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PLENARY SESSIONS

HOW TO DO AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF PREPAREDNESS. INCLUDING NON-HUMANS IN THE ANTICIPATION OF PANDEMICS

Frédéric Keck, Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, CNRS

Biosecurity studies have traced the genealogy of techniques of preparedness from contemporary pandemics and natural disasters to Cold War anticipations of nuclear attacks. They have shown the transformations of these techniques, such as sentinels, simulations and stockpiling, as they apply to a generic threat with multiple beings. But how can we describe ethnographically the entanglements of these beings in an imaginary of future disasters? I will take the case of the surveillance of avian influenza in Hong Kong as it enrolls virologists and birdwatchers in the anticipation of pathogens crossing species borders. The situation of Hong Kong as a sentinel post at the borders with mainland China is a specific ethnographic scene, but I will ask how it can be extended to other sites of intense surveillance of early warning signals of future threats.

THE HAWTHORN ARCHIVE AND THE UTOPIAN MARGINS

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 The philosopher Ernst Bloch declared that "all given existence and being itself has utopian margins that surround actuality with real and objective possibility." In this talk, I will describe the work of the Hawthorn Archive and its methodology, which invites consideration of the utopian margins where running away, marronage, vagrancy, rebellion, soldier desertion and other often illegible forms of escape, resistance, and alternative ways of life predominate.

SESSION 1

EVERYDAY CHAUVINISMS. THE MAKING OF A MENTALITY IN THE URBAN AND RURAL LIFE

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PARTY WORKER AND PARTY VILLAGES: A STUDY ON THE VILLAGE POLITICS IN NORTHERN KERALA, INDIA

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This paper is an attempt to understand the relationship between the political mobilization and the constitution of the subjectivity of political activist. This paper emerges from ethnographic work done in a village called Onchiyam in the northern part of Kerala, which is the southernmost state in India. Kerala has a long history communist movement starting from the early years of the twentieth century. The communist party of India (CPI) which emerged out from the socialist section of the nationalist party. Indian national congress (INC) used to mobilize peasants against colonial rule and feudal exploitation. The village which I have selected as the field also witnessed such a peasant struggle later progressed into a police firing and death of 10 communist activists in 1948.

CPI acquired the majority in the legislative assembly and formed the first government in united Kerala CPI went through several ideological schisms and organizational split in its last 100 years, the major split happened in 1964 formed a new political party called Communist Party of India (Marxist) CPI(M)which became the largest political party in the region.

Onchiyam can be described as a party *gramam* (party village) in the everyday political language of the region. Party *gramams* are localities in which the Communist party has a central position in the everyday life of the village. This central position is achieved not only through control of the local governing bodies, but also through controlling various other aspects of the village social life. CPI(M) runs several cooperative societies such as farmers' cooperative societies, society for contract workers, Cooperative banks which provides loans for the villagers etc It also has a central role in conducting marriages, funerals and other social functions. They also work as a mediator in the local dispute cases of domestic violence and several other interpersonal issues in the village. These party villages are one of the important reasons for the popularity and strength of CPI (M) in the region.

In 2008 a section of the CPI(M) activists resigned from the organization and formed a new political party called as Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP). The immediate reason for the split was a tussle over the political alliances made in the local governing body elections, but it was also a culmination of a long-standing ideological and political struggle within the organization The newly formed organization RMP criticized CPI(M) as a social fascist party, which has compromised with the neoliberal policies and moved away from the revolutionary program. RMP managed to mobilize al large section of the village population and captured the local governing body in the next elections. The effective community, formed along with the political mobilization CPI (M), was vertically divided into two opposing groups, which resulted in conflicts and violence in the region. The community relations were broken, people stopped talking to each other, and marriages were called, people were denied jobs because of their political differences People from the opposing groups stopped inviting others for marriages etc. This conflict and enmity escalated when the founder of RMP TP Chandrashekaran was hacked to death by CPI (M) activists.

This paper tries to address these issues through the vantage point of the communist party worker. It will explore in the ways in which individual activists understand communist politics, democracy and village politics. It will also look into the ways in which these activists are constituted through the everyday practices of political mobilization. The ways in which structures such as gender, caste, class and age intersect as part of this process of subject formation.

The ethnographic work which this paper is based on includes in-depth interviews of over 100 activists and supporters from both the organizations from the village. It will also look into various texts including magazines, memoirs biographies, slogans, propaganda literature, content from media platforms. The ethnography has also focused on various political gatherings such as conferences, martyr commemoration. It also looks into the everyday interactions happening inside spaces such as libraries reading rooms, teashops, bus shelters which also play an important role in the constitution of these party workers.

MOVING GROUND: SHIFTING CONDITIONS FOR STRUGGLE IN AN ALPINE QUARRY

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The proposed paper will use data gathered during the initial phase of an anthropological fieldwork research in a mining area affected by economic collapse and deindustrialization. The locality lies in the middle of the mountains visible from where the present conference is being held. The paper will reflect on differentiated politicized forms of nostalgia (both in Herzfeld's sense and not) and the structural conditions for the emergence of specific arrangements of contentious relationships between capital and labour.

Italian Alps have notoriously been interested by crippling depopulation patterns during the 20th century. The province of Trento has shown a partly contrasting tendency to this general logic. A centuries-old focus on the administration of a territory centred around mountains compelled institutions to the creation and protection of industries through policies that developed since the 1950s. This induced attraction of capital and creation of heavy infrastructures even in the furthest valleys most prone to isolation and emigration. These, in turn, required workers, creating the possibility for the inhabitants of these valleys to offset the emigration outflows already underway. One of the larger and longer-lasting industries of the region developed in the mining of porphyry stone It grew from commons with community-based rights of use to a hierarchy of enterprises that exported half of the extracted material in global markets, managing to provide up to 20% of global porphyry stone production.

Various industrial periods have been characterized by different modes of workforce inclusion processes. Natives, internal migrants from southern Italy and more recent international ones experienced what Glick Schiller and Çaglar call differently structured ways of emplacement. Differentiated structures of opportunities in which those pathways of inclusion have been rendered possible, also meant different modalities of conflict in the relationship between capital and labour. Workforce externalization and entrepreneurialization began in the 1980s. Subsequent financialization of profits and the buying of mines in the World South by local mining companies engendered a form of delocalization that permitted a gradual disengagement from the area. The aftermath of the Great Recession opened a period of industrial collapse, paralleled with a profound degrading of working conditions for the new wave of residual labour recruitment, now mostly of transnational migrants. The dissolution of the possibility to access means of subsistence adequate to the reproduction of pre-existing social conditions caused a silent expulsion of workers from the sector and the province. The migration option reopened, especially for those who lacked access to alternative wages, family plots of land or social ties exploitable for dampening the shock.

Anthropologist Gavin Smith suggested that social production of place under capitalism is the outcome of corporatist ways of organizing and controlling labour and its mobility. He looked at how these forms of corporatism developed in Spain, but also more generally in States that followed the Bretton Woods Agreement. Those States sought to establish corporatist alliances between capital and labour to muffle their frictions by way of a structured distribution of goods to the population. When the arrangement has no longer been able to manage this redistribution without losing too much ground to labour it has been scrapped for a new class block, in Gramscian terms, connected with various strands of the neoliberal ideology. Thanks to Stefano Gallo's work on the history of Italian internal migrations, we can see similar patterns in Italy. He showed the long-lasting corporatist control of moving labour in liberal and then fascist Italy and the relations between fears for local employment on one side and the use of external labour by capital on the other. He showed that opposition and xenophobia towards internal migrants exploited by the Italian bourgeoisie often characterized natives' popular opinions. Organized labour tried and increasingly succeeded in reframing the problem, uniting both native and migrant workers and taking them out of the bourgeoisie's control. That is, until the violent fascist backlash.

Different contexts for production and reproduction of capital favour the emergence of different conditions for contestation and co-option of labouring people. A wave of unionized southern Italian immigrant labourers in the porphyry industry succeeded in radicalizing and mobilizing workers in a period of rising wage and welfare conditions during the 70s. A new generation of individualized workers renewed the workforce in the late 80s accompanied by gradual degradation of wages and work rhythms. A new round of contestations that again united locals and migrants (this time mostly of international origins) run through the 90s, but gains remained limited and from a defensive position, lost by the collapse of the Great Recession.

In a valley characterized by a declining timber cutting industry on the opposite end of the same mountain range of my area of research, Jaro Stacul described the ways local people's extremely individualized work ethic helped the adoption of a specific instantiation of Herzfeld's structural nostalgia Forza Italia and Lega Nord's populist anti-politics became widespread in the locality of his research. In contrast to timber, the porphyry area's rich resource catalysed a much greater capital accumulation, and thus class divisions. Stone quarries' entrepreneurs actively promoted populist co-option during the 90s through the same insistence on a supposedly ancestral entrepreneurial work ethic with a similar mobilization of nativist and exclusionary narratives during both the increase in incoming international workers and the generalized push towards neoliberal restructuring.

For many workers in the sector another kind of nostalgia also emerged during the years. A degraded quality of the working conditions and prospects than that of the boom years parallels with that of the very stone material extracted out of the mountains. Talks of the desertification of the natural environment around stone quarries and the degrading of both the lived environment and the depletion of stone reserves are not new. Since at least the mid-80s, the future seemed to appear increasingly bleak in reflections of workers. They were not wrong.

Keywords: mining, labour, extraction, Great Recession, Alps.

RELIGION AND NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY IN BRAZILIAN SOCIETY TODAY

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The following reflections will guide an ethnography that will be conducted in a Neo-Pentecostal evangelical church in the city of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) programmed for a period of one year from August 2021. The question to be answered is the following: which is the role played by Neo-Pentecostalism in the formation of neoliberal subjectivity in today's Brazilian society?

In recent years, Brazil has seen profound political transformations with the controversial impeachment of left-wing president Dilma Roussef, succeeded by her right-wing vice-president, Michel Temer, until the election of a far-right president, Jair Bolsonaro. The sudden turn to the right of the country was marked by the deepening of the neoliberal policies that have guided the country since the 1990s (attenuated during the period when the country was governed by the Partido dos Trabalhadores, to which President Dilma belonged) that accentuated the already profound economic and social inequalities that have historically marked Brazilian society. In Brazil, the neoliberal transformations of recent years have been accompanied by an exacerbation of public discussion based on a moral agenda in which themes related to the family, sexual orientation and the right to life acquire a fundamentalist bias that threatens individual rights and advances societies that occurred in Brazil since the country's redemocratization in the late 1980s.

Brazilian neoliberalism accompanied by its moral agenda is undoubtedly driven "from the top" by the convergence of national and international economic and political interests that guide the country's direction However, this proposal aims to show how the recent directions through which the country has been led are also built from "below", based on the daily practices of the communities. For this, this proposal makes use of the analysis of a point in which neoliberalism and moralism converge in the current Brazilian society: Protestant religious phenomenon called Neo-Pentecostalism.

Neo-Pentecostalism is the name given to Pentecostalism (a strand of traditional historical Protestantism that emerged in the United States in the early twentieth century) in Brazil from the end of the 1970s, when a new theology was adopted, Prosperity Theology, which, instead of valuing asceticism according to classical Pentecostalism, starts to admit and also encourage happiness, health and material prosperity in this world In other words, instead of rejecting the world, Neo-Pentecostals begin to value it (Mariano 1999).

According to the neo-Pentecostals, material prosperity is a unique and exclusively individual decision: it is enough an unshakable faith in God, to demand your rights in a loud voice and in the name of Jesus and to be obedient and faithful to Him in the payment of offerings and tithes. The adoption of Prosperity Theology was a revolution. Until then, Pentecostalism was insignificant in Brazilian society as a whole Since then, it started a significant expansion, being today the fastest growing religion in Brazil, especially among the poorest segments of the population (Mariano 2013) and has been gaining increasing public visibility, religious, media and political power.

This proposal starts from the hypothesis that the Pentecostal advance must be related to the advance of neoliberalism in Brazilian society. Neoliberalism is understood not only as a set of economic policies accompanied by an ideology that would result in the dismantling of social policies and the precariousness of work and existence (Harvey 2007). But mainly as a rationality according to which capitalism is the only possible horizon within a society whose members are subjectified from the mechanisms of competition and individualism, typical of the business world (Foucault 2008, Dardot and Laval 2014). Neopentecostal success is, therefore, due to the convergence of his theology do it yourself with neoliberal rationality.

However, the liberal economic practices admitted and encouraged by Neo-Pentecostalism are unparalleled in the moral field. According to Shibley (1998), Pentecostalism and fundamentalism are related and were born as a reaction to Protestant theological liberalism. From the beginning, they clung to the dogma of the inerrancy of the holy scriptures, to the literal and unhistorical interpretation of the Bible, to the belief in premillennialism, to theological and political conservatism, to the rejection of the social gospel, secularization and secularism. Even today, despite certain flexibilities, it is possible to say that Brazilian Pentecostalism still follows a good part of the classic Pentecostal tradition, focused on the family, in the defence of male authority, in the containment of sexuality, autonomy and women's rights, in radical opposition to feminist demands, abortion, homosexuality, sex education in schools (Mariano 2019).

It is believed, therefore, that neoliberalism and moralism are not just impositions made "from above" on society as a whole They are also everyday government exercises that aim to direct the conduct of individuals for specific purposes, governmentality according to Michel Foucault (2008). In our specific case, a religion whose theology justifies, feeds and builds neoliberalism from "below".

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WASTE REDUCTION, VOLUNTARISM, NOSTALGIA, AND THE RE-MAKING OF COMMUNITY

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This paper presents preliminary findings on a research project in northern Italy, showing how the promotion of specific social behaviours oriented towards an idea of human fulfillment work in an environment where a mix of public and private interests and enterprises are solidly in place. In an area of Italy (Veneto) with a high level of voluntarism, municipalities are also actively encouraging both a reduction in consumption and a series of activities aimed at building stronger human connections. I will explore how these municipal attempts to build strong suburban community evoke a past of small villages – where everybody knew everybody and helped each other – and a no-waste ethic rooted in the agricultural past of the area. This paper focuses on three main activities: the first – waste reduction and recycling – is actively promoted by the municipalities, which are in charge of waste collection; the second – community building activities – by a semi-public electricity and natural gas private company; the third – reduction of food waste through redistribution of almost-expired food – by volunteer groups aided by the municipality. Contrary to a

neoliberal approach – where private enterprises are boosted and exalted – the system in place in this area thrives thanks to the promotion of private activities through a strong and aligned collaboration between public institutions, private enterprises, and volunteer groups.

A GREAT VARIETY OF MORBID SYMPTOMS APPEAR. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO XENOPHOBIA AMONG UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE IN TURIN

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As Gramsci (1975) once wrote: "The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born, in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear". Xenophobia is one of these symptoms. Xenophobia is anything but new in Italy. However, in the last years we have seen a surge and a recrudescence in xenophobic discourses and discriminatory practices. Refugees and Roma people, in particular, are ever more the target of a right-wing political rhetoric that seems to have conquered a certain hegemony in the public sphere What is striking, indeed, is the normalisation of xenophobic language and sentiments. The aim of my paper is to offer an interpretation of this dramatic phenomenon through the case study of the predicament of some unemployed people in Turin, among whom xenophobic and nationalistic feelings were quite widespread. Since 2014 to 2016, I conducted an ethnographic research on the experience of the loss of work among working class men and women from Turin's peripheries (Capello 2018, Capello 2020). The inquiry focused on the social devaluation of unemployed people as well as on their tactics for coping with their difficult economic and symbolic situation. However, the interest for my interlocutors' political opinions was an equally important aspect of my research, which showed the strong prevalence among them of populist opinions and xenophobic discourses.

My ethnographic data testify that this prevalence has to be put in relation with the economic crisis and, more precisely, with the neoliberal transformation bringing about the expulsion of work-force that so much affected late industrial cities like Turin. In this context, xenophobia is the deformed expression of the feelings of exclusion and insecurity experienced by the working class. In the first place, it is linked to the perceived competition between local subaltern classes and the immigrants for the vanishing economic and public resources, affected both by the global crisis and by austerity policies.

This general assertion needs some further qualification, based on the ethnographic evidence: with regards to the unemployed, the idea of the unfair competition is, also, a distorted and simplified version of what we can define as the structural explanation of unemployment. The dominant discourse, influenced by the neoliberal ideology, insists on individualistic explanations that blame the unemployed for their problems. In contrast to such representations, my informants responded emphasising the general malaise of the economy and the lack of real job opportunities; in this sense, pointing to the competition from strangers is part of this, largely implicit, discourse constructed in opposition to the neoliberal, individualistic rhetoric. Furthermore, the evidence collected on the field lead me to think that xenophobia is strictly connected to the "State Thought" (Sayad 2002). It is because they have interiorised the common-sense logic of the nation-state, which naturally discriminates between citizens and strangers, that my interlocutors read the everyday struggle for job opportunities in terms of a contraposition between us and other, between Italian citizens and strangers. From this vantage point, then, xenophobia, more than a question of race, difference and essentialism, is part of the "everyday chauvinism", part of a nationalistic common sense.

Xenophobia could be seen as the expression, through the language of an identitarian rhetoric, of the bewilderment felt by the working class in front of the current neoliberal predicament. This means that, also with regards to the unemployed, we have to look at the "subtexts of class" hidden behind the "headline of nation" (Kalb 2011), if we want to decipher the xenophobic discourse in order to better contrast it.

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AUTHORITARIAN MORALITIES AT THE NEXUS BETWEEN URBAN PACE, SOCIALITIES, AND PRECARIZATION

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Against statistical evidence, many Westerners feel increasingly unsafe in their neighbourhoods. Recently, grassroots security practices have emerged, as neighbourhood patrols mobilize to protect residents against property-related crime and gender-based violence allegedly perpetrated by foreigners. Their discourses mobilize fear and insecurity as lived experiences of the residents, building communities to be protected; but simultaneously, they effectuate divisions between native 'us' and various figures of migrant 'them' constructed to be intractably foreign. The values brandished by such groups embrace traditional family values, conservative politics, and a fierce nativism informed by racist attitudes against Roma, Muslims, and African immigrants. Grounded in ethnographic research conducted between 2014 and 2017 with a middle-class patrol in the peripheries of Rome reminiscent of the fascist ronde, my argument takes a holistic approach to the emergence of 'chauvinist mentalities' and places urban developments, suburban socialities, and the current protracted process of precarization at the root of the far-right resurgence in Europe and elsewhere I show how under conditions of predatory, crises-producing capitalism developing in Europe since the late seventies, the changes in the textures of urban space and suburban socialities contributed to the emergence of neighbourhood patrols as reactionary forms of social cohesion. Finally, I argue that these elements, together with powerful affects of fear, 'revanchism', and righteousness, have given birth to authoritarian forms of morality that need a complex unpacking.

IDENTITARIAN MOVEMENTS IN THE TOURISTIC CITY: THE MARKETING OF HATE IN VERONA

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To much of the outside world, Verona is the perfect touristic destination as the city of 'Romeo and Juliet', with a long and rich history that is perfectly preserved since the Roman times, making the historical center almost seem like an open air museum. What goes unnoticed to the thousands of tourists visiting this spectacular city every day is the fact that Verona is one of the most important strongholds of Italian far-right groups. In recent years, Verona has been in the forefront in the rise of the right-wing populism and its indispensable alliance with far-right elements who refer to themselves as 'identitarian' in orientation. This tendency is partly owing to the city's historical ties to the Italian right (Franzina, 2010; Zangarini, 1993) and partly due to a retreat to particularistic loyalties. As a matter of fact, the recent success of far-right politics in the Italian peninsula has been characterized by some experts as the 'Veronification' of Italian politics (De Medico quoted in Torrisi, 2019). In the city-space that they operate, these groups seek to promote a singular timeless and exclusionary local identity situated in everyday practices of shared public spaces, against unwanted newcomers as well as a means of resisting new forms of multicultural belonging in their hometown.

Given the significance in forging collective identities, urban public spaces witness everyday struggles (Saitta, 2015), not only over their own use but also over the representations of a given territory as well as collective memory pertaining to it. As such, public spaces can come to be utilized as places harboring a coherent and homogenous identity against what is perceived as uncertainty and fragmentation, based on defensive reactionary sentiments that romanticize heritage and demonize newcomers (Massey, 1994; Paasi, 2011; Mitchell, 2000). Moreover, within the city some public spaces are marked conceptually as well as physically different than others, whereby certain neighborhoods can function as borders or boundaries, in other words, tools of territorialization, marking urban segregation (Brighenti, 2014) Everyday acts of territorialization played out in shared public spaces are indispensable in the construction and reproduction of reactionary identities and its promotion.

This paper articulates the historical center of Verona as a public space in which far-right and populist right-wing groups seek to construct an exclusionary local identity that draws on inter alia, the intersection of white supremacy, northern pride, and Catholic fundamentalism. It is argued that such perfectly preserved heritage and the presupposed authenticity of the city is not only utilized to forge ideal protagonists of city life, but is also marketed for touristic consumption. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, archival research,

and in-depth interviews the study investigates the construction of an exclusionary local identity in the historical center of Verona through acts of territorialization and the marketing of the nativist nostalgia it is premised on.

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TRANSNATIONAL NATIONALS: ETHNIC MINORITIES IN INTEGRATING EUROPE

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Based upon the data from qualitative studies of eight national minorities between the Baltic and the Danube, this article investigates the formation of European identification among members of the minority groups representing 'split nations' along the new eastern borders of the enlarged EU. The analysis reveals mechanisms of the formation of supranational identification by focusing on the relationships between subnational, national and European identifications to ascertain the degree of interconnectedness of these identification levels. These relationships are examined in the context of the potential impact of perceived ethnic conflict and utilitarian expectations of socio-economic and cultural gains from the process of European integration.

The linguistic, religious, and ethnic heterogeneity within Europe proved to provide a difficult basis for the sense of a common European identity. Therefore, in many theories, identification with an integrated Europe was conceptualised as 'civic' Europeanism, a sense of attachment that arises through participation in shared institutions based on liberal political principles. The opponents of this liberal concept, however, argue that the mere fact that culture and community are never quite so simple does not mean that they lack force or legitimate value. In his debates with Brubaker, Calhoun asks whether there is any place for culture or ethnicity in such theory except as the stigmatized This article empirically investigates the compound of 'civic' and 'cultural' meanings in peoples' sense of subnational, national, and European identities.

European identification, conceptualised as an identification with the political community of the European states, based on the liberal political principles developed within the polities of the constitutive nations and extended to the supranational European level, implies that national loyalties are subordinated to European norms and policies. But, does this mean that (Q1) Europe is an alternative to the nation, or rather that a sense of national belonging is necessary in order to feel European? It is this question, which is addressed by different scholars in different (and often opposite) ways, that we focus on in this study. To answer this question, we turned to a group of individuals whose national identification is potentially complicated by a number of socio-political and cultural hurdles. The aim was to find out how this problematic national identification is reflected in the development of their European identification. For this reason, we have used biographical interviews conducted with the members of the established ethnic minorities that represent 'split nations' along the new Eastern borders of the enlarged European Union. The ethnic diversity in this part of Europe, with the related problems, is the result of dramatic shifts in borders, populations, and political affiliations over the last century, characteristic of the emergence and the dismemberment of empires. This process has created ethnonational enclaves within the boundaries of new nation states. On the one hand, these ethnic minorities – in contrast to immigrants – have a historical, and often regional, relationship with their host nation, but also tend to face exclusion and discrimination. On the other hand, in contrast to the established ethnic minorities in the Western part of Europe (e.g., Basques or Catalans in Spain), they have a historical and cultural attachment to their mother nations – the countries of their ethnic origin. Compared to Basques and Catalans in Spain, who may consider themselves nations within

a bigger nation, develop their own segregated national identity, and even claim the status of a national state, these ethnic minorities often feel that they are 'people without nationality' existing 'between states'. This dubious national identification and explicit subnational identification with the ethnic group and often with a particular region inhabited by this group allows us to explore (Q2) the question as to whether there is a direct association between subnational and European identifications bypassing national identification (e.g., Europe of regions). Throughout the history of this region, national minorities were frequently drawn into interstate conflicts and subjected to repression, ethnic cleansing, and expulsion, which resulted into a relatively high level of interethnic tension Interethnic tension may have an ambivalent effect on European identification. On the one hand, conflictual interethnic relationships are usually reflected in a low level of national identification of minority groups and often lead to a segregated subnational identification If a sense of national belonging is necessary to feel European, then ethnic conflict creates a burden for the development of European identification. On the other hand, when individuals feel 'left out' at the (host-) national level, they might turn to Europe in order to resolve the issue of recognition and social inclusion. Therefore, ethnic conflict might stimulate a utilitarian form of European identification associated with the expected individual or collective benefits from European integration either in economic terms or for the cultural and political recognition and protection of ethnic minority rights. Thus, the article investigates (Q3) the impacts of ethnic conflict on European identification and analyses (Q4) whether utilitarian expectations provide an alternative way to European identification bypassing national identification.

