and to a newfound psycho-physical wellbeing. Indigenous meanings and the worlds in which they manifest can be described by the researcher only thanks to collective interpretation of signs and signals sent by the Valley. I have abandoned the study of categories of knowledge to focus on the ideas and problems that these indigenous meanings imply (Viveiros de Castro, 2015).

The innovative aspect is to shed light on how the natural environment guards lost historical and cultural ties and how the different actors reconnect with this knowledge. In the Mākua's case been kapu become a practice of resistance in the de-occupation process. In Oceania it's all about genealogy. In fact, during each access to the Valley a new genealogy is formed, an often heterogeneous group consisting of natives, foreign and non-native Hawaiian resonate with the Valley, sharing a revealed spiritual knowledge at the end of the day. A sensitive patchwork where a new knowledge that comes from the land is built. In this instance the land become a synonymous of culture, learning the native geography of Mākua, is a form of redemption that leads to a cultural and political liberation. Sharing takes an unexpected form in the exploration of the same territory (the Valley of Mākua) both for the researcher and for the native who seeks a relationship with that place. A difficult relationship that suffer the historical and cultural fracture lived today. A relationship that needs to be reconstruct through a collaborative work of memory, knowledge and imagination.

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SESSION 13B

Spirituality and Religiosity in Transformation: Biographies of Orthodox Christians in Post-Soviet Russia

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The religious situation in contemporary Russia is characterized by contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, the number of people who identify themselves with Orthodoxy has strongly grown in the last 25 years: from 30% in 1990 up to 67% in 2014 (Simonov, 2015, p. 13). Moreover, many churches and monasteries had been (re)opened as well as the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) has been playing an increasingly important role in the political discourse (Papkova, 2011; Garrard, Garrard, 2008). These factors were interpreted by many researchers as so-called „religious revival“, as „return of religiosity“ in Russia. On the other hand, the proportion of population that regularly goes to church and practices religion is very low. This let us suppose in case of Russia „nominal reaffiliation“ with ROC that is characterized by sporadic church attendance (White et al., 1994; Česnokova, 2005; Marsh, 2005; Zorkaá, 2009).

While there have been a number of studies that deal with the analysis of the number of churchgoers and people who identify themselves with the orthodoxy in Russia, a little attention has been paid to the analysis of the religiosity and spirituality among orthodox Christians using the qualitative data and by doing an ethnographic research.

Based on the analysis of biographical narrative interviews conducted with orthodox Christians in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kursk, Smolensk and Klin in 2014, 2017 and 2018, this study sheds light on the ways how people become religious after the collapse of the Soviet Union and on the role that spirituality as well as Orthodoxy are playing in their everyday lives. A lot of people in Russia define themselves as Orthodox but at the same time emphasize that they are more spiritual than religious. These people claim that they „believe in God in their souls“ and that is why they do not need to go to church. In this paper I will try to examine what stands behind such statements as well as the relation between being spiritual and being religious in the context of the post-soviet Russia. Moreover, I will examine how religiosity of the interviewed persons has developed during their lives and what events (personal, family-related, political etc.) have contributed to this. The analysis will also focus on the significance of the atheistic experiences during the soviet time for the dealing with religion in the post-soviet Russia. The study aims to formulate different types of being orthodox and dealing with spirituality and religion among the orthodox Christians in the context of the transformation of the Russian society.

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Sacred Nature. Contemporary Forms of “Green” Spirituality

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In contemporary society the emptiness of meanings created by the end of the “great narratives” (Lyotard, 1979) has caused the emergence of replacement narratives. The inextinguishable demand for meaning manifests itself in peculiar forms typical of late-modern society. Often, however, this demand for meaning is expressed through “cryptoreligious” forms – to say it with Mircea Eliade (1967). As a consequence of the complete embeddedness of the world in the technical universe and of the generalized suspicion that has struck human activities – above all those linked to the ideology of progress –, an alternative vision is affirmed, focused on *the sacralization of nature*. The devastating effects produced by the industrialization on the biosphere – to the point that the “anticipation of the catastrophe” (Beck, 2008) becomes one of the main figures of the contemporary imagery – have implicated the emergence of counter-narratives, where *nature* is the absolute protagonist. A peculiar sentiment spreads (Maffesoli, 2009), a sort of *neo-romanticism* (Camorrino, 2018a) that projects its sense of religiosity into nature in an attempt to gratify its fusional “nostalgia for absolute” (Steiner, 2003): if all that pertains to nature becomes sacred and righteous, however, all that pertains to man becomes corrupt and profane (Bruckner, 2011). The “great ecological narrative” (Camorrino, 2015) summarizes in an original way the typical themes of the sacred. It transmits to its supporters a strong sense of spirituality through the conviction of belonging to a morally superior group – a sort of “chosen ones” – officially called to the sacred mission of saving the planet. Gaia becomes the name of a new personification of the sacred in the religious logic of “do-it-yourself” (Berger et al., 2010) typical of post-modern society. Given the lack of solid transcendent anchorages, for the supporters of the “great ecological narrative”, spirituality is an earthly matter. But, despite this, it manages to fascinate more and more people thanks to the promise of planetary salvation that it seems to envisage. Thus an imagery of “*disneyfied nature*” (Camorrino, 2018b) – to paraphrase David Lyon (Lyon, 2002) – is nurtured, an imagery filled by a deep nostalgia for a lost world, perceived as pure, balanced and intrinsically good. The success of the “natural” imagery that is becoming increasingly widespread today, certifies the emergence of this particular form of *neoromanticism*. Yet this so invoked “return to nature” reveals a strong moral component, an ideological transfiguration resulting from the great social transformations that are involving contemporary society (Cfr. Camorrino, 2018c). The “great ecological narrative” hides an ill-concealed feeling of reaction to modernity. The sacralization of nature represents primarily an emotional response to the betrayal of modernity promises, to the alleged failures of an era: instead of an advanced and happy society, modernity seems to have created a humanity whose model of development is in serious crisis and in which, even, the entire biosphere seems to be at risk of survival. Analyzing the forms in which the sacralization of nature manifests itself in our day and the arising of contemporary experiences of “green” spirituality, is the goal of this paper.

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Knowledge Production and Practices of Interpretation in New Age Spirituality (the Case of Pilgrimage in Southern Russia)

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Scholars often describe New Age spirituality as a kind of paradox. It is characterized by the priority of individual values and sympathy towards traditionalism. New Age is a syncretic phenomenon, and it includes beliefs and practices from various contexts, religious and secular as well (Sadovina, 2017). Besides, there are a lot of notions of New Age as something simultaneously popular and amorphous. Various beliefs associated with New Age can be found in different social contexts, including confessional religiosity (Heelas, 2006).

What does allow researchers continue to apply such terms as New Age and to describe this phenomenon as a number of more or less identifiable practices? Aside from quite visible points on the map of social praxis, such as new religious movements (see a Russian example in (Andreeva, 2015)), we identify New Age with esoteric tourism (Arellano 2007) or even dietary practices (Kormina, 2015). One of the possible ways to find common trends in New Age is to study mechanisms of knowledge production shared in this area. The process of knowledge production in New Age implies an application of different sources, including bodily experience and, for instance, alternative science.

I am interested in the studying of the process of boundary drawing and practices of communication with material objects involved in it. My talk about New Age will be based on the example of pilgrimage to archaeological sites in Southern Russia. There are a few popular destinations among New Age pilgrims and commercial tourists located there. Archaeological sites are associated with ancient cultures, and social imagery of New Age pilgrims relates these sites to the Golden Age narrative (Bowman, 1995). This narrative is one of the main conventions, uniting New Age followers. An agreement on the idea that ancient cultures are better than modernity, anti-evolutionism, and idealization of traditional societies are the markers of belonging to the imagined community of pilgrims.

A pilgrim's body takes an important place in the production of knowledge about ancient cultures and tradition. New Age doesn't have canonical texts, it is rather based on empirical experience (York, 1995). Empirical experience is the significant part of New Age identity. However, it is difficult to say what kind of identity it is. We observe some projects based on traditionalistic ideology and elements of esoteric discourse, with which New Age followers identify themselves or at least have a positive attitude towards them. At the same time, New Age is very individualistic, relying on the idea of individual autonomy from any kind of social institutions. Knowledge production and its interpretation become a matter of individual (Kormina, 2015). New agers try to overcome basic oppositions, underlying secular institutions, such as body/soul, senses/mind, nature/culture (Hanegraaff, 2000, p. 291). It leads to the priority of empirical experience in comparison with intellectual activities. Wherein material objects, with which pilgrims communicate to produce certain spiritual experience, have their own agency. As a result, a pilgrim in the process of communication with material world puts himself in a subordinate position, interpreting this process as passive receiving of information.

Relying on my analysis, I can claim that there are two ways of community building and boundary drawing. Firstly, pilgrims function as an imagined community. It implies priority of specific forms of knowledge production and consumption based on the overcoming secular categories and oppositions. Secondly, we can find communities with sustainable structure and hierarchies. As a rule, such communities unite their members around certain kind of expert knowledge. Trust to the certain knowledge producers is an important marker of belonging. In the first case, every interpretation can be approved by other pilgrims as a part of practices of communication with natural and material objects as well as challenged, while in the second case only an expert legitimized by the community is considered as a valuable source of information. Two ways of social boundary drawing imply two ways of distinguishing between individual and collective agency. In the first case, despite the value of individual autonomy, pilgrims play a passive role in communication with material objects and supernatural entities. In the second case, an individual also obeys himself to certain social hierarchy.

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The Sacred Self: Negotiating with the Sacred Within Through the Body

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The globalization of yoga is a phenomenon that has only recently caught social scientists attention although it dates back to the British colonization of India and to Swami Vivekananda's famous speech at the Parliament of the World Religion in Chicago (1893). Historically as today, the globalization of Yoga is characterized by a double movement, or dialectical exchange between the West and the East, based on extremely interlinked migratory, cultural and economic flows. Alongside the already mentioned British colonization of India, the travelling of Indian Teachers to the West, the cultural and emancipatory quest of social movement in the 1960s and their interests for Eastern spirituality, the growth of the New Age movement, and more recently the reception and reintroduction of a modernized form of yoga back to India, have all contributed to the creation and the emergence of modern, postural, globalized yoga. As a result of these historical processes, yoga as we know and practice it today is hybrid in nature.

Scholars have been so far mainly focusing either on the history yoga, its transnational and transcultural character and finally on yoga commodification, marketization and popularization. However, studies that explicitly address the relationship between yoga practice and identity are limited, with a very few attempts being made from a sociological perspective. This is somehow surprising giving the growing role of yoga in contemporary, global popular culture. Furthermore, there seems to be an almost completely unmapped territory in modern yoga studies, namely the study of ashrams, organized religious communities usually structured around an enlightened master.

In this presentation, I propose a comparative study between an ex-post ethnographic description of a five months stay in an ashram in Portugal and my current ethnographic explorations of a yoga course in the context of a postural yoga studio in Milan, Italy. Within this framework I attempt to provide a comparative reading of the tension between religion and spirituality, unpacking the specific manners in which the religious and the spiritual dimensions are practiced, lived and transmitted by yoga practitioners in the two fields explored, and how they relate with the processes of subjectivation and of identity construction. More specifically, I engage with a close reading of the role of the body and consequently of embodiment of the teachings, in the discovery and recognition of the sacred Self as taking place in the context of spiritual experiences. In some ways this work can be considered as an expression of 'native anthropology', given my insider status within both contexts. Here, the lines between participant and observer are blurred and overlapping. This contribution rather than providing a finalized piece of scholarship displays as a partial and preliminary step into the field, in the context of my PhD project.

Sin City Religion: Technology and Religion in an Immersive Transcendent Space

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In this project, I explore how technology shapes the religious experience at New Life Christian Church: a megachurch in Las Vegas. My research attempts to answer three research questions: 1) What types of technologies do staff in the megachurch use? 2) How does the staff use these technologies to shape their messages and organize services? 3) How does the audience respond to these messages? To answer these questions, I used participant observation, interviews, and online analysis. First, I examined how technology transforms the traditional religious space by increasing characteristics

of ephemerality and fragmentation. This initial section focuses on the technological transformation and disintegration of the religious spaces. Second, I explored the multiple technologies leaders use to encode their messages and how these devices influence the organization the worship services. I focused on leaders' motivations for using technology and their implementation strategies. Finally, I examined how audience members interpret messages in this dynamic, technological, and immersive space and the role they assign it in their spirituality. Regarding individuals' interpretations of the services, I focus on the centrality of technology as a tool the church uses to capture attention and to cultivate immersive religious experiences. This research contributes to the scholarship on technology in society and in hypermodern religion.

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SESSION 14

CONTESTED RIGHTS: MINORITIES AND JUSTICE

Convenors: Paola Bonizzoni (Università di Milano),
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SESSION 14A

Passing for the Good (Straight) Parent: A Critical Analysis of the Judgments Recognizing Parental Rights to LGB Couples

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In May 2016 the Italian Parliament approved the Cirinnà bill – legally recognizing same-sex unions after a decade of harsh parliamentary debate. In its original version the bill aimed at recognizing the second-parent adoption, but eventually this provision was stripped from the bill. Due to the normative void, same-sex parents are currently claiming their rights through trial under a “special adoption” provision available within the legislation on adoption to grant parental rights also to the social parent.

While the ordinary adoption creates a new relationship between two (straight) and coupled parents and a child, the “special adoption” provision recognizes a pre-existing bond between an adult and a child regardless of their biological connection and award the adult of the role of parent (but not his/her relatives of the role of grandparents, aunts, cousins, etcetera).

In order to be “awarded”, however, parents have to create a “worthy of recognition” story of their family proving they are good parents and then to be scrutinized by social services in terms of parental competences and family practices. The evidences carried by the parents and the report drafted by social services are the key element upon which the court take its decision whether or not grant parenting rights to the social parent according to the key notion of “child best interest”.

Drawing upon the analysis of 16 judgments – both first grade, appeal and Cassation – produced by five Italian courts (Bologna, Roma, Milano, Torino, Palermo) over the last three years, this paper aims at analyzing the way LGB family and parental relationship are represented in the legal discourse and discuss the ambiguities of this process of recognition.

By one hand the judgments embody the on-going transformation in the notion of family in Italy by challenging biological ties, gender differences and fixed gender role as mandatory pre-requisite for being a (good) parent. By the other, going through trial implies a “politic of passing” (Johnson 2002), not meaning that parents are asked to closet their sexual identity, but that they are asked to perform their parental and conjugal identity according to the heteronormative and familistic script in order to be granted rights.

Can Women and LGBTQ People Speak the Language of Rights? Political Languages and Perspectives of LGBTQ and Feminist Movements In Italy

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The paper focuses on different strategies and positioning about the use of law and of the language of rights in the field of recognition and self-determination by Italian feminist and LGBTQ movements during the last years.

Indeed, recently a large part of the public debate in Italy has focused on issues relating to gender equality, LGBTQ rights, gender-based violence and, more broadly, the relationship between citizenship rights and gendered subjectivities. These debates have been characterised by opposite fronts – e.g. neo-conservative which obstacle the recognition of same-sex couples and the LGBTQ movement which supported the approval of the law, but also by a multitude of positioning within the movements themselves.

The contribution considers two waves of mobilization for the analysis: the campaign for the “Human Pride” made by LGBTQ movements in 2015, and the realization of the Feminist Plan against gender-based violence by Non Una Di Meno

in 2017. The first was concerned with the debate on a bill proposal on the recognition of partnerships and marriages for same-sex couples, in which mainstream LGBTQ movements claimed full civil, social and sexual citizenship for non-heterosexual couples referring to the frame of universal human rights. The question of human rights has become the main frame of reference for this area of the LGBTQ movements, with the result of a sort of “homo-normative” process, especially with regard to the recognition of same-sex marriage. On the other hand, radical transfeminist and queer groups criticized any demands for assimilation to hetero-normative citizenship rights and “universal rights” for their intrinsic process of homologation, neutralization and naturalization of sexual and gender differences.

In the Italian LGBTQ, transfeminist and feminist debate, this ambivalence has been polarised on the question of whether or not women and LGBTQ subjectivities could strategically use the same system of law that historically excluded them from citizenship rights. Indeed, the risk of being neutralised, homologated and assimilated to heteropatriarchal system of law and normativity has historically divided the Italian feminist movements in terms of claims for State rights’ recognition or self-determination.

This ambivalence seems to have been overcome by Non Una Di Meno Movement, born in 2016 in response to the appeal of the Argentine movement “Ni Una Menos” for a mobilization on the global day against male violence against women. The realization of the Plan can be considered an example of the feminist positioning “above the (male) law” and for the production of law from the bottom (in this case, the Plan) in counter position to the state security and victimising legislative approach. The analysis of Non Una Di Meno’s approach and of the Plan’s elaboration process closely recall the feminist genealogies of the ‘70s, on the one hand for the critique of the production of State law as a device exclusively based on criminalization and victimization processes, and on the other for the claim of autonomy in all spheres of life through new social norms and horizontal organizational practices that are alternative to the institutional ones.

Family and Death in Contemporary Japan. Legislative Evolutions in Japanese Family Systems and Their Repercussions over Funeral Rites

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This presentation will focus on the interactions of funeral rites, family structure and legislative changes occurred in Japan. The methodological approach here employed consists of a first ethnographic analysis following my PhD fieldwork, and a subsequent intense bibliography work in order to acquire a deeper comprehension of the historical evolutions and modifications in the practice. Therefore, historic and anthropological methods and practices were both used in order to offer a wider picture of the situation.

Adopting a historical approach, the analysis will follow the evolution of these entanglements starting with the Meiji period on. This peculiar dynamic, which involves the imperial government, the ancestor worship and the consequent relationship with death, has caused important variation in the interpretation of the family relations and the ritual practice, from the *Sengoku* period on (1467 – 1603) during which the lineal family system is established.

The mechanism is well evident since the imposition of the *danka seido*, a system through which every family in the country was forced to register in a single Buddhist temple, and therefore performed ritual and funerary practices following the Buddhist norms.

The tendency to legislate on the subject of family and religious practices became even more binding in the Meiji era, when the government transformed the nature of the family; with the 1898 Civil Code the *ie* system (based on actual structures dating back to Tokugawa time, but not the most widespread family organization) was codified by law, and imposed as the legislative model; beside this change, the government imposed Shintoism as the state religion, thus disbanding the *danka seido* and forcing people to adopt other religious and ritual practices while dealing with death.

With its strong Confucian basis, the new regulated family system was part of a broader vision of the new Japanese culture and society, and represented the national bases of a family-state (*kokka*) where the emperor was the symbolic father of his people. The new family system was thus a central element to strengthen the State in face of the pressure of the western powers,

The Civil Code granted the head of the family, chosen among the male patrilineal descendants, the authority over other members and imposed on him the responsibility for their maintenance of the family grave. The *ie* rapidly became a central national concern, and thus also ancestor worship became regulated by the state, and now made compulsory, representing the element that legitimated the *ie* as a perpetual entity. This is also evident through the importance that the Civil Code bestowed on the grave within the *ie* ideology; its ownership became exclusive right of the heir, thus underlining succession and the continuation of the family structure through generations.

The Article 987 of the Civil Code stressed the significance of grave for the *ie* by declaring their ownership as a special right pertaining to succession. Thus the state policy made the afterlife an important responsibility of the *ie*, underlining the interdependent relationship between ancestors and descendants. The dead relied on the living for their care in the afterlife, while the living received protection and guidance from the dead.

It is thus clear that ancestor worship during Meiji period was more than a memorial rite practiced in the private domain of the *ie*; it became an ideology essential to promote the emperor cult as the most important ingredient of Shintō. Both the head of the state and the head of the *ie* were to be venerated together with their ancestors, and by legally sanctioning this requirement, and enforcing it through moral education, ancestor worship (of Buddhist origin) was linked to Shintō emperor worship. Finally, this system too went to an end after World War II, and the introduction of the new Constitution in which the *ie* system was abolished and freedom of religion was reinstated; thus religion became de-politicized and privatized.

Aside from the Meiji Restoration, the postwar period represented for Japan probably the greatest moment of cultural changes and transformation, and many drastic changes occurred in Japanese legislation and customs: the new Civil Code of 1948 and the Eugenics Protection Law of the same year were two major steps in this change, with the former abolishing the *ie* system, and the latter legalizing abortion.

Thus, in post war Japan, both the family and the ancestor worship officially ceased to be political tools to attain the state's goal. However, the *ie*-bound ideology of death maintains its power and relevance, continuing to shape the habit of contemporary Japan; the importance of the *ie* concept is even more impressive considering the changes occurring in the contemporary Japanese family, now a completely different reality than the *ie* in times past. It's true that we see the disintegration of the traditional family system, but while the number of nuclear, single parent and single member families continues to grow, however, the extended family continues to maintain its position as ideal structure.

This leads inevitably to a complex relationship between reality and idealization; contemporary Japanese live an existence where ancient frameworks are no longer repeatable, but this leave a void, an absence of the bond that represented the core of the Japanese society. All these changes are beginning to undermine the idea of the family as a perpetual entity, producing a growing number of people without proper descendants to take care of their afterlife.

The enormous change occurred in the legislative interpretation of the family, with the even more drastic cultural changes that are still operating in Japan, involve a complex evolution in the religious and funeral or burial practices that are slowly but steadily shifting from the traditional Buddhist funeral and burial to the introduction of new ones, such as the eternal memorial graves and the scattering of the ashes, which does not bound descendants to constant care.

It will be interesting to point out the following elements:

- How did the *danka* system interacted with the family and the burial system, and what were the major concerns of the population in connection with this regulation?
- How the Meiji restoration twisted the situation, with the imposition of a new religious reference, the regulation of the family with the *ie* system and the constant attention to the ancestors worship?
- How the contemporary Japanese are affected by the post-war changes, and how legislative action and cultural transformation influence the personal and social relation with death, in particular through the new form of burial and ritual practices?

SESSION 14B

Mediatory or Adjudicatory Judging: Cultural Empowerment of Judicial Rhetoric in Rural Civil Justice A research based on the people's tribunals in Southern Fujian

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Existing studies have revealed how the changing priority of the state, revolutionary and historical legacy, the interaction with the people exert their influence onto the preference of judicial practice, and the cultural process how the judges bring this preference into being. Many scholars point out the distinction between the two prevailing forms of judicial rhetoric in the court-involved resolution mechanism in China, with which judges provide different scenarios where disputes are processed, yet both mediations and adjudications are regarded as the *results* of the interactions, or a static arena where different forces are organized to compete. In this sense, they treat the two contexts as a fixity of meanings and ignore the implication when any side of the party in a case tend to facilitate either context to process their disputes.

Studies on cultural interpretation during the mediation have inspired this study a lot, but the how judges or mediators have brought mediations or reconciliations into being via local knowledge or customary norms have somehow separated these "tools" from the "battlefield" and ignore the flux of cultural meanings of the formal setting where the disputes are processed. Using ethnographic methods, this proposed research attempts to investigating into how judges use different forms of judging during the process, and how different actors constructed a certain judicial form.

The research argues that how judges interpret their preferred decisions between mediations and adjudications can empower the seemingly static and neutral arena with different meanings, and this process of empowerment will furthermore impact the effectiveness of the "cultural tools". Furthermore, this proposed research regards the cultural interpretation rather an individualistic process but process embedded in the macro context of the changing priority of the state, the social perception of people towards the judges, and the interrelationship between the judges and the attorneys, as the changing nature of these elements will also contribute to the power of the interpretation behaviors.

Poverty is not a Crime. A Case Study of a Trial Against Romanian Roma Occupying Public Property in Milan

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On December 5th were published the sentence no. 12261/17 545.37.00 about the trial against seven Romanian Roma citizens accused of “arbitrarily invading public land [...], belonging to the heritage of the City of Milan, [...], in order to occupy it c / o profit, settling in barracks crumbling used as a habitual residence. “ On 15th March 2015, the shantytown located in Via Cima in the city of Milan (northern Italy) was evicted. Between 2011 and 2015 eight families have been living there. The Municipality issued a denounce against seven Romanian Roma for illegal occupation (Article 633). These seven Romanian Roma were in the place at the time of the demolition, while others where somewhere else and did not receive any denounce. The trial ended with the acquittal of all Roma because, as stated in the sentence “the fact is not a crime”. The aim of this paper is to analyze sociologically this sentence within the history of illegal settlement built up by Romanian Roma in Milan in order to understand its possible effects and value.

In the first part of the paper we will provide a brief history of the rhetoric and the public policies implemented to cope with illegal settlements in the last 10 years (2007-2017) in Milan where we carried out a long-term ethnography. The analysis will highlight elements of continuity and discontinuity between the different public administrations both from right-wing and left-wing coalitions.

In the second part of the paper we will deepen the case study of the Via Cima trial analyzing the sentence and the media discourses. Moreover, some key-witnesses (settlers, lawyers and volunteers) were interview during the field research.

We will focus the analysis on the relations among the diverse subjects involved, both public bodies and private sectors.

Given the eviction policy carried out by local administrators, it is relevant to underline that between 2009 and 2011 and later on, public schools in the neighbourhood organized significant activities aimed at integrating Roma children. Moreover schools were the only public institution that explicitly condemned the eviction policies and poverty criminalization adopted by the then vice mayor Riccardo De Corato.

It is in this scenario that NGOs played a pivotal role. Volunteers from a catholic organization were in touch with families settled in via Cima since 2011. During the eviction Community of Saint Egidio played a central role as gate keeper in the access to defence by the accused. Then, from 2015 to 2017, the Community of Saint Egidio, had also guarantee concrete opportunities of social and housing integration for all the families involved in the trial. Those social projects were made without any public resources and it is interesting to notice that a different outcome of the judicial case would have compromised them.

In the final part of the paper I will analyze the sentence focusing on two points.

First, the sentence recognize the state of need of the accused and highlights the socio-economic state they were affected by at the time of eviction. Therefore, the fundamental right of housing, especially to guarantee a basic life conditions to minors, completely overcome a cultural and ethnical framing of the issue; as it happened in the past during public speeches of some local administrators. We can say that the way of framing of the sentence safeguard complexity and accuracy when analyzing precarious living conditions of Romanian Roma.

Second, while it is not possible to foresee the effects of this sentence on policies at local and national level due to its so recent publication, it is quite sure that the sentence implies a change in the geography of institutional positioning regarding poverty and abusiveness in general, re-framing the illegal Roma settlements specifically.

For these reasons we believe it constitutes a significant judicial precedent.

Is There a Light at the end of the Trials? Nomads Camps in Rome, no Matter what the Courts Rule

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The aims of this paper are describing and providing a very first assessment of the impact that three courts judgments had on policies toward the Roma in Rome.

Beside coming from very diverse legal procedures, these three judgments can be considered together because all of them develop a deep criticism of the nomads' camp policy. Moreover, if considered together, the three court judgments provide a complete account of the social scenario in which policies toward Roma are planned and implemented. Lastly, the three judgments can be considered as a relevant example for understanding how Roma and pro-Roma NGOs deployed or were – actively or passively – involved in legal procedures and strategic litigations aiming at influencing the policies.

The first judgment we will consider was carried out by the Court of Appeal (Corte di Cassazione) in 2013. It is relevant because it forced the National Government to quit the “Emergency policies” toward the Roma in the whole Italy. We will analyze how this judgment called national and local authorities to overcome emergency measures toward the Roma, pushing the government toward the elaboration of the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion. Furthermore, we will focus on the NGOs and the Roma who were directly involved in this judicial procedure trying to understand if it is a case of real participation or a tokenism.

The second judgment we will consider comes from the Rome Civil Court and was issued in 2015. It appears pivotal for local policy toward Roma in Rome because it is clearly focused on the nomads' camps system depicting it as a discriminatory measure that the Administration is called to overcome. Beside a brief analysis, we will focus on the diverse subjects involved in this procedure and on their choice to "judicialize" an issue that, until that moment, was exclusively a political issue.

Lastly, we will focus on the so called "Mafia Capitale" trial, which came to a first rule in July, 2017. Besides the wide range of crimes and offenses revealed during the trial, this judgment is relevant because it involved directly personnel from the Nomads' Office of the Municipality and, together with them, members from pro-Roma NGOs and Roma leaders. Beside being held responsible or not, most of the people directly involved in the nomads' camps policy left their office or were replaced.

We could say that this wide process affecting the nomads' camps policy culminated in 2016 with the election of a new Mayor, Virginia Raggi, from the "Five Stars Movement".

But, after a few years, not the policy, nor the situation of the Roma living in Rome improved. Basing on interviews and ethnographic observations, we can say that while the promise of a overcome of the nomads' camps policy dramatically failed, the Roma living in the nomads camps were day after day abandoned in their settlement, because the first and only consequence of the courts judgments has been the cut of fund for social projects and for security activities.

Given this scenario, we aim at understanding why, despite diverse and relevant courts judgments that dismantled a discriminatory policy, not the Administration, nor Roma and pro-Roma organizations were able to produce a real change. We aim at understanding if legal procedures replaced de facto the political mobilization of the subject and if a peculiar form of legal activism is enabling or disabling the involvement of the Roma.

SESSION 16

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF RACIALIZED LABOUR PROCESSES

Convenors: Vando Borghi (Università di Bologna),
Devi Sacchetto (Università di Padova)

Towards the Racialization of Dock Labour? The Case of the Port of Antwerp

Andrea Bottalico, Università di Milano

In 2014, Belgium received a letter of formal notice from the European Commission concerning the organisation of port labour, as laid down in the Law of 1972. The European Commission sent the infringement to Belgium because the port labour organisation was in contrast to the Article 49 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). In 2016, port labour reform took place in Belgium after the infringement procedure sent by the European Union to the Belgian government. The port law has been changed in order to meet the constraints coming from the European Commission.

The paper presents a detailed description of the changing labour dynamics in the port of Antwerp (Belgium), among the top European logistics hubs. The transformation process of the port labour system in Antwerp shows how the composition of the workforce is changing – in particular the logistics workforce involved in the port area – and which is the strategy of the unions with respect to the pressures of multinational market players locally situated. The aim of this paper is to provide an analysis of this slow change at national level, coming from the European port policies and previously from the complaints sent by multinational companies to Europe. These deregulation trends need to be interpreted for the purpose of the paper. By drawing upon Streeck (2009), the ongoing gradual liberalization processes in the Belgian port labour system could be seen as a slow transition from the organized to disorganized or from non-liberal to liberalized capitalism. The empirical findings from the port of Antwerp photograph this ongoing shift exactly in the middle of the pathway. This transition, in our empirical case, is boosted by the European institutions through the negative integration of port policies (Scharpf, 2010).

The assumption in this study is that the strategies of the market players across the maritime-logistics chain, jointly with the institutional constraints, are commonly shaping the variety of dock labour systems and arrangements in the European ports. For this reason, the observation of dock labour dynamics requires an “intermodal gaze”. The methodological itinerary of this paper starts from the information gathered during the fieldwork in the port of Antwerp. A period of seven months on the field – from October 2016 to May 2017 – has been necessary for “collecting the evidence” (Yin, 1984). The systematic practices of interviews, related to participant observation, have been the most appropriate research techniques. The interviews, open-ended and structured, have been conducted to the key informants. Focused interviews with structured questions have been conducted in addition to corroborate certain facts already established during the fieldwork. The direct observation has been necessary in providing additional information. Twenty-two in-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted to the key actors of the Belgian port. After the observation stage, the interviews were conducted to the management of several cargo handling companies, dockworkers, management of labour pool and employer association CEPA (Centrale des Employeurs au Port d'Anvers), board of Voka (Flemish chamber of commerce), and training centre OCHA, trade unions, etc. Different moments of observations in the hiring hall for the recruitment of casual dockworkers, in the port area, in the training centre and in some terminals were organized. A set of interviews has been conducted in Brussels, to the actors involved at European level in the Sectoral Social Dialogue for ports. Two sessions of observations during the works of the Sectoral Social Dialogue have been conducted (European Commission, ESPO, FEPORT, ETF, IDC), jointly with the attendance of a set of conferences organized within the European framework (e.g. EUPortraits, FEPORT conference, etc.).

The structure of the paper is as follows. After an overview of the working conditions and the port labour scheme in Antwerp, in the second part, the main changes are reviewed and analysed. The third part discusses the implications of these changes for the European port labour system. The conclusions provide an interpretation of the ongoing transition in the case selected. By emphasizing the convergence of the variety of the European port labour system and the power relationships between the actors involved in the port business, the final objective of this paper is to provide insights about the specific role of the European port policies and the incompatibility with the national regulations. The analysis of the case study reveals further the changing image of port labour settings as consequence of the structural and systemic transformations in the maritime-logistics chain.

Processes of Workforce Ethnicization

Antonella Ceccagno, University of Bologna, Italy

I discuss patterns of ethnicization at the workplace focusing analytical attention on the network of Chinese workshops active in the Italian fashion industry,

While many take the ethnic factor as a given for exploring and explaining the behaviors of single groups that are assumed to share common cultural traits and exhibit bonds of trust, I ask how the ethnic, national, linguistic, cultural, and other factors are stressed and why in the workplace.

I show that the ethnicization of the workforce plays a crucial role in the organization of production according to the principles of just-in-time production and the generation of increased profit. The concept of ethnicization is therefore crucial if we are to unpack patterns of homogenization of the workforce in order to speed up the production process.

Moreover, I show how the workers themselves try and get the most out of the ethnicization of the workplace. Contrary to the employers' expectations, therefore, the ethnicization of the workforce – often linked to a dormitory regime – contributes to open up new spaces of self-tailored mobility for migrant workers.

Intersecting Workers Social Differences with Labour Fragmentation Process. The Case of the Hotel Sector

Francesco E. Iannuzzi, University of Padua

The aim of this proposal is to analyse the construction of the specific racial and gender division of labour in the context of the Venice hotel industry.