This study aims to explore the current patterns of relationships between subnational, national, and European identifications among established ethnic minorities, including the effects of perceived ethnic discrimination and tension, and utilitarian expectations of benefits from European integration, compare this with the existing theories, and as a result, elucidate the psychosocial mechanisms of the development of supranational European identification. We have used empirical evidence by analysing biographical interviews (ENRIBIO) conducted with individuals regarding their subnational, national, and European identifications and experience with discrimination and interethnic tension. The respondents are from ethnic minorities living along and across the Eastern borders of the enlarged European Union and Western borders of its neighbouring 'Newly Independent State' countries: Poles in Lithuania, Hungarians in Slovakia and Ukraine, Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Belarusians in Poland and Lithuania, Ukrainians in Poland. The choice for qualitative research methods was determined by the research questions We were exploring a number of simple, specific, but highly interconnected questions with the aim of creating a holistic picture and develop a theoretical understanding of the mechanism of European identity formation.

SESSION 2

EDUCATION IN A DIGITAL ERA. EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METH-ODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD

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EXOSKELETONS AND AR TECHNOLOGY IN TIMBER CONSTRUCTION: A RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON SKILLS WITHIN HUMAN-TECHNOLOGY ASSEMBLAGES

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The COVID-19 pandemic is teaching individuals in western societies what it means when analogue processes have to be transferred into, and adapted to, digital realms. This pandemic has both intensified and normalized everyday usage of digital technologies in domains that thus far were largely analogous. Our experiences with telework and online education shed light onto the difficulties of translating analogue processes to the digital Not only does it require technical skills to handle digital tools/software that enable remote work, but there may also be a loss of skills if implicit work practices and hands-on experience cannot be performed on site. The risk related to so-called deskilling is well-known from research on automation processes in industrial work contexts (Hirsch-Kreinsen 2016). Earlier scholarship in Science and Technology Studies (STS) addresses the multiple effects and the likelihood of skill displacement with the introduction of automation technology in manufacturing (Noble 1984; Winner 1977). My interdisciplinary research project investigates the potential usage of exoskeletons and augmented reality (AR) technology in German timber prefabrication and required (tacit) skills and experience to benefit from promising advantages of these technologies. The main players in German timber prefabrication are medium-sized companies, which are characterized by little automation and high level of craft – merely Computerized Numerical Control (CNC) timber framing is highly automated. Wearable devices such as exoskeletons are thought to ergonomically optimize heavy and risky work positions AR technology augments real-world environments by displaying computer-generated elements or objects to simplify cognitively complex tasks (Van Krevelen/Poelman 2010). At present, exoskeletons and AR software solutions for the construction industry are still in development. In parallel, future users and required skills in handling such technologies are envisioned and imagined in laboratories of research institutions and information technology companies I am interested in human-technology assemblages in timber prefabrication and emerging use(r)-images within the technological design process (cf. Fischer et al 2020). The relevance of such user-images becomes evident in design practices insofar as so-called "use(r)-scripts" (Akrich 1992), as results of inscription processes into technological objects, prescribe specific human-technology assemblages that define the delegation and distribution of agency, control, and skills (*ibid*.). Incorporating wearable digital technologies in timber prefabrication may not only create new human entanglements with technology but also "new forms of knowledge about the world" (*ibid*., 207). The investigating of new constellations lends itself to ethnographic research approaches that replace dualistic ontologies of subjects and objects by a relational perspective on agencies and skills of nonhuman others, such as multispecies ethnography (Kirksey/Helmreich 2010; Suchman 1998; Haraway 1988). According to Lucy Suchman (1998), agencies and skills are relational effects emerging within heterogeneous assemblages. My ethnographic fieldwork includes observations and interviews in both, laboratories of research institutes as well as real work environments, where (user-)experiences with technological prototypes or predecessors emerge. Specific user images become observable when the engineer's or designer's imagined user meets the actual user in the laboratory and on work sites (Akrich 1997). Following the research of Bijörn Fischer *et al.* (2020), my presentation includes results of the creation of user images for German timber prefabrication and implications on (tacit) skills and work experience in the context of timber craft. Furthermore, I would like to discuss issues concerning an ethnographic identification of relational agency and skills within human-technology assemblages: How can we investigate human's entanglement with technologies and associated emergences of relational

sociotechnical phenomena? What are common barriers to such investigations?In light of the current pandemic, I would like to discuss how we as researchers can use digital ethnographic approaches (Pink *et al.* 2015) to investigate humans, technologies, and nonhuman others in situations where our window of observation becomes digitally delimited However, digital ethnography means that researchers should not handle everything digitally, we should also look at the digital as "real materialized, and materializing" (Boellstorff 2016 quoted from Saxena/Johnson 2020: 1). In other words, it means shedding light onto the 'new' socio-material relationships that are emerging with the COVID 19 pandemic, expanding methods as well as groups of possible actants, and re-organizing the pragmatic "agential cut" following Karen Barad (2007). I assume that the impact of the pandemic crisis on educational systems of non-western societies differs from western societies because of disparities in educational policies, access to education, access to financial and technological resources, and Covid-19-restrictions. The project called "Reconfiguration of training, skills and digital literacy in the context of IntCDC's cyber-physical prefabrication platforms" is part of the cluster of excellence Integrative Computational Design and Construction for Architecture (IntCDC): https://wwwintcdcuni-stuttgartde/research/research-projects/rp-5/.

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES IN A DIGITAL ERA. THE LEARNING OF MULTIMEDIA TEACHING TOOLS AND THEIR EPISTEMOLOGICAL EFFECTS

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The recent debate on post-democracy (Crouch 2003; Rosanvallon 2008, 2012; Urbinati 2014), encourages a rethinking of the relationship between university knowledge and democratic cultures and re-proposes the topicality of an analysis that explores the existing relationship between democratic morphologies and higher education systems Is it still possible to hypothesise a functional link between university knowledge and democracy (Boltanski & Chiapello 1999)? Within a sociology of education and of public action research perspective and adopting a pragmatic approach (Boudon 2006), this study presents the experience of teachers that are students in a university master- organized by the University of Palermo - aimed at disseminating the knowledge of multimedia teaching tools. The master, analysed as a case study, reveals

itself as an opportunity to reflect not only on university teaching techniques and tools in a digital era, but also to establish what Schön defined as a sort of conversation with the situation (Schön 1983), considering the digital technologies relevance to the fields of school, higher education and lifelong learning (Romito *et al.*, 2019).

In this approache, the digital is engaged as a space of non-continuity and multiplicity to be investigated through different categories, where social reality is seen in terms of processes and relationships about to become something different (Lury & Wakeford, 2012). In this regard, techniques and methods are experimented for inquiring education as it happens within and through the digital. By assuming that digitalisation opens up new methodological challenges for qualitative research, the analysis of this particular case study reveals an original educational situation: the attendees have the twin role of students in a master and teachers in their own classes; from the outset they compose interdisciplinary and inter-level working groups, and, from the outset, the various groups are invited to develop a free-themed educational project that includes new media among the educational tools. Such an educational experience redefines the traditional logic of domination: the university lecturers in front of students-teachers with considerable teaching experience are induced to redefine their own positions of dominance and, also, the teachers, students in the master, must reconsider the centrality of their respective roles. The formation of working groups made up of teachers specialised in different subject areas and with heterogeneous professional experiences triggers within the various groups a real travail social It is not, however, only a critical review on one's own knowledge but a creation of new learning (Fry *et al.*, 2008) in which proximity, understood as *sunpathia*, becomes the condition to activate common projects What emerges from this experience seems to redefine the relationship between university knowledge and democracy, problematize its functioning, insert reflexivity in a wider pragmatic efficiency founded on a common historical condition (Gauchet, 2005) and on an enhancement of teaching practices in a digital era.

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COMPREHENSION: THE DANISH TRIAL WITH A NOVEL TECHNOLOGY-FOCUSED SCHOOL SUBJECT

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As digital technologies become increasingly interwoven into the fabric of our lives, the need for technology education and educating members of the public in the possibilities, challenges and consequences of digital technology has followed, especially in primary education. School systems worldwide are introducing educational programmes and curricular changes that centre understanding of and/or literacies in digital technology, involving, among other activities and learnings, computational thinking (Bocconi *et al.*, 2016), programming, and design and making (Tuhkala *et al.*, 2018). Such efforts problematise – in new ways – how the digital is made to matter in school and educational practice.

We see a case of this in Denmark with the national development and trial of a novel technology-focused school subject, Technology Comprehension, for compulsory primary and lower secondary schooling (Folkeskolen). In early 2018 the Danish Ministry of Education pronounced that young children should be more than users of technology; they need to be prepared for a future in which they can be active

and participating citizens in a society impacted by increasing digitalisation of all major spheres of life – education, work, leisure, social organisation and so forth The Ministry furthermore announced that doing so would involve that children attain the ability to analyse, critically reflect on, and creatively construct digital technology. Crucially, it was announced that this might be achieved through the introduction of a new school subject and/or subject matter to compulsory schooling, initially on a trial-basis, testing different models for how such a subject might be put together and taught. Thus, the trial programme for Technology Comprehension was launched. The Ministry appointed an expert group to formulate learning outcomes, curriculum and teaching guide of the new subject, and these materials were completed in late 2018. They named four competency areas: 'Digital Empowerment', 'Digital Design and Design Processes', 'Technological Capacity/Skill' and Computational Thinking, all of which are intended to complement each other towards a holistic comprehension of (digital) technology in society. In early 2019, 46 volunteering schools set out to try teaching the new subject, effectively launching a large-scale experiment in and (re) negotiation of the socio-matters of digital technology and the digital in schooling.

This presentation takes its starting point in considering the trial with Technology Comprehension as a site of problematisation, configuration and translation of technology education It aims to share and discuss preliminary findings from an ongoing empirical research that uses ethnographic and qualitative methods to explore how the pilot of Technology Comprehension, and the aforementioned processes, unfold in the everyday practice of school and in school policymaking and debate. In particular, the presentation engages the question of what kinds of educational engagement and desired digital practice are conceptualised in the Technology Comprehension subject, by investigating the everyday practices and experimental classroom teaching activities that the schoolteachers plan, carry out and reflect on as part of their participation in the trial. The everyday school practices and experimental classroom teaching activities have been located at a public school in the Greater Copenhagen area, where data was collected through semi-structured interviews with schoolteachers, participant-observation of planning meetings, informal meetings in the teachers' lounge, classroom teaching and schoolteachers' individual preparation.

Using a material-semiotic approach, the presentation narrates the preliminary findings as a tour through some of the schoolteachers' central concerns and practices, as they live with Technology Comprehension, situated in their local school context, yet entangled in the collective imaginary of the trial programme and wider policy sphere and popular debate. The presentation will give glimpses into themes of boundary enactment, as the schoolteachers stress the importance of having this new subject matter, and having it in a formal school setting, as a remedy to ill-structured, undesirable and/or harmful digital conduct that takes place 'outside' of school (fx cyber bullying, digital sexual violations, spread of misinformation). The presentation also takes the audience into the classroom, to see how digital and analogue practice, and the complex movement between these, underpin the subject matter and didactic practice of Technology Comprehension and its learning activities.

The presentation aims to contribute to the theme of education in a digital era by pointing to such curricular transformations as highly relevant sites of sociotechnical imaginary (Jasanoff, Kim, 2015), where national and supranational futures with digital technology are being made; as engine rooms of a machinery where how to know and live well with technology is being dreamed, practiced, instructed, learned, rejected and taken up Empirical research into these socio-matters of new school subjects, for a digital era, arguably, coalesce with imaginaries of big data in educational governance and practice, educational technology, and the growing critical research on these and their assemblages (Williamson, 2017; Castañeda, Williamson, 2021).

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PRODUCTIVE ONTOLOGIES, NON-REPRESENTATIONAL EPISTEMOLOGIES AND MIXED METHODS: ATTEMPTS TOWARDS A POST-DIGITAL SOCIOLOGY

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Digitization is an increasingly central issue of educational systems reform policies. In recent years, literature has underlined how the growing significance of the digitization theme in the reform agendas is the product of (and has been the occasion for) a transformation of educational policy networks in the heterarchical sense (Ball *et al.*, 2017; Junemann *et al.*, 2015).

But what does it happen when we address digitalization not only as the privileged object of policies, but as what makes policy networks heterarchical? Or, putting it in different words, what does it happen when we need to inquiry the digitalization of the mobile relationships that transverse and fabricate policy networks as heterarchical?

A number of questions arise immediately. Ontologically, we need to decide if the digital is a space of continuity or discontinuity with the non-digital Epistemologically, we need to determine how the digital is knowledgeable Methodologically, we need to assemble an appropriate set of research techniques. Finally, we need to address the ends of social research and its performative effects on the field.

In the making of a recent research project on the digitalization of educational policy networks in Italy (Forciniti, Spanò & Taglietti, 2020), we faced all these questions Starting from a conceptualization of policy networks as epistemic communities, our aim was to map some of the new relational spaces of educational policy-making and to explore the possibility that these could be accompanied by a political reshaping of the way of understanding education itself Following a previous exploration of this issue (Spanò & Taglietti, 2019), this research required to move in a hybrid space, consisting of digital and non-digital dimensions: the relations between old and new policy subjects seemed to be emergent from a vast array of connections sustained, promoted and allowed by social media platforms This required us to design a methodology that was mixed, "in the sense that it combine[d] sociological and computational elements" (Marres 2017, 120). Here, we argue that this experimentation represents an attempt to perform a postdigital sociology: "a critical attitude that inquiries into the digital world, examining and critiquing its constitution, its theoretical orientation and its consequences" (Peters & Besley 2019, 30).

First of all, we carried out a following (Marcus 1995; Peck & Theodore, 2012) focused on policy subjects, adopting the social media ethnography method (Postill & Pink 2012). The trans-digital space chosen was a professional social network, which presented itself as a site of intensity (*ibid.*) for the development of relations between the emerging subjectivities of the digitalization policies (Spanò & Taglietti, 2019). Adopting as a starting point the "link" with the authors of the main digitalization policies of the Italian school, we followed their posting, sharing and commenting activities in order to strategically reconstruct: part of the network of relationships in which they are inserted and part of the discursive practices (Foucault 2002) in which they are involved.

Secondly, we applied the Social Network Analysis in order to investigate the presence of community detection Then, conceptualizing the subjects belonging to specific communities as "enunciative modalities" (Foucault 2002), we explored the constitutive dimensions of subjects' self-narrations through text mining applications.

Thirdly, we applied Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc approach to some texts posted by the emerging subjectivities previously identified, in order to explore the possibility that these subjects are introducing a new educational regime of truth (Foucault 2014).

This methodological design was deeply inspired by the train of thoughts which goes under the name of critical philosophy of the postdigital (Peters & Besley 2019): a term "which encompasses both the digital and the analog, together with complex and often invisible relationships between these rough historical generations of technology" (Peters & Jandric 2019, 972).

Ontologically, we collapsed the two major visions emerging in the field of digital education. On the one hand, we engaged the digital as a space of multiplicity that can be investigated through different categories than the consolidated ones. On the other hand, we addressed the digital as a space of continuity, whose ontological "nature" is not other than the one of the non-digital. We moved in the frame of "productive ontologies", inspired to process philosophies of Whitehead and Deleuze as a way to move "from the rejection

of a purely mechanistic universe – echoed by a traditional deterministic computing to non deterministic states" (Peters & Besley 2019, 39) echoed by contemporary quantum physics.

This implies that, epistemologically, we can transverse digital and non-digital spaces in the fabrication of ethnographic places: sites of intensities that are not pre-determined nor bounded, but "constituted through the emergent relations" (Postill & Pink 2012, 2) we are interested in Digitalization, in respect to this, is not a mere object of knowledge, but a situated process of production of subjectivities (Deleuze 2006): what is interesting is to map how subjectivities are produced by processes of digitalization, what is enhanced and what is undermined differently than by other non-digital processes.

Coherently with this, methodologically, we have not distinguished between techniques to inquiry the digital and the non-digital What comes to the center of the stage are the subjective positions and the complete series of techniques we have and we can imagine in order to pursue our research objectives.

Here we came to the last point: this perspective is strongly linked with a non-representational approach (Deleuze & Guattari 2002) that strives for a research that is politically engaged In this sense, neither we have chosen our research techniques on the basis of a fidelity criterion nor we have considered our research findings as a real representation of policy networks in Italy. Instead, we can say that we produced actual Italian educational policy networks as heterarchical and we showed them through statistical techniques and outputs in order to give a sturdy – and quite disturbing – image of them: as a way to politically struggle against the current reforms.

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SESSION 3

THE ENGAGING SIDE OF PAIN

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A NECESSARY HAUNTING: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF A BODY IN PAIN
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Medical anthropologists have noted how standardized measurements of pain may foreclose the complexity of the experience of pain and the constellation of elements that bring it into being. To illustrate these dynamics, I present an autoethnographic account of pain from my own experiences as an National College Athletics Association (NCAA) athlete, structured around three scenes that investigate how pain divorced me from my sense of self, how it transformed my relationship to my own body, and physically relocated my body from the athletic field to the operating table. My account foregrounds how injury produced a liminal positionality between my experiences of ability and disability.
I use affective and feminist phenomenological frameworks to demonstrate how pain does not exist in isolation, but its experiential integrity is fluid, complex, and tethered to other affective experiences. Embodied pain also leaves a remainder, something only the body can know Pain persists as I rethink my identity, physically reshape my body, and relearn to live a new physicality. By investigating constant, ongoing, and unresolved negotiations with pain, this paper interrogates what pain demands of me and what I (or society) demand of it, while dislocating pain as a standardized and fixed object in biomedicine.

EXPERIENCING RITUAL PAIN: "FEELING THE FIRE" IN THE FIRE-WALK PRACTICE IN LA RÉUNION
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In La Réunion, a French overseas department in the Indian Ocean, fire-walking is an annual Hindu ritual cycle which lasts for eighteen days. The rhythm of this ritual cycle is established by daily prayers and the reenacting of some mythological scenes. Its acme is the spectacular walk across a pit filled with hot embers, barefoot. The individuals choose deliberately to submit themselves to the trial by fire, sacrificing themselves in honour of a divinity. Even if the fire-walkers are often said to be numb to the red-hot coals, during and after the trial, they "feel the fire", an expression which refers to feelings of pain. Here, pain is approached far from medical materialism, instead it is considered more in terms of phenomenological means by focussing on the ways of feeling and living such pain from the fire-walkers' own points of view. The paper is rooted in the fact that pain is felt and lived differently from one society to another depending on social and cultural filters, but also that it can be experienced and embodied individually. Thus, each person who, far from applying well-established socio-cultural codes mechanically, keeps the central place in shaping their reaction to it. Each individual then interprets pain through his/her own experience and personal history. This paper shows how pain eventually, in these ritual circumstances, is necessary to validate and to strengthen one's life experience Even if it has to be stoically hidden, pain is necessary, ephemeral and sometimes even perceived as a source of joy and happiness.
Keywords: Ritual; Pain; Fire-walk; Risk-taking; Embodiment; La Réunion; Hinduism.

«THE BODY TELLS YOU: "LISTEN TO ME!"». THE EXPERIENCE OF CHRONIC PAIN IN FIBROMYALGIA SYNDROME

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Pain is a phenomenon that is difficult to frame and to define univocally because it appears to be closely linked to and shaped by the individual lived experience. Pain is always what is "done" with it and what the suffering person claims to feel: not a mere physical sensation, pain is the result of the personal elaboration of this sensation. From a medical anthropological prospective in this contribution I will focus on a specific form of daily pain, related to one peculiar syndrome: the fibromyalgia. By analysing some elements that came out from my recent ethnographic research (Moretti 2019), my intention will be to underline the interpersonal, communicative and political dimension of suffering namely the fact that if pain can, on the one hand, decrease the "ability to act", on the other, it could be itself endowed with a peculiar form of agency (Asad 2003). Indeed, pain could not only be passively experienced; contrarily it can be transformed itself into a cultural practice (Quaranta 2006), an "activity" that allows the suffering person to renegotiate the relationship with the surrounding context, by experiencing new forms of "presence" (De Martino 1948).

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THE CARCERAL RECURSION OF PAIN. PENAL SUFFERING, IMPRISONED BODIES AND MEANINGS OF SELF-HARM IN CARCERAL SETTINGS

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The dimension of pain has always been a central theme for Prison studies. It is significant, in fact, that Foucault himself opens his *Discipline and Punish* (1975) by highlighting what he believes to be one of the fundamental characteristics of modern punishment: the passage of his referent from the body to the soul of the condemned, through the gradual abandonment of the practice of corporal torture in favour of a series of more detailed and precise interventions, aimed at reforming their conduct. Nevertheless, as Foucault himself points out – and as Nils Christie will reaffirm a few years later in his Limits to pain (1981) – the element of pain has never completely disappeared from the penal sanction, continuing to represent, on the contrary, a central element of it. As Massimo Pavarini recalled in the back cover of the fundamental book by Gallo and Ruggiero (1989), "prison is also and still a corporal punishment. To say that prison is the place in which to suffer the only loss of freedom is to lie or to give faith to the lies of the jurists" (Pavarini, 1989). In line with these considerations, a multiplicity of authors repeatedly stressed the centrality of pain – both physical and psychological – in the prison experience, redefining its contours through the more dense and politically pregnant concept of "penal harm" (see Vaughn e Smith, 1989; Sim, 1990; McCulloch e Scraton, 2009).

Beyond the possible fragmentation attributable to the dimension of prison pain, what emerges as an incontrovertible element is the persistence of the body as the primary referent of the penal-penitentiary apparatus. Among the various expressions and configurations of pain that could be found in the prison environment (see the classic contribution of Sykes, 1958 and its re-actualization by Crewe, 2011), one in particular evidently holds a position of absolute centrality in the public and scientific debate: self-harm. This practice, which appears to be particularly widespread in the prison context, is subjected to a plurality of readings and attribution of meanings by scholars, prison operators, and by the prisoners themselves who put it into being. As will certainly appear predictable, between these different interpretations a particular legitimacy is recognized to the clinical one. In analyzing the spread of "mental disorder" among the prison population, two psychiatrists – Iannucci and Brandi (2018) – affirm what follows: "In working in prison not distractedly, one quickly realizes that the place is nothing but a large and unrecognized psychiatric hospital [. .]. The research data prove the US point of view and anticipate the becoming of the psychopathological

clinic, announcing a very high self-injurious inclination, which today has become the most conspicuous problem of prison institutions" (p. 112). The high number of self-injurious acts perpetrated in Italian prisons is identified here as an index of the spread of psychopathologies among the prison population, thus reinforcing the widespread rhetoric that would see the prison as a "new mental asylum" (see Ben Mosche, 2017), as a "container" for "mental illnesses" in the post-asylum era. This discourse is in fact proposed and supported by various prison workers and healthcare professionals operating in prison, who denounce a growing presence of so-called "psychiatric prisoners".

Participant observation in three Italian prisons, however, has made it possible to detect how the self-infliction of bodily suffering – practiced mostly through cuts, but also through seaming lips and ingestion of blades or piles – is irreducible to a mere "psychopathological symptom", rather configuring as a complex and multi-faceted social practice If prison workers and prison healthcare professionals tend to provide a medicalized interpretation of the phenomena, which is also imbued with a culturalist and ethnicizing reading of it – described as a practice which is more widespread among prisoners from Maghreb areas, which would be "culturally" more inclined to adopt these practices – participant observation made it possible to glimpse the crude rationality that underlies the gesture, which is expressed as a "tactical" response to the structural deprivations imposed by the prison organization Paradoxically, the self-injurious act is configured as an attempt to reduce the pain which is implicit in a prison life that is transversely permeated by physical and psychological suffering, taking on the features of an almost standardized practice to which the "newcomer" is socialized by "older" prisoners. The self-infliction of physical pain thus becomes, for many prisoners, an attempt to escape and a form of protest against a constant, continuous experience of pain, which is implicit in the complete exclusion from any daily-life activity and in the dimensions of boredom and emptiness that is inevitably derived from it, profoundly marking the prison's everyday life. The particular concentration of the phenomenon in some sections of the prison population – mainly in the migrant component of it – far from representing a phantom "cultural propensity", highlights how the experience of the "pains of imprisonment" is highly stratified This poses the need to provide a scalar reading of those, which can highlight the different levels of affliction connected to the carceral apparatus, becoming evident also in the informal spatial division of the population in sections and penitentiaries of "A level" or "B level" (Torrente, 2016).

With this contribution, therefore, I intend to present – through some ethnographic notes collected during my PhD research in three Italian prisons – the different attributions of meaning that are accorded to self-injurious actions in the prison environment: the specialist psy knowledge tends to read it as a symptom of a mental disorder; prison operators consider it a "communicative method" or a "cultural trait"; the actors who practice it may also see it – between other significant interpretations – as a tactic of subtraction from the bureaucratized action of the prison machine. If read outside of the pathologizing frame that tends to deny the dimensions of suffering implicit in the prison experience (Cohen, 2001), the self-injurious practice offers the possibility for a deep critique of the prison apparatus, which puts into practice a stratified mechanism of affliction that still grips on the body of the condemned.

SESSION 5

HERITAGE, TOURISM AND CONFLICTS. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

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THE TALE OF THE CITY: MATERA, EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2019

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The contribution I would like to bring to this panel is my post-doc ethnographic experience in the city of Matera during the well-known event of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) in 2019. I already had worked on ECoCs, mainly during my PhD studies (2012-2016 at EHESS and Università degli studi di Genova), through a fieldwork in Genoa, ECoC in 2004, and in Marseille, ECoC in 2013. Nonetheless the case of Matera, thanks to the size of the city and some other peculiar features, made my work of researcher more interesting from a reflective point of view, as I will argue through this paper. As in the other case-studies, involved local players placed themselves in a variety of attitudes in relation to the great event. As for every recent ECoC, a dominant storytelling had been conceived about a glorious tale of the city, that in the case of Matera assesses the «redemption» from the previous condition of «national shame» (according to Palmiro Togliatti's definition in 1948) to the present recognition as UNESCO heritage site (1993) and ECoC 2019. Inhabitants, cultural players and stakeholders can either accept this story, either refuse it or elaborate their own telling of the facts. But if in Genoa or Marseille alternative stories were confined to contesting movements or to the criticism of some intellectual élites, in Matera the smaller scale of the city, the configuration of social relationships and the proximity of many people to the political sphere conferred to these « unofficial » versions of the story another feeling of legitimacy. The peculiarity I found out in the case of Matera is that, in comparison with other ECoCs, much more people here were confident about the possibility of telling the « right » story and, moreover, of affirming it as the successful one in the long term. This also changed the way my work and my role were perceived I can distinguish at least three attitudes that characterized the exchanges I had with the people I interviewed in Matera: they often addressed me
a) a presupposition of a shared point of view;
b) a demand for representation;
c) the authority of impartiality attributed to the outsider, namely an academic one.
Negotiation among opposite representations of Matera, its future and its heritage were still at stake, as if the official definition for 2019 had eventually to perish together with event, while in other ECoC it is often considered as much definitive, with no more possibility of overturning for a long time. This is even more interesting if we look at the efforts made by the organization (Fondazione Matera-Basilicata 2019) in a participative sense, according to the recommendations received by the ECoCs Commission. As a journalist based in Matera told me during the event, «We could say that there is no Materano (citizen from Matera) that had not a role in ECoC 2019». What kind of participation was envisaged and which strategies were provided by the organization for getting such an ambitious goal of involving the population almost as a whole? And how were these attempts perceived by their recipients? My fieldwork experience let me observe the development of a general feeling of direct responsibility toward the city that did not automatically corresponded to adhesion to the organization's discourse. The act of the interview assumed then at the same time the importance of nearly a legal deposition and the meaning of a gamble: my researcher's hands were entrusted with an alternative representation of the city to deliver outside…let's hope at a good address I was the accessory and the herald of several messages, mostly conflicting among themselves and with no clear recipient. Moreover, in the behaviour of many people I interviewed different logics coexisted: they could at the same time condemn the choice of the «cultural objects» put in light by the event, enjoy the propositions of the ECoC 2019, denounce the lacks in the programme and rent their flat out to tourists

while staying at friends' house for earning something from this great occasion during the high season, with no sense of contradiction.

This paper will explore these itineraries and the way they show that heritagisation process is never fully accomplished, not even through the enrollment in an UNESCO list nor through the hosting of an event of a great touristic appeal, as an ECoC Heritagisation is always ongoing instead and working through conflicts, new forms of advocacy and legitimacy in which anthropologists often are – or at least are perceived as – main players.

ETHICAL PUZZLES AND ENDURING PRECARITY AT A CONTESTED HERITAGE SITE IN NORTH INDIA

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For more than a decade I have been conducting research in Varanasi, or Banaras – a busy north Indian city of around 15 million people located on the banks of the iconic Ganges river and long imagined as a unique urban site and stronghold of Hinduism. Most likely due to its symbolic capital as a 'Hindu city', Banaras was chosen by current Prime Minister Narendra Modi as parliamentary constituency. Since the 2014 electoral victory of Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (reconfirmed in 2019), the city has received substantial government funding and is a principal laboratory for Hindu nationalist development and heritage agendas. My current focus is on an ambitious and controversial project of urban renewal-cum-heritage at the very centre of the city. The Kashi Vishvanath Corridor, aims at restyling the main Hindu temple of the city through the construction of a monumental access path that connects the riverfront to the temple and provides fancy facilities for pilgrims and tourists. Right in the middle of the newly envisioned 'heritage zone', however, stands the Gyan Vapi mosque A 17th century Mughal structure used by Sunni Muslims for prayers, Gyan Vapi has been repeatedly targeted with destruction by Hindu nationalists as part of their campaigns to reclaim – or as they put it 'liberate' – supposedly originally Hindu places of worship. Because of these threats, access to the temple-mosque compound is regulated by security forces and the presence of police has become routine in the everyday life of the neighbourhood Campaigns targeting Gyan Vapi have recently been revitalised and, since works for the Corridor began in 2017, its status as a functioning mosque is increasingly in question. Against this backdrop, I reflect on the path that led me to become tangled up in this volatile site and discuss dilemmas and challenges that I – a white woman researcher, in and out of precarious academic positions – face over time. In attempting to bridge recent debates about the negotiability of research ethics at uneasy and volatile field sites with discussions about academic precarity, I suggest that while textbook ethics necessarily need to be readjusted in the field, this is even more the case when researchers are in precarious academic positions. Precarity, indeed, fuels ethical dilemmas and often provokes guilt and a sense of powerlessness However, it also enables longitudinal ethnographies of heritage-making and sensitises the researcher to subtle enduring precarious balances and unequal power relationships. It thus needs to be taken into account in research, just as the potential for researchers to act as powerful heritage legitimising agents is taken into account, inasmuch as it affects intellectual spaces of production and redefines ethnography.

THE HERITAGIZATION OF THE PALIO: CONFLICTS, NEGOTIATION AND COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATIONS IN RONCIGLIONE

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The Palio of Ronciglione is a historical horse racing, still performed, characterized by riderless horses and an urban track. These features remain unchanged since the Renaissance, giving a central position to the Palio in the community identity. The transformation from a local "tradition" to a touristic event was distinguished by the valorization of the Palio, as an intangible cultural heritage, within the historical heritage of the community. This process of heritage-making was investigated through long-term ethnographic research (2016-2019).

Since 2012, this traditional event was an object of collective reflection and long negotiations between the community and national institutions. These recent changes are the acceleration of a broader process

of heritagization started in 1977, which had involved several social actors with different functions: collaboration (political and judicial institution), opposition (associations for animal rights), guarantee (Palio associations), surveillance (police), studying (anthropologist). In Ronciglione, the Palio is an integral part of the biography of each inhabitant. Firstly, as an annual collective experience, but also as a corpus of historical sources, which composed a "diffused museum" of the Palio. This informal and disordered memory of the community is still the primary reference for the process of heritagization, orienting it by contrast and similarity.

Also, the Palio of Siena represented an important reference, like in the creation of the Rioni, rival subgroups modelled on the Siena Contrade. The Rione has a function of social aggregation, which sustains and maintains the Palio local organization, but their intrinsic rivalry has started new conflictual dynamics in the politics of managing and valorization of the event. Furthermore, the Rioni introduced a new topographical division of the city; also the historical relation between the Palio and the Renaissance urban expansion should be noted: the heritagization of this horse racing leads the inscription within a material heritage – the historical centre – doubly declined by the past (Farnese urban expansion) and present (division into Rioni).

The Palio takes place within the city, and its organization requires a radical transformation of the Renaissance part of Ronciglione: the race implies a suspension of ordinary life and many changes in the way of living for the community. The medieval borough was involved with some recent initiatives for the valorization of the historical heritage, but also with more ambiguous dynamics, as the rental of second homes through Airbnb. So, the Palio brings every year temporary and problematic resettlement of this part of Ronciglione. However, the main critical issues are the practices of distinction and fusion between inhabitant and tourist, to produce that new (and debated) category of audience. The re-projection of the Palio is characterized by the passage from a community tradition, which means internal fruition, low publicity level, and local organization, to a performance for a non-inhabitant audience, which implies diffused fruition, high publicity, and negotiated organization. This passage is at the very centre of heritagization and can be seen in many practices: compartmentation of urban spaces; securitization politics; audiovisual technology; streaming channels; introduction of a ticket for residents. This process of heritage-making brought out several tensions within the community of Ronciglione, shifting the focus to the identity and the legitimacy of intervention of the involved actors: "who can decide what is the Palio?".

EXHIBITING SÁMI CULTURE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF TWO DISPLAYS AT TROMSØ UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

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This contribution aims to reflect on the set up, reception, social and epistemological discourses of two displays about Sámi culture curated over time by Tromsø University Museum, North of Norway. The first of these exhibitions – Samekulturen (The Sámi Culture) – opened in 1973 and its main emphasis was on Sámi material cultural heritage Samekulturen attempted to include every form of social life in order to salvage what was perceived as being on the edge of disappearance. As a result of it, the material repertoires told in the "ethnographic present" appeared as preserved from the disruptive character of modernization (Vorren 1972). In contrast with this way of conceiving and displaying the native culture, Sápmi – en Nasjon blir til (Sápmi – Becoming a Nation) was inaugurated in 2000s with the idea of creating new set-ups, plots, communication strategies but also performative aspirations. Indeed, the theme of the exhibition was the narrative of contemporary events that, from World War II to the present, made possible the emergence of the Sámi nation (Eidheim *et al.* 2012). Nowadays maintaining both exhibitions side by side at the Tromsø University Museum creates a comparison between two different ways of representing Sámi culture. By the same token, it leads to a meta-level of interpretation about how exhibitions present, represent, and construct their subjects. Their association in a specular symmetry (left and right aisles of the museum's second floor) becomes a sort of stereophonic device in which the old and the new exposition may possibly dialogue. What type of interpretations do the visitors develop in their experience of these two displays? How are the tactics deployed in negotiating meanings about the set-ups? What are the modalities in which the two representations of Sámi culture succeed in problematizing or even disrupting assumptions from the visitors? My fieldwork at Tromsø University Museum was an attempt to understand how the two

exhibitions negotiate meanings with the public in the practice of fruition. The methodology adopted for my investigation firstly required an in-depth study of the archive sources and of the objects and registers used in the displays. At the same time, my choice was to interact with the curators and museum staff through interviews and personal conversations in order to deepen specific topics. Last but not least, my research work concentrated on the experience of the visit, both actively participating in guided tours and designing and analysing questionnaires with the aim of understanding the motivations, the expectations, and the points of view of the visitors of such exhibitions. The knowledge resting on images heavily conditioned by consumerist icons can be the background for many of the non-Sámi visitors that constitute the majority of the audience of these expositions Reindeer herding, craft, traditional clothes, and nomadic implements are only some of the most popular standards that circulate in the domain of cultural consumption. As anthropologist Kjell Olsen emphasizes (2003:7), the stereotypes that insist on the traditional culture end up affecting the ordinary life and manifest an asymmetric relation between a tourist and a generic Sámi "other" as well as between the representation of a supposed Sámi essence, against the assumptions defining Western society. Referring to these stereotypes, the fruition experience of the audience demonstrates that the museums could be the authoritative arena to confirm such prejudices, or vice versa, to challenge them.

BETWEEN THE TOURIST AND THE RESEARCHER: CONTESTED HERITAGISATION AND COLLABORATIVE PRACTICES

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The year 2021 finds Europe, and indeed the world, at a time of unprecedented challenges. Besides the urgent health crisis that it has created, the COVID-19 pandemic has also intensified the debate on many different aspects of social life and policy. The particular development of this debate probably stems from the distinctly uneven impact of the crisis across regions, sectors, and social groups.
In Greece the social repercussions of the pandemic have mainly affected peripheral regions with a relatively low incidence of COVID-19 cases or deaths; indeed, the highest increase of unemployment during the 1st quarter of 2020 in comparison to the same quarter of 2019 has been noted in insular regions. Most interestingly though, the sectors that have been dealt the greatest blow by the health crisis and its restrictions are the accommodation and food service activities, in other words tourism and tourism-related activities. Regions with an over-reliance on tourism have therefore been found to suffer disproportionately from the effects of the pandemic, prompting the reemergence of the touristification debate. Nevertheless, the pertinent discourse is over-determined by an economic perspective which stresses the need for diversifying the economic paradigm to mitigate the present or future risks of economic cycles. Such discourse, however, either plays down or occasionally even stifles, a deeper discussion of the social impact of tourism. Cultural heritage management, on the other hand, through a constant dialectical relationship with tourism, condenses internal conceptual frictions, competitive significations and a de-colonisation premise, thus establishing a concrete social basis In addition to the long and critical literature on Western-centric and socially stratified colonisation of cultural heritage, as well as acknowledging the subjectivity of the "heritage" concept itself in terms of assigning value, what needs to be ascertained is the concrete friction between tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage. This is especially the case in historic urban ensembles where monumental preservation diminishes the residents' access to contemporary amenities while at the same time the emergence of mass tourism exerts pressure to their quality of life. Unlike monuments, though, intangible cultural heritage requires human bearers to signify its elements as such. The present paper focuses on the Medieval Town of Rhodes in Greece, which as a historical urban ensemble, geographically and conceptually condenses the dialectical relationship between cultural heritage and tourism. Of further significance is the Medieval Town's historical role as a transition space. The Medieval Town of Rhodes has a 2,400 years-old history of continuous habitation starting from the Classical period. Today the most salient architectural element of the urban ensemble is Medieval/Gothic, with some Ottoman additions and some further substantial, but less easily discernible, colonial Italian interventions. Damage from WWII and the ensuing social and political upheaval left large parts of the town uninhabited, quickly to become occupied by the poorest strata of Rhodian society. Through the years, the Medieval Town has functioned as a "doorstep" to the modern city of Rhodes, as successive waves of internal and international migration have found accommodation in its buildings, leaving them behind once some sort

of social mobility had been achieved. Living alongside this "transit population", the permanent residents have traditionally included members of the Greek Rhodian Muslim community, the Jewish community, and the Greek Orthodox Rhodian island-wide majority. All these backgrounds have been adding a variety of elements to the intangible "cultural reservoir", expressed in the forms of a shared dialectal variety, religious and interreligious festivities inter alia. In 1988 the Medieval Town was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List. The Medieval Town of Rhodes is home to approximately 4,000-6,000 permanent residents; it further accommodates great numbers of tourists on an annual basis. The emergence of mass tourism as the main driving force of the local GDP has had a profound effect not only on the modern city, but on the Medieval Town as well. In addition, the rising value of real estate within the Medieval Town is causing the traditional residential quarters and workshops to be replaced by tourism- and entertainment- related businesses. These factors exert formidable pressure on the material element of the urban ensemble as well as the local residents who, at the same time, have to deal with the restrictive protection/conservation regulations concerning their properties. The various policies enacted for the management of the Medieval town have included the collaboration of local as well as national authorities and institutions but displayed a one-sided focus on the tangible elements of cultural heritage and a top-down approach with limited input from residents. Under these circumstances, residents are gradually moving out of the city walls; the unique makeup of the Medieval city's intangible cultural heritage disappears with them. The InCulture project applies a collaborative method for the collection, narrative creation and presentation of intangible cultural heritage elements. A research strategy based on oral history methodology is put into effect through a series of life narrative interviews and their parallel documentation/corroboration. Through this process, separate elements of intangible cultural heritage are arranged and re-arranged into broader narratives in an open access platform. The platform is crowdsourced by both professionals and lay- users who can contribute with documentation and narrative compilation. The life narrative interview method does not focus specifically on cultural heritage, but allows the research team to identify and record a wealth of information on the subject within the interviewees' narratives. By not specifically asking about cultural heritage, this method offers the advantage of avoiding preconceived notions or narratives that the interviewees may otherwise project.t However, this does not preclude the projection of the researchers' own predispositions onto the narrative. The crowd-sourced, collaborative nature of the platform is a potential mitigating factor in this respect. The project is being implemented by the Foundation for Research and Technology and the Rhodes Centre for History and Social Research within the RESEARCH – CREATE – INNOVATE programme and co-founded by the European Union, specifically the European Regional Development Fund, and national funds within the framework of the Competitiveness, Entrepreneurship and Innovation Operational Programme (EPAnEk) (reference code T1EDK-03060).

FRICTIONS IN THE FIELDWORK. REFLECTIONS ON BEING A RESEARCHER IN THE ATRIUM PROJECT

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From 2016 to 2019 I have been involved in an ambitious, and indeed problematic, project: ATRIUM. The acronym stands for Architecture of Totalitarian Regimes of the XX Century in Europe's Urban Memory and pinpoints for one of the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe since 2014. The Italian city of Forlì hosts the headquarters of the ATRIUM Route. In this city, a set of actions for dealing and coping with dissonant heritage in front of cultural tourism have been experimented and tested. While a variety of actions were undertaken to verify the willingness of the local community to support such a project in 2013 (Battilani *et al.* 2017), two more specific strategies connected with tourism have emerged in Forlì later on. First, ATRIUM promoters looked at the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society as a way to foster local participation in the project and in parallel develop prototypes of what might have turned into participatory tourism experiences (2016-2018). Second, they tested the potential of the ATRIUM Cultural Route in terms of educating the new generations as responsible and informed tourists of the future, by activating a pilot cross-border programme of study visits involving schools (2018-2019). In this communication, I will embrace the invitation of Session organisers to question the active role I have had as a researcher involved in an ethnographic fieldwork connected with ATRIUM in Forlì I will therefore engage in a self-reflection upon the problematic role that I have assumed with respect to ATRIUM I approached ATRIUM for working reasons,

but I became a passionate supporter because I strongly believed in the project aims and scopes. Which frictions arose while I moved from being a researcher to be an activist, and back again? Frictions are the 'awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference', reminding us that 'heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power' (Tsing, 2005, p. 3). I have the feeling that being part of heritage and tourism promotion projects increasingly demands an intensive emotional work as researchers: we are asked to enthusiastically support the research project we are working on, particularly if this is predicated on the basis of a bottom-up project. At the same time, as researchers we are asked to perform diverse roles ranging from 'the objective scientist' to the facilitator in participatory process and sometimes the community-developer. My cooperation with ATRIUM was partly framed as an applied-research project, while I have also been able to develop a basic research framework to dig into the frictions that arise once a transnational charter such as the Faro Convention is grounded in a place ordinary experience (Rabbiosi 2019). Reflecting upon my role in the fieldwork will add a 'frictional layer' to the frictional geography of heritage-making that I have proposed elsewhere.

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SESSION 6

REFLECTION ON RESEARCH EXPERIENCES AMONG "UN-MARKED" GROUPS": ETHNOGRAPHIES OF INVERTED FIELD-WORKS

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REFLEXIVITY ON ECOLOGICAL LIFE TRANSITIONS RESEARCH: (RE)CONNECTING TO NATURE TOGETHER
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I research people who have been through a deep change of the way they perceive live. Responding to that change, those who lived in metropolis and decided to move to smaller cities, many times in rural areas, looking for a (re)connection with nature. This research project was born from a personal restlessness. For the past 10 years, I've observed friends going through ecological life transitions, and I am somehow going through a similar process. My intention in this panel is to discuss my main challenges and perceptions of doing ethnography with people that are, in general, like me: white, middle-class, with high education. Before getting there, I'll briefly explain what I call ecological life transitions.

Ecological life transition is the process of moving out of metropolis to small towns, often in rural areas, with close contact with nature. Somehow, the people that go throw this transition are refusing the big-city capitalist lifestyle, governed by consumerism and work. In an analysis of the recent bibliography in Brazil, I found two strong motivations for it, namely: 1. the refusal of a market-based society and the damage it causes to humans and the planet and; 2. A spiritual awakening, often inspired by Eastern or traditional cosmologies, which is understood as a non-separation between humans and nature (Cabrera, 2017). For my informers, the big modern city is the portrait of the market and consumer society that governs our economy, and that is why moving out of it is an important part of the transition.

The perception of time is also closely linked to the two main motivations raised in the literature According to Harvey (1992) "we have been experiencing an intense phase of time-space compression over the last two decades that has had a disorienting and disruptive impact on political-economic practices, on the balance of class power, as well as on social and cultural life" (Harvey, 1992, p. 257). This paradigm of acceleration and accumulation has negative consequences for the health of the planet and our species. The Stockholm Resilience Center shows how since the great industrial acceleration that began in the 1950s we have been crossing important planetary boundaries. And this acceleration also reflects on the mental health of urban citizens Parallel to the need to accumulate and consume, work structures have also changed. Entrepreneurship and the wave of flexibilization and autonomy of work create hordes of people who are bosses of themselves and who eventually become their own executioners. The philosopher Byung-Chul Han (2015) reports how this paradoxical freedom turns out to be self-violence that leads to psychic illnesses such as depression, anxiety, and burnout syndrome São Paulo, for example, has 11% of its population suffering from depression and 199% suffering from some type of anxiety disorder (Viana, 2009).

I successfully completed my field research in April 2020 have interviewed and had informal conversations with 40 people that went throw some kind of ecological life transition. And I have lived closed to two couples who became my main research interlocutors. In general, they all come from the same background as me, which made it easy to connect, but also brought great challenges.

I connect easily because I wear similar clothes, I use the same jargon, I understand most of their pains and their work I can easily become friends with the people I am researching with. The challenge, which is also a great opportunity, is that they read what I write and give feedback to it. Many times, they are also anthropologists and sociologists who can give very consistent insights into my research. In this case, one

big question I have is how to give the right credits to them for being a part of it. Another great challenge is to be accepted as a researcher who studies middle-class people in transitions.

I agree and get inspired by Tim Ingold when he says that what distinguishes us as anthropologists is that it is not a study of, but a study with people Anthropology is immersed with them and educates our perception of the world (not about the world) and opens our eyes and minds to another possibility of being (Ingold, 2015). With anthropology and my informers in this research, I seek a new possibility of being in the world.

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STUDYING AN "UNMARKED" GROUP. WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS MEN IN RIO DE JANEIRO

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In this communication I will present my fieldwork experience among a group of white, urban, upper-middle-class men living in Rio de Janeiro's wealthy neighborhoods (Ribeiro Corossacz 2018). Between 2009 al 2012 I carried out interviews with 21 men, ranging in age from 43 to 60 years old and all highly educated. Studying masculinity and whiteness involves twofold implications: on one hand, it aims to "examine practices of not knowing that are linked to and often support racism" (Sullivan and Tuana 2007, 2) and sexism. In particular I focus on how "not knowing" their own whiteness, by defining it as "normal", represents a way for these men to continue reproducing their structurally privileged position. On the other hand, studying masculinity and whiteness offers an opportunity to contribute to public and academic knowledge about the impact of the practices of not knowing cultivated by socially privileged individuals and, in so doing, to reveal how whiteness and masculinity are central to the reproduction of gender and race inequalities and not the "natural" or "normal" categories they often pass for.

The ethnography's aim was to grasp how structures of inequality shape the lives of individuals generally perceived as "neutral" and "normal", or "unmarked" (Frankenberg 1993, 2001) and how these people recount the process of shaping they have experienced. My analysis of this social group is based on the concepts of race, class, gender and sexuality and on how these concepts simultaneously co-construct each other in specific moments of their lives. In order to understand gender, racial and class inequalities, it is in fact fundamental that we analyse them as they are mutually reproduced, thereby viewing them as "simultaneously operative" (Wekker 2016, 21) and not distinct forms of oppression.