Inspired by the international growth of the service sector over the last three decades, the issue of labour in the hospitality industry has gradually gained the attention of sociologists and geographers. Nowadays, hospitality is thought as the quintessence of the labour studies (McDowell et al. 2007) thanks to its ability to assemble and show the major transformations resulting from the crisis of Fordism such as outsourcing, automation and precarization of labour (Duncan et al., 2013; Jordhus-Lier and Underthun 2015) but also the mobilization of new and old way to organize labour relationships.

The largest part of the literature has hitherto covered two main macro themes. The first focuses on the spatial-temporal dynamics of hospitality and the relationship between multi-scalar tourism production and vertical disintegration processes (Jordhus-Lier 2015, Zampoukos and Ioannides 2015). These analyses have highlighted how the fixity and the local embeddedness of hospitality have not prevented the industry from disarticulating labour and production through the processes of outsourcing, workforce stratification and contractual fragmentation. This research perspective emphasized the ability of the hospitality industry to overcome its spatial constraints by reproducing, in a small-scale and locally, the functioning of the global production networks (GPNs). Indeed, due to its strong contractual and productive fragmentation and thanks to the local the availability of different nuclei of the workforce, every single hotel assembles diverse employment figures which face experiences of wage, power and rights inequalities.

Encouraged by Arlie Hochschild's researches (1979-1981) on emotional work, the second trajectory focuses on the dynamics of social interactions, the reproduction of inequalities and social differences in the relationships among managers, workers and clients (Christian 2016; McDowell 2009; Witz et al. 2003). In particular, scholars involved in this approach have paid attention to changes in the workforce composition, to labour market segmentation and to the role of stereotypes and inequality structures such as genderism and racism (Alberti 2014; Janta 2011; McDowell 2009). As a matter of fact, both the dynamics of social interaction and the role of emotional and "embodied" labour allow to the hotel sector to be a fruitful field for studying the role of the social differentiation (gender, "race", age, nationality and so on) in the production of discriminations and inequalities in the working contexts.

As Christian (2016) has shown, focusing on the tourism sector of Kenya, the workforce genderization and racialization trajectories are organizing the principles of tourism production "as firms take advantage of the existing entrenched, gendered and racial territorial divisions to extract economic and symbolic value and to solidify firm and labour segmentation" (Christian 2016: 27).

However, in this paper I support the need to produce an integrated reading of the two research approaches in order to grasp the intersection among the fragmentation of production processes, the segmentation of labor markets and the social differentiation of workers. This exercise may allow us to look at how the division of labour in the hotel industry is organized on the basis of the processes of racialization and genderization and how inequalities built on social identities of workers overlap with the segmentation of employment, contractual and productive status.

As Reecia Orzeck (2007) has argued, in the capitalist production there is a double process of differentiation that operates in an integrated and symbiotic way: On the one hand the divisions shaped on the basis of social boundaries established on identities (for the most part pre-existent but which are revitalized by capitalism) which stimulate differential assessments of workers' bodies. On the other hand, the technical and social division of labour. In line with the irregular division of labour, socially and spatially differentiated workers are employed to perform different tasks at different levels of remuneration and availability of rights.

On the bases of an empirical research on labour in Venice hotels, this paper aims to show how the intersection between social features of workers such as gender, race, nationalities and body requirements shape the organization of employment relationships, thus affecting the division of labour. More to the point, the purpose of this research is to answer the following research questions: a) whether and how do the forms of discriminations related to social differences overlap with contractual and production positions of workers? b) what affect the division of labour and the stereotyping process? c) what are the effects that multiple fragmentations produce on the everyday social relations among workers?

As emerged from the research the assembling of the workforce in Venetian hotels seems to reflect a careful and sophisticated international racial and sexual division of labour, and the different taxonomies that can be derived from the essentialization of workers social difference concur to define the employment position: at every worker is assigned a role and a specific function because "bodies are thought of as natural occupants of specific tasks" (Puwar, 2004). Hotel labour is structured around a complex range of tasks and duties characterized by different managerial expectations on gender, nationality and "race" (Adib and Guerrier, 2003). Therefore, recruitment strategies are shaped by stereotyping processes

(Longo 2015, Shubin et al., 2014, McDowell 2009). These stereotypes produce different connections between social characteristics of the labour force and certain types of tasks and performances (Longo 2015; Puwar 2004; Shubin et al., 2014). Stereotypes become managerial strategies that, structuring different hierarchies, shape differences and reproduce inequalities (Longo, 2015).

By determining a specific position in hotel labour process, the racial and gender division of labour helps to reproduce power asymmetries and to enforce the matrix of fragmentation where workers are embedded. Indeed, 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. Finally, the different position in the productive chain and the different composition of the assembled groups, also impacts on the unionization and agency strategies.

This proposal is part of a doctoral research carried out between 2015 and 2017. The research was conducted using qualitative methods and mainly in-depth interviews with workers, managers and unionists.

An Ethnography Inside Labour Inspectorate: How to Deal with the Racialization in Domestic Workplace?

Rebecca Paraciani, Università di Bologna

This work refers to the strand of studies on *street level bureaucracy*, expression coined by Lipsky to highlight the importance of discretion that professionals in public agencies have during the implementation of laws, standards and guidelines. Discretion may depend on the need to find compromises between the limited resources available and the claims of citizens, as well as on the distance between administrative policy directives and assessments and interpretations of the standard by the street level bureaucrats.

Labour inspectors, in this sense, will be considered *street-level bureaucrats*. These professional figures monitor, verify and judge any breaches in the workplace related to workers' damage. Pursuing this goal, they adapt the rules to specific cases and interpret laws according to the circumstances in which they are operating. In this perspective, they enact a substantial level of discretion, adopting margins of autonomy in the application of regulatory instruments.

The intention is to highlight the complexity of dealing with cases of breaches within the domestic workplaces denounced at the seat of the National Labour Inspectorate of Bologna.

The reasons for choosing the cases of domestic workers are that on one hand irregularities occur inside the home, a very private workplace that cannot be inspected without a court order.

The power of access to workplaces is the most distinctive power attributed to labour and social security supervisory bodies and allows them to "*freely and without notice, at any time of day and night, at any establishment*". Despite this, this power does not work when the workplace is the domicile, a constitutionally inviolable nucleus of the place of life.

On the other hand, cultural beliefs exist in respect of domestic work: certainly, it is not considered a prestigious work, reserved mainly for women and foreign workers.

The purpose of this presentation is to understand how inspectors interpret and evaluate these cases, considering the influence that the common representation of domestic workers has in their decision-making process.

It is intended to analyse how the cultural construction built around a social phenomenon could influence individual decision of *street level bureaucrats*.

The methodology chosen to conduct the survey is of a qualitative nature. The data come from an ethnographic analysis in the seat of the National Labour Inspectorate of Bologna.

I alongside labour inspectors during the monocratic conciliation procedures, institute provided by d. lgs. 124/2004 for the administrative resolution, mainly of wage-related and contributory labour-related conflicts. This institute precedes the inspections, which occur only if there is no agreement between the worker and the employer.

The monocratic conciliation room is small and bare. The labour inspector sits facing the door, behind an old computer which cover his face. The worker and the employer sit on the other side of the desk, side by side. The window is large but covered by a sheet of white paper that filters the light, above it's written "The window is broken, please keep it closed." I sit next to the inspector, I'm not covered by the computer. (Field Note, 06/03/2017, Bologna).

Looking at work-related cases from the same side of the desk of labour inspectors and with a trainee role allows me to learn about their decision-making patterns and to understand the motivations behind their choices, which are, in any cases, included inside an organisational system that pointed toward more and more standardised practices.

Furthermore, it allows me to analyse speeches, not just official conversations between users and inspectors, but also informal ones, whose salient features are uncertainty, immediacy and spontaneity of the exchange. The field study shows beliefs, feelings and cultural stereotyping behind the decision-making process. Additionally, it permits to analyse the role of the bureaucratic organization (the labour inspectorate) and of the individual bureaucrats, during these processes, trying to shine a light on the consequences that this stereotyping could (or could not) have on the result of the monocratic conciliation.

SESSION 17

INFORMAL LABOUR BROKERS AND CONTEMPORARY CAPITALIST ECONOMIES

Convenors: Timothy Raeymaekers (University of Zurich),
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The Circular Migration Regime and Brokerage in Moldova: A Case Study on The Division of Labour in European Food Production

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Changes in European and global food chains in the last decades have prompted an enormous demand for temporary workers. At present, around 70% of people working in the Swiss agricultural sector come from abroad (Swiss Farmers' Association 2016). This involves various forms of temporary migration, especially from Eastern Europe (EKM 2013). Most medium and large-scale farms possess their own *informally organised recruitment structures*. Staff are hired specifically for the recruitment of workers. Informal placement services are often carried out *via family and friendship networks in migrants' countries of origin*. Employment agents either work themselves for the Swiss farms or make use of regional networks where people placed centrally within the relevant recruitment area are charged with finding workers for placements. Even the Swiss Farmers' Union mainly collaborates with informally organised networks.

The case study presented here focuses on *postsoviet Moldova*, a country on the so-called periphery of Europe. It thus deals with one of the countries from which labour to Europe can be recruited, although Moldova is not part of the European Union and hence does not fit into the two-circles model. Looking on the *recruitment structures* and *informal brokerage* between Switzerland/Europe and Moldova in relation to *circular migration policies* and *post-soviet citizenship practises*, can help us understanding how the agricultural sector in Europe is currently reorganized.

Circular migration is increasingly presented as a development strategy, a so-called "triple win solution" for the destination and receiving countries, as well as for the migrants themselves. This development strategy on the one hand legalizes existing brokerage and how migrants have been working anyway. On the other hand, I aim to conceptualize this form of labour organization as an *inner-European postcolonial/postsoviet (agricultural) labour regime*.

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Informal Labour Intermediation Within the Construction Sector: Types and Activities of Informal Brokers

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There is an emerging body of literature on the role of labour intermediaries in migrants' insertion in the local labour markets. In the European context, most of research has predominantly focused on migrants employed in agriculture (see for instance Décosse, 2011; Pugliese, 2012; Hellio, 2014; Azzeruoli and Perrotta, 2015), whereas informal brokers' action within the construction sector has so far received very little research attention. In this respect, researchers have talked about the action of gangmasters who mediate between construction companies and migrant workers (Anderson and

Rogaly, 2005; Cillo and Perocco, 2008; Cremers, 2010), without although providing analytical insights that can advance our understanding of the phenomenon.

In construction, gangmastership has been favoured by the long chains of labour subcontracting, as brokers may become “the go-between” the migrant worker and his employer. In other words, such a phenomenon is usually observed when large companies subcontract work to small-scale subcontractors who, in their turn, may subcontract labour to other subcontractors who may recourse to intermediaries in order to find workforce (Cremers, 2009). This practice of labour-only subcontracting usually permits the entrance of informal workforce in the market. In the lowest chains of production, migrant (or native) labourers may be employed through gang-masters who get a cut of their (daily) wages. Informal recruiters may offer jobs to construction workers on a temporary or daily basis, forcing them usually to work for long hours, and paying them less comparing to the terms of national collective agreements.

In the light of these considerations, this paper attempts to fill existing gaps in knowledge about the figures who act as informal intermediaries in the construction sector, what their intermediation consists in and the reasons for which their action may be useful to match labour demand and supply. On the one hand, it puts forward a typology of informal labour intermediaries on the basis of (i) the role they have (or not) within the sector, that is whether they carry out or not construction trades; (ii) their individual characteristics such as nationality and age; (iii) the frequency with which they act, that is whether or not informal intermediation occurs as a continuous activity. On the other hand, it sheds light on the way in which and the space where the intermediation takes place. In this respect, it explores how contacts are established and the physical (or not) space where such activity happens.

This paper is based on qualitative research evidence and ethnographic methods within my PhD research project studying Albanian builders’ coping practices during the crisis in Italy and Greece (Dimitriadis, 2017). In this article, the empirical analysis draws on semi-structured in-depth interviews with 37 migrant construction workers (dependent or bogus self-employed) residing and working in Milan and satellite municipalities. The majority of them (27) are Albanians; 8 interviews were conducted with non-EU migrants (Tunisia, Ecuador, Moldavia, Morocco, Egypt), and 2 with EU migrants (Romania, Bulgaria). I also interviewed two Albanian entrepreneurs in construction, two Italian dependent workers (one of whom acted as informal broker), and one Albanian architect. Empirical data come also from interviews with a series of institutional actors: representatives of construction-sector trade unions (13); labour inspectors (2); the Director of the Milanese Construction School; one officer of the Institution for the Prevention of Accidents at Work. In addition, I draw on ethnographic material collected during various instances of non-participant observation at places known as meeting points for immigrants who seek employment opportunities (street corner labour market).

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“My Dream is to Help Other People”. How the Intervention of Local Administrations Fostered the Emergence of Illegal Farm Labour Brokers in Western Sicily

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We had a meeting at the Buena Vista club, a bar located 500 meters away from the ghetto.. We needed to talk away from the sight of other Africans. He explained me he has a lot of enemies or fake friends but he is able to live well anyway. While we were talking he received a phone call. He said: “We must go to help a friend in Tre Fontane village”. We arrived there and I found a white man who was experiencing a car problem. Fallou asked for help to some people working in the nearby betting shop. They had some cables to solve the car problem. I was really surprised to see how well integrated he was in these dynamics. I asked him who that man was. He replied: “he is just a friend from Trapani. I found some contacts for him in Campobello. And I also found a car for him”. He then uttered: “you know, my dream is to be able to help other people, particularly I want to help the Africans living in Erbe Bianche” (Field note, Campobello di Mazara, Western Sicily, 6/11/2017).

Fallou is a farm worker who has been living and working in Campobello since 2011. Today, according the Italian Law, he could be considered a “caporale”, i.e. an illegal broker, prosecutable by the law.

My contribution is based upon an ethnographic research carried out in Western Sicily since Autumn 2013; my research focuses on the social relations existing between the different actors involved in the table olives’ chain. The present contribution aims to analyse and highlight, in particular, how the role of informal labour broker has changed during the five years elapsed since the start of my research.

Studying the “ghetto” inhabited by African seasonal olive harvesters in Campobello di Mazara helps us to recognize the interdependence that exists between some structural/political processes and the relationships among workers. Overall, I want to show how some national laws and other formal norms contribute to reshape and label some social dynamics and roles. Crucially, one of these is the role and the representation of the caporale. In particular we can observe the following elements:

- 1) how the broker’s role has changed in parallel with the ‘refugeezation of labour’. In fact, in Campobello as elsewhere in Southern Italy, we observed an unprecedented increase of agricultural workers holding various kinds residence permits for “humanitarian” reasons or as asylum applicants;
- 2) The ways in which, over the previous years, the lack of public and institutional action has influenced the broker’s role;
- 3) How recent institutional actions led to the emergence of the “caporali” and the consolidation of their social role in an area where previously they were not present.

In contrast with others farm workers’ ghettos located in other Italian rural areas, a crucial feature of the ghetto in Campobello di Mazara used to be the complete absence of institutional intervention. This specific feature has influenced the social dynamics and relations developing inside the ghetto. In particular, the absence of institutional intervention stimulated the development, and improvement, of forms of self-organization among its inhabitants and the consolidation of a central role for brokers, who emerged as crucial providers of virtually all the services needed by workers.

Eventually, in the 2017 olive season this central feature changed, as local institutions decided to set a new reception camp for seasonal labourers, with the aim of substituting the informal ghetto, in the framework of a new national law on labour exploitation in agriculture, approved by the Italian parliament in November 2016.

Such an intervention interacted with structured social dynamics within migrant groups. My main research question focused on the double effects of the institutional approach. On the one hand, such an approach fuels a rhetoric campaign against “black work” and “caporali”. Yet, on the other hand, it simultaneously produces some material effects that, paradoxically, may be strengthening the role of brokers and obstructing an emancipatory way out for workers.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, Campobello’s ghetto was represented by African workers and white activists as a “free zone” from caporalato. This was a strong element claimed with pride above all by the Senegalese farmworkers. The murid Senegalese presence was without any doubt the hegemonic one in Campobello, among workers of other nationalities. Actually, Campobello was called the “second Touba”. Overtime, we could observe a sort of peaceful acceptance of existing hierarchical relations as well as a progressive increase of violence in ghetto’s dynamics.

Fallou was a Seneglaese without very much power in his team. Yet, he soon started to establish links with white people. He also chose not to move from Campobello during all these years. Today, he is the main point of reference for dozens of Gambians and Senegalese workers. His power has continued to increase since the local administration organized a new camp where nobody wanted to go. In the autumn 2017, the results of the intervention of local administration were an empty institutional camp and a crowded informal settlement full of tensions, and without any services. In the latter, brokers as Fallou play a vital role. At the same time, for the law, he and his “colleagues” are nothing but caporali..

Who Benefits? The Role of Informal Brokers in Facilitating Foreigner's Short-Term Work in Poland

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The proposed paper aims to present the context and consequences of the functioning of facilitated access to seasonal employment in Poland for certain categories of foreigners, with a special focus on intermediary services linked to that regulation. Since 2006, which means after Poland had accessed the EU and before it joined the Schengen zone, an exception from the obligation to possess a work permit was introduced in agriculture for workers from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. Farmers interested in foreign work did not have to apply for a work permit (which was costly and time consuming) in order to hire a foreigner for at most 3 months within 6 months. One year later this regulation covered other sectors of the economy and in 2008 the maximum time of migrants' work in Poland based on the declaration to employ a foreigner seasonally was extended to 6 months within 12 months. The declarations registered at the local labour offices in Poland facilitated getting visas at Polish consulates. With time, citizens of three other countries covered by the Eastern Partnership agreements (Moldova, Georgia and Armenia) joined the beneficiaries of the system.

The scale of using the regulation, measured through the number registered employers' declarations, has been visibly increasing, especially since 2014. In 2008 there were 156.7 thousand of declarations registered, in 2014 – 387.4, in 2015 – 782.2 and approx. 1.3 million in 2016. In 2017, year before significant changes in the simplified procedure have been introduced, the number of registered declarations exceeded 1.7 million. Vast majority of them were registered for Ukrainian citizens, who thus had basis to apply for a visa to get to Poland (and in practice to other Schengen countries). Although the numbers do not reflect the actual foreign labour force in Poland, they confirm the fact that Poland has a leader position among EU countries as far as seasonal employment of TCNs from Eastern Europe is concerned. Interestingly, the numbers reflect also the functioning of work agencies and informal brokers, who became considered the main beneficiaries of the simplified procedure regarding foreigner's access to the labour market in Poland. Moreover, lack of precise knowledge what stands behind the numbers raises a question about protection of foreign workers rights, especially in the context of several kinds of abuses observed in the way the system has been used by employers, potential employees and especially the intermediaries (mostly informal).

In the light of the changing regulations on foreigners' access to the labour market in Poland on short-term basis, linked mostly to the implementation of the Directive on Seasonal Work but also to the necessity of tackling the growing "industry" of intermediaries, the critical look at the regulations in force and their real and potential impact on labour brokers seems to be a valuable contribution to the discussion. The proposed paper will address the following questions:

- Why informal brokers may be seen as the main beneficiaries of the procedure?
- How the involvement of informal brokers has been perceived by public administration and control agencies, and whether the perceptions led to any reactions?
- How informal brokers found a way to become formal actors in the system of facilitating foreigners' access to the labour market?

The paper will be mostly based on qualitative in-depth interviews carried out with migrant workers from Ukraine, employers and work agencies, as well as representatives of labour offices and labour inspection collected since 2017 in several parts of Poland. This will allow to illustrate the conclusions with real stories learnt in the course of about 150 in-depth interviews with different social actors linked to foreign labour in Poland. Special emphasis will be put on the agricultural sector, in which the declaration system has played an important role and the role of intermediaries turned out to be crucial.

SESSION 18

NEW PATTERNS OF INTRA-EU MIGRATION? ETHNOGRAPHIC INSIGHTS ON LABOUR AND WELFARE EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT WORKERS

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SESSION 18A

(Re)producing the 'Disposable' EU Worker: Work Agencies and Workers Dormitories in the Czech Republic

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This paper draws on findings from a year-long ethnographic research with EU migrant workers, primarily from Romania, Bulgaria and Slovakia, employed in the Czech Republic's export-oriented manufacturing sector. EU workers arrive to the Czech Republic via work agencies that not only mediate their access to labour markets, employing them on precarious contracts, but also organise workers' social reproduction through a system of workers' dormitories and agency coordinators whose management practices extend across the everyday border of the working day. Equitable integration into and access to welfare systems, social services and 'urban life' are by no means guaranteed by EU citizenship or freedom of movement alone, but conditioned by multiple inequalities productive of a racialised, gendered and classed hierarchy of EU citizenships. Agency coordinators and translators are often key 'gatekeepers' to accessing city bureaucracy, social and healthcare services, whilst a combination of housing scarcity, low and precarious wages and xenophobia create high barriers to accessing private rental accommodation. The subsumption by capital of EU workers' social reproduction is necessary to attract EU workers to the Czech Republic's low wages, but it simultaneously operates to both produce a racialised and gendered 'foreign' labour force segmented from the Czech working class and exercise disciplinary power regulating the spatio-temporalities of labour. Core aspects of a broader flexibilised and fragmented labour regime, work agencies and workers' dormitories operate as the key infrastructures of EU workers' social reproduction, forming a system of just-in-time *reproduction* which seeks to produce a circulating and 'disposable' labour force matching the spatio-temporal demands of just-in-time production. Temporarily capturing and constantly circulating a new working poor, work agencies and workers' dormitories operate as nodes for mobile labour circulating in/to the Czech Republic and across the EU space along highly differentiated and newly emerging trajectories of precarious work and precarious life (Andrijasevic and Sacchetto 2016, Pun and Smith 2007, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, Strauss and Meehan 2015).

Centring the workers' dormitory as site of ethnographic inquiry and 'vantage point' out onto the broader system of migrant labour, this paper examines the ways EU workers' 'disposability' as labouring subjects is conditioned through this organisation of their social reproduction – and how this is contested, re-worked, and reproduced by workers' own uneven mobility practices. Employers' demands for labour flexibility which they can control, alongside migrant workers' uneven determination of their own mobility, creates multiple tensions and contradictions within the spatio-temporalities of this employment regime. This is examined as a terrain of contestation and struggle between migrant labour and global capital in the production of labour's spatio-temporality, one in which workers' everyday life and social reproduction is centrally figured.

Workers' 'exit power' presents the main mode of contesting precarious agency employment and degraded living conditions within the dormitories. The dormitories operate both as disciplinary power, and as workers' social space, where the cramped sharing of life outside of work produces solidarity economies hinged upon the seeking and sharing of information and contacts promising routes to better work-lives. Economic growth and the lowest unemployment rate in the EU (2.9% in June 2017) has produced a labour shortage within the Czech manufacturing sector. Too-high labour turnover, the frequent deployment of exit power by mobile EU workers, has become a contradiction for capital. However, 'exit power' is complex and double edged. Whilst workers often wield it as a means of resistance and self-defence, it simultaneously reproduces their status as 'disposable labour'. In exiting, the logics of worker circulation between agencies/dormitories is often realised. In many instances, this exit also entrenches work agencies as the infrastructure for labour mobility, as information is shared about alternative work agencies, and 'contacts' often turn out to be a coordinator from a different work agency. Furthermore, the informal information economies of the dormitory space, in articulation with the material conditions of precarious mobility for precarious work, often serve to (re)produce the intersecting boundaries of nationality, ethnicity, and gender, reproducing the uneven distribution of (im)mobility's innumerable risks.

As well as presenting new ethnographic material on EU migrant workers' everyday life and social reproduction, the paper attempts to make visible this emergent system of migrant labour in the Czech Republic as part of the new geographies of intra-EU labour migration. Emerging in recent years as a site of labour immigration, the Czech Republic complicates

too-sharp divisions in the geographical imaginaries of 'East' and 'West' Europe, opening up the need for research on the circular and other non-linear migration trajectories produced by and productive of the broader EU space. In complicating the dominant geographical imaginary of linear east to west migration trajectories we can disrupt the hierarchies of 'EUropeanness' by which this imaginary is structured. In treating the post-socialist states of CEE homogenously as a site of emigration, we miss both how complex circuits of labour migration move through and produce these post-socialist contexts as sites of capitalist accumulation, and how the migration trajectories of a new mobile working poor integrate them into the broader production of the EU space in sometimes surprising ways.

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"It can Be Anywhere, but we Need to Be Together". Decades of Resisting Hostile Mobility Regimes. The Case of Migration of Polish Roma

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Within the volume of people moving to the West since the collapse of the Berlin Wall, migrations of the largest European ethnic minority – the Roma – attracted substantial academic and political attention. As some argue, the increase of mobility of Roma (Acton 2010, Vermeersch 2009, Lesińska 2014) has been severely problematized (Sigona 2005) and treated as a cause of concern for nation states where the Roma are seen as a 'European problem' rather than a 'European minority' (van Baar 2011: 204). The resulting rise of securitization of migration regimes towards the Roma and further marginalization effectively undermines the principle of freedom of movement (van Baar 2011, 2012; McCarry 2011) illustrating the fact that for many policy makers, commentators and Europeans, Roma are not the 'right' kind of EU citizens to take the advantage of the freedom of movement and settlement (O'Nions, 2011), labour market integration and welfare entitlements. But how do the Roma migrants perceive these discourses and constraints, in particular in the long historical view? In a methodological shift from structural and institutional analysis which dominates migration research, towards an actor-centred approach, this paper aims at looking at the last few decades (roughly from early 80s to present day) of political and macroeconomic changes and subsequent migrations regimes seen through the eyes of several Roma families from Poland we conducted extensive ethnographic research with. By adopting a bottom-up anthropological approach to mobility regimes, border controls, asylum rules as loci of power structures which are constantly tested by people attempting to move from one state to another, we argue that instead of raptures or shifts of political systems (e.g. collapse of the Berlin Wall, EU enlargement, Brexit) these changes are perceived by Roma we interviewed as simply links in long chain of persecution and problematization of Roma mobility, hence they trigger old tested ways of making sense of the world of the *Gadje* (non-Roma) and ways of resisting it. As part of a pioneering study of migration of the Polish Roma, the people we interviewed and spent considerable time with, are far from passive actors in that highly uneven power relation between the state and individuals. Far from it, they show high levels of agency and reflections of Polish Roma who had experiences of international migration since the late 80s and 90s demonstrate that navigating complex and changing web immigration restrictions between the East and West, was a highly developed social resource structuring their migration patterns, stimulating specific collectivism of migration culture and becoming a major driver of social change among some groups. Furthermore, in a curious case of unintended consequence of human agency, we also demonstrate how relatively small number of Polish Roma seeking asylum in Great Britain in mid 90s (several thousand maximum) lead to high level political engagement between the British and Polish governments which contributed to establishing a pioneering social programme aimed at improving social and economic integration of the Roma in Poland.

Intra-EU Labour Market Mobility: Biographies of EU and TCN Migrant Workers

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The paper is based on fieldwork from two qualitative studies in labour mobility: the ERC-funded project on 'Transnational Work and the Evolution of Sovereignty' and the Academy of Finland-funded project "Industrial Citizenship and Labour Mobility in the EU: a Migrant Centered Study of Estonia-Finland and Albania-Italy Labour Mobility" PI Dr. Nathan Lillie. In both projects, we used biographic interviews, which implied the collection and analysis of detailed narratives of life histories of the population under study. We explain how the biographical interview is a valuable methodological tool in the study of transnational migration through our findings.

Biographies offered a way of empirically capturing and reconstructing the diverse, complex, and transformational character of the migration experience. They helped to contextualize migrants' experiences by encouraging them to reflect and stress the most important elements of their mobility and employment experiences. However, asking people to speak about their life stories is a far from easy task. Issues like trust, comfort, perceived expectations of the researcher, reputation and personality might affect the quality of the interview and the account, especially when research covers sensitive topics such as irregular migration, informal employment, the legalization of stay in a host country and access to the welfare system of that host country.

Our findings indicate that despite the narrative of the borderlessness of the common European labour market, restrictions of mobility and access to social rights and benefits manifest themselves in different forms in the experiences of migrant workers. Different restrictions are put in place for EU labour migrants based on their recruitment experience, type of employment, and country of origin. In this sense, low-skill hyper-mobile temporary migrants employed via agency and posting, in particular if coming from the most recent accession countries (the restrictions for Romania and Bulgaria were lifted in 2014 and for Croatia remain until 2020), have limited access to the host country labour market and the welfare state compared to others, who have permanent contracts and a permanent residence in the host country.

The labour mobility of third country nationals, migrants originating from countries outside EU, is strongly shaped and conditioned by their employment status and the migration regimes of the host country (Alberti, Danaj 2017; Danaj et al., 2018). The situation becomes more complex for those third country nationals that decide to move and work from one EU country to another. Although they have already resided and worked in one EU country, they have to interact with the different criteria of the new EU host country migration regime, integrate in that country's labour market, and obtain access to the welfare system. The experiences of the migrant workers interviewed suggest that labour mobility within the EU can oftentimes lead to the repetition of the whole process of adaptation and integration, sometimes in informal or semi-formal and highly vulnerable conditions and with limited access to social protection.

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The New Migration of the "New Italians". Motivations, Experiences and Disillusionments of Italian-Bangladeshis Relocating to London

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Since 2008, the economic crisis has had a profound impact on the European Union and 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 and are being re-imagined as peripheries. Meanwhile, the crisis is contributing to the relatively new phenomenon of "onward migration", 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 European country. EU citizenship is the ultimate goal for some TNC migrants, while others see formal citizenship as a means to obtain the freedom to move within Europe and start a new (e)migration.

Within this framework, this paper looks at phenomenon of Bangladeshi migrants in Italy who are onward-migrating to London, after their acquisition of the Italian citizenship, in times of crisis.

I seek to answer three questions. First, why does this migration occur – what are the pushes from Italy and the attractions of London? Second, how does the 'ethnic' and national group I call 'Italian-Bangladeshis' narrate their working lives in London and to what extent do they feel 'at home' there? Third, what are the gaps between their expectations held before

the move and the actual social and economic conditions they encounter in London?

My empirical evidence comes from a multi-sited ethnography between Italy and London, specifically, I collected 50 in-depth interviews with Italian-Bangladeshis who have already onward-migrated or plan to.

Most Italian-Bangladeshis move to London to escape socially limiting factory work in Italy, to invest in the educational future of their children, and to join the largest Bangladeshi community outside of their home country. In London, they describe feeling more 'at home' than in Italy, due to the size and multiple facilities of the Bangladeshi community, their lack of 'visibility' and of racialization, and the greater sense of religious freedom. London is a more attractive destination compared to Italy also by virtue of its welfare system, which is considered more inclusive than the "Mediterranean" system. Their onward-migration experience has its darker sides: the inability to access more than casual and low-paid work in London's service economy, the cost of housing, and the difficulty of making social contacts beyond their ethnic community, especially with those they regard as 'natives' – i.e. both 'British-Bengalis' and 'white' British. Finally, it must be underlined that, to have access welfare benefits, a job contract is required. But, at the same time, it is necessary not to exceed the 29 working hours per week. However, some interviewees report that the amount of their hourly wage is so low that, even working 40 or 50 hours a week, they would not be able to accumulate a sufficient salary to satisfy their family needs. So, they are careful not to exceed the maximum amount of working hours per week. But, it implies that they are "trapped" in a condition of dependency, constantly monitored by the state and with little chance of socio-material improvement.

SESSION 18B

Recent Intra-European Migration: Access to Welfare for Italians in Frankfurt am Main

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During the first decade of the new millennium the Italian population living in Germany has been slightly decreasing. Since 2010 it started to grow again. It's not just a matter of quantity but of quality as well: whereas Berlin was the most likely destination until 2010, afterwards the majority of Italians headed toward the other *Länder* of the former West Germany (Destatis 2016). These were the historic destinations of the Italian "Gastarbeiter". The German statistics on the job market confirm this tendency. The data show a strong increase in the number of employed Italians, both in the "standard" job market – with regular full-time jobs, social security and health care – as well as in the "minijob" market (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2016).

Frankfurt am Main is a vantage point to observe the new Italian migration. There are two main reasons. First, the main city of Hessen hosts one of the largest Italian communities in Germany: as effect of the immigration that took place between '50s and '80s. This is a crucial point, because still now, with different patterns and paths, a migration network drives migrants from same area of Italy to the Frankfurt metropolitan area. Second, Frankfurt is the financial capital of Germany and likely of the whole of the EU, and where the headquarter of ECB is established. According to Sassen (2010) the city of Hessen is a "global city" where the «dualization» (Emmenegger et al., 2012) is stronger: on one hand the high skilled professionals, and on the other the marginalized workers. Therefore, it provides a good field to study both upper class migrant and precarious ones, since 2008 this polarization has been increasing remarkable also in Germany (Hassel, 2014; Dustmann et al., 2014).

In many countries of the European Union, recently the access to benefits for European internal migrants has become one of the most important issues in the political debate. The pro-Leave parties, for the Brexit referendum, organized a campaign against the heavy burden on welfare by European migrants. In Germany, but also in other countries, social myth of "sozialtourismus" has been growing (Absenger, Blank, 2017), the thesis for which the "generous" social benefits works as a pull factor for migration (Sinn, 2000). For that reasons, in the last years the German government changed the requirements to apply for social benefits. The aim is to reduce public spending and decrease the inflow of migrants. It is only in this context that the access of Italian migrants to German welfare state would be significant. The questions are two: does welfare tourism really exist? And what is the relation of Italians with German welfare state?