I will discuss the methodological challenges of studying a dominant and "unmarked" group, in particular with respect to the interview process and the various aspects and barriers that defined the ethnographic relationship, with particular attention to the imbrication of gender, race and class I examine the ways whiteness is (not) defined by the interviewees, their difficulty in talking about it and the way they wove it together with class and geographical origins I discuss interviewees' efforts to give definitions of Whiteness, their silences and laughter, and the different types of answer they offer. Class appears as a privileged language for giving concrete content to Whiteness: while class is described as something more tangible and objective, Whiteness is perceived by these men as elusive and impossible to put into words I also focus on the relationship between researcher and interviewee when the latter is part of a dominant group and the foci of the investigation concern his/her dominant position.

I will draw particular attention on interviewees childhood memories about the figure of the black nanny. Men accounts illustrate how lived experiences and national discourses regarding the colonial past overlap within the domestic and affective space and are used to allude to their own whiteness. In particular, these memories reveal a collective and individual mechanism for silencing whiteness even while defining it as the norm.

My findings stress the importance of naming whiteness as a central element of the imbrication of the race, gender and class power relations described by men, despite the fact that they themselves rarely recognized their whiteness as part of their privileged position I draw attention to the way my interviewees were able to simultaneously describe their position of privilege in the structures of class, gender – and, to a lesser degree, racial – inequalities and yet view their privilege as something that is "normal" and taken-for-granted and, as such, cannot be overturned. The argument I will develop is that this behaviour on the part of the men I interviewed forms part of the social mechanisms that ensure the reproduction of racism, sexism and class inequality.

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THE NARRATIVES OF A GROUP OF CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM WOMEN OF A PERIPHERAL COAST CITY OF TURKEY

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For this study which concentrates on nostalgia, social memory and modernity, I did semi-structured interviews with thirteen Christian and Muslim women of Mersin, Turkey. Mersin is a coast city located in southern Turkey on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea Mersin stands out among most of the other Turkish cities with the small yet distinguishing Christian community that has been living in the city since its foundation Mersin is a peculiar case in the sense that it was founded in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century rather than the other Anatolian cities which had been founded much earlier during the Ottoman reign. During the process of integration with the global economy, Mersin became an urban centre with a cosmopolitan population comprising of immigrants coming from several places in less than a hundred years. As a newly founded urban centre, it attracted groups of immigrants from several places that gradually rendered the city a multicultural and multi-ethnic population, which is how the ancestors of the Christian community in the city came to settle there in the first place.

In order to compare the narratives of the Christian women about the city and the gendered experience they have had while living there with those of the Muslim women, I interviewed seven Muslim and six Christian women whose age range was between 70 and 84. As these women belonged to middle and upper-middle classes and had access to education and employment opportunities even in a peripheral city of Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s, it might be asserted that they were from what this session labels as 'unmarked' groups. They are white, heterosexual and have economic well-being. However, since they have born witness to the transformation of Mersin, and Turkey as a whole, starting from the 1940s, their accounts deserved closer scrutiny As women who have attended both public and private life in a peripheral city of Turkey, my fieldwork experience with them offered great insight into the micro history of women in Turkey. My main aim was to explore how a group of Muslim and Christian women of Mersin, a coast city located in southern Turkey on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, remember and narrate their life experiences in relation to modernity, the Republican reforms and the intercommunal relations between the Muslims and Christians in Mersin. Through the oral history method, the narratives of these 'ordinary' middle class women of Mersin were scrutinized on: 1) how these women remember and narrate the Republican reforms and modernity; 2) how they perceive their hometown Mersin and construct a nostalgic understanding of modernity in the face of recent demographic changes and 3) how they perceive the intercommunal relations between the Muslims and Christians of Mersin.

My identity as a fellow native of Mersin contributed to my gaining access into their circles. However, I should add that my intention to study a group of middle and upper middle-class women of Mersin over the age of 70 was not easily comprehended even by these women themselves. They could not fathom why on earth I would want to conduct a study on their lives. Even when I told them that I wanted to learn about the Mersin of their childhood, they were reluctant to talk to me. One interviewee told me that her husband would give a better interview about Mersin than her because it was him who had been out all the time whereas she has always been at home doing housework. Another interviewee's husband who dropped her off for our appointment told me that I would not be able to learn anything about Mersin by speaking to women like his wife and I should conduct my research on historical sources instead. Another challenge I faced during my fieldwork was that one Muslim male acquaintance asked me why I was so keen to talk to the Christians rather than studying the Independence War heroes from Mersin who are the true Mersinians and milestones of 'our' history.

In spite of all that, because of the age gap between us, the interviewees tended to treat me as a friend of their grandchildren. Yet, when it came to the Christian interlocutors, my identity as a Muslim Turk inevitably made them to choose their words more carefully and adopt a more wary tone. One main point where the narratives of the Muslim and Christian women converged was their complaints about the heavy flux of Kurdish migrants and Syrian immigrants to Mersin and the deterioration in the urban spatial identity of the city. Still, they were all adamant on the peaceful and tolerant social cohesion in Mersin between the Muslims and Christians. Nevertheless, after a certain point in the interviews, the Christian interlocutors shared the discriminatory behaviour they had come to experience at some point in their lives as the members of an ethno-religious minority group in Turkey. However, they also underlined that this kind of behaviour was exceptional in Mersin even though it was more common in the rest of Turkey As the descendants of people who had immigrated to Mersin from different parts of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the twentieth century, the harsh and critical tone they adopt towards the newcomers of the city requires a detailed analysis. Another commonality between the narratives of the Christian and Muslim women was a dominant nostalgic theme as they were determined that Mersin's past used to be so much better than its present. Their relationship with modernity rendered the study another conspicuous layer since one of the most significant concerns of their accounts was how 'modern' their family and they themselves as individuals used to be Modernity is employed as an element of distinction in their narratives. Since their ages are over 70, how they remember the past is also another crucial point in their accounts.

As a result, this ethnographic study focusing on the narratives of this 'unmarked' group of women living in a peripheral town in Turkey presented me the opportunity to work on social memory, nostalgia and social memory as well as their gendered micro history.

BEING A FEMALE LATINO-AMERICAN RESEARCHER IN RAMALLAH

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Conducting fieldwork in a troubled zone is always a complicated thing for any researcher. You have to ask yourself how are you supposed to enter and exit the fieldwork? How are you supposed to behave in order to stay safe? How are you supposed to protect your informants? Besides, being a woman requires you to ask further questions as if it is safe to stay in your own on those places Is it better to say that you are married? And doing research in a highly political, volatile and asymmetrical power-relation region such as Israel and Palestinian Territories also require the researcher to ask further epistemological and ethical questions Is it alright to have a clear political posture about the conflict in that region? How far are you allowed to involve yourself and give an opinion about that conflict? How are you going to translate all the observation and the experiences of your informants -as well as your own experience- on an academic text? Do you need psychological help after this kind of experience? How do you feel after returning from the fieldwork and does it worth speaking about this out? There is also the nationality identity issue that you are compelled to answer or to question yourself about As Latin American, I was always asked to explain what I was doing for a living in France How did I pay my studies there? And in the particular context of Israel and Palestinian Territories, I was also asked to identify myself as Christian

Back in my country, I am usually asked to justify my interest in such a faraway place. While you are crossing borders, immigration authorities tend to simplify your identity in order to identify if you are trustworthy or

not. So, I was part of a "marked" group studying another "marked group and that did not make sense for the "unmarked" groups judging if I was trustworthy or not. As I was doing my PhD fieldwork in the Palestinian Territories, based in Ramallah, I asked myself all these questions I talked to my female and male colleagues doing research in similar contexts and I realized I was not alone. Although it was harder for women than for men in some aspects. The problem is that usually universities and teachers do not explain to you how to deal with all these interrogations and difficulties I do believe it is important to find spaces to discuss this topic. All these existential questions about asymmetrical power relationships shape or reshape your identity, but can also shape, limit or boost the way you conduct your fieldwork and your research. The dissertation and the academic papers are not that space because it would be unprofessional to put yourself in the centre of the discussion. That is the reason that I find this Conference appealing, it can also become a place to argue about these difficulties to conduct research in "marked" or "troubled" areas as a "marked" person.

WORKING ON SOCIALLY INCLUDED PERSONS WHO USE OR SELL DRUGS: THEORETICAL, METHODOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES OF RESEARCH WITH AN UNMARKED GROUP

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Researches about drug use and drug sale have mainly analyzed the trajectories of marginalized individuals, in precarious situations, living in disadvantaged areas and with a migratory background (Kokoreff, 2011; Ben Lakhdar, 2012; Coppel, 2013). The samples of these researches are a reflection of populations arrested for drug sale or drug use by the police (Beck, Peretti-Watel and Legleye, 2007), or who frequent harm reduction and addiction structures (Lermenier-Jeannet, Cadet-Taïrou, Gautier, 2017), often combining problematic drug uses, mental health disorders and socio-economic difficulties. However, most drug uses and drug sales are carried out by socially included individuals, who work or study, have accommodation, live in places that are not socially marked and have never been taken in charge by sanitary or repressive devices (Fontaine, 2008). Their drug uses and drug sales, even when they are regular, do not have important negative consequences on their professional and social lives, no more than on their physical or psychological health. These individuals have developed strategies to hide and manage their deviant careers. But social sciences are much less interested in this unmarked majority group than in the minority group of the marginalized. Objectives. The purpose of this communication is to identify the theoretical, methodological and practical issues of research on an unmarked group with illicit practices. It will try to answer the following questions: how can we study this unmarked group of persons who use or sell drugs, when the vast majority of social science research is focused on precarious and marginalized consumers? How to access this unmarked population without going through sanitary and repressive devices? What posture should be adopted as a researcher to dialogue with drug users who do everything to avoid being labeled as such (Jauffret-Roustide, 2017)? Method. This communication is based on the data collected during my thesis in sociology, which studies trajectories of socially included women in the drug worlds 65 interviews were conducted with persons who use or sell drugs (35 women and 20 men) in Bordeaux (France) and Montreal (Canada). The participants are all between 20 and 35 years old, living in a fixed home, working or studying, graduated, Westerners, almost all white and heterosexual. To be part of the sample, participants also must have used or sold at least one illicit drug in the past year, and be socially included (the criteria of social inclusion were working or studying, having accommodation and having no serious financial difficulties. They all consume drugs, and approximately half of the participants also sold drugs Participants were recruited using a snowball sampling procedure: some interviewees were met, and then introduced me to members of their entourage (friends, drug dealers, clients), by cooptation. Results. The first issue of this research with an unmarked group is theoretical, and consists in legitimate research in a field where analysis is often a premise for intervention. This legitimization involves questioning the moral presumptions saying that drug use is inseparable from loss of control and marginalization Indeed, « consumption can be included into a 'normal' lifestyle, in opposition to a deviant lifestyle » (Brochu and Orsi, 2008). That said, it is then necessary to convince that studying unmarked groups of drug users or drug sellers does not produce unnecessary knowledge (Fontaine, 2008). The second challenge is methodological, and consists in reaching a population of persons who use or sell drugs seeking to move away from the social representation associated with their illicit practices. Hidden non-precarious drug users can be difficult to

study because they do not want to be assimilated into their illicit activities (Jauffret-Roustide, 2017). An ethnographic approach is necessary, in order to allow the creation of a relationship of trust, which then offers the possibility of using a snowball procedure (Spreen and Swaagstra, 1994) to meet participants. The issue is also to describe this population through its diversity, because the group is not homogeneous, but also through its specificity as an unmarked group. The last issue, more practical, is about questioning the position of a researcher in an interview situation with an unmarked group seeking to highlight their social normality to avoid being « labeled » (Goffman, 1963) as deviant It is important to be reflexive and to consider potential asymmetries in the researcher-participant relationship. Discussion. The limited research on unmarked groups of persons who use or sell drugs suggests that the policies do not pay much attention to socially-integrated drug users and drug sellers If their attention is much more focused on marginalized and precarious groups, it is because they have defined this population as problematic for public order and public health (Fontaine, 2008). Studying unmarked groups implies to analyze the way social sciences can contribute, likely in spite of themselves, to define the categories targeted by social control.

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"WHITE GUILT QUEERNESS" – THE USES OF STIGMA AS A POWER TOOL

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This proposal relies on a two years ethnography, by participative observation, of a Parisian group of lesbian, bisexual and/or trans feminist activists, working in LBTQI awareness, mobilization and community health. With a feminist perspective on epistemology and social science methodology (Clair, 2016; Lather, 2001), this ethnography aims at analyzing both sexual health practices and political activities of the members of the association. The original empirical material collected is grounded on field notes, reflectives notes, interviews (n = 20) and a large body of reporting and documentation carried out by the activists themselves. Whereas the studied organization belongs to marginal groups (Wittig, 1980, Falquet, 2009, Dorion 2018), there are still internal power dynamics operating, for it is a mostly white and middle/upper class group. During my survey, I have observed how class and race play, indeed, a significant role in the integration of new members, the division of labour, and the access to positions of greater responsibility within the group. But these power dynamics remains mostly invisible and inconceived by the group (DiAngelo, 2018), in spite of a common experience of being marginalized, a shared systemic approach of power relationship and the claim to be "intersectional feminists".

Thus, I will examine in this paper how this group represents a very interesting "borderline case" (Hamidi, 2012) enabling us to consider the mutual impact of gender, race and class inequalities, in the production and promotion of "unmarked" hierarchies.

Using feminist thoughts on margins (Hill Collins, 2008 [1990]; hooks, 2017 [1984]) as my theoretical framework, I would analyze, in this paper, a serie of racist incidents (some of them I have to face myself, as

a racialized researcher and activist) and the way they were handled by the group, during my participative observations. In particular, I will focus on a one day mandatory formation about "antiracism" and its paradoxical homogenizing effect, exemplifying the limits – or even the perverse effects, of "diversity politics" (Ahmed, 2012).

Blurring the traditional distinction between the informant and the researcher, which was both the method and the standpoint I have choosen, to conduct my study, may not be enough to undermine hierarchical research relationship ; for fieldwork relationships may not be as simple as the distinction between a "we" and a "them". The mixed power status of "halfie" (Abu Lughod, 1991) I experienced on my field, as well as the mixed identity of a white activist group reclaiming "feminisms from the margins", both invisiblized in the (hetero)feminist and the gay movement (Eloit, 2018) suggest that "margins" and "center" have situated, intersectionnal and reciprocal influences.

The experience of oppression, as well as reflexive concept such as "intersectionnality", can be altered as a tool to maintain the cohesion or homogeneity of the group, and dismiss the conscience of internal power relationship (Bilge, 2015). The criticism of power relationship between researcher and observed, as well, even if it could be a powerful political tool in Academia to support alternative knowledge on minorities (Belinga, Eched et Ndengue, 2019), can support a white and hegemonic conception of knowledge (hooks, 2019), refraining the group from questioning its status quo.

Thus, in this paper, against an additive conception of power relationship, I analyze the subtle use of stigma – "queerness", that allow an "unmarked" group to maintain its invisibility. This apparent paradox is also an opportunity to further the reflections on the potential integration of the margins to the center, in our research practices and through our working conditions, which, conversely, calls for a reconfiguration of academic norms of scientificity.

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SESSION 7

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF ALGORITHMS AND (BIG)DATA

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Introduction: **Adam Arvidsson**
Moderators**: Biagio Aragona and Cristiano Felaco**

Starting from their own research works, the participants will discuss the following topics:
- The Link Between Algorithms And Culture;
- Ethnography As A Tool To Reflect, Even Critically, On Algorithms;
- Matters of Method: Doing Algorithm Ethnography.

"WHERE IS THE VOICE OF THE MACHINE?". AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ARTIFICIAL VOICE SOCIO-TECHNICAL NETWORKS
Domenico Napolitano, University Suor Orsola Benincasa of Naples

THE ALGORITHMS MULTI-CULTURE: A SOCIO-TECH-MED APPROACH TO DIGITAL HEALTH AND A FEW SURVEILLANCE NIGHTMARES
Monica Murero, Università Federico II / Techische Univerität, Berlin

THE USE OF ALGORITHMS IN THE NEW FOOD ECONOMY. AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF STARTUP ENTERPRISES AND MACHINIC DISPOSSESSION
Vincenzo Luise, Università Degli Studi Di Milano

ALGORITHMIC MEDIA IN EVERYDAY LIFE AN EXPERIENCE WITH AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDENT DIARIES
Elisabetta Risi, Iulm University, **Tiziano Bonini,** University of Siena **Riccardo Pronzato,** Iulm University

SESSION 8

MICRO-SOCIALITY OF THE GIFTEE DOING STATUS IN INTER-ACTION: CHARISMA AND PRIVILEGE

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THE EMBODIED CHARISMA: A FRAMEWORK TO APPROACH LEADERSHIP IN ULTRAS FOOTBALL FANDOM

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Charisma is a powerful notion that has been used to approach a huge variety of phenomena: «the hierarchical organization of religious roles, the growth and development of social movements [. .] and the basis of authority and leadership in society generally» (Turner, 2003, p 98). Weber himself considers charisma a source of symbolic power and a resource for institution building in several social spheres, beyond religion and politics (Weber, Eisenstadt, 1968). Following this reasoning, Mullan (1995) suggest that modern sport, far from being solely the result of a slow process of rationalization and commodification, instead offers the chance to relieve people from bureaucratic organization thus allowing charismatic action to occur.

This presentation focuses on charismatic leadership in «ultras subculture» (Doidge, Leiser 2018) – i.e., the spectacular form of organized football fandom deeply rooted in Italy and increasingly popular worldwide. The overall aim of the contribution is to present and discuss a framework that strongly implies embodiment in order to approach leadership formation, legitimation and transmission across ultras groups.

The topic of charismatic leadership, so far, has remained largely underexplored within the literature on ultras. This seems surprising given that leaders' deeds and aura are inherent to ultras supporters' experience, since ultras groups and activities and are not formally ruled. In other terms, charisma would represent the only possible source of power and dominance within such a fandom culture. How can one become the leader of an ultras group? What are the "embodied charismatic qualities" owned by the ultras' leaders? In daily interactions, how do the ultras members feel, acknowledge and legitimize those qualities? How does leadership inheritance come to be? Alongside power and status, is there embodied charismatic qualities transmission from one leader to another?

Theoretically speaking, addressing these questions allows to articulate the «relational» (Crossley, 2010) idea of «embodied charisma» (Brown, 2011) Weber implicates the body in describing the charismatic qualities and actions (Weber, Eisenstadt, 1968). Here, it is argued that an embodied perspective on charisma is a significant tool of interaction through which (masculine ultras) leadership emerges, status is gained and the legitimate symbolic order of the groups and the situations are enacted, maintained and change over time. In fact, as the sportsmen, the body of the ultras' leaders (capo ultras) are constantly scrutinized in several social situation both in real life and in the media: those bodies indeed «must be able to perform the gifts by impressing others» (Parkin 1982, p 84) in order to enchant the followers and get trusted.

In this presentation, the framework integrates the Weberian notion of charisma with Collins' (2020) micro-sociology of power and influence, as well as the Bourdiesian notions of «bodily hexis» (Bourdieu 1990, p 74), defined as «a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, being bounded up with a whole system of objects, and charged with a host of special meanings and values». An operationalization of embodied charisma is hence provided A few ethnographic insights complement the presentation drawing on an ongoing qualitative study about the (dis)engagement in organized football supporters of Inter and Milan.

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LOGOS AND EROS: MALE DOMINANCE AND FEMINIST REBELLION IN THE MOVEMENT OF '68

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Trento is one of the most famous and celebrated places of the Italian '68 students' movement. The new born faculty of Sociology became one of the neuralgic centres of this worldwide mobilization, in terms of political elaboration, organizational structure, connections with other nodes of the movements' networks (Boato, 2018). If the faculty of Sociology of Trento remains indissolubly related to the collective memory of the movement, there is another history that is, on the contrary, almost forgotten, and certainly less celebrated: the history of the feminist movement of the city. Almost nobody remembers that Trento is one of the first Italian cities in which the so-called "Second Wave feminist movement" was born and develops its methodology and reflections, thanks to the group Il cerchio spezzato (The broken circle) (Spagnoletti, 1971; Bellè, 2021). The contribution I propose to the session is part of a wider research that reconstructed this forgotten historical page, covering the period 1965-1985 (groups, themes, political practices), basing on the analysis of archival documents and 30 in depth interviews with the activists. The pioneering political experience of The cerchio spezzato was started by a small group of female students, organically part of the students' mobilization, that began to elaborate a critique to the movement's power dynamics, hierarchies, authoritarian structure, in turn related to the male dominance More specifically, I will focus on two main analytical dimensions. First, the front stage dimension of public assemblies The self-proclaimed anti-authoritarian character of the movement was mainly based on the refusal of political representation, and therefore on the adoption of collective decision-making practices such as public assemblies. According to the interviewees, this political practice appeared to be male dominated and marked by power unbalances, mostly related to the different degrees of legitimation to publicly speak accorded to participants (Socrate, 2013; Guerra, 2002; Bellè, 2021). Moreover, discussions were strongly leader-centred and characterized by hierarchical forms, aimed at maintaining the control of the debate in the hands of a restricted group of militants (the leaders and their inner circles of fellows). The prevalent form of leadership, in turn, was charismatic, namely based on the mobilization of collective, emotional, sensual forms of identifications of the assembly with the leader (Passerini, 1988; Gabrielli and Bianca, 2009). Second, this front stage display of power, authority and hierarchies was accompanied and reinforced by back stage dynamics related to what can be defined as a sexual economy of charisma and authority (Passerini, 1988). The interviewees describe the consolidated practice of being chosen for sleeping with the leader (and, again, his inner circle) as source, for men, of public prestige and dominance and, for women, of a temporary "state of grace" related to the benefits of being object of the leader's attentions. My contribution will analyse the recounts of the feminist activists, focusing on their discursive productions as processes of construction (and stratification) of individual and collective memories I will also try to focus on the intertwinement and mutual construction of power and charisma in both front stage and back stage male dominance I will then enucleate the different and nuanced positions of women and non-dominant men toward these processes of power distribution, alongside an ideal complicity/opposition continuum. In so doing, I will also try to examine the diverse dimensions that contribute to give substance to male dominance and leadership, such as class, cultural capital, erotic capital, conformity to hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

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SESSION 9

THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE IN MILITANT ETHNOGRAPHY: SYMPATHY AND STRAIN WITH THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

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THE PRODUCTION OF SAFER SPACES IN FEMINIST COMMUNITIES. GENDERING ETHNOGRAPHY THROUGH PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

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My aim is to analyse feminist production of safer spaces, both as physical and emotional spaces, as a practice which face inequalities, gender violence and dispossession in urban areas through empowerment and agency I'll frame the topic according to gender and feminist studies, feminist geography and political sociology.

Public space, as marked masculine, white, able and heterosexual space, excludes women, queer, crips and several other "misfits" Painstakingly overcoming the heteronormativity of public space, queer and feminist communities have step by step gained the right to inhabit the city, experimenting re-appropriation, legitimization and freedom. More than room of one's own (Woolf 1929), these spaces are kitchen tables (Hull, Scott and Smith 1982; hooks 1991), beyond the traditional dichotomy of private and public space, which allow queer and feminist communities to try out a new sense of safety, strength, bravery, against the feelings of danger, loneliness, insecurity daily experienced in the city (Hubbard 2001; Hanhardt 2013). Contrary to securitarian discourses and rhetoric on individual protection, feminist spaces are able to produce safety as community, based on sisterhood, care and solidarity These spaces image, produce and preserve a space for "us", for bodies traditionally read as "other", outside and against violence, that means also creating new narratives and imaginary, new networks of care, affection and solidarity.

As a researcher and a feminist activist studying not-hegemonic population and intimate spaces, acknowledging my positionality and "engagement", I adopted a feminist approach on participatory action research (PAR), together with constructivist grounded theory. This approach is also consistent with the three cases I'm studying in Rome and that I will introduce: a women's house, Casa Internazionale delle donne, a self-organized women's shelter, Lucha Y Siesta, and a transfeminist squat, the space of Cagne Sciolte. All of them are under threat of eviction, and results of the research might be a useful tool for them to face these attacks.

I soon realized that I needed to perceive what they perceive, to see what they see and to acknowledge how my inner self and body were feeling unsafe/safe in different spaces (public transports, urban spaces, protests, marches, political spaces, feminist communities, feminist meetings and so on). The only way to understand safer spaces is to experience them, and share these experiences with participants. Moreover, I had to be part of these spaces, to help in practical activities, and make my presence understandable and useful as much as possible.

Coming from different traditions in methodological thoughts, such as Kurt Lewin's reflections, workerist's Conricerca, and Fals Borda work in Latin America, PAR discloses a challenging task for militant research. As a comprehensive approach, from the research design to the dissemination of results, it allows to ethically run the research, drawing on a strong relationship between participants and researcher, giving also back results that are meaningful for these spaces, according to the social justice aim of social research. The whole research is shaped with participants from the beginning – and so from the literature review, between movement's production of knowledge and academic disciplines, and from the research design – to the very end. The approach enables a deep and ethical understanding of spaces in their empirical dimension (physical features and the relation with the city) but also emotional dimension: results arise from the relationship between researcher and participants, by co-producing understanding on participants' views, meanings and actions, exploring feelings of dispossession and agency PAR is a valuable method in order to

challenge traditional method of academic production of knowledge, hierarchies and barriers re-produced by our research. Grounded in feminist theories, PAR lies on a strong acknowledgment of researcher location and positionality, a constant self-reflexivity endeavour, and a deep relationship of trust with participants. Although these enriching aspects of PAR, several contradictions emerged, due to my blurred positionality, in/out academia and movements, but also depending on my proximity with participants I entered the field with the aim to immediately positioning myself. Some elements were of course visible when I introduced myself in person Gender – as a female, age – as young, ethnicity – as Italian (even though during Lucha Y Siesta's first period of fieldwork often occurred that women hosted at the house misinterpreted my origin and though I was a woman of colour, getting even more friendly at me). Others were not, such as level of education, class, and reasons of my presence there It was not always easy to negotiate our relationships with participants, and to decide which parts – of our chats, discussions, experience – would become part of the research and what not Doing ethnography in sensitive contexts, such as women's shelter, present deep ethical questions. All along the fieldwork, the established relationships are not merely oriented toward the research. Women share and disclose way more would be required by the research, because of the presence of the researcher become familiar and reliable during ethnography.

During the fieldwork, I often shared some pages of my fieldnotes regarding their space, and we discussed it together I also shared, from time to time, papers and articles that I wrote down during these years, explaining part of the research process, in order to make them always aware about steps and finding. This has been part of a continuous self-reflexive process in which I discussed and re-positioned myself depending on participants feedbacks.

In this presentation I would like to present insights from the fieldwork, sharing fieldnotes, part of the interviews and focus groups. First, I will like to discuss the contradictory role of the researcher in a militant ethnography; how feminist research shapes modes of relationships and finally, how ethics should be a constant endeavour by co-producing the research with activists and/or not-hegemonic population.

CO-RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN NEAPOLITAN EMERGING COMMONS

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In the last decade, the city of Naples has been the laboratory of a thriving commoning movement, which brought several abandoned or underused buildings to a new life as "emerging commons". These urban commons are self-managed and cared for by communities of inhabitants and activists which organize several mutualistic, cultural, productive and reproductive activities. Such experiences of direct democracy and grassroots activism have originated from the political occupation of said buildings, carried out by neo-municipalist movements animated by claims for the right to the city, student and labor movements, socio-environmental mobilizations.

The objective of this paper is to present, discuss and reflect on my activity of militant co-research within Neapolitan commons. As a PhD student, I investigated the origins of this phenomenon, the political agenda of the movement and, most importantly, the internal processes self-management and collective care of the commons.

My main case study is the Scugnizzo Liberato ("liberated boy"), the biggest of the emerging commons, which defines itself as a "laboratory of mutual help", born from the occupation of a former juvenile prison, now self-managed by "a diverse, open and solidary community of activists and workers of every gender, age and origin". Being Neapolitan myself and having already participated in social movements, the personal and political relations which I have with people, groups and collectives involved in the commons – and in the Scugnizzo Liberato in particular – contributed very much in shaping my research choices.

I elaborated my initial methodological framework following the path opened by Southern Italian social movements and militant researchers with the book Briganti o emigranti (Orizzonti meridiani, 2014), which analyses Southern Italian social struggles combining the approach of postcolonial and subaltern studies (Chaturvedi, 2000) with the tradition of workerist conricerca (see Alquati, 1993). This methodology aims to produce knowledge together with the subaltern subjectivities which participate to social conflict, enhancing the self-consciousness of the political groups and reflecting on the organizational forms and strategies which are more adequate to their empowerment. The co-research process would have been inseparable from my political activism, and I made it clear in the first assemblies of the Scugnizzo Liberato

in which I communicated my intention of conducting ethnographic work. In the last years I constantly and actively participated to the life of this self-managed space, whose community is active in independent cultural production, participatory design and architecture of the common spaces, experimentation of alternative economies and territorial community making I also took part to urban assemblies and activities organized together with the other commons.

I realized that my duty of co-researcher did not consist in elaborating new knowledge about a political phenomenon, but it was instead to participate to a movement which keeps producing knowledge in conjunction to political praxis I could play a key role in the emersion, systematization and expression of such knowledge, and my privileged position of academic researcher could have been used strategically by the movement and by Scugnizzo's community themselves. Following these principles I redesigned methods and objectives together with the political subjectivity to which I now belong I made efforts to address the dangers of unequal relations of power in knowledge production by closing the distance between me and the commons: not thinking of them as sites of observation, but as the context of my daily life, in which I could spend my free time, participate to cultural activities, social work and sport projects.

In particular, the paper will address the four domains of activity by which my co-research process served the interests of the commons:

1) Institutional activism: Neapolitan emerging commons obtained initial forms of legal recognition of their self-governing processes from the municipality through the juridical tool of the "urban civic and collective uses", theorized and put into practice by the different communities of commoners. Having the possibility of being recognized as an "expert", together with other researchers involved in the commons movement I participated to institutional roundtables with council members and their staff, I took part to a European program related to Neapolitan commons and became a member of the Permanent Observatory on Neapolitan Commons instituted by the municipality.

2) Networking: as a PhD student, I had the opportunity to meet and work with other people and groups which conduct research on the commons. This web of connections with students, journalists and academic researchers has been useful in bringing new theoretical stimuli to the communities of commoners, organizing cultural events within the commons, communicating our activities in the media and win new allies for the movement.

3) Collective writing: I could use my experience to facilitate processes of collective writing with other activists, which became precious co-learning experiences I wrote and presented a paper (currently under revision) to a conference together with three other activists of the Scugnizzo, and I am now participating to the redaction of a book chapter with other members of our community.

4) Self-reflection and documentation: the material produced by my ethnographic work in the Scugnizzo is being returned as a shared patrimony for the community. The focus groups I conducted have been transformed in periodic moments of formation and brainstorming for the community, some of the semi-structured interviews have been relevant experiences of self-reflection for the activists, my collection of written materials and assembly reports is being systematized to become a collective archive.

THINKING AND ACTING WITH JINEOLOJÎ: A SELF-REFLEXIVE JOURNEY THROUGH MY MILITANT ETHNOGRAPHY WITH THE KURDISH WOMEN MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND ROJAVA

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The paper contributes to militant ethnography through a reflexive account of my three-years research with the Kurdish Women's Movement, both in Europe and Rojava. Undertaking an academic research on the political praxis of Kurdish Democratic Confederalism has continuously confronted me with the contradictions, responsibilities and potentialities related to my positioning as a white militant-researcher, an internationalist-feminist activist born in Italy and based in Portugal, a person who does not speak Kurdish and with a relatively recent knowledge about, and engagement with, the so-called "Kurdish question" (Gunter, 2004). Even if that of the outsider/insider is a shifting location (Routledge, 2013), perceiving myself as an "outsider" has been sometimes inevitable: not just for being part of the academy, but also for not being Kurdish and eventually embodying a privileged position, in terms of mobility, race, class and nationality, with respect to the subjects of my research.

How to carry out a militant ethnography when you are not immediately part of the movement with which you are working and when your privileged position risks to reproduce relations of power with the people of the movement itself? How to rethink the militant/ethnographic encounter in such a way as not to obliterate differences and power-dynamics, but by making them the main terrain for challenging knowledge production? Engaging with militant ethnography through feminist and decolonial epistemologies/methodologies helped me to deal with these questions, and to find research strategies that attempt to overcome scientific positivism and coloniality.

Militant ethnography criticizes the representational scientific approach which implies the research subject explaining the researched object It refuses the "cognitive superiority" (Casas-Cortes et al, 2013) of the academic researcher and considers social movements as knowledge producers and not mute agents for whom the researcher speaks, or whose knowledge is no more than a resource to be extracted. Moreover, it emphasizes the importance of the political/epistemological "orientation" of the researcher towards social transformation and her/his/their own commitment to the movement's cause (Russel, 2014). The latter aspect involves the attempt to critically overcome the academic/activist dualism (as well as the outsider/insider one) towards more emancipatory research practices. For some scholars, this dualism can be overcome when the researcher engages him/her/them-self in an "active" or "critical" contribution to the movement's praxis, "helping" it to face self-reflexive processes or to surpass its own limits (Apoifis, 2016; Russel, 2014).

Despite recognizing the radical challenge contained in this view, I cannot fail to see its possible risks. As Smith underlines, "espousing an emancipatory model of research has not of itself freed researchers from exercising intellectual arrogance or employing evangelical and paternalistic practices" (Smith, 1999:178). It is in the name of militant engagement and solidarity that hierarchical relationships are often established, as it happens with militants/researchers supporting/studying the Kurdish struggle (Dirik, 2016). Knowing that, to be a militant ethnographer has meant for me to search for epistemological/methodological approaches that at least try to dismantle the "flexible positional superiority" which characterized Western Orientalism (Said, 1978), and to consider decolonization/depatriarchalization of thought as the guiding principles of the political-ethnographic encounter.

Epistemologically I have found myself in line with Casas-Cortes et al idea of engaged ethnography as the "artisanal task of translation" (2013: 219) which implies learning, listening and weaving as its constitutive "power-sensitive" practices (Haraway, 1988). Following Viveiro de Castro (2009), I consider translation as the ability to think (and act) with the other's thought, conceiving the other not as the object of the anthropological research but as the subject of a situated perspective of what anthropology is In other words, I argue that doing militant ethnography with the Kurdish movement, and perhaps with any subaltern movement, means to think with the ethnographic-militant method of the movement itself: in the case of the Kurdish Women's Movement, with Jineolojî. The latter, the "science of women and life", is the praxis produced by Kurdish women as a tool of self-consciousness and theoretical/practical transformation of the world, following anticapitalist, anticolonial, and antipatriarchal values. In Europe and Rojava it is organized by research committees of women from Kurdistan and from all over the world In fact, Jineolojî's praxis perfectly fits with the idea of a militant ethnography produced by the movement for the movement, creating transnational connections with other struggles.

In the paper, I will critically reflect on my personal engagement within these committees, and the way in which Jineolojî has ended up being the subject of my research as well as my main militant ethnographic method to analyse the Kurdish movement's praxis. Practicing Jineolojî's original method (based on training weeks of communitarian life, workshops, co-research, self-inquiry, critique and self-critique sessions, but also public events and street protests) helped me to build transformative relations of trust with the Kurdish and internationalist women of the movement, and to integrate, in such way, methods like fieldwork notes and semi-structured interviews.

Considering my "observant participation" (Pons Rabasa, 2018) and political involvement in the Jineolojî Committee of Italy, I will focus on the role of translation in my ethnographic path: both in the literal sense of "translate" from one language to another (as a constitutive component of conference and workshops organized by the movement) and in the more comprehensive sense of learning and translating Jineolojî's praxis within the context of European and Italian social movements. Using a feminist approach to the ethnographic work, I will also present how affections and emotions have been part of this learning/translating process, considering that part of Kurdish women's resistant practice is to deal with, and make sense of, a continuous experience of grief, loss, and violence.

Finally, I will discuss, on one side, how I could locate myself, thanks to the practices promoted by Jineolojî, in an intersubjective space of mutual transformation, actively sharing my doubts and criticisms towards the movement's strategy. While, on the other, my eventually excessive loyalty and adherence to the movement's propaganda will be addressed too, and yet, not as an abstract problem, but concerning my ethical and political commitment with a high criminalized social movement, which is under the attack of multiple layers of violence and repression.

THE POTENTIALITY OF THE RESEARCH APPLIED TO THE QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF THE RECEPTION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS. CAS AND SPRAR: TWO EXPERIENCES COMPARED AT THE TURN OF THE "SALVINI DECRET"

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The contribution presents some reflections on the potentiality and the critical issues related to the figure of the researcher involved as a consultant in a context of applied anthropology. The reflections are based on a research conducted in two different projects of widespread reception system (SPRAR and CAS) both with the same number of places, managed between 2017 and 2019 by the same managing body, who committed the research to increase the reception standards offered, integrating the operative indications received by the Prefecture in the previous two years of activity.

The "state of humanitarian emergency in the national territory in relation to the exceptional influx of citizens from North Africa" (OJ 235 of 8 October 2011), which began in 2011, and de facto extended until June 2013, has significantly changed the reception system, starting from the choice to identify as asylum seekers most of the incoming migrants, to the choice of guaranteeing access to the reception system to poorly or not at all qualified entities or operators. The gradual affirmation and diffusion of the "prefectoral reception system", based on cooperatives and structures ideally intended for temporary reception, with quality standards far from the canons required in the SPRAR, has forced the reception system to start again from zero, losing most of the knowledge developed in the previous decade and collected in the "Operating Manual" SPRAR (2010).

As a result, many qualified operators have decided to interrupt their career in the reception system, because unable to find an effective mediation with the ongoing regression. Others have decided to resist and try to improve the situation acting from the inside, promoting appealing to good practices and inviting the institutions to consider opportunities for discussion with the private social sector.

As an effect of this commitment, the gap seemed destined to narrow timidly between 2015 and 2017 with the Legislative Decree no 142 of 2015, the tender specifications adopted in March 2017 and the publication, in May 2017, of the book "Initiatives for the good reception and integration of migrants in Italy Models, tools= and actions". The diffusion of higher quality standards for the extraordinary reception network was further urged, from January 2017, by the MIRECO inspection visits In the following two years, even the project MIRECO was gradually more distant and ineffective compared to the original goal, also due to the sudden change of political vision in 2018, when the "Italian sovranism" prevailed pushing the introduction of legal measures hostile to the reception of migrants, as the Decree Law 113/2018, implemented by L 132/2018, named "Salvini Decree".

The "Salvini Decree", and the new TOR for tenders, had an immediate effect specially on the internal quality monitoring systems of the social private companies, making the priorities change suddenly. The year 2018 is therefore marked by a "before" and an "after Decree", where up to "before" we refer to the race for the accreditation of the CAS structures to the ordinary SPRAR system; and "after" to indicate even a contraction of the SPRAR system.

The contribution aims to return some reflections on the different impact of a research-action carried out in two different contexts, straddling the Salvini Decree, between 2017 and 2019, during a professional experience aimed at significantly affecting the quality of reception through advice requested by the managing body; advice oriented by an ethnographic anthropological approach, starting from participant observation, access to equipe meetings and periodic meetings with managing body and local bodies, interviews with operators and beneficiaries, keeping of a field diary and specific follow-up.

In different ways, depending on the client (Municipality or Prefecture), with the advent of the "Salvini Era", the key terms of the reception and the shared knowledge acquired in the past years by experts and

referents from the third sector, were questioned again, more vigorously than at the time of the North Africa Emergency.

The role of the researcher has suddenly changed, as the political context and the objectives shared between the managing body and the Municipality, or Prefecture, changed. Before, the researcher was respected, even in his open contrasting positions, since he was recognized as a depository of the culture of good practices; as the context changes, the periodic restitution of the results of the research, or the actions previously implemented by the researcher to induce a radical change and a concrete transformation of power relations, assumed instead a political meaning, not always aligned with all the governance levels of the research context.

In this phase the researcher finds himself wondering what is the ethical limit for the negotiation of his intervention: exploring the ultimate border of the opposition, up to the possible conflict with the clients, choosing however not to give up an active commitment as bridge and mediator between contexts, with the aim of inspiring new political practices, and protecting the virtuous circuit of good practices triggered. Could be possible to give an answer to the gap between the local governance and the political levels, through the reading instruments of applied anthropology, claiming his vocational main role; proposing it as a tool and possible channel for the development of a multilevel government that is less harnessed in rhetoric and more "result oriented"?

As a consequence of the important delegation to the third sector in the last decade, local administrations still find it difficult to recognize the "urban knowledge" produced by the social sciences. They should instead resort to it, to develop improvement processes. When it doesn't happen, it would be appropriate to intervene even more directly; not just opposing the decision-making processes that trigger dynamics of exclusion, labeling, marginalization and re-production of social suffering, but acting on them in an effort of real GOPP "Goal Oriented and Participated Projectation", based on the real analysis of the needs and on the listening to the final beneficiary of social intervention, but also based on a capable reading of that complex play of looks, prejudices, analytical and value categories, codes and purposes, which oppose the role of the researcher, the official, the manager, politician, asylum seeker.

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MILITANT ETHNOGRAPHY AT THE FRENCH-ITALIAN BORDER. ESCAPES BORDERS TO UNDERSTAND THEM

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I wish to contribute to this panel with a speech based on my experience during long periods active in the border city of Ventimiglia addressing the entanglement of activism and research activities. Since 2016 I am part of a collective called Progetto20k whose aim is to support the freedom of movement for everybody and to be active players to ensure that this right can be guaranteed. The activities we carried out concern monitoring the French-Italian border area in order to see migratory dynamics, any abuse and violation of human rights; information, material, logistic and legal support to people in transit; sensitize the general public about what we see and do In parallel, I started a PhD aiming at studying the routes of Sudanese refugees towards and within Europe, mostly passing through Ventimiglia in order to continue their journey to the north. In particular I'm addressing the main factors driving high-risks migration pathways

highlighting class of resources that when combined allow undocumented Sudanese to survive, circulate and apply for regularization.

During my intervention I will share some critical reflections arisen from the particular position and interplay of being an activist-researcher at the border Indeed my ethnographer's political positioning have had the potential to lead to deeper research outcomes and to shape different aspects of the knowledge production. Thanks to the dialogue and the shared moments with Sudanese community I could observed to common endeavour that they experience alongside the journey and in particular during border crossing. In this sense the research questions coincide, at least in part, with goals and struggles of the groups under study. The access to the field was facilitate by my previous political activism through which I built local knowledge, friendships with trusted informants and closeness to their struggles. People in transit could easily know who I was, my political engagement in supporting migrants' rights and my estrangement from police or public authorities The information office we set up in the city was a crucial place in order to meet migrants needs and to create a safe and welcoming environment where to converse. My engagement to the research context allowed me to get in contact with many informants and to get access to different source of information. For instance, due to my special positioning, I had the chance to interviews people involved in illicit activities related to border crossing and smuggling.

Moreover, in the interpretations and analysis of the information I involved those who have been the subjects of the study in order to partially break the dichotomy between researcher and people under study I have created the possibilities for respondents to make sense of the information and to discuss the conclusions in order to enrich the analysis and to make the results in their possession. This 'use-oriented basic research' approach has had a double meaning being in one side theoretically driven and on the other tending to promote social change. Other anthropologists, aiming to co-produce alternatives to existing socio-political system through ethnographic explorations, call it alter-politics.

Indeed, my active engagement has developed creative political experimentation and collaboration with research participants, but it has also showed negative side effects that have to be taken into consideration.

DOING RESEARCH AS A FEMINIST AND AS A "OPERATRICE ANTIVIOLENZA" WITH OTHER FEMINISTS IN A WOMEN'S RESOURCE CENTRE AGAINST VIOLENCE IN CATANIA

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Doing research in the same feminist space where I usually practice my political engagement it has been a hard task. For my PhD thesis I conducted a fieldwork research in Catania (Sicily) in a women's resource centre against violence to look for what kind of intellectual practices characterise women's pragmatism (Signorelli 1998) to engender cultural and social process of change in their local and situated reality (Haraway 1988). Starting from the point of view of Buchholz and Eyal (2010) I tried to frame my work in the realm of the sociology knowledge and the sociology of interventions, formulating my theoretical hypothesis: who are the intellectuals described in the huge work of the sociologists of knowledge like Mannheim for example? Women's roles have been considered in their refined models about the characteristics and the functions of the intellectuals in society?

To pursue the aim to give back more visibility to the intellectual practices of women, I decided to focus my attention on the feminist intellectual production and where feminist philosophy (Cavarero, Restaino 2002) creates phenomenon of social change in our society. One of the feminist fights nowadays and in the past, (it has been) and it still is the phenomenon of male violence against women.

The creation of the first women's centre against violence and shelters is connected to the feminist movement during the '70, as happened for example in Rome by the first feminist squatting action in 1976 at Palazzo Nardini in via del Governo Vecchio n 39 (Baglioni, Zaremba 2003).

The question of male's violence against women came to the surface by the feminist's way to produce women's knowledge and politics, practising especially two tools: 'l'autocoscienza' and 'il partire da sé'. These intellectual practices of discussion and comparison between women disclosed the urgency to take action politically, socially and culturally, developing a feminist methodology to face the phenomenon and to denounce the fact that every form of violence against women (sexual, physical, psychological, economical, institutional) is embedded in our society's structure, that works as a dispositive of control on women's lives and bodies.

This is the reason that explains the fact that nowadays the majority of the women's resource centre, shelters, refuges women are feminist and in a certain way they inherit the feminist knowledge and practice.

In Sicily this heritage continues to be alive and applied in the activity of 'welcoming women' victims of male violence at the Thamaia association, a women's resource centre against violence.

Through the relationships I have as a member and 'operatrice antiviolenza' of Centro Anitviolenza Donna Lisa in Rome and with DIRe (the national association of the women's centre against violence and shelters in Italy), I get in touch with Thamaia and other feminist associations / collectives in Catania.

In my experience the access to the field was negotiated and guided by the feminist practice of building relationships between women and by my political engagement as a feminist volunteer and activist at the anti-violence centre in Rome: the process of legitimization of my research proposal with the Thamaia's sisters has been activated quite automatically for the cultural, social and political proximity I embody, because of my political belonging; in particular, sharing the values and positions suggested by the feminist methodology within the 'practice of welcoming' women victims of male's violence worked as a social mechanism that reduced the degree of extraneousness (Cardano 2005) and intrusiveness (Gobo 2016) in the research's setting.

To work in the setting, the approach proposed by the collaborative ethnography seemed to be the most appropriate paradigm to explain my position, to clarify in proper terms what kind of collaboration I wanted to build. Collaborating means 'entering into a relationship' and building links, recognizing the agency, the needs and the intellectual equality between the researcher and the participants involved in the research process (Lassiter 2005) even if tensions and frictions play a significant role in the relationship as well. This approach is not that different compared to the feminist practice.

Despite the desire to experiment forms of dialogue and sharing knowledge with women, it was important to me to do not abandon the aims of my project in favour of a complete and dedicated advocacy, especially because I was researching about the intellectual practices of women and not on the condition of the anti-violence centre in Italy, even if I practice every day my political engagement.

It was central at that point to reflect reflexively and critically on my position as an outsider as a researcher and as un insider respect to political feminist practice; therefore I accepted the continuous oscillation between these two positions, and this fact motivated me, even more, to reflect on the process of research in the dimension of the relationship. Within this intricate dynamic, it was essential to manage my belonging considering the advantages and disadvantages of a 'situated' position inside the feminist politics and in the academia.

If the research is structured in a relational continuum of actions characterized by 'giving, receiving and returning', my experience has been shaped by the positions and social worlds of the participant an myself too.

Describing the dynamics of the relationships is not an easy task: I tried to manage and negotiate the aim of my research, proving that even if the situation of the anti-violence centre and their difficulties were not central, my research was extremely political, because talking about intellectual practices of women is a tool to make visible our engagement as feminist and as 'operatrici' anti-violence.

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SESSION 10

PUBLIC HEALTH INTERVENTIONS

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USING ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS TO EXPLORE FRAMINGS OF HEALTH AND RESPONSIBILITY IN POST-OPERATIVE BARIATRIC OUTCOMES

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Bariatric surgery is considered to be the most efficacious and durable intervention for both weight loss and the resolution of comorbidities such as sleep apnea and Type 2 Diabetes. However, there are serious implications to having such a procedure, including complications, side effects, and weight regain Individuals who undergo a bariatric procedure thus differ from other surgical patients in that they require long-term follow up care and support services. Given this, the joint accreditation standards from the American College of Surgeons and the American Society for Metabolic and Bariatric Surgery require clinics follow up with their patients multiple times during the first year post-surgery and annually thereafter, for at least six years As well, accredited clinics must hold regular, ongoing support groups supervised by a licensed professional. Despite this, nearly three quarters of patients miss post-operative appointments within the first two years following surgery Within the bariatric literature, the causes of these low retention rates are considered poorly understood.