From November 2015 to April 2016, I spent six months in Frankfurt where I collected 20 interviews with Italian migrants moving to Germany after 2008, when the economic recession has been triggered, and with members of associations and Italian institution abroad. I interviewed them about their concern with health insurance and Job Center services. The interviews didn't reveal any clear abuse of welfare, rather a mixed strategy. Especially at the beginning of their experience the social costs are charged on the State of origin. A strategy carried out by precarious and more vulnerable workers, that use the TEAM (European Health Insurance Card) to cover health emergencies. For Italian migrants the most important problems are in the relation with the Job center office. Two main kind of problems emerged: on the one hand the lack of sufficient knowledge of the German language, and on the other permanent assessment and constant monitoring for each recipient implemented after the "Hartz reform" (Ochel, 2005; Ercoli, Guelfi, 2009). The paper will develop an argument about intra-EU migration and changing welfare reform in the EU.

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Class, Stigma and Symbolic Violence Among Post-2008. Italian Migrants Living in the UK

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This paper expands research on intra-European migration exploring differences of cultural and economic capital among EU migrants, particularly how these differences feed into competing practices of social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Focusing on Italians who moved to England after the 2008 economic crisis, and drawing on 56 in-depth interviews and participant observation, the paper discusses the evaluative criteria through which participants make distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' Italian migrants.

My findings reveal that Italians' distinctions are stratified by education and professional status. As a result, they confer significant symbolic power to highly-skilled migrants, while trivialising the experiences of those with less cultural and economic capital (particularly Italians working in the catering and hospitality sector). Furthermore, I show that notions of culture, cosmopolitanism, integration and meritocracy are key to Italians' distinctions, and that respondents have unequal access to these repertoires. While lower-skilled Italians are associated by professionals and graduates with 'poor' cultural taste and lack of 'talent', distinctions between 'hard working' and lazy, 'integrated' and insular migrants are much more pervasive, but represent the only sources of symbolic worth for Italians without degrees and in low-status occupations. This shows that while all participants distance themselves from negative images of migrants – as 'benefit scroungers' or living in 'ethnic ghettos' – more privileged migrants can mobilised their 'institutionalised' and 'embodied' cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) to escape these public stereotypes, and to displace them onto 'Italian waiters'.

The paper also shows that Italians working in the catering/hospitality sectors and other 'low-skill' areas are much more diverse – in terms of class backgrounds, educational and work trajectories – than this stereotype allows. Moreover, it reveals the aspirations behind this kind of mobilities and the benefits and pleasures they afford, thus filling a significant gap in the literature on both intra-European and Italian mobilities, and problematising national narratives of 'brain drain' (*cervelli in fuga*).

Theoretically, the paper argues for a focus on how individuals with unequal resources compete over the definition of culturally and morally significant migration, thus questioning representations of 'EU migrants' as equally privileged, and the predominant focus of migration/mobility research on socially homogeneous nationalities (e.g. 'Italians', 'Poles') and broad ethno-national groups (e.g. 'West' and 'East' EU migrants). The paper thus indicates some possible bridges between migration/mobility studies and 'cultural' class analysis (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Lamont, Molnar, 2002; Skeggs, 2004; Erel, 2010).

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Motivations for Migration and Representations of Work Experiences Among Italian and Spanish Migrants in the London and Berlin Labour Market

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There is an emerging body of literature on the recent increase in mobility from Southern to Northern European countries with a specific focus on the period since the 2008 global economic crisis. Much of the public debate and some of the academic literature on the subject has been quick to establish causal links between high levels of unemployment and the increased emigration flows (Lafleur, Stanek, 2017). Moreover, popular portrayals of young and high-educated Italian and Spanish individuals being 'forced' to flee their countries have contributed to building a collective image of the 'typical' crisis era Southern European migrant. In this scenario, some studies have focused on the traditional economic drivers of migration that, in a period of economic crisis, regained an important role in shaping the intra-EU migrations. Economists suggest that migrants evaluate and calculate the cost and the benefits from the migration episode before they move. This calculation is based on a series of factors such as the expected returns in strictly financial terms, the social benefits from their choice (for instance social/occupational status, quality of life), and also the social and emotional costs (being distant from family and friends). However, the 'crisis narrative' may be obscuring other individual factors when explaining their cross-national mobility decisions. Indeed, other researchers have pointed out some "new" aspects of the phenomenon and, in particular, some non-economic factors that affect the recent movements of EU (high-skilled) migrants (see for instance Triandafyllidou, Gropas, 2014). Intra-European migration of highly skilled migrants is seen as a possibility of (middle-class) European citizens to move within an open border Europe to take advantage of their human capital; on the query for a multicultural and European lifestyle (Favell, 2008). Individuals may move to destinations where their talent and capacities are fully recognized, in the search of a cosmopolitan lifestyle.

As far as it regards migrants' incorporation in the labour market of the destination country, it seems that new Southern European migrants are able to find better-paid jobs providing higher career prospects and matching better to their skills in confrontation to those in the country of origin. However, very little attention has been paid to exploring experiences of work of those migrants who are not able to access good jobs or face poor employment conditions upon arrival. Indeed, work intensification and precarious employment conditions characterising both the British and German labour market seem to be disregarded. The introduction of new forms of flexible employment (zero hour contracts in the UK and Minijobs in Germany, as well as an increase in part-time work in both countries) may place young people at risk of prolonged insecurity and uncertainty, reminding Southern Europeans' prior situation of precarity in the country of origin. Precarious employment conditions may concern not only low-skilled employment, but also and highly skilled professionals (Broughton, 2016).

In the light of these considerations, the paper sheds light on Italian and Spanish migrants' work experiences before and after their decision to leave their home country addressing three key aims. First, the paper aims to explore the motivations for which Italians and Spaniards leave Italy and Spain to go to work in London and Berlin. The second aim is to deconstruct the prevalent view of Southern Europeans workers' unencumbered insertion in London and Berlin labour market, arguing that they may face poor employment conditions and job-deskilling mostly upon arrival. Third, the paper aims to explain why Italians and Spaniards may accept poor employment conditions and jobs not corresponding to their skills. On the one hand, it is argued that this is related to a strategy to access better career opportunities in the future within labour markets represented as very dynamic and full of opportunities. On the other hand, it concentrates on the attractiveness of the life in London and Berlin in confrontation to their lifestyle in Italy and Spain, and on the way that Southern Europeans' habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) may shape their attitudes towards work.

Whereas most of the literature on new Southern European migrants draws on surveys or statistics, this paper draws on qualitative data derived from Work Package 4 of the Growth, Equal Opportunities, Migration and Markets (GEMM) project, funded by the EU's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme. The study focuses on the lived experiences of migration and explores the dynamic process of intra-EU mobility with specific focus on the individual, contextual and institutional factors that influence the decision to migrate. Informants can be divided into two broad categories: emigrants and 'prospective' migrants. More precisely, the paper is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with a total of 87 people in the UK, Germany, Spain and Italy, conducted between November 2016 to July 2017. The interviews involved actual migrants from Italy and Spain living in Berlin and London, and "prospective" migrants still in Italy and Spain. Informants were identified through a variety of means: research on Facebook pages dedicated to the Italian and Spanish community abroad, professional and political organizations, online searches, LinkedIn, personal contacts as well as snowball techniques.

SESSION 19

PROCESSES OF CRIMINALIZATION AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Convenors: Alvise Sbraccia (Università di Bologna),
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SESSION 19A

Thinking Urban Security. Discourses and Social Representations of Security in Naples

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From the late XX century, urban security has become one of the main issues within the Italian public discourse (Baratta, 2001; Pavarini, 1994, 2006). Nevertheless, it still keeps an ambiguous theoretical and epistemological status, working as a sort of *catch-all concept* or an *empty signifier* (Laclau, Mouffe, 1985): a category aimed at catalyzing different social and political issues synthesising them in a unitary collective claim. Thus, just as we've seen in Italy from the middle 90's, very different kind of problems and questions have gradually shifted into the realm of urban security, to the point that, nowadays, almost everything concerning urban life is framed and faced as a security issue. This way, even though statistical data show us falling criminal rates, our cities keep to be represented within the public discourse as dangerous and scary places ruled by fear, intolerance and distrust (Pitch, 2013; Ruggiero, 2004). This dissonance between the empirical data and the social representation of our cities seems to suggest us that "urban security" is not a such unquestionable and unanimous concept, but rather a continuously contested one, always rearticulated in a cultural, social and political setting in which are shaped different discourses and social representations of the city.

A paradigmatic case of this situation is represented by the city of Naples, where the struggle between different institutional and non-institutional actors show us how the prioritization of a certain web of meaning around the urban security signifier always responds to a particular political agenda aimed at the pursuit of specific practical goals as channeling collective resources and behaviours, legitimizing the exclusion of certain social/ethnic groups and quickening and institutionalizing spatial and social change in a certain direction.

It is in this perspective that, focusing on many different kinds of documental materials (such as municipal laws and local ordinances, public declarations and speeches of political leaders and public administrators and media documents of different types) through a critical discourse analysis approach (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Van Dijk, 1997), this paper attempt to show how, beside the hegemonic discourse that represent our cities as terrifying places, in the struggle for fixing a certain meaning on the urban security signifier many different counterdiscourses take form and proliferate.

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«Blacklists» as a Way of Criminalizing Social Movements. A Research by Stop Repression Granada

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In this communication I would like to share the research carried out between 2012-2017 by the Stop Repression Granada collective (South Spain), in its struggle against the "Blacklists"; which is, the extralegal files containing personal information about activists and used against them by the police, as a way of criminalizing the social protest.

The interest of the Spanish State in maintaining order and security, with the purpose of guaranteeing the reorganization of capitalism after the economic crisis, against the social change demands driven mainly by the 15M Movement (also known as "Indignados"), has resulted in speeches and practices of criminalizing the social protest that has included legislative changes (Criminal Law reform, "Gag Law", judicial fees), executive changes (increased police presence, excessive use of force, "Burorepression") and judicial measures (increase of cases in the National Court relating social movements with

terrorism, petition for exemplary sentences) (Sebastiani & Cota 2017; Norman & Della Porta 2017).

This criminalization has meant an increase of repression against activists and collectives in particular and a "chilling effect" (De Domingo 2003) on society in general, which discourages direct democratic participation through the disproportionality of punishment that even affects fundamental Rights (Flesher and Wood 2011). In turn, criminalization has acted as a way to delegitimize social struggles in the face of public opinion and as an excuse to reduce the time dedicated to social struggles and turn it into time dedicated to legal and social defense, as Andréj Holm indicates "State repression is also there, so that social movements have to take care of themselves and not of their political demands" (Holm and Sabaté 2009: 10).

Stop Repression Granada was born as a working group of the 15M Movement, and it was composed by activists who had been administratively sanctioned for participating in sit-ins and demonstrations that had not been previously being reported to police authorities, as required by the Spanish State law. A particularity of these sanctions consisted in the fact that they had not been notified "in situ", but the government security agents claimed to have "visually" identified the activist during the actions. It was an irregular process, because none of the persons identified had a criminal record and therefore police lacked a file on which to rely. In this way, sanctioned people organized themselves and began a campaign against "Blacklists", to visibilize and denounce at a political, social and judicial level in 2012, being the main movement's struggle for five years.

To explain the research that the collective has carried out, I will present the context of social protest criminalization and place the collective as part of the social movements that confront it, pointing out its principles, organizational form and main activities that they develop.

Secondly, I will set forth the theoretical framework on the social protest criminalization that the group itself has built; in particular the notion of "Burorepression" or low-intensity repression (although its relevance and centrality question this qualifier), that is, the existence of a whole arsenal of administrative sanctions that different administrations use beforehand, to repress social protest and the people's resistance capacity (Oliver, 2013). In addition, as it does not acquire visibility and is carried out against impoverished or precarious individuals, it is a way of discouraging the right to protest. The collective has also built reports about the patriarchal character of the repression of the state (Mato 2015), the Gag Law or the reform of the Criminal Code among others.

In the third place, I will describe the Action-research processes that collective has carried out in its fight against the "Blacklists". (Self)training through conferences and seminars, as well as the generation of meeting spaces for knowledge exchange: debates, workshops, and construction of collective toolboxes. Fieldwork that includes:

- data's search (various methodologies and techniques): political and legislation discourse analysis and construction of case maps.
- collective analysis, reflection: making reports and audiovisual materials, writing articles and book chapters, round tables, seminars, congresses, talks, etc.
- dissemination in social-political spaces and in academic spaces; as well as actions, rallies, press conferences and (local, state and international) demonstrations.

Finally, as an open reflection, I will present some methodological and epistemological issues, building a relation between this research, driven by a social movement and different academic research pieces in which I have participated. As PhD student and as a member of the Stop Repression collective, I would like to propose some axes for the discussion about qualitative methodologies that focus on criminalization processes in current contexts: how the groups themselves affected by the criminalization of social protest build knowledge that exceeds both the disciplinary limits and the scope of qualitative research, following the thesis advocated by Cox (2014) who understands "social movements as significant knowledge producers and sources of epistemological innovation" (2014: 2).

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The Article 5 of the 'Piano Casa', 'Oral Warnings' and 'Special Surveillances'. An Analysis of the Legislative Devices Constructing Housing Squatters and Activists as 'Socially Dangerous'

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Squatting for housing purposes is part of the political repertoire of contentious politics deployed by grassroots urban movements in Rome. Historically, this practice was aimed at 'lobbying' institutions to propel the construction of public housing as part of social welfare access, and more broadly to mobilise subaltern urban dwellers for contending their 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996; Grazioli, 2017). Nevertheless, it has acquired a renewed centrality and a different function in the context of the urban post-crisis restructuring that followed the disruptive 2008 financial crisis. On the one hand, the neoliberal, austerity-based restructuring of governance reduced significantly the access to welfare benefits, social housing included, thus delegating the provisions of housing mainly to the privatised housing market. On the other hand, the demand for urgently accessing affordable and public housing nowadays involves larger social sectors that are nowadays incapable of affording the marketised housing offer, and whose unmet necessities result in generalised patterns of spatial segregation, displacement and utter housing deprivation (Mudu, 2006; Grazioli and Caciagli, 2018). The novelties characterising post-crisis urban management, housing demand and crisis have significantly affected not only governmentality, but also the Housing Rights Movements' social composition especially as for their ethnic and class background. Indeed, the majority of the squatters are migrants with diverse statuses and class background; besides, the presence of previously middle-class members and 'precarious working poor' is increasingly numerous and visible (Puccini, 2016).

These changes have also determined a shift in the demands, strategies and tactics of the Movements, whereas they have overcome the exclusive focus upon inhabitation by framing the housing crisis within the broader crisis of social reproduction affecting the contemporary urban fabric. In this light, housing squats represent resilient and adaptive urban commons whose function transcends the one of being shelters and evolves into the embodiment of the right to stay put in, transform and inhabit the urban space (Grazioli and Caciagli 2017, 2018). Consequently, grassroots housing activists reclaim squatting for housing purposes as an environmentally and economically sustainable modality of tackling the rampant housing crisis, while regenerating autonomously unused urban areas, and making grassroots welfare available to everyone (Mudu and Aureli, 2016). This was especially visible since the latest '*Tsunami Tours*' of squatting for housing purposes organised by the Movements in 2012 and 2013, which housed hundreds of families and individuals (Armati, 2015). This forced local as well as national authorities to reckon the new relevance of squatting for housing purposes especially in Rome, and therefore to devise innovative repressive device that could target both the broader cohort of the squatter, while singling out the more recognisable and trusted activists. This is the case of the Article 5 contained in the 2014 National Housing Plan, and of the extra-court repressive tools such as the 'oral warnings' and 'special surveillances' ('*avvisi orali*' e '*sorveglianze speciali*') that significantly restrict the freedom of movement and dissent of the more recognisable activists of Housing Rights Movements since 2015 onwards.

Their analysis is based on the empirical findings collected during the activist ethnography (Colectivo Situaciones, 2005) that I have conducted from 2015 onwards inside the housing squats affiliated to the Housing Rights Movement *Blocchi Precari Metropolitani* in Rome in order to investigate the squatters' daily organisational practices, forms of life, and contentious politics (Grazioli, 2018). Specifically, it dwells upon the thread that scrutinised how differential governmental devices contribute to constructing housing squatters as 'socially dangerous' urban dwellers who fundamentally jeopardise the tenets of urban life, and shall therefore be excluded from the rights associated to urban citizenship and inhabitation.

The Article 5 approved in 2014 was included within a comprehensive plan elaborated by the then Minister of Infrastructure in order to define the orientations of the subject of planning and housing. It is designed to the purpose of punishing the existing cohort of squatters, and discouraging potential ones in the future, by formally barring the squatters from registering their residency inside an occupied building. This implies the impossibility to access locally-based welfare provisions (education and healthcare included), renewing identity papers and even visas tied to the possession of a valid registered address. This implies using an inherently administrative tool such as the residency's registration in order to exclude the existing squatters from the plateau of the legitimate local citizens, while discouraging potential ones to do the same in fear of the consequence, which escalate on the basis of one's status and intersectional conditions (Gargiulo, 2011; Grazioli, 2017). The second set of tools comprises the so-called 'oral warnings' and 'special surveillances', tailored to target single activists through extra-court methodologies. These instruments were originally introduced during the 19th century in order to prevent banditry association. They were yet re-purposed in the fascist law code in order to repress and exile political opponents. Nowadays, they represent instruments in the availability of police forces' and courts' judgement call in order to curtail the civil and political liberties of those individuals whose activism is deemed to be 'socially dangerous' and recidivist (see Giuristi Democratici, 2016; Antetomaso, 2017). The last part of the presentation addresses the strategic modalities of resistance that Housing Rights Movements have elaborated in order to counter the contingent effects of

these repressive measures, whilst struggling on a long-term perspective to defend their credibility, political networks and solidarity networks inside the city.

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Exploring "Shithole Countries": Inside the Central American Juvenile Prisons

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Between January and March 2017 the researcher has done a "direct observation on the field" inside juvenile prison facilities of seven Central American Countries (Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Panama). The research was funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The observation has been necessarily focused on the *gangs' phenomenon* (rectius *maras y pandillas*).

The affiliation of young people (starting from 12 years old) to gangs and organized group is considered the main on going "emergencies" of the political agenda, especially within the *Triangolo Norte* (El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala).

The topic strongly influences media, law enforcement agencies and all the "actors" of the criminal justice system. Even Donald Trump, president of United States, has recently considered it who including El Salvador within the "shithole countries" bringing to US – in his opinion- criminality and poverty.

Historically, the rise of gangs is generally linked with the deportation of migrants from the US metropolises (especially Los Angeles) to the native countries of Central and South America during '70s.

The deportation is usually linked with two other factors: the end of the civil wars in most of the central American countries, due to fragile peace treaties and the large numbers of weapon and fire arms used during the civil wars. Therefore, between '70s and '90s, young groups were able to enlarge their size and capacity of attraction (Wolf, 2010).

Nowadays it is estimated that the number of affiliates to gangs is between 100,000 and 140,000 teenagers, divided in more than 900 organized groups (source Central American and Caribbean Commission of Police Chiefs).

The main two gangs, with a strong international network are the Barrio 18 and Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13).

From a criminological point of view, the first definition of gangs has been given by Thrasher in 1927, who focused on the main characteristics of young organized group: to be group of "au pair", to be linked by same "marginalizing" events (such as unsuccessful school trend), to share a common "code of conduct" and identification process.

The process of criminalization of gangs started later, around '70s. Studies made by criminologist as Klein, Young and the "School of Chicago" contributed to consider gangs as "criminal organization". The critical criminology approach – that consider gangs as a sub-culture, resistant to the dominant impositions – has strongly opposed this trend.

Gangs soon became "social dysfunction" to be fixed by repressive legislation and extraordinary interventions. Some legislation considers gangs as terrorist organization, dangerous for the life of State itself. During '90s, many governments have implemented the so called *mano dura* politics (Salazar Ugarte, 2012). One of the consequences was the rise of prison population and the uncontrollable overcrowding of prison facilities.

Using original materials coming from the direct observation within more than 30 prison facilities, especially interviews with gangs' leaders, photos and audio recording, focus groups with ex gangs members, the authors will focus on how gangs live (and grow up?) inside juvenile prison facilities. Indeed imprisonment is considered a necessary step within the gangsters' career.

The author will mainly consider:

The gangsters' labelling process made by prison staff, in order to peacefully manage prison facilities. The strict separation of different groups is a must, but the technics used to proof the affiliation are different.

The osmosis between street culture and prison culture. The gangsters' *habitus* is well preserved in prison. Hierarchy, leadership, space are crucial.

The gangs' "political" vision. What they want? Do they have a strategy? How they consider the penitentiary institution? How short-term and long-term goals can be linked? Do we find evidence of the transnational dimension of gangs? The role of women. Traditional women are ignored by the studies on gangs (Campbell, 1984, Brotherton, 2003), but the gender issue is becoming more important. And the institutional approach to female gang members is changing. The exit strategy. Is it possible to leave the gang? Do prison staffs consider the exit from the gang an option to be reached? The author will underline the weak border between *desistencia* and *calmarse*. Particular emphasis will be placed on the role of religion (especially, the Christian groups, the only representative of civil society allowed to enter in gangs' section in prison).

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Who Deserve to Stay Home? Exploring Pre-Trial House Arrest Practices in Italy

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Pre-trial house arrest (*arresti domiciliari*) measures and practices in Italy have not been studied from a sociological point of view and even the extent of the phenomenon is unknown. While the Italian Parliament has recently enacted laws reducing the use of pre-trial detention and instead promoting the use of house arrest, the application of this measure remains limited. Vulnerable people, lacking adequate housing and sufficient economic and social resources, such as migrants, cannot but stay in prison.

"Extrema Ratio" is a social project which aims at facilitating the access to pre-trial house arrest reducing the use of preventive detention and experimenting housing solutions with social and educational support. Promoted by the catholic organisation Caritas, and funded by the Italian Bishops' Conference, it focuses on the city of Lecco and Milan in the Lombardy region. The project includes a qualitative research that aims at broadening the knowledge of the phenomenon and at giving a continuous feedback on policy actions and practices implemented within the project. This research action allows for an ethnographical investigation of the practices of the social workers and the actors in the judicial system who decide about granting house arrest to people under trial.

Empirical evidence is collected through in depth interviews with different actors in the penal system (judges, lawyers, etc.), but also with defendants, their families' members, as well as the different social workers involved in the process, inside and outside prison.

Participant observation and shadowing is conducted following the daily work of the coordinators of the project and the actions of the social workers providing housing and social assistance to the beneficiaries.

On the basis of the collected data we focus on the criminalization process which takes shape in the decision-making practices about who *deserve* to access pre-trial house arrest. The selective and discretionary mechanisms that are carried out in the practices related to penal sentencing will be highlighted: how does the judicial system decide who can wait for their sentence at home and who, on the other hand, is sent to prison? The accounts and hidden criteria which shape the selection process will be analysed to shed light on the dynamics at play in the judicial system and how decisions – with their consequences on defendants' lives – are taken by actors involved.

The Implementation of Electronic Tagging and its Role in the Expansion of Penal Control

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The object of this work is the analysis of electronic control applied to the convicted person as an alternative to pre-trial detention.

The attention is immediately focused on the impact of the use of surveillance technologies. More specifically, I tried to identify what is meant by electronic surveillance and what are the consequences of using a new punitive tool, such as the electronic bracelet, on criminal control (Blomberg, 1995).

The interest in this theme emanates, on one side, from the unexpected commotion that in recent months has characterized national courts, and mass media, intent on stressing with great obstinacy the poor application of the electronic devices present in our system (Nellis, 2012) and, on the other hand, by the constant increase in the number of people crossing prison thresholds despite several deflationary measures introduced by the Italian legislator after the "Torreggiani and others c. Italy" sentence, by the Grand Chambre of the European Court of Human Rights, against the generalized overcrowding that has afflicted Italian penal institutions for years.

Electronic monitoring technologies have been very successful abroad, and have been embraced by over thirty countries all over the world. However, some criticism about electronic surveillance is raised by the doctrine. Many authors complain about the mere expiation of condemnation from a penitentiary setting to a domestic one, creating a new way of serving one's sentence based exclusively on the so-called "seclusion", an exclusion that has the only function of separating the suspect or the condemned from society with the ultimate aim of creating social security, without taking into account the rehabilitative function of the sentence.

As a matter of fact, Electronic Monitoring was originally designed to provide an alternative to incarceration but it has entailed a widening of the penal net (Cohen, 1985): not only by creating new forms of punishment but also by including an ever wider group of citizens in the "prison archipelago" (Foucault, 1975).

The research will point out the role of the Italian Lawmaker and of the judges in the development of new forms of social control to better understand how they contribute to the expansion of the crime control system.

The proposal of this paper is to analyse which criteria judges use in the pre-trial phase for the application of electronic monitoring devices. In order to investigate the legal culture (Nelken, 2005) of the Courts I have analyzed several application or rejection ordinances of electronic devices collected in the Courts of Turin and Reggio Calabria.

I have also conducted semi-structured interviews with the judges for the preliminary investigations of the same Courts. The research was carried out using a type of survey that was purely qualitative, also considering the difficulties in collecting data and aimed at analysing the professional practices, the legal culture and the motivations of the judges of the two Courts through a socio-legal approach. The choice to carry out two geographically located case studies was born from the need to better understand judicial practices, the legal culture and the motivational choices used by the legal practitioners for the application of electronic bracelets.

The results of the research lead to a series of critical reflections on the implementation of control technologies (Eisenberg, 2017), and on the impact they have in terms of expansion of criminal control (Aebi *et al.*, 2015; McMahon, 1990).

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SESSION 19B

Women Prisoners' Forms and Methods of Resistance

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This paper aims to present initial findings from an investigation into the methods and forms of resistance women prisoners employ when negotiating their way through their day to day life in a closed prison.

Findings are taken from a reanalysis of the data from a previous 13-month ethnography into women prisoners, on a three or more year sentence and their preparation for release and the construction of a new life.

This ethnographic study involved qualitative interviews with prisoners and staff (prison officers and support staff), detailed observations and the compiling of field notes plus gaining employment in the prison education department as a relief teacher. Thirteen months was spent working and researching at a closed women's prison in England. For 9 months of this time the researcher was also pregnant which made for further interesting and challenging fieldwork dynamics.

Findings from the original study clearly demonstrated that a responsibilisation agenda, lack in capital and numerous structural, gendered barriers were the key obstacles to planning and preparing for release and consequently the potential to desist from future crime. Despite these largely structural disadvantages, *this* paper argues that it is important to recognise the feminist discourse that rejects the notion that female offenders are purely victims of their class or passive sufferers of racial and other forms of discrimination. Women prisoners possess agency and are able to resist and struggle against the oppression to which they are subjected. With this in mind this paper looks more closely at these forms of resistance; resistance that enables women to maintain some form of control over their daily lives and cope with the gendered pains of imprisonment. This could involve the way the women interact with and 'manage' their relationships with prison staff, the methods they use to subvert prison rules and procedures, the relationships and support networks they develop amongst themselves, individual coping strategies and also more overt forms of resistance e.g. dirty protest.

Analysis of action and resistance of this kind has become even more important and pertinent in light of recent cuts to prison services and a full-blown crisis playing out in prisons in England and Wales. Increasing levels of violence, self-harm and suicide are making the effects of incarceration even more damaging to both staff and prisoners alike.

Analysis of forms of resistance against the backdrop of these issues is vital and can demonstrate the ability of prisoners to utilise their agency and take some form of control over their lives, despite the ongoing struggles and injustices faced. Indeed, women's ownership and realisation of agency through acts of protest are rarely acknowledged, particularly in a penal setting. This paper therefore aims to contribute to this field of research with an analysis of how women in a closed prison in England attempt to cope with their time inside.

Prisoner Reentry. Processes of Criminalization and Marginalization

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This paper aims at presenting the results of an empirical research on the phenomena of reentry into society. A sample of prisoners involved in a project of return into the labor market in order to reduce recidivism was the target of the study. This analysis is situated in the frame of the recent evolutions of the penal control paradigms (Melossi, 2002; Mosconi, 2001; Feeley, Simon, 1992) and reflects on the marginalization processes associated with deviant careers (Becker, 1987) before, during and after detention. The study focuses on the transition from welfare state to penal state, first, and to the "charitable state", which is the one informed "by a moralistic and moralizing concept of poverty as a product of the individual failings of the poor" (Wacquant, 2009, p. 42). The reflection include therefore the connections between the global evolutions of the penal control paradigms, on the one hand, and the role of the agencies involved in supporting the prisoners' rehabilitation. By a methodologically point of view, we used in-depth interviews with a sample of 40 beneficiaries. More specifically, the study analyzes the relationship with the services involved in the social inclusion of the most marginalized categories at the time of the zero tolerance rhetoric (Wacquant, 2009; Simon, 2008), the crisis of the rehabilitation model (Garland, 2001) and the post-Fordism shift in the labor market (De Giorgi, 2002).

The reconstruction of the deviant careers thus follows the various phases of the criminalization process: starting from the precariousness before detention, it then focuses on imprisonment and its impact on life courses, till the consolidation of bonds with the agencies involved in the social re-habilitation (De Leonardis, 1998).

The resulting framework is the materialization of the exclusion, de facto, from the labor market for those categories considered unreliable (Pavarini, 1986), of the role of penalty in the neutralization of the *unwanted* and of the gap between the reality and the rhetoric (Cohen, 1985) of reentry into society.

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Notes for a Carceral Territoriology of Mental Health

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The dimension of "space" has long been central in prison studies: this is certainly not surprising, given that "prison" is first of all defined as a "place", a "building where criminals are kept as a punishment"⁴. This formal definition underlies some classical works, in which the prison space has been predominantly considered as a passive entity, as a 'place within which (particular) things happen'. It is only with the well-known work of Michel Foucault (1975) that prison space comes to be considered as an active entity that plays a crucial role in the pursuing of the disciplinary will of the penitentiary.

⁴ This is the definition given by the Cambridge Dictionary: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/prison> (last seen: 15/01/2018)

Moving from this Foucauldian legacy, Carceral Geography has recently emerged as a specific field of research (for an introduction, see Moran, 2015): taking note of the fact that, despite its constant presence, “space” has remained relatively under-theorized in prison studies, Carceral Geography’s scholars contribute to its understanding with some original research. Their work, moreover, helped to make order in the hotchpotch of contributions that, from various disciplines, dealt with prison space. The result is an interesting re-conceptualization of carceral spaces, which come to be analysed not only in their architectural and geographical shapes, but also as places that are “embodied, mobile and affective” (Moran, *op.cit.*: p.1).

This widened perspective on space leads to a methodological urgency: it is impossible to grasp how prison space is effectively used and signified without going beyond the statistical and legal description that is made about it. Such a research agenda is informed by a deep ethnographic need, that represents the fundamental premise in order to understand how space is constantly and informally constructed and reconstructed at the local level.

With this contribution I intend to move from this theoretical and methodological background, and to consider the spatial informal strategies that are used in some Italian prisons in order to manage a convict population described as “growingly suffering from mental health issues”. This problem emerged quite recently, and its appearance may be attributed to a number of factors that cannot be considered in depth here. However, two important normative changes are worth to be recalled: first, the prison health care reform of 2008, that led to some major changes in the composition of the medical staff operating in prison (now employed by the ASL and not by the Prison Administration); and second, the definitive closure of the six Ospedali Psichiatrici Giudiziari in 2016 and their replacement with a more widespread web of residential structures (with a reduced number of total beds available and a reshaping of the security instances).

Both these changes may have produced some transformations in the spatiality of the prison field: after a brief description of the “carceral geographies of mental health” as they have been formally redefined (with the establishment of the Reparti di Osservazione Psichiatrica, on the one hand, and of the Articolazioni per la Salute Mentale in Carcere on the other), I will move to consider how prison spaces are informally re-organized and signified at the local level by the actors who cross them everyday. This process of re-signification is deployed at two distinct levels:

2. By the local prison administration, which decide to use some spaces in order to manage a population perceived as “particularly problematic”: this definition is pretty confused, and act as a sort of “floating signifier”, usually applied by the security staff on the basis of disciplinary features expressed with a naïve medical language. Through this process some prison spaces (e.g. a specific ward or the infirmary) are redefined, more or less explicitly, as detention sites for the so-called “problematic individuals”.
3. By the prisoners, who are also involved in the continuous process of signification and re-signification of carceral spaces. Constantly re-interpreting the prison space through a variety of “aberrant readings” (De Certeau, 1980), they involve ceaselessly in the unveiling of power relationships, putting in place micro-tactics of subtraction and resistance.

With this contribution my aim is to introduce some “raw” field notes that I collected in different penitentiaries in Emilia-Romagna⁵: the objective of the talk, through the presentation of some “ethnographic splinters” (Sbraccia, 2012) and scraps of interview, is to launch some ideas that could be useful in order to think at the prison space as a “territory”, understood as something that is continuously enacted and redefined by those who live it, and that extends far beyond its physical borders (Brighenti, 2013). The presentation will thus disorderly move between a number of settings and situations involving the presence of so called “mentally diseased prisoners”, without trying to build a coherent representation or theorization, but giving an account of the fragmented heterogeneity of the carceral geographies of mental health.

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A Double Stigma: Effects of Primary and Secondary Criminalization Processes on Prison Inmates with a Diagnosis of Drug Addiction

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⁵ Some of those notes has been collected during the activities of the Osservatorio Antigone, of which I am a member.

The institutional response to the widespread use of drugs for non-therapeutic purposes, which occurred in the 20th century, has been predominantly repressive and characterized by primary and secondary criminalization processes of drug users in most of the western countries. As primary criminalization we refer to the process that transform some behaviors and individuals in crime and criminals, through lawmaking. While, as secondary criminalization, we refer to the way these regulations are implemented through the everyday practices of criminal justice system workers (Sbraccia, Vianello, 2010).

In Italy, the first legislative initiative attempting to regulate the use of psychotropic substances was represented by law n. 396/1923, which, as the subsequent penal code of 1931, did not punish the drug user, but sanctioned the narcotic traffics by imprisonment. Afterwards, law n. 1041/1954 introduced the offense of drug possession, even for personal use. From the lawmakers' point of view this punitive approach, realized through the criminalization of drug use, could have reduced the spread of the phenomenon of drug addiction, nevertheless it resulted in the arising of a criminal underworld, with high rates of drug users beginning to fill prisons.