Based on semi-structured interviews with both bariatric patients and providers, focused ethnographic observation, and analysis of posts and comments on two top patient-led bariatric websites, this paper examines the post-operative relationship between bariatric patients and their home surgical clinics I argue that there is a tension between the ways in which patients and providers alike discuss pre-operative health and weight status and post-operative outcomes. Both patients and providers largely describe the root causes of obesity as multifactorial in nature. As well, both groups acknowledge the physiological, social, economic, and environmental challenges of adjusting to and living with a bariatric procedure Yet when discussing post-operative health and weight loss outcomes, both groups largely attribute such outcomes to patient compliance, or lack thereof, with clinic protocols. In effect, while bariatric patients are perhaps excused for their pre-operative weight and health statuses and lauded for their decision to undergo a weight loss surgery procedure, patient "recidivism" is described as a failure of the will. The tension between these two framings suggests that a social determinants of health approach in public health and medicine has been unevenly taken up in the case of obesity.

ADDRESSING THE INTERSECTION OF OVERDOSE, CRIME, AND COMMUNITY DECAY: A MIXED-METHODS EVALUATION OF THE MCKEESPORT OVERDOSE PREVENTION PROJECT

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This paper presents preliminary findings from a mixed methods evaluation of a community-based overdose prevention program in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, USA – a shrinking formerly industrial US city once known for steel, yet now synonymous with drugs and crime. Recording one of the highest rates of drug-related mortality in the state, and in fact, the country as a whole, McKeesport exemplifies a 2017 statement from the US Centres for Disease Control: "Today, a person's zip code may be a stronger determinant of health than his or her genetic code". We seek to provide a health intervention as part of an effort to solve what is a persistent epidemiological puzzle: whereas surrounding communities indicate similar levels of poverty,

unemployment, residential turnover, and population ageing, McKeesport is uniquely effected by illicit drug use and associated deaths.

We present qualitative data from the project (ongoing), which has two primary aims: (1) to establish a drop-in site for overdose prevention education and no-cost naloxone distribution in downtown McKeesport, PA; and (2) to document, through interviews and questionnaires, different aspects of the local social, economic, and institutional environment that structure local residents' access to health care, exposure to drug markets and drug-related crime, and risk of accidental drug overdose. It should be noted that one of the major developments that unfolded during the conduct of this research was the arrival of the COVID-19 in March of 2020 Research initiated in September of 2019 was temporarily halted. We took this time to make survey adjustments and revise interview protocols. Revisions were pointed at social factors in connection with COVID-19 that potentially interacted with opioid overdose. Remote data collection methods, such as online surveys, were added to supplement ethnographic observations and face to face interviews. More than 50 surveys, 25 in-depth interviews, and over 200 hours of ethnographic observation were completed among visitors to the drop-in site by our team of two researchers. Early analyses suggest the need for additional, integrated interventions that exceed the substance use and health services sector, and further involve actors equipped to address an apparently hostile police force, the proliferation of abandoned structures, and a perceived deficit of collective will.

A COMPARATIVE ANTHROPOLOGY OF MORAL ECONOMIES IN CARE, INFORMED BY WEST AFRICAN SITUATIONS
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Under the influence of international institutions, public health interventions have expanded models to improve collective impact of healthcare through common considerations and questions concerning North and South societies, based on select pathologies to focus on and support, standardized public health politics to develop. Due to this way of considering the global frameworks of care work, healthcare professionals and more specifically doctors are frequently approached through their collective role and functions, simplified as delivering health care. Yet, wherever they practice medicine, in North or South societies, anthropology has shown their central role in translating health politics into and through their daily work and the situations in which they are engaged. This paradox structure the anthropology of care approached by medical work. This communication aims to question the differentiated construction of caregivers' moral economies according to their work contexts. It is not the same experience of caring on the one hand, receiving care on the other hand, if medical care takes place in France or in West African societies weakened by poverty and lack of means I will document this point from the management of diabetes and cancers in three West-African societies (Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali) and in France By putting into perspective different ways of thinking the concepts of responsibility and dignified care, this communication will expose the epistemological challenge of a comparative anthropology of care through the central question of their function.

TRANSFORMING PSYCHIATRY TO DEMOCRATIZE SOCIETY. THE LEGACY OF FRANCO BASAGLIA IN TWO PSYCHIATRIC COMMUNITY SERVICES, IN FRANCE AND IN ITALY
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My paper about the legacy of Franco Basaglia in the organization of psychiatric community services in France and in Italy, will focus on the role of social work in two recovery-oriented housing services for the mentally ill, established by the local public mental health department. My presentation has three main goals: (i) to present the results of an ethnographic work, which constitutes the focus of my Phd thesis, about the current challenges of this kind of psychiatric services; (ii) to analyse the relationship between the current community services with the legacy of Basaglia and the way social sciences have processed this legacy; (iii) to look for new insights regarding mental illness and the refugees' emergency. The paper will contribute to the panel session "Public Health Interventions: Global Problems, Local Solutions" and will

attempt to answer an emerging set of questions: considering the legacy which has been a catalyst for the developments in the psychiatric community services that I have observed, what are the new challenges? Which is the role of ethnography and social sciences in responding to these challenges? What can we learn from the ethnographic method as a means for dealing with new emerging issues?

I have chosen to use the tools of French pragmatic sociology because I believe they are best suited to allow a better understanding of the transmission dynamics of the legacy of Franco Basaglia. The concept of test, which is central in this method, has led my ethnographic research. This involves a focus on justification regimes used by the actors publicly to justify their actions according to a plurality of orders of worth as theorized by Boltanski and Thevenot in their work. On justification. This constituted the initial phase of my analysis, followed by the study of the engagement regimes, which regard the relationship between persons and their environment in different dimensions of the care relation. Semi-structured interviews and an archival research have served as testing tools in order to establish the comparison between the French and the Italian sites. Despite the distance between the legal frameworks of the two countries, the two sites are linked by a forty-year-long relationship. The ethnographic study included a non-participant research of one month each site, which has consisted in following the social workers in their daily work and meetings. The methodological framework of French pragmatic sociology has never been used before to deal with the study of psychiatry. My decision to adopt these methods, notably the ones developed by Laurent Thévenot, was grounded in the goal of exploring the grammars of commonality that the actors use in order to build up a community based on the values of solidarity and, at the same time, of autonomy My analysis shifts from the orientation of public policies to the engagement of the actors in the care relationship and, finally, it focuses on the relationship between the initial project of democratization of Basaglia and the current orientations of the services that threaten that self-same project.

I will present three cases that show different aspects of the two services. The first one is a case of non-compliance that put into question the possibility for the user to keep her apartment. In the second observation, I focus on the coordination work between the psychiatric community service and a retirement home, which refuses to accept a user who has been helped by the service for many decades before, because he does not fit the conditions of autonomy of the new institution. Finally, in the third observation, I discuss the coordination between the Italian psychiatric community service and a network of third-sector organizations that operate through temporary projects. The results of my research have produced evidence of a current threat to the legacy of Franco Basaglia, made up of the following important elements: the concentration of social workers on the objective outputs of their work which leads them to focus exclusively on the medical aspects; the asymmetrical structure of the network of actors involved in the move of a psychiatric patient to a retirement home because of the lack of recognition of social-work; and finally the limits of a market-like network of services, that privilege short-term and assessable private projects instead of public long lasting care services.

Starting from these results, my presentation will show which insights of the legacy of Franco Basaglia live on and help current services to avoid the consequences of a misrecognition of the communitarian services and of a focus on the medical output as the only objective. Furthermore, I will try to make a link between the democratization project of Franco Basaglia and an idea of community that involves persons that seek for a new life in a foreign country. The final part of the paper will thus address the following questions: what kind of community are these services actually serving? Is the asymmetry between different types of knowledge in the network of public actors useful in serving the mentally ill or the refugee or is it rather a new means for social exclusion? Finally, how can the role of critique, supported by ethnographic tools, remain important in the creation of alternative solution?

IDENTIFYING INFERTILITY KNOWLEDGE CLAIMS AND SOURCES THROUGH QUALITATIVE METHODS
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Public health campaigns to increase awareness about infertility in countries experiencing declining birth rates presume that more information will translate into changes in reproductive behaviours. By encouraging young women to learn about infertility risks and/or to have children at earlier ages, campaigns have been criticized for being overly nationalistic, paternalistic, and insensitive to the structural constraints that contribute to delayed childbearing. In this paper I focus on the US context, and present data from in-depth

interviews with 72 childless American women about the extent of and sources of their awareness about infertility in general, and about their own ability to conceive in particular I find that they rely upon at least four sources of knowledge to make their claims about infertility: formal knowledge (obtained through education and training), medical knowledge (received directly from medical providers), cultural knowledge (obtained from popular culture or media), and folk knowledge (passed down from family members, friends, and acquaintances). In addition, when assessing their knowledge claims about their own fecundity, they frequently use embodied knowledge based on their own bodies, experiences, and histories I argue that women's awareness about average statistics of age-related fertility decline does not necessarily translate to their individual self-knowledge about their own bodies and fecundity, and that knowledge claims are based on multiple information sources given unequal weight. By using qualitative methods to analyse where women are most likely to receive information – and which sources they are most likely to consider authoritative – we can better address their public health needs.

USING PHOTOVOICE TO INVESTIGATE THE EXPERIENCES OF INDIVIDUALS IN RECOVERY FROM SUBSTANCE USE AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Isolation, stress, and feelings of powerlessness are emotional states which have been associated with the neurobiology of substance misuse. To counteract this, ideas of purpose and community have been ingrained in the service delivery of common Public Health interventions, including mutual aid groups and peer-based recovery services. However, this changed in March 2020 when in reaction to the COVID-19 pandemic, the United Kingdom announced a strict lockdown on citizens which resulted in significant interruption to the normal delivery of recovery services. This meant that meaningful activities and inbuilt social networks were reduced or unavailable for service users, thus increasing the psychological burden of isolation and the likelihood of a relapse event. This original research examines how enforced forms of social isolation, such as the COVID-19 lockdown may influence recovery outcomes and examines how critical ethnographic methods can be used to better understand these experiences by reflecting individual perspectives. Seven participants recruited from a recovery organization in the South West of England were interviewed about their experiences during the COVID-19 lockdown and the ways in which enforced isolation during this time influenced their recovery outcomes. Participants spoke about how the disruption to services and social support had affected their recovery and how their mental health had been impacted. While some participants reported relapse events as a result of chaos and anxiety others reported that the national response to the virus did not adversely affect them as they had already adjusted to living in a state of anxiety, isolation, and uncertainty. This underscores the nuance and complexity that critical ethnographies allow when approaching sensitive subjects These findings illuminate both negative and neutral aspects of addiction recovery throughout the COVID-19 lockdown as well as highlighting why critical methodologies such as Photovoice are vital to the understanding of Public Health issues such as recovery from substance use.

SESSION 11

YOUTH COLLECTIVITIES: MAKING THEM VISIBLE AND RE-SEARCHABLE

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THAT'S A DIFFICULT QUESTION! I'VE NEVER THOUGHT ABOUT IT! TRIGGERING REFLEXIVITY ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S SENSE OF BELONGING ABROAD THROUGH IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

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In recent years growing attention has been devoted to young people's individualized biographies. As a result, their sense of belonging and forms of collectivities have been disregarded, in line with the general assumption that the contemporary proliferation of individualism is weakening social ties Nevertheless, recent studies contend that the relationship between individualization – namely individualism translated into social action – and social ties is not necessarily a conflictual one. On the contrary, these factors should be viewed as complementary, in the light of a new vision of individualism (Elliott and Lemert 2005; Leccardi and Volontè 2017). Adopting this perspective, in my paper I suggest that behind the individualized biographical choices of young people – such as the decision to move abroad, for example – there is an unexpressed awareness of being part of a generation that is 'on the move', or a 'cosmopolitan generation', as many scholars have pointed out (Chicchelli and Octobre 2018). The mobility that now characterises many young people's life courses is not only fostered by structural mechanisms – such as the negative aftermath of the 2008 recession, and technological innovations that make travelling easier – but also promoted by a new esprit du temps which encourages (and is generated by) cultural melange and diversity. Regardless of the reasons that prompted them to travel, young people abroad share a collective experience of mobility that involves redefining their sociability practices (in terms of friendship networks) and also entails rethinking their sense of belonging in both political and cultural terms (i.e. asking Who am I? Where do I belong?).

The epistemological approach and methodological choices of the researcher are crucial when it comes giving these young people the opportunity to reflect on these aspects – i.e. to consider the tension between individualization and social ties. In particular, in-depth interviews are an effective methodological tool to foster a narration of the Self In-depth interviews enable the interviewer and interviewee to enter into an 'active' relationship (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) whose maieutic effects are well known (as in the case of common comments from interviewees like 'That's a difficult question! I've never thought about it!', which give rise to a narration).

The paper is based on the preliminary results of a qualitative study (with interviews) regarding young Italians who have moved to Berlin (one of their preferred destinations). The study, which involved young men and women aged 24-29, aimed to shed light on the role played by geographical mobility in their transition to adulthood. On one hand the project explored the reasons behind, and the strategies involved in their mobility, while on the other it examined the consequences of mobility on both their everyday practices (especially in terms of their sense of belonging), and growing up Interviewees experience different forms of collectivities abroad – accessing international friendship networks ('expat' networks) for example – and in a broader sense they experience what it means to belong to a 'generation on the move', something which also affects how they relate to 'being Italian'.

STUDYING ANTI-RACIST YOUTH COLLECTIVITIES WITH VISUAL METHODS. THE EXPERIENCES WITH THE YOUTH COLLECTIVE "COMMITTEE NOT TO FORGET ABBA" (MILAN)

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Essed *et al.* (2019) argued that normativity of Whiteness and the de-humanization of Blackness mutually reinforce racist discourses and practices. In Italy, as in other European countries, groups that are not racialized as white may be dehumanized, making them unable to belong because they are situated as "less" human. Doing anti-racism means creating spaces of belonging for all members of society, spaces that dismantle racial hierarchies.

As Martiniello (2018) and Anita Harris (2013) showed, urban youth are able to build inclusive and creative spaces, anchoring their everyday interactions on multiple belongings that challenge normative. Whiteness Especially in the case of youth collectivities practicing music genres commonly categorized as "black music" (i.e. rap and reggae, Rastas and Seye 2019), there is a growing presence of Italians of African descent who have become in recent years important anti-racist voices at a local – and sometimes a national – level.

Starting from this research interest in wide societal challenges related to (anti)racism, the present paper focuses on a youth collective called "Committee Not to Forget Abba" (affiliated to the social centre "Il Cantiere"). Abba, an Italian boy with Burkinabe origin, was killed at the age of nineteen in Milan, because he was black Keeping his memory alive, the youth collective has organized an anti-racist music festival and a sport event called "Abba Cup", for twelve years.

The paper goal is to discuss how visual methods can be useful to capture the meanings of youth collectivities in such fluid and spontaneous settings (e.g. in the streets and in leisure events). The common approach underlying the use of visual methods is the need to practice a more sensorial (Pink 2015), embodied (Vacchelli 2018) and creative (Giorgi, Pizzolati, Vacchelli 2021) research A special attention will be dedicated to the controversial question of 'voice' in participatory visual research (Luttrell and Chalfen 2010).

1. The first research example is based on photo-interviewing (Tinkler 2013), as a key of gaining youth collectivities' ways of seeing It is a variation of a non-directive interview that favours the collaboration between researcher and interviewees It aims to grant young people greater space for personal interpretations and to work with emotions/affects through the power of images. I photo-interviewed anti-racist young activists eight years after the killing of Abba (Frisina and Hawthorne 2017) in order to understand how it become a personal and collective turning point in their lives, reconstructing the meanings of Abba's festival, especially concerning leisure anti-racist activism

2. The second research example is based on filmic sociology (Sebag & Durand 2020), as an ally of public sociology which engages more wider publics The research video (by Dr Sandra Agyei Kyeremeh) shows how the committee is rooted in the multicultural district of San Siro and also how it contributed to the big demonstration dedicated to the Black Lives Matter Movement in spring 2020. Moreover, through the research video emerges a lively account enriching the understanding of how young people come together and feel united during the recurrent collective anti-racist leisure events "in the name of Abba". In the conclusions, I will mention a forthcoming research (September 2021-), based on ethnographic work supported by the smartphone application EthnoAlly (Favero and Theunissen 2018) designed to extend the possibilities represented by contemporary digital technologies in the context of ethnographic research EthnoAlly produces GPS-tagged audio-visual-textual materials and an online platform, which can be used for archiving, organizing and analysing such materials. This app is not only a kind of personal assistant for ethnographers, but also a participatory tool that researchers can use with their interlocutors. During the next Abba Festival, EthnoAlly will be used to research anti-racist practices and discourses of the youth collective "Not to forget Abba", by experimenting multimedia diaries linked to the campaign "Decolonize the city".

FEET ON THE LINE, HANDS DOWN ON THE FLOOR, AND THE CREW ON MY BACK. FLOWING COLLECTIVITIES IN "INDIVIDUAL" LEISURE PRACTICES

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In the last decade, physical activities and lifestyle sports have increasingly developed their expansion and relevance in terms of participants, commodities, and reputation. Activities such as skateboarding,

parkour, urban climbing, calisthenics are common practices in many cities by now, and people can encounter participants both in planned spaces, such as playgrounds and parks, and in self-styled spots of the discipline, in public spaces, plazas and streets. An important feature of this kind of leisure activities consists in the youth participation as a pivotal component of the daily practice as well in the making of imaginaries, narratives and cultural identities connected with the activities While the age range increased in time, more and more these practices took place, with the passing of the time for the "discipline pioneers", who firstly started to practice, and with the increasing envolvement of children, the core group of leisure activities remains strongly anchored to young people, and their culture, meanings, as well as the public perception is framed in terms of youth issue. A second important mark consists in the peculiar relation with the community of practices: even if most of these activities are individual in the performance and they can be easily realized on their own, usually they become gathering activities, creating collective contexts.

The collective dimension of lifestyle sports consists in an ensemble of different practices, which gravitates around the common participation to urban sports. It permits to create collective situations, from the simplest passing the time together, chilling and knowing each other, to forms of peer learning which consists in sharing knowledges and advices. Their closeness permits to share experiences and forms of solidarity that are facilitated by the common interest in the practice. Moreover, summing up events, trainings, and performances, practitioners construct places, both materially and symbolically: in their territorial reappropriation, they reinvent the uses of the city, struggling the openness of the public space and proposing an alternative regarding the youth leisure time. Leisure activities permits the formation of a shared culture, that concerns narratives, body techniques, lifestyles, and common framing in a wide range of political and social issues such as the city, the consumption, and the environment.

Thirdly, the expression of a culture and a lifestyle related to the practice is pragmatic, and strongly related to their experiences, interactions, and the daily situations. Experiences of other practitioners, translocal narratives, mediatic productions and cultural expressions from other practice communities or other cultures they consider like-minded are relevant in the terms they can use, code and arrange to their lived experiences and contexts. Ideas, interpretations, languages are all the more stronger the deeper their connection with the everyday are. It implies that the cultural, social, and political production of the collective is strongly rooted to the emotional, embodied, and passionate feature of the everyday, as well as it is fluid, porous, and ready to adapt to reflect the changing circumstances.

In order to clarify the cultural politics that emerge by the peculiarity of staying together enacting an individual activity, I will specifically focus on two leisure activities, that are parkour and slacklining I will present the results of my doctoral research on ephemeral practices, an ethnography realized starting from the communities of practices in Padua, and following the connections and the movements of the participants. With the intention of inquiring the social and spatial paths of leisure activities participants in (and over) the city, the fieldwork permits me to highlight different forms of active participation and youth protagonism.

The first part of the contribution will present the representation of slackliners and traceurs collectivities in the discourse of participants, highlighting the ways in which they perceive themselves as group, as community, and as culture: it will permit to show the collective making of an identity, the bridging connections as well as the boundaries, and the practices and the events that give substance to the common belonging in a collective culture. Then, I will focus on the shapes of the youth collectivities developed through practising parkour and slacklining, the modalities of formation and maintainment of the groups of practitioners It permits to frame their organization, practices and cultures in the sociological literature on (post)subcultures, with the purpose to frame the analysis of the collective dimension of the leisure activities, as well as to mark differences compared to other key concepts in the debate.

The second part of the paper will focus on the methodological implications Starting from the different methods used in the fieldwork (participant observations, narrative and episodic interviews, visual methods, netnography.). I will highlight how every method can be considered as a "capture apparatus", that simplifies and cristallises the more fluid and changing aspects the collective youth formations.

In particular, it will be critically analysed the possibilities and the tactics of representing and analysing the liminal and in-between positioning of the practitioners Strongly present in the descriptions of the practitioners when they talk about their activities, the idea of "interstice" becomes the keyword for describing the practice in relation with the urban context, the biographical trajectories, as well as the power dynamics: this part of the paper will specifically address the distinction on the adequacy of the different ethnographic methods in deepening the volatile, ever-changing (and sometimes messy) forms of the interstices in the

making of youth collectives. Finally, I will problematise the practices of public restitution to the participants at the research and, widely, to the youth collectivities as collaborative strategy for the engagement of the participants and as "public value" in the debate and in the growth of the youth cultures.

MAKING A BROTHERHOOD: YOUNG ULTRAS BEYOND THE MATCH

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In Italy and elsewhere, communities of 'professional' football fans called 'ultras' represent an established form of subculture among young men. Scholars have vastly analysed ultras' practices during matches and interpreted their strong sense of membership as the effect of the collective effervescence deriving from involvement in the extraordinary ritual of the game. As a consequence of the emphasis given to what ultras do during the match, the importance of ordinary interactions in creating the strong feelings of togetherness that characterises these communities have been largely overlooked. Questioning this apparently sharp division between the extraordinary moment of the game and the ordinariness of the daily life of young people, the chapter examines young ultras' beyond-the-match rituals of interactions (Collins 2004) as constituting elements of their collectivity. The study uses ethnography and biographical interviews with the young men involved in an Italian ultras group to demonstrate how the acute sense of togetherness shown by ultras during the matches develops from the ordinary vectors of the everyday sociality of young ultras (Maffesoli 1996). The chapter thus adds to the knowledge of youth subcultures as collectivities emerging from young people's ordinary life rather than in opposition to it.

SESSION 12

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF ENERGY PRODUCTION IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

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RECONSTRUCTING FUKUSHIMA: THE POLITICS OF RADIATION ASSESSMENT IN JAPAN'S NUCLEAR DISASTER
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The Thoku Disasters in March of 2011 changed the course of Japanese history. In the aftermath of the unlikely convergence of a 90 magnitude earthquake (the largest ever in Japan and the 4th largest recorded in world history), a tsunami that peaked at 40 meters, devastating the seaboard of North Eastern Japan, and 3 reactors in meltdown at the Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in Fukushima, Japan's entire fleet of 54 nuclear reactors were shuttered, leading to a fundamental reconsideration of the viability of nuclear energy worldwide.

Now almost 10 years into the still unfolding disaster, Japan will host the Olympics in the summer of 2020, and the world's attention will return to Fukushima, with the torch relay beginning inside the previous evacuation zone, and the baseball games being staged in Koriyama, the largest city adjacent to the Daiichi plant Billed as "The Reconstruction Olympics," Japan was selected as the Olympics host partly in sympathy for the impact the 311 disasters had on Japan (the most expensive set of conjoined disasters in world history) and as a form of nation branding in service of a narrative of resiliency, not only with regard to the people of T. hoku who endured the worst of it, but also of the Japanese nation itself. It is ironic, but hardly surprising, that a kind of political alchemy has rendered the suffering of the victims of the nuclear disaster as a symbol of long-suffering fortitude, while implicitly endorsing the structure of collusive interests which sustain the nuclear village, which set the conditions for the disaster in the first place. For those on the receiving end of this, there has been a withering retrospective accounting of disaster management after 311 and hard-earned suspicions about the State's ability to protect public health while promoting the reactor restarts under the guise of recovery on an Olympics timeline.

At its core, the debate on nuclear energy post-Fukushima is based on an assessment of the long-term effects of radiation exposure. While those inclined toward anti-nuclear views are deeply suspicious of TEPCO and the Japanese government's claims, the nuclear industry and its supporters are dismissive of these concerns, seeing them as alarmist and unfounded. A more granular analysis reveals a set of contested issues that are mutually reinforcing: the magnitude of the disaster in its early days, the protective actions taken (and untaken) by government authorities, the rationales for evacuation, the quality and effectiveness of decontamination efforts, and the re-inhabitation of evacuated villages on an accelerated timeline to get in front of the Olympics.