The legislative landscape, together with mass media communication, was promoting and socially constructing an image of the "dope fiend" as a criminal. A medical turn emerged in the seventies, and addiction started to be considered as a disease (Conrad, Schneider, 2010). The progressive process of medicalization of drug abuse was mirrored also by the Italian regulatory framework. Indeed, law n. 865/1975 introduced a distinction between drug users and drug dealers, through the decriminalization of substance use

running parallel to a tightening of sanctions against the drug traffic. The "dope fiend" prisoner was no more represented just as a criminal, but also as a diseased, deserving the right (and the legal obligation) to receive medical care and all the assistance necessary for his rehabilitation and social reintegration. At this point the lawmaker delegated to the health care system the treatment of the addict in prison (DPR 230/99), while the security management organization was confirmed to the prison system.

One of the objectives of the laws mentioned above was to reduce the high rate of drug addicted within prison population (Tucci, 2011). However, these legislative measures have not been effective in order to de-incarcerate drug addicts, whose presence in prisons has continued to grow in the subsequent years, remaining substantial till nowadays. Indeed, the most recent statistics about Italian prison population classify as "drug addicts" about the 34% of prisoners (XIII Rapporto annuale Antigone, 2017).

This brief excursus on the Italian legal framework about drugs over the past century shows some changes in the social representation (Moscovici, 2005) of the drug user. However, it is important to underline that the definition of addiction as a disease, developed in the last decades, did not substitute completely the deviant social representation of the drug user. Therefore, prison inmates with diagnosis of drug addiction must face a double stigma, being labelled both as "criminals" and

as "ills" (Goffman, 1963). The passage from the criminalization of drug user to his partial medicalization has been reflected also by the penal system, through the creation of penitentiary institutions specifically dedicated to the physical and psychological "treatment" of prisoners with a diagnosis of drug addiction. Based on the principle of differentiation of prison institutions, laid down by the

article 64 of the Penitentiary Regulation, and on some circulars, published by the Department of Prison Administration, establishing the creation of special minimum-security prisons dedicated to drug abusers, during the last twenty years the Italian criminal justice system has introduced the, so called, I.C.A.T.T. (*Istituti di Custodia Attenuata per il Trattamento dei Tossicodipendenti*). These institutions, regulated by the law D.P.R. n. 230/2000, are defined as oriented towards an individualized medical and psycho-social treatment of the prison inmate, so as to ensure that the therapeutic needs prevail over the security ones. In particular, one of the core objectives of this kind of institutions is to facilitate social reintegration, thanks to the networking and territorial cooperation with the treatment services SerD (*Servizi Dipendenze*). Indeed, a large group of social and health

workers operate there in collaboration with prison officers, in order to reach the ambivalent mission of the I.C.A.T.T., an institution devoted at the same time to punishment and care. As noted in Sbraccia, Vianello (2010) in this setting healthcare and social workers become effectively agents of secondary criminalization processes. We decided to choose this context as a case study to analyse the double stigma ascribed to offenders with a diagnosis of drug addiction, as a result of the twofold process of criminalization and medicalization of the drug user present in the contemporary Italian society.

With this contribution, we would like to present some preliminary findings of an ethnographic research. Participant observations were conducted for more than a year within a I.C.A.T.T. with prisoners and with both the components of the staff: healthcare and social workers and prison officers. Our presentation will address primary and secondary effects of criminalization and medicalization processes targeted to drug users, focusing on the policies leading to the creation of this specific penal system dedicated to drug abusers and on the contradictions in the "treatment" of prisoners deriving from their double stigma of "criminals" and "ills" (Goffman, 1963). Indeed, if the social representation of drug users as criminals is linked to a sense of guiltiness that legitimize punishment practices, conversely their social representation as diseased tend to pathologize their behaviors, and this results in different values, languages and practices between healthcare and social workers and penitentiary policy officers.

Finally, we would like to highlight the contamination between the prison world and the medical world. At the I.C.A.T.T. the logic of control, typical of the prison environment, must face the logic of care, through the physical presence of social and health workers not directly dependent by the penitentiary administration. Can the match between these antithetical perspectives change the prison or instead, as suggested by Torrente and Sarzotti (2010), is the prison to produce and reproduce process of institutionalization on who enter its gates?

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The Mechanical Restraint of Psychiatric Patients in Custody: Disciplinary Machine, Cure, or Care?

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The use of mechanic restraint (and involuntary treatment) remains a controversial method of practice not only within the public debate, but also in Psychiatry. Notwithstanding, mechanic restraint is adopted routinely in many psychiatric acute wards (Servizio Psichiatrico di Diagnosi e Cura) and forensic hospitals (as well as in geriatrics) in Italy and in many other EU countries. The literature in the field is scarce, particularly so in the social science; rarely the discussion is based on empirical data. This contribution aims to shed light on the issue by introducing a short literature review; then, by analysing a large corpus of ethnographic video-recorded interviews (N=47) collected in an Italian forensic hospital (Ospedale Psichiatrico Giudiziario) where these method of practice has been frequently adopted for years. Recently, all Italian forensic hospitals have been shut down permanently and replaced with smaller forensic psychiatric ward (REMS). Despite this institutional change, staff's and patients' opinions collected in the forensic psychiatric hospital remain timely. Psychiatric patients, psychiatric staff and custodial staff discussed this extreme form of control (and some forms of resistance and alleged abuses) thoroughly with the researcher who had witnessed those practices first-hand during field-work several times. In those interviews, the descriptions and justifications of (or resistance towards) mechanical restraint varies greatly between psychiatric patients in custody, psychiatric staff and custodial staff, as predictable. All in all, mechanic restraint is mainly interpreted as a necessary disciplinary machine (a means of control), a "normal" clinical practice, as a form of care, but also, rarely (in that context) as a violation of Human Right. More interestingly, though, the descriptions and justifications of mechanical restraint varies greatly also within each of those three groups.

SESSION 20

VISUAL RESEARCH OF MIGRATIONS AND OTHER BORDER EXPERIENCES. WHAT ABOUT POLITICS AND AESTHETICS?

Convenors: Annalisa Frisina (Università di Padova), Valentina Anzoise (Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia), Camilla Hawthorne (University of California Berkeley)

Humanity and Security under Siege. European Discursive Politics on Immigration and Asylum

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A growing body of scholarship has devoted attention to the European approach to immigration and asylum. As the military management of the border goes hand in hand with the employment and display of humanitarian politics, the interplay between two regimes of practice – military-securitizing and humanitarian – has been increasingly scrutinized. However, the relationship between the corresponding discourses is less clear. How can European institutions and agencies take a humanitarian stand in interventions and public statements and then gainsay it with frequent exhibitions of mercilessness? How can we describe the interaction and the coexistence of the discourse of care and the discourse of fear?

Drawing on statements, documents, and visual representations coming from political representatives, public bodies, NGO's and the media, both at the European and the national (Italian) level, I investigate this 'flip-flop' regime of humanitarian/security discourse. Both discourses are carried on by actors able to reach the public arena. Nevertheless, they cannot be said to be involved in a fair competition. Since its inception, the EU has securitized its borders, presenting their violation as an existential threat. The relentless scene of the enforcement, and therefore the violation, of the border renders dramatically visible the repeated challenge to the intangibility of 'our' territory and identity. The experience of the state, provided by a dramatically narrated border, is that of its penetration by exasperating 'uncontrollable' 'aliens'.

The representation of this reality develops around a 'metaphor of the siege' that sounds and looks natural, credible, and validated by facts. The metaphor is regularly proposed by public bodies, politicians, and the media. Therefore we can speak of a siege paradigm – one that constructs an oppositional reality, mediated by visual and verbal accounts, which symbolises and asserts a social relationship between besiegers and besieged, people who raise a threat and people who must defend themselves. The siege paradigm structures the uncompromising way in which the 'immigration emergency' should be dealt with, giving a superordinate status to the politics of security over humanitarian politics, so that discourse of care can prevail only in brief occasions..

On the Edge of Visual Research. Migrations, Photography and the Impossible Spectatorship

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Since at least 1992, the European Union migration policies have transformed the Mediterranean Sea in a liquid space of deadly journeys and vulnerable bodies, where geopolitics combines with neo-colonial forms of violence and racism (Mountz, Lloyd, 2014). Our perception of these places and events is constantly mediated by pictures, videos, and reportages, which meet our eyes and affect us emotionally, negotiating the distance between us and those events. In this sense, the visual field probably represents the most pervasive language usually employed to bring migrations in the public realm: images of suspended boats on the sea surface and wreckages run ashore, crowds of bodies onto the docks and corpses lying on the beaches, have increasingly attracted media attention, building up a visual account of contemporary migrations in the Mediterranean.

Drawing on these premises, during the last two years I have tried to carry out a research aimed at critically exploring the relationship between photography and migrations with a cultural geography perspective. In order to bring into focus the visual practices underwriting both the production and reception of migration photographs, my attempt has been to trace a *critical topography of the gaze* (Katz, 2001), mapping out the performances and places of looking at migrations through the photographic lens or picture. After spending many months in interviewing photographers, collecting visual materials and reviewing relevant literature, a fundamental question now arises: where I stand? What is my own location on this visual topography?

The aim of this contribution is to extend the discussion about looking at images of migration to the context of visual research processes, focusing on how issues of positionality and embodiment can materially interfere with the making and un-making of the research field. Un-framing the border spectacle we witness day after day means not only looking at

what constitutes and regulates this visual field, but also asking questions about our own positioning inside the “common ground” where visibility, power and research meet (Moreno Figueroa, 2008). In particular, the privilege of our gaze and its objectivizing force, that form of radical uncertainty which accords with every visual performance, and the (im)possibility for an ethical relationship with images of suffering are some of the issues I want to address in my paper.

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Civic Art: Public Sphere in Dialogue

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Contemporary societies are characterized by what Jeffrey Alexander describes as an intense de-fusion of elements of social performance. The recent events related to international migration flows intensify these processes by bringing the often-unexpected visual signs of difference into the shared public space of many European cities. In our paper, we are looking for an answer to the question how can the process of re-fusion take place in the context of artistic gestures in public spaces.

Culture and arts have become widely used tools of re-fusion endeavours in the past decade. Artists and organizers of cultural events are often trying to critically engage with the dominant discourses, create alternative and more inclusive social imaginaries, and contribute to redefinition of aesthetic categories. As the nature of public space becomes more diversified, also artists try to alter meanings embedded in it in a more participatory way. It is no longer sufficient just to create a visual gesture – inviting passers-by, general users, and co-creators into an artistic game seems to be an essential precondition for the success of the intervention. But how do artists themselves define the success of their civic art? How much value do they attribute to creative process taking place on the street as opposed to exclusive spaces of artistic production and consumption, such as major galleries or theatres? And under what conditions can these artistic interventions create a fusion with the audience?

At the same time, it seems that in an attempt to cross or blur the symbolic boundaries, they are often first highlighted – when for instance a specific experience of immigration becomes a motive for an artistic performance. The relation between the visibility and invisibility of boundaries in the society is thus an ambiguous one. How important it is to emphasize the existence of boundaries in order to shift it?

In order to answer the above stated questions, we analyse select artistic performances and cultural events taking place in the cities of Vienna and Klagenfurt, in which artists deliberately try to alter meanings embedded in the public space. We focus on the categories of visibility, participation, aesthetics, and symbolic boundaries, and trace their dynamic interactions when put in motion by the artists.

Ethnographic Ways of Seeing: Contemporary Syrian Documentary Film and Its Anthropological Relevance

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The Syrian conflict is now in its seventh year, with an estimated 470,000 dead and missing (Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, 2017). Since 2011 it has also been the deadliest place to be a journalist; the number of journalists killed in Syria each year has declined numerically only because so few journalists and media workers, such as fixers, are able to work there. At the same time, Syria's conflict is the most socially mediated in history (Lynch et al 2014). While the democratizing and human rights reporting potential of citizen and non-professional journalism has been analyzed in the context of

the Arab uprisings (Shirky 2009, 2011; Lynch 2010; Gregory 2015), in the context of the Syrian conflict, the situation is especially complex and fraught as videos are used for a range of purposes that are often interconnected: political, evidentiary and documentary, and their authenticity is sometimes unknown or at the very least questionable (Rohde et al 2016). Within this highly precarious and potentially deadly environment that prevents local and foreign journalists (not to mention ethnographers) from working, and that also generates enormous amounts of questionable visual material, artistic visual production has become a central way in which to communicate critical information and experience about the conflict and about exile, information essential for ethnographers of the region, scholars of visual anthropology and ethnographers of the refugee experience. These films are important sources for ethnographic research and are ethnographic in nature themselves. They deal with explicitly anthropological concerns such as materiality, kinship and temporality, and take approaches that are ethnographic and auto-ethnographic in nature. Through an analysis of four such contemporary Syrian documentary films, "On the Edge of Life," (2017), "300 Miles," (2016) "Taste of Cement" (2016) and "Haunted" (2014), I will argue for the importance of this art form for ethnographic questions and research and for problematizing the very definition of ethnographic film itself and its power in conveying the plurality of the world (Hastrup 1992), one currently largely inaccessible to ethnographers.

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Digital Immigrants. Notes for an Ethnographic Visual Research in Cuba

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I carried on my last ethnographic fieldwork in La Habana between December 2016 and February 2017, investigating how the new forms of digital communication enhanced by the Internet "appearance" in Cuba was challenging the formerly rigid distinction between "who left" and "who remain" (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985; 2007), and thus contributing to forging transnational family ties.

During 2015, paid Wi-Fi hotspots made their first appearance in major Cuban cities, soon to become a crucial meeting point for the youngest, looking for social media experiences, and for all the citizens who have families' members abroad (O'Reilly Herrera, 2007). Indeed, many Cubans use those spots to call their adult sons living out abroad, literally bringing their intimate life out in public squares. Through stories of four parents and points of view of two local social scientists, this ethnographic short movie aims to reflect on the impact of the Internet and social media on a specific generation. The title refers ambiguously to both the age of the interviewed and their recent adaptation to the digital environment (Prensky, 2001).

I considered video production both an object of inquiry and a research tool, focusing on the interactions between actors. Video as an object of inquiry helps the consideration of the role of social actors' imagination and self-representation in shaping their own environments. Video as an ethnographer's tool allows catching aspects of social interactions like emotions, which, on the other hand, might fly in an exclusive dialogical confrontation (Pink, 2006). In the meanwhile, it also allows representing ethnographically the non-verbal part of the ethnographic research, such as the everyday landscapes and material objects.

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Refugees, Borders and Image: Contributions from Visual Ethnography

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The recent refugee crisis led the media to race towards the most affected European borders. They are the ones who, through their own perspective, show us the events and help create an image of the refugees. The patterns of representation are underpinned in a public opinion-influencing monocular perspective, thus deepening the cleavage in the relationship between the "I" and the "Other". Subject A photographs subject B for the sake of subject C.

This monocular perspective recalls Michel Foucault's (2013) "Panopticon". For the third person, the "refugee", is unwillingly observed, without the opportunity to defend him/herself from the representation that is made. Furthermore, the constant display of migrants' images turns the whole event into a universal phenomenon for the viewer, whilst trivializing it and evoking acceptance and perpetuation of *Bare-Life* (Agamben, 2015) within society.

In order to explore migration and other experiences by reflecting on the role played by visual representations in reproducing patterns of inclusion or exclusion, this presentation aims to acknowledge how refugees are represented in images photographed in a context of securitization by international media agencies and later disseminated by Portuguese broadsheets between 2014 and 2016. This partial outcome will be bridged with refugees' own self-representation. Moreover, it will be considered also the representation pictured by workers and volunteers at the European borders, thus the main stage of the actual "refugee crisis".

As mentioned previously, the research is framed in a securitization context, which since 9/11 has become a Western trend and has thus received special attention from several social scientists, including anthropologists. Subsequently, the Madrid and London attacks in 2004 and 2005 respectively reinforced the idea that Europe's securitization needs to be increased. "Refugee" is a term that has entered in the lexicon of everyday life in recent years, apparently becoming a popularly understood condition. The magnitude of the numbers contributes to this, 22.5 million (UNHCR, 2017) individuals, and the direction of the migrating flows: towards Europe. Although the European continent is the destination of a smaller part of all those who seek asylum, it has been put forward that these are flows so widespread that European countries struggle to welcome all people.

The central question of this investigation was based on the reflection on two issues we witness at present: the centrality of the images of the "refugees" in our days, due to the omnipresence of the topic in the media since 2014, and the recognition of their importance in the formation of social representations.

Most people have been exposed to the so-called migrant crisis through the media. They do not know who asylum seekers or people who have been granted with refugee status are. The status and identity of the refugee is created by the way they are presented to people. In this sense, I aim to discuss how through visual products, the perception and the representation of refugees are articulated. More specifically: how are the refugees, stationed or in transit, represented in visual documents in the era of the fortification of Europe? This issue ended up being specified into different questions: the support of the image that is passed by the media in the self-image of refugees and other agents who contact them. In this way, I also put forward the following questions:

Is there some form of symmetry between the image promoted by the media and the self-image of the refugees? and, How are they seen by those working to support refugees and others who, by profession, are in contact with them?

Within the frame of reflection, I depart from the acknowledged direct link between image and the influence on public opinion (Sjöberg, Rydin, 2008) and from the tendency to represent the refugee as a "sea of humanity" (Malkki, 1996), denying them a dimension of individuality.

In the first part, I characterize and discuss the context – the border – where the refugees of postmodernity are, and where the image of the refugees as a category and their condition are constructed, negotiated and transformed. At this stage, literature review was the most important resource. In an analytical second part, I identify the labels, the language, the stories, the convictions, the institutions and the practices related to the refugees that make up the symbolic universe of meanings in which its representations are made interconnected on different levels. Here I performed a documentary analysis, initially a qualitative content analysis and later a discourse analysis of the images, allowing us to unmask the ideologically entrenched and often obscure structures of power, political control and domination, as well as the strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in the language in use (Wodak, 1999). Finally, in the last part, I present and interpret the visual images involved in the representations of the refugee subjects, which constitute the various imaginary and practical fields through which refugee subjects are presented, managed and discussed. To that end, I turned to the classical method, ethnography, focusing on interviewing the refugees themselves and subjects who provided information about their perception of the refugees, the way they see them, and how the experience led them to that realization.

I will argue that “refugees” are not represented as individuals nor with distinctive features. Those aspects contrast with the information I gathered during ethnography, as all informants – refugees and humanitarian workers – are aware of the generalizations’ redundancy.

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SESSION 21

WHAT SORT OF FIELDWORK AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION IN TODAY'S MAGHREB?

Convenors: Mohamed Kerrou (University El Manar of Tunis), Paola Gandolfi (Università di Bergamo). Discussant: Hassan Rachik (University Hassan II of Casablanca)

SESSION 21A

Ethical and Methodological Implications Doing Ethnography Concerning Urban Resistances and Participation Issues in Morocco

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This contribution is an attempt to focus on the role, the positioning and the responsibility of a foreign social researcher while doing field work in contemporary Morocco. To engage this kind of analysis, it is necessary to consider different aspects: the socio-political situation of the country, the topics concerned, the post-colonial identity of the context and the status of ethnography. Ethnography nowadays can transcend the "cultural shock" a non-local researcher had to face, because of acting within a globalised network of informations and the easiness to know the "other" due to the cultural métissage of European societies. If for Hassan Rachik it was true that he cannot "*dire que [son] statut de Marocain ne [lui] confère pas ipso facto un accès facile et immédiat à ce que des habitants disent et font dans des situations déterminées et encore moins à ce qu'ils sont*" (Rachik, 2012: 10) it is also true that for non-moroccan citizens it is easier to discuss about critical issues with their interlocutors, political questions most of all. Even if, in post-colonial countries, power relations among the observer and the observed are still pregnant, people show their opinions more easily in front of a foreign researcher because they are not afraid of paybacks, in a context where the social control led by moroccans themselves is still very strong. Following a popular saying spread during the 70's and the 80's – the more repressive period of the Hassan II Reign – "in Morocco you have the impression that half of the citizens are spying and listening to what the other half is saying or doing". Social research in Morocco still faces nowadays a strong level of control by the governmental system. People who want to do fieldwork have to ask the former authorization to the local authorities, explaining the exact subjects of the research and the items of the interviews to be realized. Obviously this process could seriously compromise the research progress. Furthermore it is not a proceeding so clear and smooth. Firstly, because since the beginning it is not so evident who is supposed to be charged to endorse the authorization. Secondly, the time the institutions need to issue the authorization is not previously announced (it could take several months before receiving any feedback). Finally they could also restrict the period required to do the fieldwork and the subjects involved. Considering this situation, it seems really uneasy for the social researcher to act within a normative framework, even more so the research concerns critical issues, in opposition to the effective system of power. Ethical concerns become crucial throughout the research itself. For this reason many scholars decide to look for some bias to avoid the long and uncertain authorizational process. In many cases they choose to ignore intentionally any constraints, in order to gain a certain freedom of research and thought. These aspects, just briefly presented, allow to engage a deep reflection on the social and political role of ethnography in these contexts, especially during this historical moment. Like Dal Lago affirms, ethnography has to advisedly disregard any moral hierarchy to be able to question the distribution of legitimacy within social worlds (Dal Lago & De Biasi, 2014: X). The positioning of a foreign researcher inside this process becomes even more tricky: is it possible that a specific ethnography could interfere within the socio-political scenario, underlying processes the actors are not really facing or analysing social facts in a misrepresented way? It is necessary to take into account that, like Goffman underlines, reality does not exist in itself but in the way social actors think it and reproduce it (Goffman, 1961). In the same way, knowledge is never neutral and even the most objective-declared approach while producing social sciences is deeply subjective, it involves an ethnocentric and always personal gaze of the researcher (Clifford & Marcus, 1997).

The most critical researcher interprets social facts in the frame of a hegemonic modernist way of thinking. While doing participant observation and interviews, the social researcher could unwittingly try to understand and analyse social facts within categories of thought that people interviewed are not really putting into debate. Considering for example participation issues, what kind of participative model the non-local researcher has internally in mind while talking with Moroccan people? The ethnographic field I am interested to explore concerns urban resistance and protests. The city can be considered as the battlefield of the modern subaltern subject, the "urban poor", as described by Asef Bayat (Bayat, 2006). Talking about urban protests after 2011, linked to the rehousing projects implemented for people living in slums, the situation has changed a lot during the last years linked to internal specific factors and external trends. It is true that the Arab Spring moment has contributed to bring a new ordinary vocabulary of rights and freedoms to most of all the citizens. But at the same time, the immediate and ambiguous response of the King of Morocco and the negative twists of the revolutions in other countries, such as Egypt or Syria, have strongly dampened people to pursue that kind of strategy.

Looking at the urban specific context in Morocco, the eviction policy concerning informal settlements and the even more precarious actual condition of its inhabitants locates them in a situation of whole uncertainty. They fear to be over exposed due to the fact they accept to talk with foreign people about their status.

In this context the direct observation and the relation with the subjects the research would like to interact with, results even more complicated. A comprehensive and exhaustive study to be undertaken is not so evident: the risks to produce dangerous misunderstandings deserve to be seriously taken into account.

***Heroes are all Young and Handsome*". Investigating Young Moroccan Activists after 2011**

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The phenomenon of young people participating in radical left-wing movements has long been attributed to a strong rooting in anti-systemic and revolutionary ideology. According to some authors from the sociology of social mobilization this participation comes to an end during the transition from youth to adulthood, when people join the labour market and find a social direction (Galland, 2011). However, considering political engagement only as the result of feelings of deprivation and inequality, this approach does not take into account the individual and collective strategic implications in youth mobilization. In fact, political engagement is not simply conveyed through adherence to an ideology, but through specific constraints deriving from a calculation of the costs and benefits of protest actions (i.e. forms of mobilization, decision-making mechanisms, leader training, etc). Through an ethnographic fieldwork conducted within a student left-wing activist group in the University of Meknès (Morocco) this study shows that political participation allows young people to reconfigure their status in a society where the process of democratisation was conducted along with the neoliberal transformation of the Maghrebi countries. Thus, political commitment can become an important instrument of social mobility, in a country where social policies put in place by the institutions seem ineffective. This work also aims to explain the meaning of a radical left-wing affiliation in contemporary Morocco after 2011, in the current context of fluctuating political identities - sometimes at the border of other types of membership (religious, cultural, social, and so on). Finally, the article highlights the importance of the anthropological method - characterized by the long-term and in-depth study of particular social realities - as a privileged instrument of analysis of an extremely blurry category such as "youth", whose intension is cut across legal-institutional frameworks and cultural, social, political and media constructions. In this sense, the subject of "young people" has been treated here as an "emic category" (Rivoal, 2015), avoiding to define "youth" by setting specific criteria, but rather questioning the limits posed by the different social actors in relation to this category; this process of deconstruction indeed made possible to document the different constructions of reality envisaged by the actors. The choice, both methodological and epistemological, of the university and its actors as an entry point for a fieldwork on political activism and sociability of young Moroccans has been doubly important. On the one hand, as it constitutes the professional and cultural training environment for the actors involved in this research, it is important to know the internal dynamics of this specific place. On the other hand, transforming the university - the researcher's place of work and intellectual production - into a focus of investigation has been a fundamental issue regarding the implications and the conditions of this research. If we give to the "anthropologist-interlocutor" relationship a double meaning that reverses its internal roles (here we are both anthropologist *and* interlocutor), we can have the possibility to reflect on our own positioning and to examine the unfolding mechanisms and structural dynamics of an ethnographic encounter and, more broadly, the anthropological method itself.

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Biography as a Fieldwork. Questioning Master Narratives of Political Change in Morocco

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In 2009, when I was in search of a privileged observer to help me understanding the complex dynamics of the formation of capitalism in Morocco, I met Abk, a eighty-years-old men recently retired after a very active life in business and politics, coming from one of the richest families of Marrakech. A few time after our first meeting, Abk asked me if I could help him to write his memoirs. In Morocco, giving voice to the witnesses of the past had begun a national priority since the launch of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission a few years earlier. The profile of Abk, however, was rather different to the actors who had caught the attention of the public debate: the latter were fifty-years-old average, most of them come from intellectual middle class social contexts, they generally had a past of activism in anti-system political organizations and often experienced prison and torture. It is precisely for this reason that his profile caught my attention at first: it seemed to me that working on his biography could provide a valuable contribution for understanding political change in Morocco beyond its master narratives.

Despite his atypical profile, I quickly realized that it was not a matter of subject: even for an actor whose profile is different from the most accredited witnesses of political change, it is hard to think on his own life beyond the turning points, the actors and the phenomena constitutive of how it has to be thought. Pluralism is not easily admitted in accounting political turn, nor conflicts or cleavages apart from those considered to be constitutive of it. Moreover, since biographies give the impression of a fusion between the subject telling his life story and the social body he wants to account, it seemed to me that a biographical account of Abk risked to be iconic of the consolidated way of accounting political change instead of giving a new perspective on such process.

My contribution would retrace the process that led me to progressively abandon Abk biography as a subject of inquiry to approach it as a fieldwork, meaning with this notion a way of understanding social phenomena through direct experience. What are we directly experiencing by conducting in-depth interviews with a single actor on his life course? What kind of experience of the present may allow a biographical account of the past? How can we question master narratives of political change from this perspective? I will try to approach these questions by focusing on the ways in which, through this biographical fieldwork, I had experienced the events of 2011 in Morocco.

Spectatorship in Nowadays Moroccan Theatre. Challenges and possibilities for the making of a “vivre ensemble”

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Through this paper I'll analyze the relationship between artists and spectators within the frame of contemporary Moroccan theatre in Rabat, considering this relation as the place for “communicative action” (Habermas, 1984) and as a “public space that mirrors the public sphere of politics” (Arendt, 1958; Winston, 2007). Analyzing the aspects of this relationship in nowadays Morocco, I aim to trace a portrait of the necessities and the challenges encountered in building a *vivre ensemble* (Ait Mouss, Ksikes, 2016) within a recent period (the post 2011) which is marked by a “*more manifested desire to take the word*” (Ait Mouss, Ksikes, 2016).

Since I've constantly participated as member of the audience in the most part of the new creations within the theatrical season 2017/2018, I intended to focus on this space of interaction because, even “*in a country that still considers artistic expression as a luxury*” (Amine, 2009), the relationship between audiences and artists can reveal the powerfulness of the public encounter: how the cultural meanings are (re)produced onstage? Can the engagement of some theatrical groups in performing social issues (such as the inequalities in heritage, racism, multiculturalism, women's rights) be considered as a narration of the discontinuity between cultural and social aspects where we can possibly find the driving force for a change (Geertz, 1973)?

The research question of this ethnography concerns whether it's possible to produce an analysis of the present and of the negotiation of social and cultural values (Bourqia, 2010), observing the theatrical experiences and their wandering in

a liminal third-space (Turner, 1987; Bhabha, 1994; Fischer-Lichte, 2004). Through a participant observation of a couple of years I was able to know more than twenty Moroccan artists in the field of theatre with whom I've conducted in-depth interviews, trying to know their living histories and their specific contemporary work in relation with the public sphere. By means of this contribution, I will try to debate some key issues emerged during my fieldwork, also focusing about my personal experience as a researcher achieving a fieldwork in contemporary Morocco and questioning on which are the delicate and complex peculiarities of a participative observation in the Moroccan country nowadays, in relation to the ongoing social and cultural change processes and the paradoxes these subtle dynamics bring with themselves.

SESSION 21B

Visions of Dissent in Algeria, Jordan and Tunisia

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This paper examines three separate episodes of contention in Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia in order to unpack the complex relationship between various sites of power and possibilities of resistance. It calls for a re-examination of the spatial and temporal dynamics of protest, along with attention to the uneven reach of state power (that is, how "stateness" varies across space and over time). Each of the three cases illustrates an instance of solidarity in a marginalized area that became visible through recent moments of political and economic rupture. Many scholarly analyses view the uprisings or contentious moments thereafter, as having been launched from unprecedented "sparks" – such as the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in Sidi Bouzid or the violent death of a fish monger in Al-Hoceima, Morocco. This study takes as central a history of ideological commitments, political desires and fears, and instances of transgression as elements of a genealogy of dissent *in addition* to street-based protest or other observable forms of resistance. By broadening the lens of the contours of contention, this paper highlights the complexities and paradoxes of contentious politics oftentimes absent in linear approaches to the repression/resistance model. But rather than critiquing studies that count event data or reduce contentious politics to economic determinism, this paper builds on such approaches to theorize the modes and histories of resistance, their transformation and response to state asymmetry, expansion/amalgamation, ambiguity and paradoxes, as well as their meaning for the political present. Genealogies of dissent open the possibility to think beyond the state/society or repression/resistance binaries and explore the tensions, conflicts, solidarities, causes and effects that run counter to the standard story of uprising and revolt post-Arab Spring.

This paper will utilize original research conducted in Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia from the late 2000s to the present. Field methods include elite interviews, public and spatial ethnography, participant observation, analysis of newspapers and other public records, and other documents. Sources are in English, Arabic, and French. None of this research has been previously published.

Hegemony, Resistance, Alternatives. Ethnography among Young Tunisians as Mutual Recognition of Cultural Subjectivities

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Recent political and social transformations which have been happening in the Maghreb region in the last years have undoubtedly contributed to the redefinition of analytic categories and epistemological frames all too often crushed under the weight of representations and imaginaries of social order, cultural essentialisms and strict religious and identity references, provided by both authoritarian governments and social sciences. Already before the Arab Springs flared up, new researches privileged the youths as a mirror of changes in social structures and cultural habitus (Bennani-Chraïbi, 1994; Ben Amor, 2011). With the 2011 revolutionary process, young Tunisians have become a preferential point of observation from which inquire the evolution of social ties and collective imaginaries (Najar, 2012; Lamloum, Ali Ben Zina, 2015). In this paper I would like to reflect upon the fieldwork I'm currently doing in Tunisia, studying the every-day political dimension of impoverished middle class youths, especially in the urban area of the Grand Tunis. Even if Tunisian social movements are well organized and constitute a strong presence in the national social and political landscape, I'll focus on the young impoverished middle urban class youths who are not formally engaged in political groups. Shall we describe them as perfectly integrated into the cultural and political hegemonies (first of all, the neoliberal and the religious ones)? What do they share with the so-called "subalterns"? What kind of relations do they have with the civil society institutions and agencies? Ethnography may provide answers, permitting us to comprehend emerging political dynamics and innovative expressions of citizenship. Despite of the reductionist thesis bringing youth social anger and disquiets back to their economic collocation (which anyhow must be taken into account), the ethnographic encounter will reveal the "complex" nature of young Tunisians, not directly related to unique social essences. Doing fieldwork among young

Tunisians has been characterized as a path followed alongside to them, so as to recognize their cultural subjectivity and discover therefore a subtext behind the “received theory” (Simonicca, 2012). The broad cultural worlds they live “embracing local and global levels” compel the researcher to deal with multiple declinations of the Self, depending on the contexts and, most of all, on the continuous dialectic between normative spaces and discourses on the one hand, and resistance, this latter based on the imagination of an “alternative”, on the other. Rather than thinking to culture as an ordered asset of prescriptions and interdictions, as discourses focusing on the insurgence of Islam and the vulnerability of youths in post-revolutionary Tunisia usually do, the ethnography of daily life “live been conducting among them may give back an image of culture as a complex of meanings re-interpreted in social exchanges, through the relations between the Self and the others (first of all, the peers), and, of course, between the “ethnographer” and the “natives”. The incessant balancing of meaning between experience-near and experience-distant concepts has been a concrete epistemological (and methodological) key since I started to face middle and under class young Tunisians not engaged in social movements, assumed to be ignorant, lazy and suspected of being attracted to religious fundamentalism. Their quiet and atomized relation to power, without clear organization or ideology references, united to a discreet but persistent process of establishing alternative norms and imaginaries, led Asef Bayat (2015) to deconstruct common stereotypes as well as empirical and epistemological categories commonly attributed to this kind of social actors, naming their political infrastructure as “social non-movements”, to be intended as alternative paths of social activism. If it’s true that the 2011 Tunisian mobilization was the epiphenomenon of a wider process undertaken through years of disobedience and “quite encroachment of the ordinary (*ibid.*)”, the observation of their daily-life social practices and representations is a fertile way to understand contemporary practices of resistance, contestation of hegemonies and incubation of alternative.

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When the Party Is no Longer “The One”. Political Intermediation Practices in the Tunisian Sahel

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My contribution proposes to look at the so-called “Arab Spring”, with a particular attention to the Tunisian experience, through a perspective focused on the daily local socio-political “revolutions” (Bono *et al*, 2013). After the 2011 mobilizations, many scholars focused their attention on the study, on one hand, of the so-called *democratization process* and on the other hand on the socioeconomic character of the uprisings. Although these dimensions are essential to understand the transition underway, I propose that an ethnographic approach to study the political change in Tunisia should consider a further aspect that has not been studied so far: the *end* of the single party. From the end of the French protectorate to Ben Ali’s fall, the Tunisian daily life was integrated within a specific normative framework, in which the single party was the “almost” exclusive reference, a *political machine* flanking the state and a widespread political, economic and social structure. How can we consider this problematic legacy on the seventh anniversary of the Revolution? By adopting a theoretical approach based on the historical sociology of politics, supported by the use of political ethnography (Beaud and Weber, 2010), the starting point of such analysis is the research I started in October 2016 within my PhD program. My analytical objective is to reconstruct the political intermediation practices related to the local party’s activity, their evolution over time and their transformation after the regime’s fall. The Sahel, and more precisely the governorate of Sousse, is the unit of analysis chosen to develop the research question. This region is where the Neodesurian modernist élite came from, it used to be a privileged outpost of the *Parti Socialiste Destourien* (PSD) and the *Rassemblement Constitutionnel Démocratique* (RCD) and it was the pride of the national economy for several decades. For these reasons among others, the Sahel enables to investigate empirically the way in which the party’s intermediation bureaucracy shaped local actors’ action – and vice versa – and how they experience its decline. In light of these elements, I developed the following research question: what are the traces – more or less visible – that can empirically account for the intermediation practices related to the former Tunisian single party? To what extent the institutionalization of such practices can be telling of a certain *way of governing* and, in retrospect, can it question both its evolution over time and the current ways of governing? I choose to privilege an analysis that focuses on the relational character of intermediation and, by doing so, I will try to highlight how the structure of power relations was articulated through the Desturian cells, starting from the creation of the Neo-Destur (1934) until the Ben Ali’s fall, specifically during the period between 1964 and today. During the last five decades, the *political space* of the party cell has been transformed: at first it was the clandestine unit for the national movement action, then the outpost of the newborn

government party to promote the national construction project and finally the local center of control and social organization during Ben Ali's regime. It was often considered as the reference point within the neighborhoods, a sort of *guichet unique* (Allal, 2011) to which address all kind of socioeconomic demands: the search for employment, better wages, the access to social security, to social housing, to a bank loan and so on. With both its physical space and its political relevance, the party cell looks like the center of a relations' network that connects public administration, local businesses, traders, labors unions and ordinary people. Despite the intensification of the party system's repressive character after Ben Ali's rise, the participation in the party local life used to guarantee the access to a social and economic citizenship, otherwise precluded (Hibou, 2006). This widespread bureaucracy of intermediation was apparently "dismantled" in 2011 and their activities were presumably assimilated by other actors such as the public administration, the informal sector, new parties or they just simply disappeared. In my opinion, the political and social legacy of this way of governing the territory (Sawicki, 1997) is an important element to understand the ongoing political change, which should not be underestimated. The ethnographic approach adopted consists in reconstructing how this complex structure of power relations evolved and has gone through the transition phase since 2011. In conclusion, in order to describe the mechanisms hidden under the surface of the Tunisian political transformation, I suppose it is analytically fertile to enhance the *fluid character* (Dobry, 1986) of the current political conjuncture and try to enlighten the forms of hybridization, often neglected, that exist during regimes' transition.

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SESSION 22

UN/SUSTAINABLE PRACTICES IN A SCARCITY-DRIVEN WORLD

Convenors: Elena Bougleux (Università di Bergamo),
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Sharing Economy and Automobility: A Comparison of App-Based And Off-Line Hitchhiking

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As an increasing body of research indicated, we are facing a huge wave of new economic organization. Shifting our focus from an institutional type of trust, to an individual or to a network-based trust, online technologies take advantage of this dynamics and are reshaping our behavior. Companies like Blablacar, Airbnb or Uber, through their web platforms, are creating new patterns of consumption for their users, participating in the same time at a rise of alternative forms of consumption. My research, began in 2015, takes up the case of ride-sharing culture. This field is influenced sometimes by factors like: limited resources or oil price, which encourages sharing between drivers and travelers or commuters. I explore the differences between what I call online hitchhiking (using apps like Blablacar) and street hitchhiking (the 'traditional' way). Using participant observation and informal interviews, I collected data both from drivers (truck, private cars, buses) and hitchhikers. The findings indicate that app-based hitchhikers reference, most often, efficiency, transparency, lower costs, predictability, 'community' membership, and trust. 'Off-line' hitchhikers emphasize 'freedom', euphemize risk, rapport building with drivers and negotiation. As a common characteristic, both practices involve a more sustainable mobility.

Back to Basics on Mountain Rural Areas: When Less Is Plenty. A Social Ethnography on An Amenity Migration Based Community, Escaping Scarcities

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How can a "simple" life be "richer" than a complex, full of optionals, one? How can a hard, rough, cold and rural life be more attractive than a comfortable and luxurious one? This case history shows how important is a basic lifestyle in a rural mountain area, where natural and cultural *abundance* and the *amenities* offered by the environment are in contrast with lowlands social and spatial *scarcity*. The idea of *scarcity*, when tied to environmental and personal dimensions, can be connected with the dumbing down of culture that we experience in metropolitan day-to-day life style: no longer connected with nature and its cycles, walking away from a community path in which cooperation and mutual help are the core, always stressed about the growing pressure of the high pace routine.

In this attempt, *scarcity* is the loss of human connections between each other, and with nature. Amenity migrants, who typically come from highly urbanized centres, are motivated by a desire to escape from negative metropolitan conditions (Moss 2006). Opting to live in the mountains is a possible response to unsustainable practices of the fragile eco and cultural system of the lowlands. Alternative downshifters, economic migrants, young people, and retirees lead this ongoing shift and it also has an important role in reshaping rural mountain areas.

Neo-ruralism appears as one of the most representative social and cultural trend of Post-modernity. This phenomenon is linked to the enormous crisis of western countries urbanism as a reaction to the ecological and social decline of modern cities (Salsa, 2007, p.116). The considerable transformations on alpine communities had to face new organized groups all gathering in highlands due to many different reasons. The majority of them are "native mountaineers", others are "neo-rurals", also labelled as "new mountaineers" (Dematteis, 2011), among which there are migrants forced to live in remote and peripheral highlands, called "necessarily mountaineers", and the "mountaineers from choice" who coming from all over the world, chose to live in an alpine region for some time.

Sharing lands, natural resources and even cultures, leads locals and foreigners to new cultural hybrids and adaptation practices. This paper focuses on which lifestyles, reasons, conditions and wishes which encouraged a various range of people to gather and then migrate to a single locus, characterised by particular cultural, linguistic, environmental features. The reflections which follows are the result of a long, in-depth qualitative field research, then published in *I nuovi pellegrini delle Alpi. Montanari per nascita, per scelta e wwoofers in un insediamento walser valsesiano* (Mascadri, 2016). The ethnographic research was carried out in a temporary alpine settlement in the Italian Alps.

The unsustainability of a urban life is in contrast with traditional good practices of slower life flow, driven by natural rhythms and resources. These newborn cosmopolitan communities are a spontaneous outcome to the urban pace increasing. Imaginaria, stereotypes, dreams of "romantic pseudo-wilderness" (Perlik, 2006), green movements also play an important role in driving migration over the highlands. But an important point of view is represented by the indigenous

voices and perception about this scarcity-driven mobility. Aiming to discuss about the impact of amenity-driven migration, it is necessary to understand the added value given to the sense of place and community identity. Cultural belongings and symbolic sense of partnership encourage the process of community building on common ideals. The heterogeneous society blossoming shapes the landscape and it is, at the same time, shaped by cultural and environmental *abundance*.

‘Do You Pay for Your Lunch?’ Eating School Lunch at the Margins: An Extreme Case Study

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Preoccupations regarding childhood obesity have certainly reached their peak, as is demonstrated by the high-sounding Milan Charter (and the version tailored for children) produced during the last Universal Exposition (EXPO). The manifesto’s main goal is to fight both obesity and malnutrition, especially among young people. As one of the points of the Charter states (Milan Charter, 2015)

In signing this Milan Charter, we women and men, citizens of this planet, strongly urge governments, institutions and international organizations [...] to commit to introducing or strengthening dietary, physical and environmental education programmes in schools and in school meal services as instruments of health and prevention.

Schools have thus become both targets and carriers of new policies of intervention for the enhancement of children’s ‘food literacy’ all over Europe (Benn and Carlsson, 2014; Oncini, 2017).

On paper, the idea of intervening through schools to enhance children’s health seems adequate. Schools should mitigate the effects of social origin on children’s outcomes, and food preferences might be seen as one of these. Yet many authors have critically framed these interventions. They can create boundaries between children and school meals or home-packed lunches, and stigmatize them for their ethnic or socioeconomic background (Iacovetta, 2000; Karrebæk, 2012; Leahy, 2009; Metcalfe et al., 2008; Salazar, 2007).

The school canteen in particular, can become a contested field (even a battlefield) of nutritional knowledge, where food preferences and moral geographies meet and clash (Pike and Kelly, 2014). Nevertheless, ethnographic literature to date has not yet focused on an extreme case study to analyse food education programs. Despite a bulk of research conducted on children as ‘objects and subjects’ of ethnographic accounts (Levey, 2009), an emic investigation is still lacking on how food policy programs enter schools in difficult neighbourhoods. This last chapter, despite its explorative nature, aims to go in that direction.

When the thesis project was approved by the Doctoral Committee at the beginning of my PhD journey in 2014, I justified the fieldwork in two Palermo school canteens with the need to compare case studies that could shed light on the differences in feeding practices and school interventions in Northern and Southern Italy. One of the rhetorical reasons that helped me to convince the board was the striking difference in childhood obesity levels between Trentino and Sicily (Nardone et al., 2016). Whilst governmental efforts to reduce obesity have been underway for many years in line with WHO indications – the *OKkio alla salute* monitoring program was established almost 10 years ago – there is still a difference of more than 14 percentage points between Trentino (22.9%) and Sicily (37.1%) childhood overweight/obesity rates. Similarly, children’s PI score (7.8) in Sicily is well below the Italian mean (8.7) and 1.8 points lower than Trentino one. Ideally, I would have preferred first to look at how the same school biopedagogies are interpreted by subjects in regions with opposite characteristics and secondly how parents’ and children’s food boundaries are constructed using local notions of cuisine and taste depending on the economic and cultural capital of the family.

Yet, only a few weeks after the beginning of the fieldwork in a primary school in a poor Palermo neighbourhood, I realised that any comparison (within Sicily or between regions) would not do justice to the characteristics of the field site. Unlike the other school canteens object of the research (see Oncini, 2017) teaching methods in the classroom are too influenced by children coming from multi-problematic households, to an extent that makes it impossible to compare the cases. I thus decided to define it as an extreme case study, which corresponds to a case that presents unusual values on the independent variable of interest (Gerring, 2009). Hence, the extremity refers to the social environment of the classroom, which is a direct result of its socioeconomic composition.

These exceptional circumstances can then shed light on a different set of questions: how are school food policies applied in a deprived context? What happens when food education takes place, viz recess and lunch? Through this ethnography, I aim to show that when the unquestioned assumptions regarding the role of pedagogy, teachers’ relations with their pupils, and eventually childhood itself fall apart, food education is emptied of its original meaning: teachers’ food rules, when applied, repeatedly target the same children. Recess and lunch, far from being didactic experiences or convivial breaks, are mainly moments of tension between teachers and the most problematic children.

First, I outline the methods and the context of the study, briefly describing the neighbourhood and the school. Second, I focus on the second graders’ recess and the lunch, to show how food ‘dos and don’ts’ are seldom envisioned with a food literacy objective by teachers. During the recess, the arbitrary rules on food and table manners are used to highlight the transgression, but not to teach healthy eating. Similarly, teachers’ efforts during lunchtime are solely devoted to keeping children fed and seated, while trying to get to the end of lunch as soon as possible. Importantly, teachers’ reprimands during recess and lunch always target the most turbulent children, either to prevent or to stop them from violent fights. Most often, the food itself is not a matter of concern for anyone, since violent episodes between children monopolize the attention of all the adults nearby. I conclude by reflecting on the limits and capabilities of nutrition education programs applied in deprived contexts.

Water Games of Gujarat. Rhetoric of Scarcity and Excess of Water from the Narmada Dam to the Sabarmati River Front Development Project

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The proposed paper is an adaptation of part of the PhD dissertation "The Necessary Risk: Water, Fear and Development in Western India. The case of the Sabarmati River Front Development Project" discussed in July 2015 as conclusion of the PhD programme in Spatial Planning and Urban Development at Politecnico di Milano (Supervisor: Prof. Antonio Tosi). The thesis explored the issue of water politics in Western India, starting from the case study of the Sabarmati River Front Development Project in Ahmedabad (Gujarat) and then extending the analysis to the scale of the river basin, the region and the state. The research aimed at identifying the narratives on the excess and/or scarcity of water, which justified large scale water-related projects in the area. Alternative narratives and possible forms of contestations against the mainstream path of development were also investigated by the thesis. Ultimately, the thesis reflected on the current transformations of the local society in a context of state rescaling and rapidly developing urbanization.

The chosen case study is paradigmatic, given its role as a "groundbreaking" and "model" waterfront for India, as it was defined in the public discourse. Moreover, the case is located in a geographical area, Gujarat in Western India, historically characterised by tensions between the State and social movements on water related projects (dams, canals etc.). Ahmedabad is also a relevant case study due to its social composition, given the significant presence of Muslims in the area in comparison with other Indian cities and its recent political history, being one of the main areas where the nationalist Hindu party has been consolidating its power on the way to the national government.

The topic of the thesis was explored through the lenses of urban sociology, ethnography, political ecology and urban/territorial policies. The research is based on two periods of fieldwork, supported by the Vastu Shilpa Foundation for Studies and Research in Environmental Design (Ahmedabad, 2010-2011) and by the Centre for Urban Equity at CEPT University (Ahmedabad, 2012-2013). An adequate methodology for fieldwork and the choice of literature were developed in collaboration with Prof. Lyla Mehta at the University of Sussex (UK), Prof. Erik Swyngedouw at the University of Manchester (UK), Prof. Darshini Mahadevia and Dr. Renu Desai at the Centre for Urban Equity/CEPT University (India). Making reference to the political ecology literature focused on the emancipation of marginal groups (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987; Bryant and Bailey, 1997; Peet and Watts, 2004) and on the continuous struggle among different social groups with respect to space and nature (Keil and Boudreau 2006), the research highlights the relation between a sense of fear spreading across society and the emergency measures related to water control in the territory. Within such debate, the notion of natural balance is questioned in favour of the recognition of natural systems as series of multiple stable states. Seen on the long run, natural systems are dynamic in terms of material and energy flows (Martinez Allier, 2006), as well as for the capacity to change from a state to the other (Scoones et al. 2007, 2010). Hence absolute terms such as "Scarcity" are questioned in favour of "scarcities" as states in which natural systems can find themselves (Mehta, 2005; Mehta et al., 2007).

The research aims at deepening and updating the in-depth ethnographic study already conducted around water struggles in Gujarat (Mehta 2005), shifting the focus to the urban scale and to the specific case study of the Sabarmati River Front Development Project in Ahmedabad. As shown in previous ethnographic studies, the urge to create a canal from the highly contested Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP), then known as Narmada dam, was legitimized in the Nineties by the narrative of assuring agricultural development to the rural and dry areas of Gujarat through a pervasive system of irrigation. The living conditions of the people of Kutch, whose description stressed the pernicious effects of droughts and the risk connected to water scarcity on the already deprived population living in the arid area at the border with Pakistan, became a relevant part of such narrative. In this context, the Narmada Canal was presented by the Government of Gujarat as a miraculous and urgent solution, which would have been of interest for the whole community of the state. Such narrative seemed to be pervasive at most levels of the society and especially in the most deprived villages of Kutch, though the real benefits of such irrigation system seem to be unknown.

The rhetoric of scarcity, which developed with particular reference to the situation of Kutch, has become pervasive throughout the state and was incorporated also in the public discourse about Ahmedabad, contributing to the legitimization of the Sabarmati River Front Development Project. The fear of scarcity was emphasized in the powerful political discourses using evocative images.

Complementary to the narrative of scarcity was the discourse on the risk of floods. Though being less powerful, it anyway contributed to justify some of the structural features of the Sabarmati River Front Development Project. In particular, such narrative stressed the importance of the safety issue of the slum dwellers living along the banks of the river, who actually got displaced and only partially relocated at the end of the process.

The proposed paper will show the outputs of the research on the narrative of scarcity and excess of water related to the Sabarmati River Front Development Project, highlighting the different methods used during the research, such as in-depth interviews with relevant local actors (bureaucrats, politicians, urban planners and designers, engineers, hydrologists, chemists, academics, journalists, activists etc.), participant observation and a survey on almost 50 households in a slum and in two relocations sites.

SESSION 23

PLAYING ON THE MOVE: RETHINKING SPORT, MIGRATION AND PLAY THROUGH INTER-RELATIONALITY

Convenors: Estella Carpi (University College London), Chiara Diana (Aix-Marseille Univ, OMAM-MSH Université Libre de Bruxelles, LabexMed), Stefano Fogliata (Università di Bergamo)

The Impact of Armed Conflict and Displacement on the Childhood and Play of Young Iraqi and Syrian Child Refugees in Lebanon

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Armed conflict and displacement have immeasurable effects on children and their families. They constrain children's opportunities to play, to learn through play, and for their unique potential to flourish. Nonetheless, there is a lack of in-depth research conducted into the impact of war, violence and displacement on young refugee children's experience of childhood in Lebanon and on the consequences for their play. This study, which adopts Froebelian principles, seeks to gain unique insights into young refugee children's play, to theorise how the concept of 'childhood' is currently being constructed in Lebanon, and to identify possible ways to improve refugee children's play opportunities in Lebanon. Data collection follows an ethnographic approach using 'A Day in the Life' methodology with four case study refugee children and their families, focussing on 4-8 year-old children's play and childhood experiences, including participatory methods with the children as active researchers of their own lives. The case studies are supplemented by questionnaire data from Iraqi, Syrian and Lebanese adults (n=100), and semi-structured interviews with professionals and service providers working with refugees families in Lebanon. Four dominant themes emerge from the findings: Liminality and the refugee experience; conflict, displacement and the family; play themes, behaviours and opportunities; schooling/education.

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The "Refugees' Football League" in Beirut: "Footballizing" between Palestinian camps and the City

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Palestinian camps in Lebanon have recently turned into transitional zones of emplacement (Janmyr, Knudsen, 2016), providing refuge to a huge number of refugees fleeing Syria. Despite being spatially contracted and socially constrained, the evolution of everyday transnational subjectivities emerging within the camps since 2011 question the description of refugee camps as just "spaces of exception" (Agamben, 2003). Throughout my doctoral research I investigate how the multi-dimensional networks developed inside the camp reshape their imaginary of boundaries between the camp and the neighbouring areas.

During my on-going fieldwork started in 2014, and especially after becoming part of *al-Fariq al-Aqsa*, an official football team competing for the "Refugees Football League" in Beirut, the football sphere showed itself decisive to facilitate my access to informants while at the same time overcoming relational, linguistic and logistic obstacles (Rookwood, 2010). Playing with Al-Aqsa revolves around live ritual events happening at a specific moment, that generates intense moments of bodily co-presence around a specific place inside a refugee camp (Urry, 2007: 234). While investigating about belonging through the margins of the camp, my active participation in the football team has contributed to shed light on how refugees foster social connections, perform mobility and reshape commitments to a plurality of "safe spaces" throughout the city. Along the historically self-organized Palestinian football community, the football sphere, far from conceived by its players as an humanitarian space, is rather related to the "right to the city" as linked to the need for creative activity, the imaginary, and play (Lefebvre, 1996). Beyond transcending forms of spatial marginalization, my work sheds a light on how outdoor-play practices thus become forms of spatial appropriation and reproduction of new contested meanings moving from urban margins.

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On the Field's Boundaries Cricket and Identity Practices in Turin

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In 2016, the municipality of Turin gave an abandoned area to a local NGO, which decided to turn it into an “arena of cricket”. The NGO manages a refugees’ center, where the hosts are mostly from Pakistan and Afghanistan. The supervisor of the center decided to give them a place to play because he found out that cricket played an important role in their lives. Day by day, the area became a meeting place not only for those refugees but also for Pakistani, Afghani and Bangladeshi communities living in the neighborhood. The play of cricket in a diasporic context provides a physical and cultural space where the players maintain a relation with the homeland and practice their own agency (Fletcher, 2014; Walle, 2013). During my fieldwork, I observed that a lot of interesting identity practices, such as self- and hetero representations, take place in the cricket field. We can easily understand them by concept of “boundary” (Fabietti, 2005). Cricket can break the socio-cultural-ethnic boundaries and at the same time it can strengthen them so that they become functional, relational and dynamic. For example, when the players explain what cricket is by saying: “we play cricket, *you* play soccer”, the “we” doesn’t refer to a single ethnic or national group but to the entire South Asian community. As a matter of fact, cricket is a *glue* for the South Asians and it shapes their identities (Appadurai, 2001; Shafqat, Bharucha, 2004), but it creates a boundary with the Italians who mostly don’t know anything about this game. Other than cricket, the players share the Islamic religion, the refugee experience, the language and the neighborhood. At the same time cricket in Turin highlights the boundaries of South Asian society. In this case, I was able to observe the ethnic and regional fragmentation of Pakistan (Jaffrelot, 2015) through the teams’ composition. In the first tournament the Afghani team was made of people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a region in the north-east of Pakistan located on the border of Afghanistan. The inhabitants of this region are called Pathans, they live on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and they perceive themselves more as an ethnic group than as members of two different countries. So, the Afghani team was a Pathan team while the Pakistani team consisted of Punjabis, an ethnic group living in Punjab, another region of Pakistan. These fragmentations also appear in the way the players interact with each other. Is it possible to throw the ball beyond the boundaries of the field? Is it possible to break through the socio-cultural-ethnic boundaries? The experience of the “arena of cricket” shows that the presence of an external actor, the NGO, facilitated the integration of the different players. The Italian NGO has nothing to do with Pakistani political and ethnic issues, but it is involved in the Italian and local ones. The supervisor of the refugees’ center used cricket to interact with the refugees and with Italians as well by inviting locals to watch the matches. The concept of “boundary” explains the identity practices of the cricketers as well as the anthropologist’s position. I noticed that doing fieldwork on a cricket field means being on its boundaries, constantly looking at the “inside” and the “outside” of it. For example, watching the matches (inside) and chatting with other players (outside); looking at the group playing in the area (inside) and studying the literature of cricket (outside). This study shows the dynamicity and the functionality of socio-cultural boundaries linked to the practice of cricket. Since the players’ identities are being continuously defined, cricket plays an important role in shaping them. Therefore, I can confirm that sport is an interesting lens to understand society, identity practices and diasporic spaces.

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From Kabul to Istanbul: The power of the Mind and the Becoming of a Paralympic Swimming Champion

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Every year disabled youth from around the world are also part of the migration journey into the West, but little is known about their border crossing experiences and even little explored on their agencies and personal traits. Among them; Azim an armless boy from birth, escapes war torn Afghanistan into Turkey to find himself enclosed in a rehabilitation center for the mentally ill. Managing to get himself transferred to the unaccompanied asylum seeking youth’s shelter in Istanbul (where we met during field work); I follow Azim’s extraordinary transformation story. Having started to train as an athlete to swimming competitions in Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey, Azim wins various gold medals and holds the first place at a European Paralympic championship at the age of 17. Using social media to get his story heard, Azim attracts the interest of an American veteran who sponsors his resettlement to the US through the UNHCR during the summer of 2016. Today, coming second in the world Paralympics swimming championship in Mexico, Azim shed lights to what; refuge, talent, body, soul, mind, motivation, self-worth and courage means. Adopting Deleuze’s ideas on becoming I undertake an

ethnographic effort to illuminate the singularity of human becoming where new intersections, inter-relational relationships and imagination can sometimes, against all odds, propel unexpected futures. This paper therefore discusses agency in relation to 'the power of the mind' that will be gauged from a perspective of transformation factoring in survival, further mobility and even championship during times of rigid bordering that is taking shape throughout the world.

Keywords: Afghan Unaccompanied Minor Asylum seeker, transformation, mind, agency, Paralympic Swimming, border crossing

SESSION 24

DEATH IN EUROPEAN SOCIETY: FIELD RESEARCH EXPERIENCES

Convenors: Roberta Bartolet (Università di Urbino), Asher Colombo (Università di Bologna), Francesca Pasquali (Università di Bologna)

Là-bas d'où nous venons: Ivorian Hometown Associations and Funeral Wakes as a "Coming Back Home" Ritual

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My intervention will focus on a particular aspect of the elaboration of death and grief in Europe.

During my research in Europe, in Paris (France) and in Florence (Italy), I had the possibility to observe the importance of a ritual that permits to Ivorian migrants to maintain social relationships between two continents: funeral wakes.

First of all, I must explain what is the context where these practices take place. This ritual, in fact, is one of the most important activities of hometown associations. These groups, composed from migrants coming from the same village (as it is in Paris) or from the same nation (as it is in Florence), are created for giving help to all the members. Everyday necessities, urban solitude are faced with a communitarian structure, based on mutual support, that takes example from African village association (see Little Kenneth, 1957; Page Ben, 2007; Woods Dwayne, 1994).

Funeral wakes, in this context, are an example of "coming back ritual". When someone of the members or someone of the members' families dies, the association takes care of this difficult moment helping the family to prepare the funeral and the return in Africa. At the same time we have the social elaboration of grief, there's the evaluation of the "return at home" (as the burial in the land of the ancestors), the ideal conclusion for every community member's life.

During the wake, the association takes care of a fundraiser, asking to every member to help their "brothers/ sisters" to send the corpse in Ivory Coast and to prepare a funeral in Africa, for the rest of the family at the village.

During these years (from 2015 until now) I have observed the attention and the organisation that operates for every association member to create a bridge between Europe and Africa. In these contexts, grief isn't a private elaboration of death but a moment of crisis that needs the help of all compatriots.

Interviews and discussions with people in associations gave me a great panorama of ideas and opinions that turn around this celebration: from the necessity of elders to the refusal of youngers and of some other members, which think that wakes are a waste of money.

The centrality of wakes in all practices and discussions of members showed me the real significance of this ritual. First of all, it permits an "identity recall", based on the common roots and the desire of all to return in the land of the ancestors after death (Geshiere Peter, 2009).

As a classical lecture of ritual (Hertz Robert, 1978), we have a new composition of all the society after the crisis of death. The association, giving importance to funeral wakes, emphasise the value of family and the moral obligation to help, in a migration too. The individualisation (Marie Alain (a.c. di), 1997), as consequence of the migration and the search of a better life in Europe, is contrasted by the communitarian rhetoric and identity devices that compose the association life.

In this perspective, all the moral obligations bond to funeral wakes, as the insurance contracts that they often stipulate for these particular cases, payments, and reciprocal help, are sometimes a matter of contrast with ideologies and necessities of every member.

What I can underline, finally, is the importance of the "return at home" as the ideal conclusion of every community member's life. This return is conceived as physical replacement of the corpse *là-bas d'où nous venons*: the ancestors' land (Goody Jack, 1962; Bloch Maurice, 1971).

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Integrating the migrant dead. Communities in Southern Italy and the Mourning of Border Deaths

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Recent empirical work in Sicily has made visible complex cultural mechanisms by which local communities in southern Italy confront the fact of border deaths in their communities, by integrating the dead into the sacred collective space of local cemeteries. Through the study of funerary practices effected by local communities, one can observe the hard work of the rigging of mourning and the subsuming of the deceased migrant into the community of the indigenous dead, through post-mortem baptism, burying migrants in family chapels or in symbolic places, rituals on the Day of the Dead, and so on. The aim of the presentation is to demonstrate that these communities have drawn on their own historic cultural traditions for the mourning process, rendering it a part of their own history. In so doing they transform local attitudes to migrants in ways that tactically challenge discriminatory treatment of migrants, both dead and alive, by state and citizens.

Italian Muslim Cemeteries as Space for Memory and Policy

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This contribution is the result of five years of ethnographic research that has touched several Italian cities: Firenze, Rimini, Gioia del Colle, Torino and Udine. In this work, we think about the Islamic cemeteries as symbolic place of memory and as a physical space to give proper burial to the end of the existence of believers of the Muslim faith. In this sense the study that was conducted covers aspects of the cult rituals, and those related to the recognition and legitimization of the "diversity". A place of memory is a land where somebody plant roots: therefore the burial rituals and sites are loaded with meanings that relate to the construction of a past for the benefit of the dead but also for the future of the living.

Argumentation will considers the Islamic concept of death and funerary practices connected with it. *Janazah* is the Islamic term which means 'funeral', but it is also use to indicates all the funeral activities since the 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 right way, his/her mortal remains while his/her soul tackles the journey in the afterlife.

In contemporary Italy there is around fifty Muslim cemetery section all over the country, but the little known history of Muslim burials in this country is older than this. Several times in the history of the Italian peninsula were mingling of populations, clashes and alliances that have put to face different peoples and beliefs in many different ways. Sicily shows the oldest evidence of the Islamic burial site in Italy (X century). We have historic Muslim cemetery in Livorno from the XVII century, in Trieste from the half of 1800 to the present. In Italy we can also find Muslim burial site of the first and second world war.

The reflection on the Muslim "urban and symbolic space related to memory" concerns the processes of citizenship relating to spiritual identity and strategies of appropriation, which assume a certain level inclusion. Therefore raises the question of how the cultural citizenship is represented both by immigrants both from the host society: on one hand we observe the opens up of space for a request religiously and culturally connoted, on the other we should consider the decision-making processes and policies that could produce facilities designed to meet that demand for the present and the future.

It should be noted that cemeteries are an opportunity for Italian Muslims, that 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 expenses 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. From this comes a strong issue especially for the second and third generations of Muslims born in Italy. Especially for the first generation remains strong the lure of the country of origin and of a ritual very 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 of not simple solution: to respect the will of the parent 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). It can therefore be noted that the theme of the areas of Muslim burial presents two levels of analysis. On the one hand that for present and future political and administrative action in direct relation with the Islamic communities in Italy. On the other hand 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 that has roots in the country where they have decided to live for their future.

Crosses at your Door. Funeral Signs Marking the 40 days Passed after Somebody's Death in Romania

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In some villages from the Romanian region of Oltenia, people perform a special ritual in order to mark 40 days after the death of a member of the family. This ritual includes a mass in the church, the commemoration of the deceased in the cemetery, and the erection of two crosses: one by the grave in the cemetery, the other in the village, near a fountain, a small bridge over water or even near a ditch separating a household from the road. As a general rule, all these locations are next to the entrance of a household, not necessarily belonging to the family of the deceased. Both kinds of crosses are of painted wood, crafted by the local artisans. The inscriptions on these crosses are generally the same for all the deceased, differing only the name and the dates of birth and of death, respectively. Sometimes they are combined with an icon, also in wood and crafted by the same artisans, which is placed in almost the same locations, though not necessarily during the same ritual. Both the icons and the crosses are depicting the Holy Virgin as the Life-giving Spring (which is also the name of an important feast in the Orthodox Church). The name given by the people to the crosses placed outside the cemeteries is "footbridge cross", while the icons are known by the theme they represent, i.e. "Life-giving Spring".

The ritual is rooted in the belief – widely spread in the Orthodox world – that death is a gradual separation of the deceased from the world of men. According to this belief, after death, the soul of the dead wanders the earth for 40 days, visiting again and parting from all the places he's been during his life. At the end of this period, the soul is finally ready to begin his long journey to the Other World (the name given in Romanian to the realm of the dead). Therefore, this second separation is sealed with a mass in the church (the ritual being fully integrated by the Orthodox Church).

On the other hand, placing a cross (functioning as memory mark of the deceased) near a footbridge or a fountain is a ritual specific only to the region of Oltenia. The cross, bearing the representation of the Holy Virgin, could apparently be seen as the epitome of the Christian religion, especially if we take into consideration the fact that it often combines with the icon mentioned above. But, as it is the case with all the manifestations ranging in the cluster of popular religion, the explanation could be more refined than that. The association of the cross and the water, as suggested by the name and the location of the funeral markings, is very old in the European culture and could be easily traced to the first centuries of the Christian times. Going even further, the association of water and death (the cross being the symbol of the latter) is even older; in fact, it is possible to trace it to the Neolithic cultures.

In my paper I will bear in mind these layers of interpretation, but my purpose is not to "dig" into them, in some utopic attempt to find a primordial meaning. Instead, I will concentrate my analysis on the way people are respecting and reacting to the ritual and its marks. The fact that lots of crosses are often placed in front of households, sometimes near their main gate, cannot be passed by and, in my opinion, has a crucial importance (pun not intended) and it is one of the main keys to understanding the function of the ritual. What are the thoughts of the owners of the households about these funeral objects? How are they feeling about a sign of death near the entrance to their house? Why are they accepting them next to their doors? Do they want them or just suffer them to be placed there? To these questions I will try to answer. And, last but not least, I will attempt to stress the vitality of the death rituals in nowadays Romania.