This presentation will examine radiation assessment in the Fukushima nuclear crisis in the context of the political agendas of nuclear supporters and their detractors, analysing the technical rationales which informed protective actions in the crisis phase of the disaster and which continue to be implemented in the long-term trajectory of the disaster, as it moves toward recovery. Given the grave concerns generated by the experience of having lived through a time of uncertainty that felt like betrayal, citizens whose lives were disrupted by the crisis and have the most to lose have stepped into what had previously been the exclusive domain of elite-dominated decision-making arenas and asserted their interests. Citizens who had placidly accepted or even championed the nuclear village in their midst prior to the Fukushima disaster have agitated for change, contesting government claims and protocols, instilling a sense of urgency and calling into question some of the fundamental premises upon which the nuclear industry is constructed.

These previously largely apolitical actors, having been provoked to action by what they regard as governmental incompetence and the nuclear industry's disregard for their concerns, have marched in anti-nuclear demonstrations, coalesced into NGO citizen-science organizations, and resisted returning to their evacuated homes, making demands that are unprecedented in Japan. Well-meaning bureaucrats and industry insiders have met this with, at best, a benign authoritarianism that while episodically sympathetic, does not validate what they regard as unscientifically warranted concerns. In a society based on deeply rooted inclinations toward collective assent to authority, this recalcitrance has undermined the government's agenda, creating a crisis of authority that imperils Japan's Olympic dreams and the State's nuclear policy, delaying reactor restarts and bringing forward what had been latent sources of contention. The research presented in this paper is based on intensive interviews with decision-making elites including Japanese government officials, prefectural mayors and administrators who facilitated the evacuations and nuclear industry officials from Japan, the United States and European Union States who were intimately involved in the assessment of the radiation exposure in the days immediately following the onset of the crisis.

The research also examines communities that were most affected by the nuclear fallout to see how they responded in the short-term in the evacuations and decontamination of their environment and in efforts to return to their hometowns. In covering the historical trajectory of these events, I have also interviewed nuclear refugees in evacuation shelters, citizen science groups, anti-nuclear activists and decontamination crews working in the evacuated villages inside the evacuation zone and in areas adjacent (the exclusionary zones).

The larger theoretical issues under consideration are how radiation assessment is culturally contextualized and negotiated within governmental institutions, and how this is conceived in public policy. Post-Fukushima this now includes civil society actors who are bringing their lived experience to the forefront and insinuating themselves into the politically-laden process of nuclear assessment, unsettling the government's mobilization of bias toward a return to nuclear normalcy in a country in which nuclear energy continues to resonate as an existential threat.

BEWARE OF TURBINES! JAWLANI OPPOSITION TO SETTLER COLONIAL GREEN ENERGY PROJECTS IN THE OCCUPIED GOLAN HEIGHTS

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Zionist and Israeli environmental destruction of indigenous Palestinian and Arab landscapes and exploitation of their resources has long been explored as a case of environmental injustice, apartheid and ecocide. From the uprooting of millions of olive trees to the transformation of Palestinian indigenous landscapes and livelihoods, to the systematic displacement of indigenous communities from their land and deprivation of access to the natural resources, the historical record of Israeli environmental destruction is ample and has been explored extensively by scholars and advocacy groups alike However, the Israeli state (and its Zionist roots) has been working for a century on bolstering its image as an environmentally friendly, technologically advanced and a solutions-based (start-up) nation, exporting its revolutionary technologies to the world. From seawater desalination to wastewater treatment and reuse, the Israeli state has invested extensively in an image of a nation of entrepreneurship and green stewardship 'Making the desert bloom' can be claimed to be the biggest myth of the settler colonial project, yet the Israeli state's 'greenwashing' practices have long been long been spearheaded by the Israeli state to distract attention from its human (and environmental) rights violations.

Far from being green and eco-friendly, the Israeli sate has one of the biggest per capita ecological footprints, with its reliance heavily on coal in addition to its record of environmental rights violations in the occupied Palestinian territory and its warfare pollution. Recently and in its effort to boost its environmentally friendly image, Israel has been investing heavily in renewable energy, committing in the Paris Summit in 2015 to incre its renewable energy sources to reach 17% by the year 2030.

This paper presents the case of an Israeli project in the occupied Golan Heights, which aims to install a wind farm in the heart of the remaining Syrian villages, which have historically been undergoing systematic dispossession from their land and resources Since 1967, the occupied Golan Heights Syrian residents (Jawlanis) have undergone settler colonial policies of dispossession and uprooting of denial of access to

their water, land and other natural resources (such as Gas). The Israeli state has also intensified its grip on those resources and assisted Israeli (and sometimes international) private companies to exploit these by allowing a legal and political cover for their operation The wind turbine project is located on the last remaining lands for the Syrian Jawlani communities, who rely on agricultural lands for their livelihood, identity and place-making which has throughout the years been the emblem of their opposition to the Israeli occupation and their policies of dispossession. The occupied Golan Heights is a colonised territory, and existential issues of erasure and assimilation within the Israeli settler colonial reality remain an alarming concern for old and young generations of Jawlani, especially in light of ongoing political turmoil in Syria. This paper argues that in settler colonial contexts and under neoliberal modes of operation, the power asymmetry and inequality towards indigenous communities becomes intensified, threatening communities' ways of life and relationship with their natural resources. At the same time, this paper will aim to present ongoing oppositional acts of the Jawlani communities against the wind turbines project. It will rely on court hearings, online discussions, videos, posters, songs and writings of the Jawlani Youth Movement to analyse modes of resistance and defiance digitally as well as on the ground exercised against the settler colonial state I will further analyse how such acts stem from and build upon decades of community mobilisation and resistance against settler colonial policies of uprooting, misrecognition and erasure. Typical road signs warning visitors of land mines (planted by the Israeli army following 1967) in the occupied Golan Heights are being re-designed to warn of wind turbines, exemplifying the gravity and growing concern of uprooting and dispossession felt by the Jawlanis by the green energy of the settler colonial state.

RENEWABLE ENERGY IN HOKKAIDO: ALTERNATIVE INFRASTRUCTURES OF VULNERABILITY

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On September 6th, 2018 a record-breaking earthquake struck south-central Hokkaido, Japan, very close to the island's most powerful coal plant, causing a blackout and widespread damage to infrastructures marked by Hokkaido's histories of extractivist development. The 2011 earthquake and nuclear disaster had led to new policies designed to advance renewable energy development and bring grid management in line with that of Europe and North America, but the 2018 earthquake was yet another infrastructural inversion that for energy producers, citizens and renewable energy advocates underscored the profound vulnerabilities that remained. I take this sense of vulnerability as a starting point to discuss how biogas producers create new multispecies vulnerabilities between cows, methanogenic bacteria and humans as alternatives to the increasingly shaken promises of the modern gridworld.

FROM COAL TO FRACKING. ETHNOGRAPHIC AND PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES TO DOCUMENTING ENERGY EXTRACTION IN PLUNDERED (AND TRANSITIONING?) APPALACHIA

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Appalachia is historically renowned as the colony within the US (Fox, 1999). It has been plundered for its natural resources – salt, wood, coal – since the 1800s and has been experiencing in the last 15 years yet another "boom and bust" cycle: hydraulic fracturing (Bell, 2010; Willow and Keefer, 2015).
Grounded on ethnographic fieldwork carried out since 2017, in this paper I outline the methodological challenges I encountered in carrying out an interdisciplinary research project aimed at documenting industry and citizens' opinions on easing of regulations of hydraulic fracturing. Which different techniques and approaches did I use when carrying out observations and conducting interviews in fracking rigs and in the home of those whose water had been contaminated by drilling? How did I reconcile my feminist epistemological ethos with having to investigate the industry? And how did I present and return the data gathered to local citizens who had experienced the good and the bad of the current energy extractive cycle? And how did the industry react?
While providing a glimpse into how everyday life and identity have changes in rural Appalachia, actually turned into an industrial site by unconventional oil and gas development, this paper focuses on the difficulties of conducting research in an interdisciplinary team and under the presumption of lack of bias.

GREEN TRANSITION? WITCHY ECOLOGIES, TEMPORALITY AND "GREEN" EXTRACTION IN THE REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA

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At the core of this presentation is a challenge to the paradigm of transition to renewable energy that has dominated discussions around energy production in recent years. This paper aims to problematise the developmental temporality and extractive epistemology at play in the construction of so called 'green' energy infrastructure, it does so starting from an ongoing infrastructural controversy taking place in the Republic of Georgia, surrounding the construction of a large hydropower plant in the Rioni valley, in the West of the country.

Georgia, like much of the former Socialist space, is at the centre of a hydropower boom. With over one hundred projects currently in the pipeline, the country, aided by the EBRD and other international investment banks, is placing water extraction at the centre of its vision of economic development. Across the space of the bank's operation, discourses around transition to sustainable energy provision that justify such large scale investment in hydropower are entangled with the long-standing narratives around the early post-socialist transition to democracy. In this way, infrastructures, ecosystems, forms of expertise and capital are enrolled into the developmental effort towards a prosperous and green capitalist future. In the Rioni valley, however, the making of this future has already left profound scars. For the valley's inhabitants the looming mega project has come to represent a threat to the livelihoods that have already been harshly affected in the aftermath of Soviet.

collapse. At the centre of these livelihoods are economic and social practices that stem from a deep engagement with the territory and its unique topography. These include viticulture.

and the collection of endemic wild herbs and their transformation in ointments and herbal teas. The search and handling of such wild herbs, as one of my informants detailed, is predicated on an understanding of the environment that dismantles modern distinctions between human and nature for a vision of entanglement and dialogue between those who seek to pick the herbs and the mountainous ecosystem on which they grow. This epistemology brings together the mountain, the valley and the various beings that inhabit them. The transition towards a more sustainable future sponsored by international banks, however, is predicated on a radically different vision of a green economy. By reflecting on the witchy ecologies that may be silenced by the dam construction in the Rioni valley and the politics of expertise that is informing the controversy, this presentation will expose the contradictions and violence at the core of capitalist transition to green energy. Despite being perceived as a renewable and sustainable energy source, the hydropower projects that are critical to the investment portfolios of development banks in the post-soviet space have been characterised by a distinctively extractive rationality, blind to actually existing practices of sustainability and to the complex ecosystems they seek to intervene within.

A SPATIALIZED ETHNOGRAPHY OF ENERGY COMMUNITIES: NEW FORMS OF ENERGY GOVERNANCE, FROM THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE COLLECTIVE

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The imperatives of sustainability and consumption control driven by the energy transition are leading to the emergence of projects based on collaborative consumption, the sharing of spaces and the adoption of ecological practices (Dabadie, Robert-Demontrond, 2016). This impetus has led to an increasingly important integration of collective self-consumption into participatory housing projects, where the objectives of sharing spaces and adopting a sustainable lifestyle are articulated with the organization of a community governance (Launay, 2018). Through an ethnographic qualitative survey method, we analyse the articulation between energy production/consumption, community organization and the practice of spaces at the micro-local level.

In France, collective self-consumption of electricity is a relatively recent phenomenon, following the spread of the "village power plants" model (Poize and Labie, 2017) by adding an in-situ consumption dimension to local renewable energy production Since 2017, a legislative framework has given individuals the opportunity to form a "community of self-consumers", by connecting them to the same meter and creating

a legal entity to manage the distribution of energy among individuals The obligation to establish a ratio, static or dynamic, distributing production among the different participants, moves the organizational power towards the collective.

In the scientific literature, the term "community energy" is used broadly to indicate multiple initiatives related to the production and consumption of renewable energy at the local level, involving citizen groups in several forms (Rogers *et al.*, 2008) Governance is thus confirmed as a central issue in the organization of energy communities: Acosta *et al.* (2018) show how the collective decision-making process becomes a decisive element for the project, as well as the organization of actors and the materiality of the technical system. Interest in energy communities is not new in the literature and in policies related to innovations in the energy field. Our approach aims to introduce the spatial variable into this reflection, because the space where consumption practices are deployed is a key issue in the organization, and the success, of community energy Oliveira and Marco (2018) show that the appropriation of efficient technical systems by users of domestic spaces depends on the characteristics of these spaces: the dynamics of control, use and learning will be different in private or common spaces. Collective self-consumption is built on this same duality between the individual and the collective dimensions, which are embedded in a practiced space. The regulation of collective self-consumption requires actors to define distribution rules that consider common consumption, but also individual practices. On the one hand, optimizing and therefore controlling energy consumption requires actors to intervene in daily practices in domestic and common areas; on the other hand, respecting the privacy of group members (Naus *et al.*, 2015) requires a step back from counting modes that would result too invasive.

In this sense, participatory housing is a fertile ground for the analysis of collective self-consumption, because its horizontal governance and spatial structure reveal multiple issues. The practice theory informs us about the complexity of consumption practices, consisting in interdependencies between the materiality of technical systems and spaces, the competences of individuals and the meanings driving them (Shove *et al.*, 2012) The spatial dimension is therefore fundamental, not only as a support for consumption devices or practices, but as a space for the "habitat" of community members, in other words as places of anchoring and symbolic construction, in a phenomenological sense (Paquot, 2007). While the technical system of collective self-consumption defines a script of use (Akrich, 1992), the practices of consumption and occupation of space relate to other characteristics, linked to an appropriation of space that is symbolic rather than material (Segaud, 2007).

We have chosen to analyse a participatory housing because it allows us to observe in a privileged way the intertwining between our three study dimensions: technology, space and governance. More specifically, members of groups initiating participatory housing projects implement horizontal and dense governance necessary to make the housing project work per se. Moreover, since the sharing of space is the necessary condition, and sometimes the reason why such projects exist, the observation of specific consumption practices reveals a spectrum of articulation between practices, spaces and technical solutions that is very significant for our analysis.

Our ethnographic approach, which is strongly embedded in space, combines the analysis of actors' narratives and representations with the observation not only of consumption and occupation practices, but also of material and spatial devices. First, we observed the material elements of spatial planning and organization: architecture, material and symbolic occupation of spaces, markings. Then, we attended exchanges, mainly informal, around different issues related to living together. The ethnographic observation campaign was complemented by in-depth semi-directive interviews with the inhabitants and professionals who participated in the project. More specifically, we focused our attention on the genesis and progress of the project, in order to understand the role played by the collective self-consumption system within the group, as well as on the organisation among actors in the operational phase, through a survey method inspired by narrative methodology (McAlpine, 2016). Thus, we were able to identify asymmetries, compromises and negotiations between project members, and between the spatial, organisational and technical dimensions operated by the inhabitants. Secondly, we wanted to investigate the daily practices of the inhabitants, in order to understand how they evolve in private and common spaces and their impact on consumption practices (Gronow, Warde, 2001), particularly in relation to the operation of collective self-consumption. We conducted our surveys at the micro-local level, namely the scale of housing occupancy and immediately adjacent spaces, as much as inter-individual exchanges between community members, through an interactionist approach (Blumer, 1969).

Our surveys show that the consumption and governance practices of collective self-consumption operations cannot be developed without a local spatial anchoring. If solutions for collective self-consumption, disconnected from any spatial dimension, emerge, energy communities on a spatial basis are confirmed as extremely fertile grounds for the energy transition. Although technology plays a fundamental role in the success of any collective self-consumption operation, in our case study, where inhabitants come together to share energy, consumption spaces and discussion spaces, the functioning and even the success of the project depend on factors that have little to do with energy efficiency per se, and much to do with social control, living together, individuation (Fernandez, 2011) and the management of commons.

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UNDOING FOSSIL-FUELS ASSEMBLAGES: CLIMATE-ACTIVISM AND THE CHALLENGES OF FIGHTING BUSINESS-AS-USUAL IN MILAN, ITALY

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The aim of this paper is to present the practices triggered by climate-activists to undo the urban relational matrices highly dependent on fossil fuels, in Milan, Northern Italy. Our interest is therefore in following the conflictual repertoires – such as the forms of demonstrations, direct action, protests – and the personal and collective practices for the production of a collective livable futures threatened by the climate and ecological crisis but also by social and political conflicts and subjective impasse. In this precarious situation the subjects implicated by climate and ecological mutation (Latour, 2020) must produce a path that allows them to live amidst the ruins of capitalism and ecological collapse (Tsing, 2015; Haraway, 2016) but also to undo and struggle against the agents responsible for this collapse. In our case study, our attention will fall on the divestment and public outreach campaigns against the oil and natural gas giant ENI, a multinational company with majority control by the Italian state responsible for the extraction, production, distribution and marketing of fossil fuels and derivatives.

The ecological and climate problem allows us to explore new forms of socio-anthropological imagination and empirical inquiry. In this sense, global and large-scale dimensions – the simultaneous transcendences of capitalism and Gaia that Stengers (2015) tells us about – should be brought back to their local forms, just

as the local dimension should be understood as situated configurations in which the extra-local dynamics – such as the markets and infrastructures for the production, distribution and commercialisation of fossil fuels – are articulated without reducing the local as mere passive effect. The activist practices and new low-carbon habits that will be considered in this paper should, in turn, be investigated as elaborations situated from particular material conditions – which obviously prevents providing a substantial or generalizing definition of them. It mainly refers to the (subjective and material) efforts to circumscribe a potential field of action and how these actions, their responses and their forms of engagement, are inseparable from the economic, technological, material, political, ecological and infrastructural milieu. We should therefore describe urban climate activism practice as an effort to explicit, permanently, the collective condition of ecological and climatic interdependence (Stengers, 2020) that engages them in the construction of low-carbon agencements simultaneously to the dismantling of fossil-fuel assemblages (collective, material, subjective).

Our research focuses on climate activism in urban spaces and how this activism can show us problematic aspects regarding the political possibilities of transforming high-carbon socialities locally but also extra-locally; by leading climate activism into the spaces of fossil fuel consumption, our aim is to investigate how the material dimension of the 'urban factory' interferes with the possibilities of responding to Gaia's intrusion (Stengers, 2015), as to subvert the extractivist logic that produced this intrusion This urban materiality, whose dominant form would be that of a techno-economic matrix (Viveiros de Castro and Danowski, 2020) that cuts across its inhabitants and their practices is of great relevance to discussions on energy transition and the political problems associated with it.

The transition to a low-carbon future does not guarantee, in and of itself, that problems concerning inequality and exclusion will be definitively overcome – especially those related to the unequal exchanges between the global North and South The activists' position will be presented here as propositions that concern both discourses and their socio-material dimension – which goes beyond a simple registration of materiality as 'context' and makes the explicitness of life-sustaining conditions a vector for the radical questioning of politics. This paper is based in my fieldwork initiated in December 2018 and finalized in February 2021 from which I could follow several activities related to climate change in the city of Milan promoted by activists, scientists, artists and public administrators In this paper I will focus specifically on the activities and campaigns elaborated by these activists against Eni through seminars, demonstrations, direct actions, divestment campaigns and public discussions.

SESSION 13

RELATEDNESS THROUGH TRANSNATIONAL REPRODUCTION

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REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE IN SURROGACY RELATIONSHIPS: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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The presentation is based on a critical interpretative review of existing qualitative research investigating accounts of "lived experience" of surrogates and intended parents from a relational perspective. The aim is to further our understanding of surrogacy arrangements, to go beyond the division between altruistic versus commercial, and traditional versus gestational surrogacy in order to inform further research and to contribute to bioethical and policy debates on surrogacy in a transnational context. The review is based on the analysis of 39 articles, which belong to a range of different disciplines (mostly sociology, social psychology, anthropology, ethnology and gender studies). Number of interviews in each study range from as small numbers as seven to over one hundred, and countries covered include Australia, Canada, Greece, India, Iran, Israel, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Sweden, UK, Ukraine, and the US While not all studies focus specifically on transnational surrogacy, most include surrogacy-practices in one country with the intended parents from other countries, and some include several countries (eg interviewees from several countries or fieldwork in different field-sites). We propose four types of relations between surrogate mothers and intended parents: open, restricted, structured and enmeshed. The criteria which influence these relationships are: the frequency and character of contact pre-and post-birth; expectations of both parties; the type of exchange involved in surrogacy arrangements, as well as cultural, legal and economic context. The theoretical contribution of the article is to further the development of a relational justice approach to surrogacy.

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SPREADSHEETS, BORDERS AND RELATEDNESS: A MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHY OF GAY MEN'S REPRODUCTIVE PROJECTS IN THE UK, US AND EUROPE

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In this paper, I discuss my ethnographic work on transnational queer kinships created by gay men who use surrogacy to become fathers I draw on findings from my studies of gay men's reproductive decisions to pursue compensated surrogacy in the USA or altruistic surrogacy in the UK, and I offer some transatlantic comparisons throughout. The US study was a full ethnography, whilst the UK research became an online interview study due to the pandemic, which also leads me to methodological considerations I briefly focus on four aspects of gay men's transnational reproductive decisions. First, I show that the men's reproductive travel takes several different forms, such as travelling to the US for surrogacy or migrating permanently to the UK to access surrogacy. Second, alongside the men's reasoning about why and how they chose transnational or domestic surrogacy in the UK or the US, I show how those decisions are shaped by a novel form of class-based intentionality that I call 'spreadsheet fertility'. Third, their decisions are also linked to their ideas about the form of kinship and family they would like to build and they consider thinkable. This may, for example, contribute to their decisions to use domestic altruistic surrogacy in the UK and, in particular, its traditional modality where the surrogate uses her own ova, as opposed to transnational gestational surrogacy in the US Finally, the men also take their reproductive decisions bearing in mind potential stigmatization their children and themselves may suffer not only due to the fathers' sexuality identification but also to their children's skin colour. As a strategy of pre-conception stigma management, those gay fathers therefore undertake racial matching in their choice of egg donors and surrogates, which differs depending on the dominant racial make-up of the location in which they live. I close with brief remarks on how these findings on queer kinships could speak to questions of reproductive justice. The research is part of the Changing (In)Fertilities collaborative research grant, run in the Reproductive Sociology Research Group and funded by the Wellcome Trust (https://wwwcifpsociologycamacuk/work-packages/lgbtq-in-fertilities).

KIN, ALMOST-KIN OR NOT-AT-ALL-KIN? THE NOTION OF "ORIGINS" AMONG ITALIAN SAME-SEX PARENTED FAMILIES

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If Italian same-sex parented families lacking juridical recognition insist strongly on their "normality" (Parisi 2017), their kinning practices simultaneously innovate and build on continuity (Grilli, Parisi 2017; Sarcinelli, Simon 2019). The paper will describe and analyse the narratives and practices related to the relationships covered by the notion of origins, meaning the ties (being real or fantasy) between people who, although they are not kin, are connected by the circumstances of a procreative act (cf. wwwanr-originesfr).
In absence of reproductive and family rights, Italian same-sex couples with a reproductive project develop "tactics" (De Certeau, 1990, pp 57-62) to create a family, often implying the presence of multiple actors. The role of these people is sometimes delimited within the time frame of the procreative act whereas, in other cases, might acquire a more important role over time. The presentation will explore the way different members of the families (parents, grandparents and children) experience such relations What is the role of kin, almost-kin or not-at-all-kin in the history of Italian same-sex parented families?
The data come from an ethnographic fieldwork realized among lesbian and gay headed households between 2016 and 2019. The methodology consisted of (i) participant observation of the family and social life of same-sex families, (ii) in-depth biographical, non-directive interviews and construction of kinship diagrams with several family members, and (iii) a socio-historical analysis of the legal context.
The goal is to bring new light to the very question of "what is kinship all about" (Guerzoni, Sarcinelli, 2019) and to understand the strategic uses of kinship and (semi)-kinship ties. Both family members and institutional actors define and experience kinship ties according to several logics. Both kinship and relatedness are defined and experienced differently on the three key levels of juridical regulations, social norms, and practical kinship (Weber, 2005). Not only does the definition of kinship differ between these three levels, but there are also internal contradictions inside each of these categories. Institutional definitions of kinship

are highly fragmentary and ambiguous as it differs at local, regional, national and international levels. On the other hand, the "practical thought of kinship" (Bestard, 2005) reveals a plurality of interpretative registers of Euro-American kinship (Fine and Martial, 2010).

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THE REVENGE OF BLOOD: COMPARING ADOPTIVE AND ARTS TRANSNATIONAL RELATEDNESS THROUGH THE PLOT OF CHILDREN'S NEURO-PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS

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At the end of the last century, social scientists recognized the "family by choice" as a particular fashion of family making by using specific reproduction practices for intended parents carrying infertile conditions (Weston 1991; Franklin, Inhorn 2016). In Italy, adoption first and ARTs later became the social practices more representative of "reproduction by choice" and intentional parenting (Mattalucci 2017).