Death in Modern Russia: How Does Infrastructure Produce a Funeral Rite?

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The death care industry in contemporary Russia, which inherits the Soviet infrastructural model, has a number of continuities with the Soviet experience of death. The main features of post-Soviet death culture are spatiality and the dysfunctionality of funeral infrastructure: ownerless or illegal cemeteries, the lack of roads, absence of refrigerators in mortuaries, grave digging in ice and so forth.

As a result of the Soviet experience, people understand infrastructural dysfunctionality as a "normal" condition and have come to interpret it as a kind of game of "quest" in which solving the infrastructural problems in itself becomes part of the death ritual. This infrastructural dysfunctionality produces the specific social order and cultural form of contemporary Russian funerary rites. The paper is based on ethnographic 2 years fieldwork in several funeral agencies and included a lot of ethnographic photos and videos.

SESSION 25 OPEN SESSION

Convenors: Giolo Fele (Università di Trento),
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SESSION 25A

Analysis of the Visibility of Bedouin Women in the Negev, as Reflected in the Private Photographic Archive of Dr. Ben-Assa, an Israeli Physician

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This paper presents the analysis of a private archive of photographs of Bedouins, living in the Negev Desert in Southern Israel during the 1950s-60s, stored in a tin box for six decades. The archive is a collection of photographs of the Dutch born Dr. Benjamin Yehudah Ben-Assa (1917-1976), a medical physician, known to the Bedouins as *Abbu Assa*, who introduced modern health care to the Negev Bedouins.

This analysis of his personal archive builds on comparing to existing knowledge of the day-to-day life experience of the Bedouin women, gaining understanding on the formation of the identity of Bedouin women in the public sphere. For the purpose of this study, we explored photographs of Bedouin women in Palestine. Our study involved extensive research of existing archives of photographs of Bedouin women, created by western photographers during the 19th century and the turn of the 20th century, including a systematic typology of the photographs. The findings clearly indicate a lack of visibility of Bedouin women in photographs. Our research has shown that Bedouin life style, which includes a discriminatory approach towards women, has resulted in a paucity of photograph of Bedouin women in the public sphere. Bedouin women were not accustomed to being photographed, nor viewed by men from outside their tribe. This was altered in this case study, the physician who befriended the women, succeeded in creating an authentic, personal representation of their lifestyle, photographing the women relatively freely, at his clinic, at work and in their tents.

Ben Assa's style of photography is based on an extension of traditional cultural forms of photography and Western conventions of viewing the "others" (Edwards, 1992). The study explores his alternative approach, which contributes a new visual vernacular of the return of the gaze of the Bedouin woman, as seen through his lens. The paper discusses traditional forms of photographing Bedouin women, created by Western Christian photographers touring the Holy Land in the late 19th century,

during the Ottoman Empire in Palestine. It discusses issues of Colonialist photography in Palestine and Orientalism, and their manifestation in images of indigenous people in Palestine. The study relates to duality of the role of Ben Assa, working under the auspices of his Israeli Ministry of Health, positioning his work as hegemonic on the one hand, yet bearing a humanist personal approach on the other, and how this manifests itself in the reading of the photographs.

Methodologically, the analysis relies on visual research methods, analyzing the formal construction of the images. It relates to the signs and symbols in the photograph and perceives the images as cultural and social constructions.

Distributed Cognition in Dance: Locating Artistic Skills in Multimodal Interaction

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How can we understand the dancers' skills when they are in rehearsal? Our pragmatic stance looks for the social roots of expertise in the communication and attention patterns of dancers in their professional environments. Our claim is that the dancers skills are distributed across modalities other than speech. We look for distributed cognition not only at the communicative level, but also at a more phenomenological level of joint action and perception. Moreover, we explain what really happens when dancers act as experts in the field, with a culturally defined normative frame.

Where is the source of distributed creative cognition in dancemaking? When we observe a dance rehearsal, is creative cognition a consequence of the communication patterns within the company? We take a dance studio as a setting for distributed cognition. Creative cognition is an outcome of multimodal communication in the dance studio. In dance precommunicative attention is considered a particular social skill of listening to the other (Muntanyola-Saura, 2015). But speech is only one of the vehicles for meaning while in the dance studio. As social researchers we need to include other skills that are not communicative. We look for distributed cognition not only at the communicative level, but also at a more phenomenological level of action and perception. Our goal is thus to discover the chain of interactions that explain specific skills of expert dancers. We claim that listening and other skills that make dancers artistic experts have cognitive functions that go beyond communication. Key elements for the coordination and performance in dance come before

explicit communication patterns. Moreover, these cognitive elements are not only arbitrary products of situated action (Kirsh & Muntanyola, 2010), functional elements of distributed cultural systems (Hutchins, 2004) or social organizations (Nöe, 2015), nor embodied elements for coordination (Gibbs, 2006). We suggest that they are cognitive skills that only come into being when they are socially legitimized as intersubjective typifications (Muntanyola-Saura, 2015).

The sharing of perceptual information conveys a shared sense of agency. Nöe (2015:10) goes beyond intersubjective consensus and claims that seeing (and all kinds of perception) is the *organized activity* of achieving access to the world around us. The joint interpretation of a dance instruction means living through a vivid present together, by experiencing this togetherness as a «We» (Schutz, 1967). The social organization of artistic practice emerges in observation of particular interactions. Nöe takes choreography as an example of an organized activity. Schütz puts dancing together at the roots of sociality. Our theoretical stance wants to take a step further by claiming that creative expertise is a pragmatic outcome of observed patterns of interaction that are not yet communicative. The source of creative work in dance is not in the distribution patterns of communication and interaction per se, but in the wider relationships of authority that structure the dance studio.

Through a cognitive ethnography of a dance (Muntanyola-Saura, 2014) and Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al, 1978) of choreographical instructions we are able to explain the directionality of creativity. We take a bold theoretical stance within an interdisciplinary approach, and make a detailed empirical analysis of qualitative data. We developed a cognitive ethnography of a dance rehearsal. Our minimal unit of analysis is the social interaction among dancers and with the choreographer. Individual actions cannot be fully understood without taking account the social context of the dance studio. Following De Jaegher, Di Paolo & Gallagher (2010), we define training sessions as a bundle of social interactions. This is to say that a given dyadic (or triadic) coordination has a life of its own.

We collected data through observation in December 2014 of the rehearsals for ATOMOS and in September 2017 of AUTOBIOGRAPHY the word-class company Wayne McGregor- Random Dance. In all, 4 weeks of rehearsal at Sadlers Wells and McGregor's own studio in London. I filmed the rehearsals with a handheld camera and took fieldnotes. These observations, which follow up a cognitive ethnography of the dance company that started in 2009 directed by David Kirsh from UCSD, allowed me to describe and analyze the communicative and interactive patterns of work at a micro level.

Findings show how multimodal translation, incremental concretion, space management and listening are examples of artistic skills. I was able to delimitate the modalities in use such as speech, marking, gesture, touch and space. Moreover, I located the precommunicative skills of the agents involved on the other. Creative cognition in dance becomes part of a complex cognition system of actors, environmental cues, and social rules of communication. The resulting corrections and adjustments are not merely an epiphenomenon of an individual dancer or the choreographer, but part of an interactive activity built around shared authority.

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Digital Nomadism and Globalizing Identity: An Ethnographic Study of a Marginalized Yet Romanticized Location Independent Subculture

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In modern social theory the topic of 'identity' is heavily debated. In the past, more solid identities provided stabilization for the social world, but are now abating, allowing new much more fragmented identities to take their place (Hall 1990:596). The processes of change, known as globalization, causing this 'crisis of identity' are upsetting pre-established central structures and undermining the once stable institutions that secured modern society. Individuals of late-modernity are now forced into a social world without an anchor (Hall 1990:596-597). The once familiar cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and nationality are transforming, and with it our processes of identity formation must constantly be re-negotiated to offset the doubt and uncertainty that characterizes this postmodern era. Some individuals grasp these changes as opportunities, and embrace the uncertainty as a renewed sense of freedom. Among these is the growing subculture of digital nomads. A community of individuals who embrace a digital coexistence; who are geographically independent of home or office (Makimoto and Manners 1997).

The shared motivations, values, and intentions that make up the location independent cultural ideology allow digital

nomads to interpret one another's actions. In establishing the group's shared assumptions through this cultural logic, I can interpret its member's actions as they relate to identity formation and negotiation in a fragmented and digitally mediated global society. Using this subculture, I will examine the changing relationship between the process of identity formation and the dialectic of agency and global capital in a digital and postmodern era.

The proposed research is guided by the following questions: Why are individuals choosing to live nomadically? What strategies (agency) do they utilize to sustain their transnational mobility and overall welfare? What outlets do digital nomads use to feel a sense of belonging, community, and routine (local advocacy, virtual communities, charity)? What are the reified cultural ideologies of location independence, individually and collectively, in relation to the dominant culture? What takes place while dwelling, that is, what happens when these wayfaring travelers are not in transit?

Digital Nomadism and Globalizing Identity

Ortner (2003) stated that, "True agency is locked in a dialectic with capital, enabled or constrained by it, on the one hand, and reproducing or transforming it, on the other," (Ortner 2003:205). To examine this relationship between agency and capital in a digital and postmodern era, digital nomads are an ideal cultural subgroup. I use the subcultural framework as it accentuates the group's interactions and relationships to and within mainstream culture (Salvaggio 2016). Digital nomads are often stereotyped as aimless wanderers who lazily relax the day away with their laptop and Mai Tai in hand as they look out over an exotic gorgeous vista. This stereotype has painted location independent individuals as those who are running from responsibility and cannot possibly sustain their transnational welfare long-term. This romanticized yet marginalized image of only working when and where they please has left the media and general public with an exaggerated sense of freedom and ease associated with the choice for location independence, also referred to as digital nomadism.

Digital nomads, a mobile and technologically mediated category of travelers, tend to, "blur the lines" of work and leisure through their freedom to work anywhere in the world as long as they have an internet connection. The internet is their key source to monetary stability and engagement with the dominant culture (Richards and Wilson 2004). However, the actual daily practice of digital nomadism is at significant odds with its stereotype.

Digital nomads, through strategic uses of agency, transform postmodern conditions of uncertainty and constant change into new opportunities within the dominant culture. Strategic examples range from virtual employment to Estonian e-residency to ease the exchange of capital transnationally, despite one's country of origin (Kotka, T.). With loosened structural and institutional constraints comes a wider array of individual choices, and much less social guidance.

Concurrently, as we trend towards global interdependence, national identities are weakening, replaced by an emphasis on impermanence, difference, and cultural pluralism, also referred to as the 'global postmodern' (Hall 1996:621). Hall (1990) has described this identity fragmentation as an identity crisis, indicating that global processes of identity formation must be analyzed. For digital nomads, late-modern conditions are an opportunity to transform and position their identities to be in balance with their cultural ideologies. They challenge the monolithic constructs of occupation, such as 'weekend', '9 to 5', and '40-hour work week' by exercising their social rights and labor mobility in the common market (especially through digital platforms).

Digital nomadism was born out of a capitalistic structure, constrained by its very beginnings. Location independence can be viewed as a response to changing conditions caused by globalization. It is a universalistic, global, identity as opposed to a particularistic form such as a national identity (Hall 1996). It is locked into a dialectic with globalization and its worldwide capitalist agenda, an agenda that enabled digital nomadism in the first place. The term "globalization" can be referred to as, "those processes [and forces of change], operating on a global scale, which cut across national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organizations in new space-time combinations, making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected," (Hall 1996:619).

The internet and advances in telecommunication technologies, such as Wi-Fi, e-mail, blogs, Skype, Facebook, among countless others, broke the constraint of physical presence in the workforce. As a result, persons are taking to occupations that allow them to work remotely. Grasping at this new opportunity, individuals are virtually and physically gathering to what can be argued as verging on a social movement (Martin 2013). The location independent subculture is challenging the "traditional workplace" and redefining what it means to be successful in a globalizing world. Autonomous mobility and exploration, as opposed to the sedentary nature of the dominant culture, appear to be at the core of a digital nomad's cultural ideology (Hargarten F. & Meurer M.).

The digital nomad subculture shares assumptions of particular cultural ideas and meanings which provide the group with common premises (Enfield 2000). This cultural logic, "the collective use of effectively identical assumptions," allows digital nomads to interpret each other's actions and anticipate their motivations and intentions (Enfield 2000:36). An exponential number of digital nomads have recognized this common cultural ideology, and over the last fifteen years have reified their 'culture into a thing' through writing (primarily blogs), video documentation, and podcasts (Eriksen 2010:155-156). By examining the reified accounts of digital nomads, I will be able to establish this subculture's ideology.

A mixed methods approach involving digital ethnography, web content analyses (through grounded theory), participant observations, and semi-structured interviews will further an understanding of their cultural ideology in comparison to the dominant discourse. Additionally, field access to digital nomads has been established through attendance at the DNX Global Conference in Lisbon, Portugal in September 2017. By identifying the group's motivations and intentions, I can interpret its members' actions as they relate to the process of identity formation and negotiation in a fragmented and digitally mediated global society, while challenging the digital nomad stereotype. The need to position and transform identity within a global capitalist society and reject the limiting pre-established notions of a "traditional" labor force has become apparent.

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Difficult To Define, Easy To Understand. The Use And Production Of Music Genres' Categories In Musical Experience

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In my contribution, I discuss an ethnographical perspective on the study of linguistic categories used to define music genres. Through the participation to several musical performances, in addition to semi-structured interviews and document analysis (also written and audio-video), I investigated the procedures that bound the linguistic categories used to describe and recognise music to a series of practices. The aim is to delineate the complexity of classification (and social life in general) focusing on the way we describe and use categories in the discourse, showing how categorization of music genres is functional in order to organize and comprehend the musical experience.

The fieldwork experience has shown that music genres' categories are constructs built on a link between the words themselves and the practices, a nexus maintained with specific methods by musicians and listeners. But then again, it turns out that the meaning of such categories is stable and shared only in some cases. Usually, the sense of genres' categories is historically contingent and strictly dependent from the context in which they are used (indexical). Nevertheless, organizing musical experience into categories gives the possibility to understand each others in interaction, reducing a complex microcosm of practices and prescriptions to just a couple of words, not without problems in comprehension and conflicts in classification. We may also understand how this classification can help people to know how to behave while approaching to musical experiences by defining the frame of experience, by defining tastes and creating norms of behaviour in the context of subcultures, and also by influencing music production.

The relevance of the findings lies in the attempt to describe how the words can influence the practice of music production, listening and behaving. The world of music is a great field where we can study how practices are classified in categories and at the same time how those categories affect practices.

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SESSION 25B

Subordination or Sovereignty? The Paradox of Excess Gambling

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This paper provocatively looks at excess and pathological gambling as a form of resistance to the utilitarian values which lie at the base of the market logic. Here the excess is viewed as a central notion in opposition to the notion of utility. Far from minimising the negative impact of excessive gambling on society and individuals, this contribution attempts to go beyond such an analysis based solely on the categories of pathology and expenditure. Through excess, the pathological gambler unveils the symbolic and arbitrary ideology of capitalism (Bjerg 2009) which sees economic success as a sign of election or a choice whereby money is used not as an investment or access to goods and services, but 'wasted.' What if this excessive behaviour were also a way to resist capitalistic and market values, such as capital accumulation and commodification of time?

To address this issue, I used two complementary ethnographic methods: (a) a three-month ethnographic observation in 23 gambling locations in Milan's metropolitan area, including Bingo halls, bars, tobacco shops, slot rooms and betting rooms, in an effort to understand how space enhances a spiral of excess; (b) 10 in-depth interviews with male extreme gamblers using a 'life-story approach' (Bertaux 1981).

Both excess and excessive gambling are presented as cultural constructs whose definition is largely indebted to a psychiatric epistemology of disease and disorder (Reith 2007, 37), and alternative interpretations are provided. In Baudrillard's view, excess is the result of the proliferation of the ideology of utility (Pawlett 1997), a kind of reaction to the sovereignty of functional obligations; the French author coined *hypertelia* to describe the excessive degree of consumption and production not based on utility and observed within contemporary societies, where our needs and the objects we purchase to meet them are no longer related through their usefulness.

The paradox of excess gambling is grounded in its two-fold nature of entertainment and of reaction to utilitarianism. Gambling expanded within liberalised markets and became a mainstream leisure activity for consumers (Reith 1999, 2013). It is also a response or backlash to the hypertelic profit and utilitarian mentality. Whereas the utilitarian ideology prescribes useful and profitable activities, to invest money despite the evident statistical probability of loss is an act of resistance to the values of utilitarian and capitalistic society. Gambling may therefore be seen as a perfect example of the 'insubordinate function of free expenditure' in Bataille's words (Bataille 1985, 129), as well as a form of sovereignty of the Self over social constraints. This sovereignty, which 'constitutes the region formally exempt from self-interested intrigues to which the oppressed subject refers as to an empty but pure satisfaction' (Bataille 1985, 148), reveals the unwillingness to submit oneself to the household economy through a feeling of *superiority*, a moment where instead of serving life, life serves the individual.

Drawing on my empirical research, excess gamblers are depicted as eager to experience passion through excess and risk where individual forces are liberated in a state of excitation, rational laws of calculation are substituted by pseudo-rationality, unproductive values are created. Though it may seem a paradox, gambling functions as a liberation from the constraints of a market economy, where individuals are dominated. Pathological gamblers interviewed during the fieldwork fail as citizens because they are not able to grasp the chances of personal growth offered by society, as husbands and parents because they cannot take care of their families, as consumers because they are unable to enjoy gambling as merely a form of pleasure and entertainment just as the commercial industry of gambling invites them to do. However, in extreme gambling, where money is no longer money (Bjerg 2009, Raymen and Smith 2017), a new sphere of action is created, excitation is freed and the illogical becomes logical.

The rational choice model underlying utilitarianism states that individual actions are the consequences of a motive. In line with this, excess gambling is irrational and, which is the same, immoral, both for an industrial society where it stands as an example of an unproductive activity, and a post-industrial consumerist one where the dysfunctional gambler fails as a consumer. The difference lies in the attitude toward recreational gambling, which is tolerated in the latter but not in the former.

In conclusion, it will be shown how gambling, when excessive, creates an extreme loser, one who is devoted to an expenditure so profitless and useless that money has no longer meaning as such, it is merely a medium to experience excess. Gambling has been often read as a mechanism of a social domination (Volberg and Wray 2007) and a tool for mass distraction and a relief valve for subordinate classes (Nibert 2000). What if a further function of gambling is a form of resilient consumption in which socially oppressed or marginalised individuals and groups may experience freedom, breaking the social constraints linked to utilitarian values by denying them through an extremely unproductive expenditure? Following Bataille's lexicon, such a function may be viewed in terms of a (momentary) recovery of sovereignty, where a compulsive, addictive, profitless, exaggerated (in short, excessive) session of gambling acts as a means to control the forces to which gamblers are submitted. Marginalised victims of neoliberal capitalism, economic failures unable to attain the material success they desire, they regain sovereignty through the destruction of economic capital. If money is, from a Marxist standpoint, the ultimate foundation of any social relationship and the goal of any productive activity, its destruction serves the double purpose of dismantling one's network ties and of denying capitalistic values, as clearly testified by the interviewees' biographies collected in this essay. Here lies the contradictory nature of gambling – the compulsive loss of control as defined under the psychiatric approach becomes, in the topsy-turvy world of gamblers, a way to take control by challenging the rules to which they feel subjugated in the utilitarian realm.

Living and Working in a Contemporary Landfill. Ethnographic Notes from Mbeubeuss (Senegal)

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This paper presents preliminary results from a research project I am conducting at the Mbeubeuss dump, set up in the 1960s in the outskirts of Dakar (Senegal).

I approach the 'dump-disaster' as a social phenomenon with a substantial environmental impact (Cissé 2012). Over the years it has also given rise to socio-economic relations which are (directly and indirectly) caught up with the treatment of waste, thus contributing significantly to the urbanization of neighbouring municipalities and the consolidation of migratory inflows from the country's agricultural areas.

An analysis of the everyday life of the informal waste pickers (*boudioumane*) who live and work in Mbeubeuss allow to rethink about the ideas of citizenship in the contemporary Senegal and to put into question how social relations of solidarity and competition between the Gouye-gouy and Baol inhabitants are built.

In public representations at the local and international levels, the Mbeubeuss dump is depicted as a closed world that unfolds parallel to the social context in which it is located; the informality of working practices at the dump are seen as corresponding to inevitable social, economic and political marginality (Cissé 2007). In my ethnographic analysis, I see to show how this disaster is put to creative use, arguing that the dichotomy *bombe écologique* vs *source de vie* fails to account for the complexity of social phenomena generated by the landfill's presence.

From an anthropological point of view, the intersection between the indifference characterizing public policies – that depoliticize the environment and its management – and “bottom-up” moves to reshape economic and social processes shows that “long-lasting” disasters do not necessarily undermine pre-existing social structures. However, Mbeubeuss represents both the cause of an environmental crisis and the opportunity for many workers to build a life for themselves, concealing its role in generating forms of vulnerability and normalizing the production of (physically and socially) diseased bodies.

ser, one who is devoted to an expenditure so profitless and useless that money has no longer meaning as such, it is merely a medium to experience excess. Gambling has been often read as a mechanism of a social domination (Volberg and Wray 2007) and a tool for mass distraction and a relief valve for subordinate classes (Nibert 2000). What if a further function of gambling is a form of resilient consumption in which socially oppressed or marginalised individuals and groups may experience freedom, breaking the social constraints linked to utilitarian values by denying them through an extremely unproductive expenditure? Following Bataille's lexicon, such a function may be viewed in terms of a (momentary) recovery of sovereignty, where a compulsive, addictive, profitless, exaggerated (in short, excessive) session of gambling acts as a means to control the forces to which gamblers are submitted. Marginalised victims of neoliberal capitalism, economic failures unable to attain the material success they desire, they regain sovereignty through the destruction of economic capital. If money is, from a Marxist standpoint, the ultimate foundation of any social relationship and the goal of any productive activity, its destruction serves the double purpose of dismantling one's network ties and of denying capitalistic values, as clearly testified by the interviewees' biographies collected in this essay. Here lies the contradictory nature of gambling – the compulsive loss of control as defined under the psychiatric approach becomes, in the topsy-turvy world of gamblers, a way to take control by challenging the rules to which they feel subjugated in the utilitarian realm.

Knowledge Wars: American College Students, Guns, and Social Identity

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Concepts of identity, community, and social solidarity are foundational to study in the social science disciplines. They are also highly contested. This research aims to understand how these concepts are lived within the context of American university life, where some students find it is necessary to carry firearms on their person and on campus, even when the practice may be prohibited.

I propose a presentation that showcases ethnographic research on college students, which explores how they interpret their social identities in connection with guns. Research methods include participant observation, videotaped focus groups, and visually informed ethnography, consisting of photography and video taken at firing ranges and gun shows. Grounded theory, which is further informed by social identity theory, intersectional theory, and affect theory, will be employed to interpret data as a means to understand how guns and violence imbricate student self-making projects.

Students have identities that situate them at the crossroads of both privileged (male, white, heterosexual, middle class) and non-privileged (female, a person of color, gay, working class) social groups. Within these interpenetrating social dynamics, it is normal for students to engage a process of self-exploration when they attend university. For most American students, this process does not involve guns. Yet for others, guns have become increasingly important to how they understand and express themselves.

Preliminary findings already point to an unsettling paradox: white male college students who identify themselves as concealing/carrying are at the same time evidencing support for policing practices like “stop and frisk” – a search practice that more often than not targets people of color to find concealed weapons. Data point to how implicit bias toward POC and the logic of white supremacy work together: the men don't process their own behavior as deviant nor do they fear the risk of discovery because their social identities as white male college students is not considered deviant or suspect.

Other findings are also potentially consequential. For example, in terms of social solidarity, I am finding that affiliative/pro-social behaviors reside tenuously alongside non-affiliative/anti-social behaviors; guns represent may represent a way to wield symbolic social capital, helping students forge social ties as they create what they perceive are powerful and desirable social identities. There are also pronounced gender differences. While both men and women report carrying guns to protect themselves, men more than women see violence as a socially acceptable part of how they express their gender. Women, on the other hand, are more concerned with intruders and being hurt by other men.

Given these findings, I argue it is critical that we understand the social pathways and strategies students enact that illustrate the fraught process by which guns now enter into the self-making process within American university life.

Filtered mobilities: contested practices of labelling at the border

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When considering processes of inclusion and exclusion of asylum seekers and refugees in the hosting societies, it is important to take into account the economic, social and cultural structures that shape the everyday life of the involved subjects. Analysing the causes of the positioning (Bourdieu 1993) of “natives” and “asylum seekers” actors in the social space, can enlighten the origins of inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics within local communities.

The condition of deportability appears to be one of the fundamental elements in this analysis. As a result of the process of illegalisation of migrants’ lives (De Genova 2002), it is used as a governmental technology to discipline the subjects and to regulate their paths, producing a differential in possible trajectories of mobility.

To investigate this condition, it is crucial to scrutinise the places in which it is unfolded, reconnecting the pieces of fragmented multiplicities in which migrant subjects are subdivided. If we consider the recent trends in the EU policies on mobility and migrations, we can identify the growing centrality of the European border regime in the identification, selection and filtering of (un)admitted subjects. With the deployment of the hotspot approach, the very possibility to ask for asylum is called into question. The procedure of pre-selection that takes place within the hotspots – notwithstanding the international law on the right to asylum – is managed by national police officers and Frontex experts and is employed to discern on the base of presumed nationality, age, vulnerabilities who is allowed to ask for asylum or the assignment to a specific path on the reception system.

Based on my ethnographic work on the deployment and development of border technologies and rationalities at the southern shores of Sicily, focused but not limited to Pozzallo, this paper demonstrates how the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion arisen in different ways at a local level, find one of their foundations in the pre-filtering process put at work at the border within the frame of the “hotspot approach”. There, the presence of different actors – law enforcement officers, medical staff, NGOs activists, international organizations experts – with specific roles enacts a complex and contested process of labelling (Zetter 1991, 2007), in which the production and recognition of migrant subjects, as the concrete possibility to move freely, are at stake. The categories to which people are assigned are expression of different types of knowledge – medical, technical, “secret” – and rationalities, often divergent and conflicting. These conflicts, and the “breaches” they produce, disclose the functioning of the hotspot and its role in the European border regime as a technology to discern – to identify and to classify – on social, ethnic, national, moral basis and to forcibly reroute people on the move. “Economic migrant”, “asylum seeker”, “smuggler”, “minor”, “victim/vulnerable” are labels with which people are classified at the hotspot but that also characterise their path within the reception system – or outside it – and their interactions with the local communities. Hence, enlighten the process with which these categories are assigned can help to clarify further inclusive and exclusive practices in the hosting societies.

Food as a Mean of Social Inclusion? Critical Reflections on the “Ethics of Care”

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The present contribution wishes to critically apply the concept of “ethics of care” to interpret a set of social practices in food waste prevention, reduction and redistribution with reference to the city of Turin, Italy.

The reflection moves from a qualitative inquiry which is currently underway and is part of the larger research project *Atlante del Cibo di Torino Città Metropolitana*, aiming to explore a specific way through which food waste is redistributed to people in need by territorial actors: one wherein food features as a *mean of social inclusion* rather than as an *end* in itself, thus merely functional to satisfy a biological need.

Moving from the general consideration that sees food poverty and food insecurity as one expression of socio-economic vulnerability and marginalization in urban contexts, the analysis focuses on social practices that display an ethical goal with regard to this specific issue, by valorizing *interdependency* of people rather than individual advancement. As far as the examined actions are concerns, the ethical dimension may actualise in two ways. First, practitioners aim to limit food waste by recovering edible food which is then allocated to people in need, thus enacting a circular economy approach. Second, such practices frame food insecurity as an issue of collective responsibility rather than an individual ineptitude. With particular reference to “new” forms of poverty –recent emergences of the severe economic conjuncture, food insecurity is thus understood by practitioners as falling outside the mere economic inability to supply food. Rather, differently from schema of support through food donation such as those enacted by leading traditional players as Banco Alimentare and Caritas, food insecurity is here conceived as a symptom of a deeper social fragility that requires social answers that should not simply feed but *nurture* individuals in need. More specifically, such novel forms of food aid perform a politics of activation grounded on a vision of care as a *public and political issue* which values mutual reliance and forms of active

citizenship –both on the side of those providing aid and those receiving it. Differently stated, the provision of food is tied to a “give-back” in terms of community service activities.

Finding its place with full rights in the so-called “moral turn” in the social sciences, care expresses “a species activity that includes every-thing that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world included our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web” (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, p. 40). Thus, practices of care bely an ethical dimension of acting as caring *about*, caring *for*, caregiving and care *receiving* (Tronto, 2001, pp. 62-64). This Feminist perspective of care –that has ever since its theorisation received a growing scholarly attention, particularly in the field of human geography (e.g. geography of care)– finds a fertile ground of application on the issue under study.

If we accept that the act of nutrition is the archetypical act of *caring*, food offers an interesting view point from which to explore the intimate and evolving relationship between processes of subject formation, spaces and mechanisms of conduct – the latter intended in a Foucauldian way i.e. as the effect of the historical correlation of technologies shaping our conduct to reach certain desired effects. In this regard, acts of caring makes us potentially more amenable to social control, thus displaying an ambiguous character which deserves a closer scrutiny. What this consideration implies is not a call for *unethical* rather than ethical actions. Nor we wish to dismiss the relational and practical benefits that the set of social practices examined offer to people in need or the socio-spatial dynamics which are generated through such acting. Food raises *by default* compelling issues of socio-spatial justice which turn it from being a vital need to satisfy to a right to life and dignity. However, the ethics of care both as a theoretical concept and as a social practice implies a normative value which, alongside its potentially underlying moral claims (i.e. telling others how to live), is problematic. More importantly, by valuing actions rather than representations, it tends to hide the “silent configuration” (Foucault, 1963, trad. it. 1998, p. 5) in which social practices find support.

Drawing on these considerations, this contribution aims to problematize the ethics of care enacted by the social practices under examination, through the Foucauldian concept of “care of the self”. Differently put, the concepts of “ethics of care” and “care of the self” form the interpretative grid which serves to “read” the empirical data gathered. Our intention is to widen the reflection on acts of caring with reference to what it means to be an adequate subject/citizen in contemporary times, and how ethics may first entails a process of self-formation rather than – as a Feminist perspective of care would suggest – a collaborative project.

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Ethics, Emotions and “far quadrare i conti”. Everyday Work and Life of Two Women Farmers in the Alpine Valley of Primiero (Eastern Trentino Region)

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Based on an ethnographic research carried on in 2016 among the farmers of Primiero, an alpine valley at the eastern border of Trento province, the proposal moves from the recent debate on the background, practices and figures of contemporary agriculture (Van der Ploeg 2009; Peréz-Vitoria 2007).

After a period of strong interest and fruitful research outcomes that last for years until the eighties, today's anthropological concern requests new understandings that could avoid past stereotypes and promote an up to date account of the agricultural sector (Padiglione 2015).

The transformations occurred in the last twenty years have changed Italian countryside and agricultural practices through the spread of mechanization, the availability of technologies applied to cultivated lands and livestock activities; daily efforts of farmers have been deeply altered by this process and renewed by the entry in the European agro-food market requesting for standards in the whole productive chain.

Lately, the increasing interest for homemade and natural food, the noticeable ecological awareness and attention for sustainable practices lead to a reconsideration of the modes of agricultural production.

This scenario gives new opportunities to mountain agriculture, whose lacking adaptation to the agro-industrial standards is no longer perceived as a sign of backwardness, but as model. For examples the Alpine Convention recognizes to this activity values that go beyond the production of foodstuff, as the conservation of natural and cultural landscape, the protection against hydrogeological risks, the maintenance of artisanal and traditional manufacturing (Grasseni 2009; Siniscalchi 2009). The synergy with tourism become a valuable strategy but it often seems to communicate to consumers a cliché rather than a realistic account of the work, a fact that is noticed and criticised especially by the youngest generations of farmers.

The present social sciences debate too, draw by the theoretical category of the “new peasantries” (Van der Ploeg 2009) is focused on emerging agricultural activities viewed as an alternative to the dominant economic system and, more in general, on the “back to the land” phenomenon (Shiva 2009). Less attention was paid to long-term changes and to

the consequences of present day global processes on that part of agricultural sector made up of medium size family enterprises highly specialized, integrated in the market and shaped by institutional normative systems, whose operators are at the second or third generations of professional farmers.

The proposal takes into account two farms of this sort: two dairy farms associated to the Caseificio sociale comprensoriale (Cheese factory) of Primiero, a cooperative organization that gathers almost the entire production of milk of the valley, transforms it into cheese and sells it. Belonging to the Caseificio means for farmers to respect norms (imposed by its main commercial interlocutors) that strongly affect everyday work; by the other hand the collaborative structure is a way to share the incomes and the risks, and provide to partners a sense of community and belonging.

The research was conducted following and practicing the habitual activities of women farmers and maintaining a subjective – situated (Haraway 1988) – point of view. I was not interested in an emancipatory approach of the feminine but in showing the capacity of my interlocutors to make their choices negotiating different targets and to moving across cultural and economic ties (Paini 2008).

Furthermore, my aim was to highlight how farming activities could be a locus of individual and collective re-appropriation of a reality (the domain of agro-food chain) characterized by crushing economic and institutional power processes. I have considered practices as a gateway to investigate the sense, the meaning and the culture of work of these women (Gosetti 2014). I've found that, despite the request for homogenisation, the cultural dimension is still an essential feature in the work of these women: day by day they proceed keeping together the economic sustainability of their farms (the necessity of "far quadrare i conti") with the will of producing different kinds of values as the ethical, emotional and the spiritual ones, generating satisfaction for themselves and well-being for their families, caring for the multiple relationships with human and non-human being. This strength accomplished different styles of farming and demand for analysis that recount the ability of avoid the separation of life threads that are deeply intertwined.

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POSTER SESSION

Teaching Writing at University from a Metasociocognitive Perspective. Process and Conclusions of an Ethnographical Educational Research Project

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This paper intends to explore everyday current university transformations from the point of view of teachers and students, based on qualitative approaches, dealing with the micro-politics of change. This research is focused on institutional, organizational and cultural change, specially it aims to meet the challenges of multilingual written communication because multilingualism is one of the most important topics in communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. These documents establish that a successful multilingualism policy can strengthen opportunities for the general public: it may increase their employability, facilitate access to services and rights and contribute to solidarity through enhanced intercultural dialogue and social cohesion. Therefore the idea of this paper is, theoretically and empirically, based on a model of teaching written composition and autonomous learning which responds to the academic and professional changing needs of today's societies, using recent web developments. In this digital age, multilingual writing is prefigured as an essential competence in the following domains: (i) international research; (ii) lifelong learning; (iii) professional promotion and creation of economic values; and (iv) dissolution of professional, geographical and educational frontiers.

The objective of this paper is to discover and describe the teaching process of written composition in a particular educational context using different languages such as Spanish, English, Italian... Two main questions were the origin of this research project:

4. Which didactic model is applied in practice for teaching written composition in different languages?
5. To which extent is the environment multiculturalism taken into account?

From these two basic questions arose different objectives:

- Identifying objects and contents which are made explicit when teaching written expression at university in different languages.
- Highlighting basic cognitive processes of written composition which are promoted by activities in different languages within university students.
- Describing teachers' acts when following the student's development to resolve possible learning difficulties of the processes implied in written expression in different languages.
- Identifying social and multicultural elements at university learning environment.
- Suggesting an intercultural didactic model for written composition in different languages, inspired on the contributions and limits of the real case studied.

The methodological approach "case study" was applied. The analysed case was the teaching processes of written composition in different languages with university students.

The aim when using this research method was, mainly, to obtain a representative quantity of different evidence, extracted from the space in which the case was taking place, in order to be able to abstract and integrate possible conclusions related to the objectives set ahead. On the one hand, in this "case study" the following were used:

1. Different techniques and tools to note data such as: semi-structured interview in questionnaire form and several writing texts.
2. The "Content Analysis" method to minimize and interpret data.
3. Validity and reliability processes such as: triangulation, experts' judgements, saturation and crystallization.

The teaching process of written composition was described from an analytical point of view in the case presented. The individual treatment received by each of the components of the teaching process previously described in the aims section was highlighted.

As a conclusion, this research project shows that a teaching method focused on the following motto: writing, demands reflection and restructuring of ideas in an abstract way, and when learning writers need help to be able to carry out the process. This didactic approach, at the time, enables students to concentrate on certain aspects of the writing process, simultaneously working on the rest of them, and leading, in an effective way, towards independent writing.

Writing, in the studied case, is characterized by the following elements and features:

- Objects and contents related to written expression are made explicit during the whole writing-teaching process and are connected to knowledge and individual, group or collective products.
- Writing skills can be classified in the following activities:
 - Activities to plan a text, being frequent content creation activities and text restructuring.
 - Transcription activities with frequent lexical and orthographic activities,
 - Revision activities, insisting on self-revision.
 - Metacognition activities directed to the identification and construction of a good text.
- Writing operations learning assessment is shared and reflects its being the responsibility of support teachers and the tutor teacher, applying assessment instruments such as: control list and students notebooks.

- From the assessment activities decisions can be made to reinforce students' writing achievements.
- The learning environment is characterized by:
 - Attracting students' attention towards written tasks and creating a flexible order in the use of spaces and resources.
 - Combining different groups, resources and support in written tasks.
 - Including the multicultural dimension of the environment in printed resources.

From the Metasociocognitive Model of Development of Written Composition, the final aim of the model is suggested to be reform. A didactic model coherent with the Metasociocognitive Model has a double-aim: a) transmit and reproduce the writing skills needed by a society to keep using all technologies offered by the society; b) change prejudice, stereotypes, classism and racism of a society, to enable every citizen to participate in the same equal conditions. According to these objectives, written expression from being an end becomes a tool which promotes social change. That is why, a didactic model for the Metasociocognitive development of written composition will prepare all students to: a) actively and creatively participate in the labour world, b) worry about other people (near or far away,); c) create a fairer justice. Apart from these, written composition teaching will prepare every individual to freely choose his or her cultural background (different languages learning and command of Technologies of Information and Communication) and to autonomously and creatively develop their own writing.

Histories Construction and Collection: Notes for a Reflection on Work With Asylum Seekers and Refugees

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Two different working contexts are the fields of observation and research from which these considerations derive. On one hand a project of preparation for the hearing in the Territorial Commission for asylum seekers living in the province of Monza and Brianza; at the same time, joint work we do together at a day center for asylum seekers and refugees where, among the various actions supporting the people who rely on the service, the preparation for the hearing at the Commission, the appeal and the process of production of socio-psycho-health certificates play a central role.

Concerning the project within the province of Monza, the first aim of the service is to inform and explain to the asylum seekers the system in which they are included.

During the meetings, the process and the meaning of the request for international protection are explained. In a second part of the meeting, we talk about the reasons that led the migrant to leave his/her country doing what is usually called "history collection".

The duration of each interview is about an hour and a half, according to the agreements established in the convention that regulates the project and each person is entitled to two appointments. The meetings take place in an office located outside the reception areas. There is a legal operator and a cultural mediator.

One of the biggest problems we faced was the representation of our role to asylum seekers. Who are we for them? It is not possible to give an indisputable answer.

It turned out that many people did not trust our service, believing us in contact with the Commission. Others pointed to us as responsible for the bad outcome of the hearing. Some came to us thinking they were in front of the Commission. Others have identified us as the "petite commission" that had pre-hearing functions.

The dialogue with the several asylum seekers encountered confronts us in the mirror touching one of the focal points of our work: how much does our action affect the construction of histories by constructing narratives adapted to the Commission's expectations and reifying pre-accession images of asylum seekers?

The variety and diversity of people and histories encountered gives us a good overview and a privileged point of view but requires utmost caution in drafting hasty considerations and generalizations that are often expressed in comments like "the Nigerians have all the history of the *cult*"; "the Senegalese are all economic migrants and when they do not know what to say they are whether homosexual or they come from Casamanche" and so on.

The effort that every time must be done is to give dignity to every single person through listening and dialogue on what he/she is telling us when we sit around the table and talk. What the migrant tells us is a part of his/her history; what we hear is the result of a selection that the subject performs on the basis of a reasoning that most of the time escapes our ability to understand the other. What they tell us is often the answer to what we ask. Following the scheme adopted by the Commissions, the intent is to simulate the hearing. The questions we will ask, as well as the answers we will get, will therefore be partial. Several times we found ourselves reflecting on the histories gathered in these years: what do we do with it? Can the goal be the construction of a performing history that can lead to the recognition of a form of international protection? Is there really a link between the hearing preparation and the outcome? That is, is it really so simple to convince the Commissions or are there other logics that govern the decisions of the commissioners?

What do we say before direct questions from asylum seekers on the "quality" of the history told and collected? Before histories that raise suspicion about their merits? Or, again, before dramatic histories, of people who admit that they have acted against others, what can we do? What suggestion should be given to the hearing in the Commission? Say it, keep it quiet, make up another history?

The reflection therefore revolves around two concepts: the credibility of the asylum seeker and the genuineness of the history. The Commission, we know, does not evaluate the *truth* but rather the credibility and truthfulness. It is therefore necessary to explain this to the asylum seeker who is preparing to meet the Commission.

So what is the meaning of a history collection if the truth is no longer important? Preparing the asylum seeker for the performance in the Commission or promoting a process of critical consciousness (Freire) and critical re-elaboration of what is going on?

Despite this we know that in order to support the histories and increase their genuineness, the “race to the evidence” is an indispensable part of the path of asylum request. There are two types of evidence that are sought: those documentary, that verify the accuracy of the facts (the so-called external credibility) and the socio-psycho-health certificates related to personal history (internal credibility-consistency). The production of these certificates is the other field of analysis and research.

Several authors (Fassin 2014, Sorgoni 2011) have shown both how a hierarchical scale exists (primarily for the Commission but also for the experts) with respect to the value of these tests and how the spasmodic search for body evidence minimizes the importance of the voice of the subject and amplifies the power of the experts who prepare certificates and reports. The subject is thus taken out of its history, depoliticized and inserted into standard and performing channels entrusted to the technicians responsible for the knowledge in charge of it.

If a person is able to prepare a dossier full of evidence and certificates, beyond the reality of the facts narrated, he /she certainly has more chances to “bring home” a result. It is also important not to delude oneself (and not to delude the asylum seeker) that the wealth of a dossier is a guarantee of a successful hearing.

How to make this complexity to the asylum seeker? And how to manage it?

Our intervention is included into a specific context, in what we can define as the “mechanism for managing and controlling migration”; a mechanism, acted by a multiplicity of actors involved. The modalities of action assume a precise choice of field: there is no neutrality. This choice involves the deployment of devices and practice that, through a process of identity dispossession and reconstruction of the subject, re-build it by subjecting it to the logic deemed necessary for obtaining a recognition from the Commission.

Borrowing the words of Basaglia (1975) the distance between ideology and practice is evident and the terrain in which they collide is within the services in which we work every day.

Noting that the collusion with the mechanisms of the Commission is real and seems inevitable, we will try to describe the most important critical theoretical issues in the process of collecting histories and producing evidence and certificates.

The Reinvention of Tradition in Cinque Terre: A Dramaturgic Perspective

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In 1997 the Cinque Terre, a major touristic site in Italy, has been declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO thanks to its landscape marked by dry stone walls terraces, mainly used for vineyards. Since the arrival of mass tourism, after the World War II, traditional activities, such as agriculture and fishing, have been progressively abandoned in favour of the tourism industry. As the local customs faded, the touristic demand for authenticity and tradition increased, leading to a recovery and partial reinvention of such activities and customs. Along with viticulture and small fishing, we can observe in particular in the town of Monterosso some interesting recovered traditions, such as the “Cuckold Festival”, the *Bescantà*, the brotherhoods of the Blacks and of the Whites and the celebration of Ascension Day festival.

The “Cuckold Festival” is a tradition once widespread in Italy, held on the 11th of November, St. Martin’s day. In the original festival, a cortege of men used to visit the houses of the supposed “cuckold” husbands, mocking them from the street for having been cheated on by their wives. It appears clear the purpose of social control through the public shaming of deviant behaviours (such as not being manly enough to keep one’s wife faithfulness).

The *Bescantà* is a masked questing held at the beginning of February, showing strong similarities with those held on May Day in the nearby Apennines, where the poorest men, fishermen and farm hands, surrounded the wealthy men in town and sang a song to honour them, hoping to receive some money, food and wine. Those who did not offer anything were publicly blamed and maybe even beaten. The purpose of social control is evident here too, along with the redistribution of resources.

The brotherhoods of the Blacks and of the Whites are religious groups that claim an origin in the Late Middle-Ages; the Blacks were the poor ones, who used to help their fellows who could not afford to collect money for funerals; the Whites were the wealthy ones, who used to provide the poor with free medical assistance. The affiliation to either one of the brotherhoods was passed down from father to son, so they appear strongly related not only to religious devotion, but also to kinship and social class.

The Ascension Day (15th of August) was the most important Festival in Monterosso, linked to the sanctuary of Virgin Mary in Soviore (a small village in the mountains behind the town). During this Festival all the inhabitants used to climb to the sanctuary as a small pilgrimage and spend the day celebrating, singing religious songs and eating traditional food. The wealthy also used to rent rooms in the monastery to spend a few days on vacation. The legendary origin of the sanctuary is related to the foundation of the town of Monterosso, a foundation myth. Participating in the Festival was then not just a matter of religious devotion, but rather a way to build social bonds in the community.

Through the strong social change occurred after World War II, and also thanks to the impact of mass tourism on employment opportunities as well as on the general wealth of inhabitants, not only traditional activities such as agriculture and fishing have been progressively abandoned, but also many social customs lost their primary purpose and have been forgone or modified. The Ascension Day festival was the only one having partially survived in Monterosso, while the others had been almost forgotten for about thirty years. In the 80’s, a group of young men in Monterosso started to recover and reinvent the forgotten traditions, which play now an important role in the social life of the town.

The Cuckold Festival was restored on the day of St. Martin, but evolved into a more social happening with a huge dinner, followed by a singing cortège, that ends with a public discourse mocking the “cuckolds” and other forms of unwanted behaviours, without actually saying any name. The purpose of social control is still present, but it is not restricted anymore to blaming just the cheating wives: also cheating husbands are mocked, as well as any other deviant behaviour. Also, participating in the Festival, even aware that you could be mocked too, looks like a way to build a sense of belonging to the community: accepting the public teasing leads to social reintegration.

The *Bescantà* was folklorised into a street performance for tourists and moved to the tourist season. The actors wander all over the town singing their song to restaurant owners, which offer free food and wine to them as well as to tourists. This tradition seems to have completely lost its original purposes, and it is now part of a social poetic that shapes the local identity for tourists, also promoting typical products.

The brotherhoods of the Blacks and the Whites take again part in every religious event, but they do not provide neither medical assistance or money for funerals anymore. They rather appear as a way to show and build social belonging through kinship.

The Ascension Day is alive and well, even if very few people still walk all the way to the sanctuary or spend there more than a couple of hours. The touristic season demands that people work, especially in mid August. Despite it being in the heart of the tourist season, though, this festival stays hidden for most of the tourists themselves, being more of private event just for the locals.

The concepts of *front region* and *back region* (MacCannell) help us to interpret how and why some of these customs have been restored with few adaptations and are kept away from the tourist's gaze, while others have been folklorised into touristic performances.

Tunisian Foreign Immigration in the Province of Agrigento and the Rigidity of the Rules for Access to Employment Contracts

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The regulation of access to work for non-EU foreign immigrante is an important and fundamental step in the legislation for them since the actual performance of a regular work activity fulfills one of the most important prerequisites for their inclusion.

The presence of non-EU immigrante in Italy has dictated the need to activate reception and integration policies, but the rigid rules that followed them remove them from civil society.

Black work and immigration are two related issues, the underground economy is satisfied by the work done by immigrante, the possibility of finding a job is a strong attraction, as for those who do not have a valid residence permit the only alternative to returning to the country of origin.

It follows that by acting on the underground economy, through restrictive controls, we also act on illegal immigration, which is therefore contained in these measures.

The exercise of the right to migration is universally recognized to all, and consequently to be an immigrant in another society or community, even if migration is not always a voluntary process but stems from a set of social and economic circumstances.

Progressively, changes in labor law and legislation on foreign immigration have made access to regular employment contracts rigid.

The regulations on access to employment inevitably bind to the legislation on Public Safety.

These rules have, however, affected the fundamental rights of the person, such as personal freedom, the right to defense, the right to asylum, family and labor rights.

To support what I found during the research work, on 10.02.2017 the Italian Government issued the D.L. nr. 13. which contains some measures aimed at controlling and suppressing the immigration phenomenon.

The law introduced special sections to 14 Italian Courts. The Decree, in this part, is in contrast with the Republican Constitution in art. 102 paragraph 2, which states that extraordinary judges or special sections can not be established, but only specialized sections for certain subjects. It also provides for the establishment of the “Repatriation Stay Centers”, one in each Region, to ensure the enforcement of the Court Judgments on immigration throughout the country.

The migratory presence in our country is extremely varied and diversified depending on the possibilities of job placement offered by different social contexts.

Therefore, the need was felt to activate reception and integration policies, with the involvement of Local Authorities, but, the laws that followed, took into account only the historical moment and public opinion, resulting in non-homogeneous.

The reception system, currently in force, is regulated by the so-called “Table of March” (Italian Road Map) and is structured on 3 levels, divided into First and Second Reception, with structures and functions of different types. It is based on the S.P.R.A.R. (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees).

At the exit of the Regional Hubs foreign immigrants are therefore still in a state of need and are therefore forced to seek the means of support, which are offered to them through undeclared work and without any guarantee.

The process of concrete integration involves and implies different aspects of the life of the immigrant.

The economic inclusion, which concerns the achievement of economic autonomy, by entering the world of work.

Social inclusion, through the creation and management of relationships, the sharing of associations, the use of one's own free time and access to housing.

Cultural insertion, with knowledge of the language, training activities and preparation for cultural mediation processes; political, through participation in social life.

Economic and social insertion are the prerequisites for integration, and this is part of the path of economic and social mobility through the implementation of education and training courses, the possibility of housing and being able to benefit from social services, whose employment is evidence of participation in civil society.

It is clear that if the Italian State does not include a specific obligation to which the projects of the same State are required, they have as their commitment the orientation and the accompaniment towards work without being able to guarantee that this becomes a real stable insertion, you can not even begin the integration process.

The methods of conducting the survey were based on a qualitative approach, through the administration of questionnaires to a group of Tunisian immigrants and to some Sicilian employers present in the Province of Agrigento, with closed-ended questions that reduced the possibility of misunderstandings and uncertainties about the subject treated. It must start from the simplification of the procedure for issuing residence permits and the rules governing labor relations. Social and integration policies must be implemented, covering housing, language and education, as well as the promotion and recognition of educational qualifications and professional skills and the implementation of appropriate wider reforms of an economic, fiscal and of the labor market, which represent the necessary condition for an effective activity to counteract undeclared work. The model of immigration regulation, which achieves the goal of integration in all its dimensions, must start from the premise of achieving the integration through the elaboration of an institutional legal status based on an effective guarantee of the fundamental social rights of immigrants. Immigration is linked to the essence of integration, which must be understood as equal recognition of rights and liberties, considering the subject immigrant of law to facilitate the process of exchange between the population local and the foreign immigrant. If we try to dissociate the terms of immigration and integration, we can not speak more correctly of the first on a presumed theoretical conception that is articulated from an economic but legal dimension, like work supported by a formal labor market, but other parallel realities of migratory flows.

An Ethnographic Study of Religion and Sexuality in Catholic Malta and Sicily

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My ethnographic research explores the role of religion in intimate relationships in contemporary Maltese society and to a lesser extent in Palermo, Sicily. The study examines the intersection between faith and sexuality in a secularising society. It seeks to answer two main research questions: (i) whether and to what extent the Catholic Church and its teaching bear an influence on the lifestyles, decisions, beliefs and behaviours of individuals in intimate homoerotic relationships; (ii) how Catholics whose sexual relationships do not conform to the moral guidelines of the Roman Catholic Church, more specifically lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) experience conflict arising from the incongruence between their beliefs and their sexual desires or lifestyle choices.

In order to try to answer these questions I employed two main qualitative methods, namely participant observation and in-depth personal conversations although I did not limit my sources of ethnographic data only to these systematic means. Given the relative difficulty of conducting participant observation with couples within their personal spaces, participant observation was carried out in a different setting. Part of the study involved my immersion within *Drachma LGBTI* where I carried out two years of fieldwork during 2014 and 2015. During the summer of 2015, I also spent a short but intensive time with members of *Ali d'Aquila* in Palermo. Like *Drachma*, *Ali d'Aquila* offers a space where individuals may explore and deepen their spirituality as persons whose sexuality does not conform to the heteronormative model endorsed by the Roman Catholic Church and by society. Both organisations are open to different faiths although the majority of participants are Catholic. Most of my informants in *Drachma* and *Ali d'Aquila* are male, in their mid-thirties and well-educated although both groups are frequented by individuals from outside these general categories.

I also conducted a number of in-depth, unstructured interviews as follows: ten interviews with LGBT Catholics involved in *Drachma* (eight men including one transman and two women), nine interviews (five men, four women) with LGBT Catholics in Palermo, most of whom are involved in *Ali D'Aquila* and six interviews with LGB women (two) and men (four) who do not frequent *Drachma*. I identified the interviewees who did not form part of *Drachma* through snowballing. Most of them were indicated to me by others or else were distant acquaintances of mine whom I contacted myself.

In a historically Roman Catholic context such as that of Malta and Palermo, one is almost inevitably brought up as a Catholic. This means absorbing notions of what it means to be a 'good' Catholic such as being heterosexual, getting married in Church, not having sex outside marriage and having children. Therefore the realisation that one's sexuality does not conform to these accepted norms and values often leads to conflict which may manifest itself in a number of ways and on many levels. The official teaching of the Church on sexual morality is the underlying cause of conflict not only with the Church itself but more intimately within themselves, with God and with significant others. My informants live their conflict as modern individuals but who are also spiritually profound, introspective, faithful beings who are not afraid to engage with the Church's teaching in a deconstructive way to develop their own individual morality. Drawing upon the Catholic tradition itself, they seek to develop an alternative, LGBT-affirming moral hermeneutic, a process aided by therapy, reflection, prayer, priestly advice and other techniques which enable them not only to find themselves but to relocate themselves within Catholicism. The secularisation processes taking place in contemporary society have made it possible for individuals to challenge received morality and to take a more active approach to how they live their faith. As the conditions of belief changed, individuals feel they have the right to challenge and question both God and his Church. However, my study suggests that one cannot adopt the religious individualisation thesis unproblematically within the Maltese context.

While informants no longer consider the Church to be their moral yardstick, it is only a few who have relinquished their desire to be embraced by it. Their reconstructed sexual morality is still embedded within a Catholic framework even as they opt for contemporary lifestyles. They are reluctant to sever their ties completely from the Church, even as they build a stronger bond with God, preferring instead to have been able to remain within its fold. Therefore while nobody can deny that Malta has indeed become a more secular, modern society, and that relationship choices are less guided by Church morality, Malta's modernity remains persistently Catholic. In Malta aspects of modernity converge with pre-modern elements. While the movement away from the Church may suggest a decline in religious authority, the fact that the legitimization of the sacred is still significant indicates that religion still plays an important role within contemporary Malta.

The Invisibles at the Margin of Europe: Young People, Social Inclusion, Urban Renewal and Collaborative Communities

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One of the challenges of the EU, according to The Europe 2020 Strategy, is transforming the continent in a smart, sustainable and inclusive territory. The third adjective – inclusive – means a place where the market forces and the state intervention are able to entitle people with full social rights and capabilities (Sen, 1985). Europe is a territory with different people, policies and cultures. EU policies aim at integrating the regions, trying to preserve the features of each cultural space. This is the case of the cohesion policy, that operates in the context of globalization, that links economies beyond the national boundaries and creates a global job market.

European and global competition of goods and services, together with the crisis, has exacerbated the flexibility of work. In this framework, new constructions emerge in the literature describing career evolution from traditional to protean career (Hall & Mirvis, 1994) and boundaryless career (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). Protean career has been defined by Hall and Mirvis (1994) as the subjective goals of career through vocational behavior; boundaryless career has been defined by Arthur (1996) as the set of subjective and objective career dimensions at different levels of analysis, including organizational positions, mobility, flexibility, work environment, opportunities and at the same time emphasizes the link between organizational promotions and career paths.

The periphery of Europe is the farthest from the center (Braudel, 1977), and in that area it does not apply the "professional and social inclusion" stated in European policies. There the boundaryless career means something different from the center of the world economy. The "liquid" society of Bauman (2003) refers, in our case, to a working context in which the career is a responsibility of the worker and not of the community, with a shift from collective to individual responsibility. The boundary, in a peripheral area (Fana, 2017) of the continent such as the Libertà neighborhood of Bari, is not between different jobs but between unemployment and employment.

Since the 60s, Mumford (1961) emphasized the role of the neighborhood in preserving the sense of community of the ancient village. Moreover, many studies have demonstrated the role of social capital (Putnam, 2004) in the local development. Paolo Sylos Labini (1974) revealed in advance that precarious jobs in Italy were linked to low added-value companies or pre-modern economic activities. Indeed, we are studying an area where firms do not compete in the international market and are mainly constituted by low competitive companies with lack of technology; a space with high housing density and a potential strong sense of community. However, as stated by the government of the Municipality, in the neighborhood there is a lack of social capital, population is "fragmented" and there is absence of collective identity. That's why the urban renewal planning is built upon two keywords: "identity" and "public space". Moreover, among the interventions on the area, there is the settlement of social services for young people and minors, together with third sector organizations or NGOs like Save the Children. An historical place for youngsters and minors, in the Libertà area, is the Redentore Church, a Salesian institution inspired by Don Bosco ideas, where the integration is based on work inclusion. That is the place where a big part of the local population has been trained.

According to Adler & Heckscher (2005), there are three forms of community built on hierarchy, market or collaboration. Our research aims to demonstrate that the last chance of peripheral areas of Europe, where market and cohesion policies fail to integrate, is the community, the last resource that only can make the difference for the career paths and social inclusion of young people. These are the resources that the urban renewal policy tries to activate. In Bari, the urban renewal project has adopted a participative approach. Following the researches born from the work of Ostrom (1990) and applied to the urban studies, we investigated whether young "excluded" people think that social capital, the community, a participative and collective action can make the difference in the development of their future and on the success of the renewal policy. Can the community and social capital be the "real" production factor of the renaissance of the neighborhood? If, according to the decision makers, the renewal has to be participative, what can be the contribute of the young stakeholders – of the least included ones – in building the future of the neighborhood? Have they got social capital, i.e. relations, participation in associations, informal groups? Is peer collaboration essential to increase the work expectations of peripheral next generation?

To satisfy our goal, this research has engaged young people. The sample of our study consists of two groups of young people: the first aged 18-30, unemployed or with precarious jobs; the second group made of 20 minors (aged 13-17) belonging to the educational community of the Redentore of Bari. In order to assess their degree of belonging to the

community, we have administered a sociometric test (Moreno, 1951) that showed a “map of relationships” existing in the two samples analyzed. The recurrences (*refusal-acceptance*) were analyzed by the “Group Sociogram” software. After a careful analysis of social aspects of this marginal area, we have conducted an ethnographic study. This methodology resulted very useful to understand the “voices” of next and (un)inclusive generation that has never been heard before: the society of “invisibles”. To analyze the link between professional inclusion/exclusion, community and social capital, we investigated, with appropriate qualitative methodology, the presence of socio-epistemic rhetoric concerning the dimension of a collaborative community. We investigated, moreover, the role that social capital can have in personal career paths and the urban renewal policy implemented. Listening to this forgotten generation, we built up a map of competencies, school experiences, personal expectations on the future career, perception of exclusion, relations, social capital, values, belonging to associations and informal groups, in order to understand whether there is the presence of a collaborative community and social capital. European peripheries, young invisible people and collaborative communities: the priorities to save our democracies.

Can GABEK Be a Tool for a Qualitative Research Strategy? The example of Destination Design

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In tourism research, notions such as networks, governance and leadership have been successfully applied in order to study tourism destinations (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014; Pechlaner, Kozak & Volgger, 2014; Scott, Baggio & Cooper, 2008, et al.). Within the development, governance and management of a tourism destination, design elements are barely considered. Therefore, the concept of “destination design” tries to use the ability of design to combine and integrate different disciplines, as design succeeds in connecting and coordinating different disciplines because of its meta-disciplinarity and the related understanding of problems and solutions (Brandes, Erhoff & Schemmann, 2009). This approach helps in opening up new possibilities in perceiving a tourism destination and therefore contributes to a broader perspective.

In research, concepts of tourism and design have already been combined. As an example, Dredge (1999) focused on destination place planning and design, Tussyadiah (2014) explored the orchestration of design elements and experiences within tourism destinations, whereas Fesenmaier & Xiang (2017) contributed by exploring experience design in tourism. In addition, design may potentially help to further connect theory and practice in destination-oriented research. Sub-categories such as “product design” (Luchs & Swan, 2011), “atmospheric design” (Pfister, 2013), “service design” (Kimbell, 2011; Stickdorn, 2009; Stickdorn & Zehrer, 2009) and “participatory design” (Le Dantec & DiSalvo, 2013; DiSalvo et al, 2017), if applied to destination contexts, may lead to new and fresh impulses in tourism destinations related to governance and management. Other approaches from “cosmopolitical design” (Yaneva & Zaera-Polo, 2015), “disruptive design” (Acaroglu, 2014) and “design thinking” (Brown, 2009) may help tourism research in gaining new perspectives on the management and governance of tourism destinations. As the discussion of destination design is in its very early stages, theoretical principles are not developed. In order to develop a [destination design theory], we would present and apply the computer supported qualitative research method GABEK (GAnzheitliche BEwältigung von Komplexität) (Buber & Zelger, 2000). The purpose of this method is to reduce complexity of open or semi-structured qualitative interviews through a holistic representation of complex social situations by the organization of knowledge, based on natural language processing of individual statements (ibidem). Zelger (2000) argue, that knowledge is based on circumstances and facts, which are described in colloquial statements. The relation between different statements are coded in notions, which are interrelated. The computer program WinRelan (WindowsRelationenAnalyse) allows to condense the unstructured answers and texts into a transparent network of opinions, estimations and knowledge in form of “linguistic Gestalten”, “Gestalten Trees” or causal networks.

Like other computer-based qualitative analysis softwares, as NVIVO or MaXQDA, the first step of analysis of the WinRelan software of GABEK is coding interviews on a keyword basis. Although, GABEK method base on the phenomenological gestalt theory (Stumpf, 1939 in Zelger, 2000) and follows the principle of grounded theory. The purpose e of GABEK is to produce conceptual knowledge systems “everyday theories” in order to represent a complex social system comprehensible and transparent.

GABEK method – steps:

1. definition of text units
2. coding:
 - a. coding of keywords
 - b. coding of evaluations
 - c. coding of causal relations
3. analysis (in the narrow sense):
 - a. relevancy analysis
 - b. analysis of causal nets
 - c. building of Gestalten and Hypergestalten

In comparison to other qualitative analysis methods, GABEK is a holistic model, which has a clear methodological process and is embedded in a methodological research strategy. The graphical outputs are graphical based on the keywords. The purpose of our presentation is to present the GABEK method through the development of a destination design theory. Our presentation will show how GABEK may contribute to the understanding and the visualization of linguistic knowledge organization. Moreover, our purpose is to show how GABEK may be applied in theory building in qualitative research.

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Into Deep Water: Sensory Ethnography and Sensible Knowledge

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The aim of this paper is to, in retrospect, reflect on and explore the methodology and sensory dimensions of the research process in a study about perceived risk among helicopter passengers working in the petroleum industry in Norway. This topic has been under-researched, and I entered a safety training center to conduct focus groups interviews with an open mind. I was then invited to participate in the training and went from interviewer to participant observer in the theoretical and practical parts of the safety course. I emerged myself and my body in the field and into deep water in a survival suit. According to Merleau-Ponty (1962) the body is the medium of all perception, but the senses have not been put centre stage in mainstream organizational and social studies. According to Panayiotou (2017) in the introduction to the virtual special issue on Sensory Knowledge in *Management Learning*, "... knowledge obtained through the senses is rarely regarded as evidence in evidence-based research methods; it is often epistemologically questioned; and seldom considered in sense-making, despite the (oxymoronic) term". The sociology of emotions has been gaining importance especially since Arlie Hochschild (1983) published her seminal book on *The Managed Heart* on commercialization of feeling and emotional labour. Besides, recent turns have contributed to more attention to the senses and how we make sense of our surroundings. Gherardi (2017: 346-349) describes two important turns, the turn to affect and the turn to practice, and how they share three commonalities: (1) relational epistemology, (2) the body and (3) sociomateriality. She urges practice scholars to do affective ethnography; be more sensitive to the affective dimensions in the study of practices. Strati (2017: 62) employs the term sensible knowledge and defines it as knowledge perceived through the senses, judged through the senses, and produced and reproduced through the senses. It resides in the visual, the auditory, the olfactory, the gustatory, the touchable and in the sensitive-aesthetics judgement. He underscores that it generates dialectical relations with action and close relations with the emotions of organizational actors. Sensible knowledge has been long neglected in organization studies, but is used by people to comprehend, act and learn in organizations. Pink (2015) proposes that *sensory ethnography* is a critical methodology and a reflexive and experimental process through which academic and applied understanding, knowing and knowledge are produced (p. 4-5). Although sensory experiences and perceptions have been important in ethnographic encounter, it is important to re-consider how we account for the senses.

A sensory framework per se was not my point of departure when I started with the focus groups interviews with offshore personnel participating in a Helicopter Underwater Escape Training course. I was searching for narratives from the participants, but there was so much more which made these focus groups special; the offshore workers turned up in their orange survival suits, and those who had just been in the helicopter simulator under water in the training pool, took off their survival suits and sat down in their long johns and underwear shirts. This contributed to a special atmosphere where bodies and affective dimensions became an important aspect of these research encounters. The volunteer participants were talkative and told stories about how they felt going to work by helicopter, about accidents and near misses experienced by themselves and their colleagues. Analyzing the narratives, I identified three groups of passengers; 1) carefree, 2) on guard and 3) anxious. Sensory knowledge through the visual, the auditory, the olfactory, the gustatory, the touchable and the sensitive-aesthetics judgement became important sources for increased insight into tacit dimensions and perceived risk. One group of participants clearly came on a mission: to make a testimony about tacit dimensions related to fear and risk. They were concerned about how obesity among some co-workers might become a risk factor in an emergency situation: an overweight colleague might have difficulty getting out of the helicopter under water and might potentially block a window, or might have problems getting on a rescue fleet. Previously they had found no channel for their concerns. I also learned about joy, fear and the importance of small signs in relation to perceived risk through their narratives, but also by watching emotional displays and gestures while participants were performing the different training tasks. This is also a story about my ambivalent feelings of excitement and anxiety when I ended up in a survival suit, just as my gut feeling had told me before I entered the training center. I became a body-subject into deep water both in the training pool and in the fiord outside. After becoming certified with a full safety course for offshore personnel and completing online courses on safety and safe working offshore, I stayed at an offshore oil platform. The interviewees had talked about the importance of small signs for their risk perception, and I was able to experience some of them through my own senses travelling offshore. My physical, mental and emotional reactions during this process contributed to richer data and new insights concerning tacit dimensions and the importance of a variety of small signs for perceived risk.

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I Have Faith but I Have no Religion vs Being Real Roma as Jehovah Witness. The Role of Religion in Negotiating Belonging(S) and Contestation of Power Among Roma Migrants From Poland to the UK

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While post-1989 and especially the post-2004 emigration from Poland caused a plethora of studies it is striking that emigration of Polish Roma have not been discussed in the academia at all. This paper comes out as a result of a pioneering research on emigration of Roma from Poland and focuses on two distinct groups, Polska Roma and Bergitka. The two groups have different migration experience both in terms of distant and recent past, as well as diverse sets of norms and legitimacy of authority. As is the case with the majority Polish society in the context of post 1989 economic order, migration is seen as a way out of poverty, marginalization and discrimination while negotiations between them, related to tradition and legitimization of Roma representation, obedience to *romanipen*⁶ and also economic power and social positioning both in Poland and in the UK are in place.

Although Roma migration has attracted considerable scholarly attention along with the focus on religiosity among the Roma, in particular in the context of Pentecostalism among the Roma from Romania and the Balkans, virtually nothing is known about Roma becoming Jehovah's Witnesses. This paper sheds light on the religious change and conversions of Roma migrants from Poland to the UK and their role in maintaining or creating the sense of belonging, negotiating marginalization and resistance against traditional leadership. The evidence from the research shows, on the one hand, the process of privatization of the religion among Roma migrants living in the UK and on the other – examples of religious conversions which causes tension within the community which will be analysed against the backdrop of the group cohesion and notion of the *real Roma*. The first one is well expressed by our respondent saying: *I have faith but I have no religion*. Simultaneously some Roma migrants

⁶ Romaniness/Gypsiness – to be a Roma, set of rules to be obeyed by the Roma, creates and maintains a boundary between Roma and non-Roma as well as between various Romani groups.

turn to Church of England in attending to religious needs of their families (especially communions) which is perceived as more approachable and less discriminatory.

For the transnational Polish Romani communities nominal belonging to the Roman Catholic Church is seen as a tradition and a cultural norm, thus preserving the sense of a community and continuity – being Roma in Poland and abroad bears same obligations despite different temptations and menaces. The spatial distance embedded in migration creates the risk of loosening the values and norms, which causes that the life of the Romani migrants is still very much subjected to the social control of the community members in and out of the country of origin. This transnational dimension of social control aims to preserve the unity and cohesion of the group spread across the national borders. In this, we also observe the struggles between different Romani groups over leadership and the definition of the *real Roma*, which happens to be even more important abroad, where the risk of misbehaving is greater, given the lesser control of the community.

The sense of belonging to the ethnic community and the intra-group solidarity is, however, often disturbed during and after the migration process. It may also sharply contrast with the ideal of a life of a good Roma, as it is, however vaguely, described in the *romanipen* (which also changes due to migration). Certain wrongdoings put a person at risk of being expelled from the transnational community. This risk was faced by our respondents who converted to Jehovah's Witnesses, some of whom did so in reaction to what they interpret as the collapse of the traditional Romani values abroad or crisis of traditional leadership and authority. Such conversions bear certain consequences. On the one hand, as Jehovah Witnesses, they are obliged to comply with the rules, which, according to our respondents, make their life congruent to the ideal of what a *real Roma* should be. On the other, belonging to the Jehovah's Witnesses religious community go along with the discipline, loyalty and work for the good of the community, which in the eyes of non-converts hinders the group solidarity and cohesion.

Consequently, the converts reject the power of traditional leaders over them which causes tension within the community and families. Resisting the power of the community leaders brings suspicion over them, while the new sense of belonging is earned within the religious community. From the gender perspective, the power struggle between the converts and non-converts allows women to stand up and use the religion as a shield against the patriarchal traditional regime and discriminatory practices towards women.

The notion of a Roma and belonging to the ethnic group should not be treated as an unquestionable premise but as an issue to be dealt with in relation to changing social and geographic contexts, what we attempt to show in this paper. We focus on the tension between the notion of a *real Roma*, the perception of the community and belonging and changes in religious practices. It is particularly salient, yet understudied phenomenon in the migratory context, when group cohesion and Romaniness/Gypsiness is being challenged and contested not only by the different groups of Roma abroad but also those in the country of origin.

This research problem is tackled from an actor-centred anthropological perspective. To be able to document the history of Roma mobility after the collapse of communism and to address the current situation of Roma emigrants from Poland to the UK, returnees and non-migrants, the project team has engaged into a multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork which included in-depth and biographical interviews and participant observation among both Jehovah's Witnesses and Roman Catholic Roma.

Mixed Methods Research on Saint James Way

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The focus of the research is one of the most famous Ways in the world, the Saint James Way. In the summer of 2016 I walked the last 300 km of the French Way, starting from León and arriving in Santiago de Compostela. The Way was examined from both the perspectives of pilgrims and inhabitants. Foncebadón is a small ghost village that, due to the Way, has begun to attract thousands of modern-day pilgrims; while Santiago de Compostela is the city where the Way ends. The methodological approach used was the *Mixed Method Research (Explanatory Design: Participant Selection Model)*. In the first phase I used a quantitative approach (secondary data analysis), to understand *how much* the touristic flow in these localities depends on the Way and how it is shaped.

Tourism presents itself as a phenomenon that produces both territorial, economic and social consequences. If on the one hand the economic aspect (and therefore tourism) prevails, in others the cultural and relational ones tend to prevail. In fact, the same path was proclaimed World Heritage by UNESCO in 1985. Since 1980 the recovery of some social practices linked to the pilgrimage has allowed individual administrations not only to promote new holiday destinations but also to sponsor and implement new policies based on the pilgrimage itself. The itineraries of the ancient pilgrimage have resumed life thanks to the specific decisions of these administrations: bridges have been rebuilt, new shelters have been opened, the old water sources have been purified, the various countries have been repopulated and finally the artistic and cultural heritage of the journey has been re-evaluated.

In a second phase I developed an ethnographic and netnographic observation of the practices and the social interactions emerging from this contest between “walker-walker” and “walker-inhabitant”, trying to understand *how* the Way influences their behaviours. To paraphrase Piasere, the ethnographer is witness of experience (observing) and co-author of interactions (taking part). I used together more different mixed techniques: ethnographic observations aimed to observe behaviours in

natural contexts and interviews to recreate biographical paths in order to let some ideal types (pilgrims, tourists etc...) come to light. The question was: are they pilgrims, tourists or both (*turingos*)? I used hermeneutic interview approach referring to the inhabitants and local workers. They became co-authors, showing their vision of some aspects of the Way. One of the tools I used during the field phase was writing the notes and the diary that took shape day by day, stage by stage. Netnography was based on the Facebook page of Foncebadón, that seems to be a strong communication channel between walkers and local. This technique has allowed a participant-observational research based in online fieldwork, trying to analyse where community members situate computers, online communication and information technologies in their daily lives. Finally, I used photo elicitation, letting the backpackers' narratives and experiences of travel emerge, through travel photos. The use of the video-photographic medium in the field, as Ciampi suggests, is based on a procedure similar to that of participant observation, replacing the notebook or the recorder with the camera or video camera with the aim of observing and taking note of the observed and studied reality, trying to "immortalize" aspects and nuances that without this technique I would have left out.

Through this project I took into consideration the sociological analysis regarding the relationship between production and consumption, starting from the historical origin of the Ground Tour, and then between travel and tourism. Specifically, I studied the origin of the "science of the movement of strangers" (*Fremdenverkehrswissenschaft*). Only starting from this movement, they began to analyse sociopsychological elements that motivate the traveller to move and the system of relationships to which it originates.

If for Von Wiese the figure of the stranger is always associated with a component of hostility that is overcome when the meeting between the community and the stranger presents economic advantages, for Glücksmann, instead, it is important to focus attention on travel, relationships and links that are established between a person who is only temporarily in the place of his stay and the people of the place itself. Moreover, if according to Bormann the motivations that lead the movement of people are irrelevant, for Cohen these are central in the psychological analysis of the traveller and the relationship between travel and tourism. Here then, the tourism is a way to examine and study socio-cultural transformations in contemporary society.

The New Boundaries of Sexuality: Approaches and Encounters Within the Borders 3.0

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The technologies and opportunities offered today by the web 3.0 have changed the traditional relational structures among people, groups, and institutions, thus expanding the communicative and symbolic universes with which we interface with the *other*. The tools 3.0, and social networks in particular – thanks to their communicative settings – not only promote communication on sexuality, but are also channels that witnessed in recent years the production of unprecedented erotic expressions, where the communication tool rather than an intermediary constitutes a place in which take place sexual practices that cannot occur in reality – think of cybersex. In this sense, the media are no longer just an instrument, but they themselves become part of the scenario in which sexuality becomes possible (Combessie and Mayer, 2013; Cipolla, 2015).

The unprecedented relationship between new means of communication and sexuality, finds today new possibilities thanks to increasingly advanced technologies aimed at dating and meeting people (both online and offline), *i.e.* the online dating apps, such as *Grindr*, used primarily by subjects with non-normative sexual orientations (Goedel, Duncan 2015). This app has represented an important turning point in highlighting how new media are able to affect and influence, in a completely new way, actual sexual behaviours. Compared to the media used in the past by the gay population, *Grindr*, thanks to its "geolocation" function, allows individuals to find a sexual or emotional partner in the immediate vicinity; which greatly reduces the time between online research and real meeting, unlike the longer timings of other online meeting platforms. It also reduces the distance between on-line and off-line communication processes, modifying the experience of the surrounding environment, precisely by virtue of the simultaneous mediation between screen and sensorial perception of reality, what Crabtree and Rodden (2008) call "hybrid ecologies" within which sociality and mobility are constantly woven and rearticulated.

The present work describes the results of an ethnographic-qualitative research carried out in Campania, whose purpose was to describe the social and relational dynamics underlying the communication exchanges between users of a dating app aimed at establishing romantic or sexual relationships between homosexual people, called *Grindr*. Concerning the use of this application, the research aims at exploring:

- 1) the *sexual sphere*, describing the most requested and/or widespread sexual practices;
- 2) the communicative and relational sphere, examining the ways in which people make contact for the purpose of a *face-to-face* or *virtual sex* meeting;
- 3) the *sphere of feelings* concerning the perceptions, feelings, and frustrations, as well as the problems, identifications, and memberships claimed by homosexual persons who use this application.

As we will see, *Grindr*, in addition to helping to structure homosexual identity, also changes the way in which the interviewees' experience in the Campania gay community, whose distinctive feature, in their opinion, is its being more and more virtual compared to the past and less and less characterised by collective experiences.

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Juggling Between Income and Safety: Coping Strategies of Sex Worker Trans Women with Everyday Threats in Urban Turkey

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How does an individual ensure her safety and make a living when her job requires her to be in close contact with strangers who might intend to harm her? How does the limited access to the legal protection mechanisms affect her life while juggling between safety and income? The case in question is street sex worker trans-women. I explore the patterns of sex work and different forms of threats that sex worker trans women experience in everyday life. I particularly focus on how they respond to these threats, i.e., their individual and collective coping strategies. Data collection took place in Izmir, Western Turkey at three-time points: August 2017, November-December 2017 and April 2018. I carried out a combination of ethnography and semi-structured interviews. My informants are sex workers themselves and other actors who are related to the neighborhood. The results point to severe physical and psychological threats and economic shocks they often experience, with the intensity of the threats varying, depending on where one works. In addition, the findings emphasize the effective cooperation for physical and economic protection, despite the fierce competition among workers. Other findings concern the concentrated use of the urban space for safety, self-mocking to release distress, and other patterns of the trans sex industry.

Ethnographies on the Limits, and the Limits of Ethnography. Doing Fieldwork in a Palliative Care Unit

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Ethnography in hospitals and other healthcare institutions is a relatively recent domain; after few pioneer studies in the '50s and '60s (Caudill, 1958 ; Coser, 1962), this field of studies has been growing especially for the last two decades, with an increasing number of ethnographic works that start from the assumption of the need to analyse everyday practices in these institutions in relation to the larger contexts in which they are inscribed (Fortin and Knotova, 2013).

The development of hospital ethnographies poses several challenges, both at epistemological and ethical levels: doing fieldwork in such contexts confronts the ethnographer with the limits of participant observation and with ethical problems concerning the restrictions of field research. At which point has observation to be stopped? Hospitals and palliative care units – where I conducted my fieldwork – are places charged of a high level of emotional intensity, where people open themselves beyond the ethnographer's expectations, and where one is exposed to the drama of life and death, and to situations in which deontological rules per se are not sufficient: here, the researcher needs to decide how to behave in relation to the level of intimacy he has developed with the dying person and/or the family. In these situations the ethnographic immersion is limited, and participant observation becomes a "negotiated interactive observation" (Wind, 2008): the researcher can not fully participate in the activities of the medical team, and this sometimes leads to a feeling of uselessness of the ethnographic practice.

Based on a two-year research on terminal illness and palliative care in Piedmont (Northwest Italy), the paper explores the methodological, epistemological and ethical challenges related to end-of-life research; after a description of the context where fieldwork took places (two palliative care units in Torino), it explores the limits of ethnography in these limit situations. In the paper I propose empathy and intersubjectivity as tools to reduce the "opacity" of other people's experience (Crapanzano, 2014); to this aim, I understand empathy as a form of intersubjective emotional attunement that requires intentionality from all the actors involved and that it is not a constant state, but rather manifests itself in specific moments, when emotional proximity permits an intersubjective alignment (Throop, 2010). I argue that in the context of terminal illness and end-of-life care this is made possible especially through the instruments of narrative medicine, privileging the voices and views of our interlocutors, thus trying not to reduce the irreducibility of their personal illness experience.

Development and Return Migration during the Years of the Economic Crisis: The Case of Moroccan Migrants Returned from Italy

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The objective of this work is to analyze the relationship between return migration to Morocco and development in the country, focusing in particular on the figure of the “returning migrant” and his role within the development processes.

The image of the migrant as a promoter of development, both in his own country and in that of arrival, has also developed in Morocco. In this regard, in recent years there has been an exponential growth of national and international events, programs and projects on the theme of “migration and development”, promoted and financed by the European Union and Morocco to encourage migrants to invest in their country of origin. As for Italy, an example is the “assisted voluntary return and reintegration program”.

The text analyzes one of the assisted voluntary return and reintegration programs, funded by the European Union and the Italian Ministry of the Interior, to understand if this program can be a tool which encourages forms of development and if the beneficiaries of the project are themselves promoters.

There are various theories of migration studies which have addressed this issue over time, focusing on the strengths (remittances and investments) as well as on the criticalities (creation of inequalities) of the migrations themselves, other than their impact on communities of origin.

In this article various approaches have been analyzed, starting from the pro-development view of the theory of modernization up to those of the 90s according to which the development is not unidirectional or homogeneous as the vision of the new labor market and transnational economics affirm. An aim of the article is to discuss on one side the main theoretical approaches that have considered the development issue through a reflection on the concept of development itself and on its meaning; on the other side the “returning migrant” subject as a well-defined and categorized subject.

Often the returning migrant is seen as the main actor of economic and “social” change within the community of origin. He is considered as an agent of development and innovation, thanks to its skills and experiences acquired abroad, and he has been given an active role in the promotion and economic development of the country. The aim of this analysis is to show that not all returning migrants can be considered an economic potential to be exploited for their own economic and intellectual abilities: the variety of outcomes depends on which category is taken into consideration, on the specific and individual characteristics of the migrants and finally from the economic, institutional and social circumstances of the country of origin as the arrival.

In the years of crisis, we are increasingly witnessing the phenomenon of return, which is taken as a strategic choice by some migrants after years of job insecurity and unemployment in Italy. Through the research carried out in the field it is intended to demonstrate that such migrants can not always be considered promoters of development, at least in the short term, as they do not have the financial means to sustain themselves and support “projects” of development.

The text also focuses on the way in which the collective imaginary changes on the figure of the migrant. How does the image of the returning migrant change in the Moroccan society, in the media and from the state once he returns? Morocco is one of the countries that has implemented a public policy that goes hand in hand with Moroccan migration by exercising strong political control through networks of associations, creating different institutions such as the foundation “Hassan II”, the “Ministère Chargé des Marocains Résidant à l’Etranger et des Affaires de la Migration (CMCMREAM)”, the “Conseil de la Communauté à l’Etranger”, and virtual platforms as “Fincome” and “Maghribcom”; precisely to create a strong link with Moroccan migrants residing abroad in view of the development of the country.

For the Moroccan society the migrant was represented as “a successful person”. How does the visual representation of the returning migrant change, especially in cases where this return is perceived in a failed way for a large part of the society and of the migrants themselves?

The fieldwork was carried out during a period of research in Morocco, in the central-southern areas of the cities of Beni Mellal, Fquih Ben Saleh and Khouribga, where the percentage of return of migrants from Italy is rising increasingly. Interviews were conducted and standardized questionnaires were proposed at 130 Moroccans returned from Italy to Morocco. A period of research was also undertaken in Rabat, at the headquarters of the NGO Cefa, concerning the voluntary repatriation program assisted called “Ermes”.

Death on Facebook: A New Way to Express One’s Own Grief in the Italian Perspective

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The interest towards this tool and the online persistence of dead people in various forms, such as ghost profiles and memorial pages, led me to investigate further on the topic. Not only was it observed how this platform transformed its appearance following the mutation of users’ behaviour, but also anything that concerns the *modus comunicandi* of the alive with the dead who remain on line but in reality become offline.

Such relationship suggested a cause for reflection on social network’s animism and its consequences. The research has been conducted in Italy, using the CAWI method, through a snowball sampling system. The people interviewed (226) were asked what pushed them to post contents about death, considering two main categories: on one side, the difference

between those who were referring to a dead person that they personally knew and those who posted about a famous person's death; on the other side, the difference between those who directly spoke to the dead person and those who simply expressed their grief. A particular focus was given to the latter division. Even if our socialization with technology is continuously strengthening, for the majority the internet remains an "artifice", especially when referring to the generations that weren't born in the so called digital era. The media become, in the case of direct speeches, tools of contemporary asceticism, and the hypothesis according to which the place-no place of the internet could contain other intangible worlds makes its way forward.

The Mourning under the Skin: Strategies of Memory Through the Body

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Every society creates models of cultural reference for managing life events. Death is probably one of the hardest to be treated and cultures are called upon to provide for answers: appropriate behavior, food-rules, suitable sentences or taboos, and so on. Sharing the meanings of these gestures gives security. But what happens when is a society lacking of death rituals? This is certainly the case in modern and contemporary Italian society. According to an anthropological approach, it becomes interesting to stop to observe the new and experimental contemporary funeral rites so personalized and far from a common matrix.

Many cultures consider and authorize intervention on human body. Marks mould members of the community and give them a specific form of humanity, as anthropological researches all around the world already demonstrated. According to the anthropo-poiesis theory, body modifications create complete and new human beings, finishing the work of the nature on the body. But in contemporary Italy, body modifications and tattoo are considered as a cultural nonsense: the meaning is not linked to any tradition and there is not a shared anthropo-poietical project behind them. However, fieldwork's people turn to body modification to express something linked to death, spontaneously moulding themselves in order to survive to death. The proposed interpretation is to considerate tattoos as new rituals that are used to elaborate the death in the contemporary society, as a cultural innovation. There is a ritual need in the contemporary society that is poor and faded in this field: is this new generation of body modifications the answer for the shortage of death rituals in the modern culture? The present paper is based on an independent fieldwork. It has took place from March 2012 to August 2014 in different Italian cities, using bibliography research, qualitative interviews to selected people and participant observation during conventions, festivals and unofficial meetings.

'Talking with Daughters of the Community': On (Emotional) In-Depth Interviewing and Interviewer Ambivalence in Same-Community Research

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This paper investigates some of the complexities around gathering qualitative data when the researcher belongs to the same community as the researched. In particular, the politics of the community reveal whether and how participants are able to communicate their experience, thoughts and emotions to the researcher, in this case how certain second generation British Bangladeshi Muslim young women living in London relate to the researcher whom they might also see as a 'daughter of the community' is explored. This paper outlines framings of qualitative research, ethnography and in-depth interviews.

Thus, this paper examines the processes of gathering and analysing data in trying to understand how a particular sample of young women relate to familial (and latterly communal) histories whilst at the same time trying to understand their 'presentness.'

Indeed, intergenerational dialogue is of relevance when describing the methods employed in finding respondents. The problematics and uses of snowballing techniques in the (perhaps imagined) 'community', (Anderson, 2011) are also considered here. The processes of interviewing take into account interrupted spaces of affect in conveying complex emotions and experiences, as well as suggesting how speaking may act as a therapeutic strategy in re/negotiating a platform from which to speak. My own position as both researcher and one who is part of the 'community' is called into question as being complex and ambivalent and will be highlighted, (Wetherell, 2013).

Furthermore, through this paper, I argue that the interview can act as a site where emotions may be expressed viscerally as well as verbally. Interviews can potentially act as spaces where respondents can further understand a sense of self, in which tensions are highlighted. Respondents may become aware of these tensions, both through speaking and affectively, through the body. But often, especially if unrehearsed, the interview can act as an interruption for the respondent, (Cooper, 2010). Notions of identification and empathy prove important, especially in understanding cultural and familial histories if these are shared by both the researcher and researched. It is in such spaces of speaking, I argue, that the narratives of my respondents, who are second generation British Bangladeshi Muslim young women, are produced.

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Social And Castal Reasons For The Adaptation Of Indian Dances To Christianity

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In the last thirty years, a group of theologians adapted Indian classical and folk dances to Chistianity in order to depict episodes of the Bible or prayers. Traditionally these dances are strongly related to Hinduism.

Officially this is a form of inculturation or indigenization of Christianity in the spirit of Vatican II. However there are also social and castal reasons. In fact, conversion to Christianity means to renounce to caste, but caste is part of the Indian mindset and regulates some aspects of everyday life of many Christians.

Even in the Church hierarchies, there are discriminations in the access to the high positions on the basis of caste. On the other hand, a priest is considered by many people a sort of Christian Brahmin.

We can also find the roots of this mentality in the attitude of missionaries in the regards of caste system. Many of them accepted it as a social system, not related to religion, while others refused it. Moreover, from Roberto De Nobili on, there was the idea that mimicking the habits of Brahmins was a good way to gain the necessary respectability to convert the high castes.

In this frame, dances play an important role. In particular, after its "revival" by Rukmini Devi and his group in the early decades of the Twentieth century, Bharatanatyam has become a Brahmin art. For this reason practicing Bharatanatyam is considered a way to "upgrade" one's social and castal position.

However, some theologians think that folk dances are preferable for their programs of social improvement of Dalits, especially women. They think that mimicking the habits of the higher castes is a way to reinforce their power. On the other hand, some Untouchables refuse these art forms because they feel that they are strongly related to poorness, ignorance and Dalitness.

Thus, in this paper I will briefly talk about the history of evangelization and castes. Then I will expose my observations during fieldwork about the importance of dances in the castal and social improvement of Christians in India.

Dogs and Humans in Interaction Order of the Dogs Area

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The relationship between dogs and their owners in social interaction is a micro-ecological metaphor to understand how social structures are produced in the cities. First, it is necessary analyzing how this relationship between awareness and unawareness constituted the world of stereotype that circulates around the breed of dogs, category studied on this research, in relation with neoliberal market. Second, today the owners have even more closer relationships with their dogs, and they develop psycho-social identification mechanism. They also transpose human behavior model to understand them. The result of this phenomena is the personification of the former to the latter that often in the worst form is sexist. The dogs are the representation of the most animalistic side of the humans, and so the dog area is concerned as specific social order space based on the relationship described, that became collective and takes a ritual form. In conclusion, the dog becomes a social facilitator bringing different forms of security: as "quality product", personal and social. First the role of the dog must necessary be concerned in the market as product, because is produced and sold as brand with pedigree and other certificates that give you the guarantee that you have a "quality dog" as dog trainers define. Having a "quality dog" means that the owners can count on the genetic determinism of the shape, the features and part of dog behaviors, but doesn't mean that they have education guarantee.

The dog is also a compensator for emotional, familiar and company shortcomings. It can help on support social conditions of individuals, on their social necessity, and so they bring a question as: how does the interaction order works with a purebred dog?

Dogs and owners are reconducted to their respective social structures and will be interesting to see how certain concepts made for dogs can make sense to human sphere of lives. For instance, how the discourse around races and muscles can make sense between humans as label gendered books, that prescribes man and woman models of being without imposing it but having a huge social valence.

In those senses the dog can be a bridge for the interaction order as Goffman sustained, because this idea is also strictly connected to the people socio-economic status and identity.

Another issue is the identification between dog and owner, based on a psychological identification of the second to the first, as the Balinese cocks and their owners that Geertz described. In this case, people's ownership of a dog gives safety and social identity where is possible to protect the personal territory and works as a mirror with which to talk and overcome to its own vulnerability. In general, this mirror mechanism work on this sense, when a dog's owner receives a compliment for his dog he associates it to his self-virtue and for bad comment he associates to his dog fault.

Finally, is possible to consider the new role of the dog as human interaction facilitator, becoming a solution for human troubles, personal and social. We must consider the harsh social problem and incapacity on relating with each other, reserve and distrust caused by living in huge metropolis that make the dog the favorite subject to overcome the complexity. This ethnography is made by a participant observation, through informal dialogs. To improve my comprehension of the dog's world and community although heterogeneous, I firstly did a series of interviews with kennels workers and dog educators, to improve my linguistic and normative knowledge. At the same time, I focused on the discourses analysis of some web sites about dog's community, dog trainer articles and owner's forums and discussions.

The relation between owners and dogs can be studied everywhere, but the main stage where I did my research was the

dog area. As in many fields, the discourse around dog's issues different contradictions as the idea that catch the poop of your dog can be define as sign of civility, or the fact that the dog area is the best place for a walk with your dog, or be sure that that is really the ideal place for your dog. In fact, dog area claims to be the place for, it has a clear intended use valuable more than a countryside place that as no signs for dog destinations. All of those examples are concealing structural problems, dog area is forced solution to supply urban density that's nether dog friendly nor human friendly, and constrain human and dogs to find a way to get out.

The Trauma from Entrance to Prison Analyzed by who Have Experienced it, Through Self-Ethnography

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To enter prison as an inmate means to undergo a process of gradual adjustment to the jail community, which Clemmer defines as process of "prigionizzazione". The entrance into the institution implicates the immediate loss of those landmarks previously had in the external world: a series of humiliations, abjections and profanations of the perdon, produce a drastic inner change. This breakage-separation with the outside (in terms of relationships, affections, status, roles), causes a marked trauma (emotional-psychological-physical) for the prisoner, more evident in case of first detentions. Therefore the entrance into prison, the contact with a total climate in which bonds extremely change, the imposition of new rules and times, contribute to the arise of what is defined trauma from entrance to prison: "obsessive forms characterized by the specificity of the connection between the impediment and the state of imprisonment, so that they are observed only in jail and they are also related to the particular existential experience represented by this". The stabilization process of the detention institution permitted the advancement of investigations that have analyzed the life of the prison community, following the theoretical directives of the penitentiary sociology. In this phase in which is observed the "eclipse of prison ethnography" (Wacquant 2002), it is opportune to analyze the sociological courses – internal to the penitentiary – through that empirical material that refers to the direct experience of detention, lived in first person, and to the practice of self-ethnography. These are excellent research tools that permit us to reconstruct the experience of detention through the narrative and experiential contribution of those who are living or have been experiencing the detention (analysis of biographical or autobiographical materials, qualitative interviews, informal conversations). In order to provide in this way an analysis and an internal sight of the prison, it is advantageous to "give voice" especially to the prisoners, enhancing the deconstructive potentialities compared to the official question about prison (cfr. Brown, 2008).

The Neoliberal City and Popular Uses of Public Space. Ethnography of Informal Work in La Merced, Mexico City

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My research analyzes the complex relationship between contemporary city and low-income populations' practices in the public space, with particular reference to informal trade in central urban areas. Starting from a specific case study, I analyze how actors having no place in the formal economy can create survival strategies to adapt to a marginalizing social context: in fact, through gentrification processes and displacement policies, street traders tend to be expelled from public space. This case study highlights the conflictual relationships between informal traders and displacement policies in neoliberal cities. The research context is the recent planning of an urban policy in Mexico City – the *Plan Maestro de Rescate Integral de La Merced* – that aims to redevelop a large commercial area in the heart of Mexico City. The key purposes: eradicating informality in the neighborhood and promoting tourism and consumption.

My focus is the everyday life of informal workers in a high-intensity commercial area of the downtown Mexico City. Through workers' eyes, I tried to understand what the social functions of informal trade are and how it could be affected by the renewal process of the area. The ethnographic method of participant observation brought me to spend a certain amount of time inside La Merced, the study area, to work together with some categories of informal traders. I decided to choose two workers categories that are particularly discriminated in the neoliberal city: street vendors and unauthorized car-parking attendants. Working as illegal car-parking attendant made me understand how the role of informal social actors in the public space is important for the whole city life, as well as for the informal actors life. This role is frustrated by some of the main aims of the neoliberal metropolis, that *de facto* constantly deny the right to the city to low-income populations.

Moving towards a more inclusive city means recognizing the role of informal economy to generate income for the urban poors masses and the role of street traders and informal workers to take care of urban public spaces. However, as Saskia Sassen (2014)⁷ wrote, the present age is an expulsion age: the neoliberal city forces more and more people to stay in a perpetual state of relocation, expelling them from their houses, their neighborhoods and their jobs. As Ray Bromley (2000)⁸ points out, displacement policies operate especially at the symbolic level: informal traders are strongly

⁷ Sassen, Saskia. 2014. *Expulsions: brutality and complexity in the global economy*, Harvard University Press.

⁸ Bromley, Ray. 2000. "Street vending and public policy: a global review". *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 20

discriminated in the discursive production of neoliberal city, which depicts them as inadequate and useless, as well as annoying and dangerous. In this way, the attack on street-vending risks to stamp out important social functions carried out directly or indirectly by informal traders, at a street-corner level. As the empirical case highlights, informal trade is in fact a fundamental resource that prevents the most vulnerable sectors of the population from falling into extreme poverty; and also, it is an alternative way-out for those who experienced failures in the formal labor market. In the city, informal trade also has a significant function of social integration and cohesion. Where the social fabric has been strongly eroded by the lack of political interest, it allows the consolidation of social ties and increases the production of social capital. Finally, as emerged during participant observation, by guaranteeing a minimum level of security, order and cleanliness in spaces otherwise totally left in the hands of petty crimes informal trade also assumes the role of territory monitoring. So, at a street-corner level, informal trade has an important role in “making the city” and creating social ties. Nevertheless, the informal sector role should not be idealized *a priori*: the traders’ informal organization is actually based on clientelist-mafia relationships that are far from solidaristic mechanisms.

The research paper starts with a theoretical overview of street-vending and displacement policies in the contested city, and with an overview of the historic renewal processes of Mexico City’s center. The second part presents firstly my ethnographic experience with a group of unauthorized car parking attendants called “*franeleros*”, secondly with a group of second-hand goods street vendors, called “*chachareros*”. The research is the result of a master thesis work in Sociology, from which a paper published for the journal “*América Crítica*” was written.

Public Deregulation of Bronx, Urban Public Life and the Autoregulation of Bronxites

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Between the 1970’s and the 1980’s, the Bronx witnessed the rise of violent, organized gangs who controlled: territory, drug-dealing, prostitution and gambling. From 1973 to 1977, there were on average 12,000 shootings and 43,000 destroyed housing units per year. Membership of a powerful gang was akin to being a member of a family, with a gang’s power being measured by its control over territory which they delimited by means of graffiti: territory in which no other gang could operate. When there was a clash of interests, opposing gangs often resorted to street war and the use of firearms.

Following the death of Bronx gang member Black Benjie in 1971, the main gangs sought an alternative, less violent way to settle diatribes. Afrika Bambaataa, who at that time headed the Black Spades Gang, suggested using music and aerosol art to vent frustration and disagreement, with *show-offs* being held in public places. Bambaataa’s proposal came to be accepted, and this led to his founding of Zulu Nation, in 1973, to convey an ethic of brotherhood, peace and non-violence through music.

“Things Are not what They Used to Be”. An Ethnographic Account of Young Scholars’ Experience in the Field of Social Representations

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As the marketization of academia might bear serious consequences on the professional and personal profiles of scholars, an empirical examination was conducted to determine which factors influence their life-decisions and academic orientations. Combining thematic analyses of academic blogs, semi-directive and in-depth interviews, this study focused on the circumstances younger academics working in the field of Social Representations face as regards their career perspectives in a bibliometric culture, and the consequences of a market-oriented academia in their personal lives and professional choices. While Social Representations Theory is characterized by several paradigmatic and methodological approaches, the theoretical and methodological principles of the ethnographic approach for instance, suggests that the collection phase is essential and is based on the many facets of observation and document analysis (public and private archives, press, novels, dictionaries, films, interviews, etc.). The structural and sociodynamic approaches, on the other hand, simplify the collection to the extreme by using, in most cases, word associations, multiple choice questionnaires and scales (Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Markova, I., Rose, D., 1999). As compared to established academics from the field, the various pressures felt by younger scholars in particular, interpreted as the consequences of market-oriented academic practices developed in recent decades, revealed a dominant methodological tendency towards quantitative approaches to the Theory, affecting its use, development and understanding.