Over time, adoptive and bio-ARTs kinship making showed some substantial differences and many analogies, the main of which is to disconnect the birth family or the donors and the adoptees or donor-conceived children alongside their acquired relatedness as well (Carsten 2000; DiSilvio 2013; Klotz 2016). Besides, both experiences are often fulfilled through global mobilities of intended parents and children or pregnancies provided by social and bio-medical transnational technologies (Marre, Briggs 2009; Zanini 2013; Wilson 2016). At the same time, interactions among international conventions, national policies, law, and the genomic paradigm structure the ways these reproductions are legitimated, governed and regulated (Van Wichelen 2016).

An example among others: in Italy – such as in many receiving countries – adoptees need to be informed very soon about their blood unrelatedness with the adoptive kin, on the contrary, donor-conceived children are not subjected to the same rules on genetic ties knowledge, and parents are not urged to provide it.

Unsurprisingly such differences might have played an important role in the field of reproduction by choice since a very normalized adoption is becoming less attractive than ARTs biotechnologies for the Italian intended parents, who show a more accommodating cultural inclination towards the latter than a decade ago. Whatever is the emerging context, the comparison between these reproductive experiences may provide interesting reflections on where reproductions by choice are going and what consequences they are performing on the parenthood making process at its moral, bodily and emotional level.

Exploring anamnesis, diagnosis, and treatment of children who were adopted or donor-conceived and who were classified as neuro-psychologically fragile, I gathered intriguing biopolitics narratives, genetically oriented Rabinow (1996) observes that genetics are reshaping society and life because these are embedded throughout the social fabric of biopolitical practices and discourses: he calls this entanglement of nature and the social as 'biosociality'.

In the biosocial vision, the clinical practice flowing from genetic paradigms is produced by a desire for medical practitioners to identify and re-order difference, by pathologizing it and finally acting as a rationale for social prejudice (Pickersgill 2011; MacGregor 2012). So that, what was arranged and/or thought as

social parenting – such as in adoptive or donor-conceived relatedness produced by breaking previous relational and/or biological connections – is quickly repositioned within the belonging of blood by the neuro-genomics discourse.

Both parents by adoption and couples who conceived through donors I met on the field were facing the unexpected task of managing a neuro-psychological diagnosis made on their children The secrecy that had characterized their reproduction, by ensuring exclusive parenthood, had suddenly turned into a wall against which the children's abnormal behaviors had clashed (DiSilvio 2017; Melo-Martin 2016).

The autistic specter disorders and/or ADHD disorders are the main diagnosis labels attached to these children Following the neuro-genomics discourses, these disorders are explained by referring to the individual genetic heritage – more specifically to a familiar defectiveness in the genetic coding process – which is not the heritage of the acquired parents, of course, albeit they are established as exclusive parents by law (Geshwind 2011; Schachar 2014).

The parents are thus forced to feel connected, in some way, to those who generated or participated in the generation of their children on a transnational level However, the different "styles" of reproduction, by adoption or by ARTs, and the different regulations and biopolitics that govern them, are mirrored in the different ways in which parents manage the elaboration of narratives, feelings, practices or morality of relationship to what or who remains unknown (DiSilvio 2015; Blyth 2012).

Reproduction by adoption is a public fact, highlighted by an established bureaucracy and by recurring somatic differences between parents and children; on the contrary, rules on reproduction by ARTs allows parents to hide the experience into the private realm So, if it is undeniable that adoptees don't share anything with the genetic heritage of the acquired kindreds, donors-conceived offspring may be publicly introduced by parents as the very own (Isaksson et al 2019). Such difference becomes very clear when a child's clinical anamnesis is gathered Both adoptive parents and bio-ARTs parents have no information on possible mental disorders throughout the genetic history of the child's generator(s), however, rhetoric on adoption allows the clinicians to presume a very compromised health context in the origin (Van Wichelen 2014), while rhetoric on ARTs reproduction suggests a satisfactory biomedical correspondence with the chosen donor(s), providing the intended parents with a peaceful confidence about the future of their children's health.

In any case, parents' narratives gathered on the ethnographic field stress how children bodily material, as biofact of the genetic working, recalls original (transnational) connections that were presumed to be disconnected starting from the process of their parenthood making.

Reproduction by adoption and reproduction by bio-ARTs seem intertwined on many levels, following paths traced in the past and mixing in some way or marking new ones and differentiating from each other By problematizing the nature of this intertwining, I propose to discuss how the transnational connections to which both neuro-psychological technologies and neuro-genetic discourses refer to introduce paradoxical elements that undermine the experience of reproduction in its bodily, emotional and moral aspects and, consequently, the process of parenthood making.

SESSION 14

SENSORIAL WORLDS OF PRODUCTION/CONSUMPTION

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"BEING KABYLE" THROUGH MATERIALITY
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This paper examines the everyday and online practices of identity among Kabyle immigrants in the UK – the Kabyles are an Amazigh ethnic sub-group indigenous to northern Algeria Many Kabyles have emigrated abroad as a direct consequence of the subjugation of Kabylia by the French colonisation and the social-political instability of post-independent Algeria. While the overwhelming majority moved to France and Canada, their immigration to the UK is relatively recent and small-scale. This paper focuses on a varied group of Kabyles who have settled in the UK within the past few years and examines their engagement with 'being Kabyle' through materiality. For example, food is one of the most indispensable element of Kabyle practice and sensorial-performative occasions. As part of their daily activities, I have observed the way women cooked and communicated with the ingredients I saw how they created a dialogue with the couscous grains, olive oil, Kabyle bread 'aghroum' through their expressive gazes and caresses through the couscous with great affection and nostalgia Food is important in the transmission, revival and maintenance of traditions in any migratory setting.

Based on ethnographic research, my work examines how the Kabyle/Amazigh identities, which is currently undergoing a degree of recognition and revitalisation in Algeria, are being negotiated at both public and personal levels, in a relatively new migratory setting I will focus on the sensory production and consumption of materiality, which includes: everyday domestic activities, food, object transfer and exchange, the creation of cultural events, and different performative interactions. This discussion draws on the notion of a transnational social field to include the participants' orientation towards Algeria and other sites as they engage online. As part of expressing and revitalising their everyday ethnicity in the UK, my analysis suggests that the formation of 'Kabyleness', entangled with gender, traditions, age, language, history and politics, involves the creation and maintenance of particularly, sensorial events.

TASTING THE MEANING: SOME METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON SENSORY ETHNOGRAPHY AMONGST ITALIAN NATURAL WINEGROWERS
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Natural wines represent a flourishing niche market within the larger wine world, and at the same time a debated product category. Generally characterised by a low-intervention approach, the rejection of pesticides and other chemical substances both in the vineyard and in the cellar, as well as a minimal technological intervention, natural wines are the expression of a small-scale, artisanal production that places nature and its expression at the core of wine production and consumption. These winegrowers regard themselves as farmers, being agriculture the fundamental starting point of this kind of winemaking Producing wine means indeed working responsibly the land (organic agriculture), taking into account biodiversity, searching for high quality fruits (mainly autochthonous grapes), which results in wines characterised by a striking sensorial aesthetics. Clear and brilliant colours are replaced by cloudy hazes, celebrated floral components are overwhelmed by strong notes of soil, wild herbs and whiffy outdoor flavours. When approaching these wines, sommeliers and wine critics inevitably tend to downgrade them as not conforming to standardised parameters of taste. Due to this radically alternative sensorial aesthetics, natural wines do not represent a legally recognised product category both at national and European level.

As a result, these producers are well aware of their contested and contesting position within the global hierarchy of wine values.

As an anthropologist conducting ethnographic fieldwork among Italian natural wine producers, I have been presented with a series of methodological challenges. First, taking into account the highly sensorial field of investigation constituted by viticulture and winemaking, I inevitably engaged with my own senses to become familiar with a vibrant reality marked by colourful skin grapes, pungent smells, strong flavours and tactile perceptions. At the same time, I had to make sense of the sensorial specificities of natural winemaking, and what it practically (and physically) meant for these producers to reject conventional oenological additives and practices, as well as interact more closely with the plants in the vineyard and the wine in the cellar. Second, the self-reflexivity I cultivated while being on the field as an anthropologist, was heightened by the reflexive attitude shown by my informants on their own part: as their wines represented a contested product category and exhibited a radically alternative aesthetics, these natural producers crafted their wines in a highly self-conscious fashion. I will argue that in such a field where the senses represent a crucial category of meaning, sensory ethnography has enabled me to intimately delve into the lives and work of my informants and at the same time become aware of my own positionality in the field as a researcher equipped with a sensorial body.

THE DE-SENSORIALISATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION
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The paper argues that there has been a drastic decrease in the centrality of senses' activation in both food production and consumption, even though some counter-trends are evident in contemporary attempts to rescue the senses. An anthropological phenomenology, intended as a focus on collective, recurrent modes of activating senses in specific cultural environments, is crucial to understand several peculiarities of contemporary humanity. To explain the progressive downscaling of holistic sensory involvement in productive and consumption processes I focus on the notion of comfort. Comfort is associated to the subjective perception of ease and contentment, acting as the positive polarity in a spectrum evaluating bodily experience in terms of sensory relaxation. Activities are deemed comfortable when associated to a sustained reduction of muscular effort, trouble or strain and a consequent increase in ease or pleasure Contemporary comfortable existences permitted by what I call hyper-technology, that is the devices that have become increasingly used worldwide in the twentieth century, has acted as a screen between human experience and the productive and consumption processes.

Hyper-technology has been characterized by the containment of physical toil; absence of impurity (as socially defined); capacity to regulate the environment according to one's desire and the availability of efficacious instruments to transform the surrounding. An epochal shift occurred towards the overcoming of fatigue and the progressive screening of the undomesticated environment from holistic sensuous experiences. Even though technological mediation has characterized all human contexts, in the last decades the capacity to screen the organic world has increased drastically. One of the obvious phenomenological and cognitive consequences of the spread of comfort is the inhibition of direct, holistic, sensuous involvement with organic materials, environments as well as productive and consumption processes that have long been the principal sensuous stimuli, and thus the source of symbolic and cosmological creativity.

I use an historical and ethnographic gaze on a process of production (bakery) and consumption (the evaluation of what is an edible product) to illustrate wider cultural dynamics I compare the phenomenological experiences implied in baking with a wood-generated fire and a gas or electric stove. The former requires the fatigue of cutting, transporting and storing the wood. It needs a bodily incorporated skill in lighting, monitoring and regulating the fire; through these tiring processes the wood's and fire's characteristics are learnt. The gas or electric stove often does not require any effort to search and move the combustible; the bodily knowledge required is basic: turn a switch and push a bottom Advanced technological devices act as cognitive screens as they inhibit direct, sensuous apprehension of organic surroundings. While artisans' molding of artifacts necessitated a direct sensuous relations with the organic environment and an attentive bodily activation, today the form and functions of products are decided by engineers and marketing strategies. With regards to consumption the retreat of a holistic sensory experience is evident in food conservation and the assessment of what is still edible food. The general decrease of domestic cooking

and the increased dependency on industrially worked dishes has transformed in depth various aspects: domestic contexts tend to renounce to spaces intended for food storage (cellars) and specific sensory competences (salting, smoking, drying). The holistic sensory activation in the process of food storage and the assessment of its quality has been substituted by comfortable electronic devices (fridges and freezers) and by an institutionally defined expiration date announced in the standard label Food storage no longer require human sensory ability as it is chemically managed in the industrial process; paradoxically the artificial flavourings are able to simulate the artisanal conservation processes, such as smoking.

The comfortable solution offers an apparent enhancement in comparison to more demanding, dirty, tiresome organic alternatives. What is at first an "improved" option soon replaces practices requiring direct interaction with organic substances and processes and strengthens a transition from a productive and consumption processes centered on self-managed, holistically complex, technologically autonomous dynamics to a loss of sensory centrality and a generalised dependency on global economic and financial agencies, resulting from the spread of comfortable production and consumption.

SENSORY ETHNOGRAPHY IN PRACTICE: GETTING A "SENSE" OF CULTURAL-INTOXICATION

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As ethnographers are well aware, 'learning' and 'knowing' are situated in embodied practice and movement Focusing on the senses, however, allows researchers a better understanding of how particular commodities can become embedded within cultural practices. For example, my PhD involved long-term participant observation among multi-national young adults as they intimately experiment and learn other ways of 'being in' and 'perceiving' the world through social drug use. Activating (or deactivating) the senses holds crucial significance for various drug users These pleasure- and intoxication-driven commodities explicitly rely on the role and value of our senses.

Drug use (both legal and illegal) and drug spaces have been the primary drivers of young-adults and tourists around the world, as thoroughly outlined within the so-called 'experience economy'. To capture the sensual responses of cultural intoxication, the spaces in which they occur, and with whom, it was necessary to explore sensory ethnography in practice. For this discussion, I will feature visual and audio representations of 'social drug users' to highlight the significance of using multisensory engagement. The objective of this talk is to convey how these pleasure-driven consumption practices can produce new categories of meaning for all involved in the space. This will draw attention to the role sensory ethnography plays in providing new insights on how we communicate a 'sense' of what drug use means for users – to an audience who may hold negative or uninformed opinions of drug users I will also reflect on the challenges of sharing incriminating data and on the ethical dilemmas of portraying this facet of cultural consumption, without glorifying risky behaviours.

Keywords: Sensory ethnography, sensual methodologies, intoxication, ethics, pleasure-driven production & consumption.

SESSION 15

MATERIALIZING ETHNOGRAPHY. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC GAZE ON MATERIAL CULTURE, BETWEEN CONSUMPTION, MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGY STUDIES

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GUARDIANS OF HERITAGE: PINEAPPLE, TORTELLINI, FOOD PORN AND GASTRO-NATIONALISM

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Our paper focuses on the process of production and circulation of food porn pics aimed at reinforcing Italianicity. With "food porn" we refer to the practice of online sharing of food images, as a means through which to demonstrate the individual competence in participating to the mainstream discourses about food (Stagi, 2016) Specifically, we tackle the issue of gastro-nationalist (DeSoucey, 2010) food porn, starting from our recent analysis (Benasso e Stagi, 2019) of the huge amount of visual representations – and related conversation – shared online as a result of the so-called "carbonara gate". In 2016 French video tutorial on Youtube which proposed an alternative preparation of the pasta alla carbonara recipe in respect of the Italian standard procedure was indeed released. This has triggered an over-production of online discourses and visual representations of pasta alla carbonara aimed at protecting a dish perceived as a milestone of the Italian culinary tradition from potential "contaminations" from abroad. What has soon assumed the character of a "clash of cultures" based on a specific dish, has also fostered the viral circulation of its images online (Peng & Jemmott, 2018), in a tension between the definition of standard recipe and its visual representation, and its manifold reinterpretations. Following our analysis of the dynamics framed within the carbonara-gate, we have taken into consideration the broader scope of the relation between political communication and food porn in Italy, where over the last years the "traditional" association between food culture and national identity is furtherly characterised according to the sovereignist claims. The discourses shaped by gastro-nationalism reproduce rhetoric about borders, heritage and authenticity, fostering processes of deconstruction or reconstruction of the issue of national identity according to the in/out position of the actors participating to the debate. The reactionary attitudes towards Italian food appear easy suitable for reclaiming the uniqueness and supremacy of the "authentic" expressions of Italianicity, for they can draw on the popular Italian food culture and its regional variances - as well as on the debate about the protection of local food traditions (see DOC, DOP and so on) - to stress the distinction from foreign countries. Furthermore, the political use of food porn often intertwines with other forms of distinction, tackling for instance religious (see the recent outrage concerning the tortellini al pollo recipe) or gender issues. These symbolical clashes lead to the production of a huge amount of memes which on the one side make fun of gastro-nationalist food porn, while on the other seize its very language and apply it to unravel the rhetoric use of notions like "natural" and "traditional". Then, for instance, the presence of representatives of the Lega party in Lazio is reframed on fliers as something "unnatural as the cream on carbonara", or the anti-gender campaign – which focuses on heteronormativity as natural – is blamed on Gay Pride posters through slogans like "the only truly unnatural thing is pesto made out with nuts". All these symbolical gastro-nationalist actions depend on the legitimation of the voice of people who, as insiders, are allowed to draw on a repertoire of meanings defined as "common" and "traditional" by the strategies of construction of Italianicity.

ETHNOGRAPHY ON TWO WHEELS. MOTORCYCLE CULTURES IN ITALY

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The paper aims to present the data of the participant observation and ethnographic interviewing of two small communities of Italian bikers. Drawing from the sociological tradition of symbolic interaction and dramaturgical analysis, merged with theories surrounding edgework and risk-taking behavior, this ethnographic study considers the motorcycle as a material object infused with cultural significance, tied up with complex issues of technology, engineering, consumerism, class, gender and sexuality. As a nexus of social and cultural relations, the motorcycle is explored as an instrument of identity formation for the rider, and as an aesthetic (and practical) object in its own right.

The research explains the values, the attitudes and the beliefs of the interviewed bikers, showing a kind of "brotherhood" which is increasingly being joined by a "motorcycling sisterhood" – women have a long and rich tradition of riding motorcycles that is often overlooked and overshadowed by the stereotypical roles assigned to them by hardcore bikers and the general public opinion (and the media). Among the several symbols of the motorcycle cultures, the analysis shows the motorcycle itself (as a practical, aesthetic and symbolic object); the "uniform" (with leather serving both pragmatic and symbolic functions for motorcyclists); the "biker wave" (widely used by motorcyclists of all types, consisting of extending the left arm out of the body at or below waist level, usually showing the index and middle finger); and the "biker code" (the unwritten, informal understanding among motorcyclists that you never leave another biker stranded).

Another important characteristic of contemporary motorcycle culture is that of motorcycle shows and rallies, which represent an important component of social life for many riders and serves to bond members of the group, reinforce their identity, and distinguish members of this subculture from the larger social world. The trip to shows and rallies is viewed by some bikers as a pilgrimage, where the real excitement and mystique may have less to do with the show or the rally itself, and more to do with traveling to and from the event – like a journey to and from the sacred place.

A common theme among the motorcyclists of the research, regardless of age, sex, or life experiences, seems to be their acknowledgment and acceptance of the risks associated with motorcycling – including permanent injury or death. This study explains this phenomenon at least partially by edgework, that is, the engagement in risk-taking behaviours. The interviewees are largely middle-aged men and women (mostly men, to be sure), who have met almost all that society has demanded or expected from them; in this sense, such a risk-taking experience as motorcycling can be understood as a radical form of escape from the institutional routines of contemporary life.

In sum, what the study shows quite clearly is that motorcycling reflects many paradoxes of contemporary everyday life. The bikers of the research crave fun, excitement, and danger, yet they take motorcycle safety courses and purchase expensive motorcycles with many safety features. Motorcycling tends to be sexist and patriarchal, and perpetuates a macho environment, yet many male riders are highly educated and egalitarian, while many female riders are avowed feminists.

WINE MATTERS: STUDYING WINE THROUGH MATERIALITY

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Observing the world of wine through the lens of materiality – whether it is made up of "traditional" objects, such as corks, digital objects such as apps for storing and sharing wines and notes on them, or even real actants such as yeasts (without needing to marry a strong Latourian vision to consider them as such) – allows us to grasp how some practices materialize (literally) around issues that move from starting points related to "things".

With reference to the lines of research and the open questions raised by the CFP, this contribution, starting from a long-term enactive ethnography conducted in the worlds of wine production, distribution and wine tasting, will consider the following topics:

1) How do specific objects constitute a node and a stake in the field of wine production, distribution and consumption? The dispute over cork or screw cap is an interesting example in this regard, as well as the use of oenological products or technologies (filters, pumps, etc), and many other examples could be given.
2) How much is the practice of expert consumption related to the substance wine itself and how much to an intertwining of relationships with things? Glasses, spittoons, but also labels, fridge cellars, etc.
3) How does the use of apps and more generally of devices (for example, using smartphones to photograph the colour of wine in the glass) changes the practice of tasting?

"I USED TO DO IT BEFORE": ON THE CONTINUITIES BETWEEN ANALOG PRACTICES AND DIGITAL PLATFORMS

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The actual debate about digital platforms has already witnessed two waves. In a first wave, digital platforms are put in connection with concepts such as "peer-to-peer", "digital commons", "online cooperation", "liberation of work", "crowdwork", "crowdfunding", "horizontality", "democracy", "innovation from below", "post-capitalism" and, foremost, the "sharing economy" (Benkler 2006; Botsman and Rogers 2010; Bruns 2008; Gillespie 2010; Sundararajan 2016). In other words, platforms are seen as helpful tools that contribute to the pursuit of ideas of freedom and free circulation of knowledge This first wave dates to the early days of Web 20, when the possibility of users interacting with the World Wide Web and going beyond the original designers' project (by customizing online spaces, uploading content and sharing them in a network of peers) seemed to give concrete support to facilitating commons and commoning (Plantin et al 2018). As Van Dijck, Poell and de Waal (2018: 11) put it, it was as if "connectivity automatically leads to collectivity".

More recently, a second wave has stressed how "many forms of digital commoning [..] are entangled within an organizational network of concrete (non-digitalized) economic practices" (Ossewarde and Reijers 2017: 612). The sharing of a car or an apartment (such as BlaBlaCar or Airbnb), as well as the delivery of food (such as Foodora or Just Eat) and/or a taxi service (such as Uber), are evidently linked to a set of heterogeneous practices, often 'material' (such as driving or riding) more than 'digital'. This second wave thus concentrates on the conditions of those working behind the platform and the ways in which platforms profit from users' labor (Irani 2015; Jin 2015; van Doorn 2016) Platforms are now associated with words such as "precariousness", "fragmentation", individualization", and "outsourcing" (Srnicek 2016: 95). Platforms provide a 'space' in which users, customers, and workers can meet, they create ad hoc marketplaces (apart from institutional rules and rights), optimizing labor's flexibility and scalability (Starner 2015). Subsequently, notions such as 'algorithmic labor' (Rosenblat and Stark, 2016), 'algocracy' (Danaher 2016) and 'algorithmic governance' (Danaher et al. 2017) have been coined to call attention to how algorithms increasingly assess and manage human action.

In other words, if the first wave concentrated on the emancipatory side of digital platforms, the second highlights issues of power and domination. Despite these differences, both waves display quite a 'transparent' if not deterministic idea of technology, in that they assume that platforms will merely act as mediators/facilitators, or that they will directly and automatically 'impact' on some broader social dynamics (such as the circulation of knowledge or the labor market).

Notwithstanding this debate, in this paper we will take a different stance. Mainly inspired by Science and Technology Studies (STS), we will start from the assumption that platforms are not merely intermediaries; instead, they themselves constitute a "set of relations that constantly needs to be performed" (Van Dijck 2013: 26). In a STS perspective, technologies are primarily social practices, that is people acting together (Suchman et al 1999). From this point of view, it will be possible to thematise how digital platforms have the ability to recover a series of social practices, grafting themselves into them In digitally translating these (analog) practices, platforms shift them, making them becoming something different from what they were originally Thus the relationships between actors, technologies and practices themselves change.

In order to give evidence to our idea, we will concentrate on two empirical cases.

The first case draws on an in-depth qualitative research on AirBnB hosts recently conducted in a touristic north-east Italian province. We will show the continuities between what hosts do in order to manage

their space and what they did already before adhering to Airbnb. In particular, by describing the everyday practices of house-management enacted by the hosts, we will show how previously existing resources and conditions (such as available space, spare time, the internet, computers, smartphones, social capital, personal skills) are crucial in order to be able to join the platform and to operate on it.

The second case is represented by the sector of musical platforms, especially those related to music listening and consumption, like YouTube and Spotify. Also in this sector, the changes produced by the rising of platforms have been often regarded as a "revolution" of the way music is consumed triggered by the technical features introduced by digital platforms. Even though music streaming platforms have clearly produced a deep transformation in the music sector, a closer look to music consumption practices' patterns is able to reveal how music platforms practices are the outcome of an interactive co-evolution between historically shaped musical listening practices and the technical features implemented in these new platforms.

To show the close relationship between pre-existing music practices and the features of digital music platforms we will rely on data and interpretations coming from an ongoing research on these topics and based on different empirical materials, including 26 qualitative in-depth interviews, analysis of platforms mechanisms and the review of the historical literature on music practices. More specifically, we will address three distinctive examples of how current practices with music platforms are based on pre-existing musical practices.

The first platform's feature is the "playlist", which is a basic form of music organization offered by platforms such as Spotify. In this case, we can recognize that the practice of putting together a tailored selection of songs is deeply rooted in music culture in the form of "mix-tape", a distinctive practice emerged in late seventies and based on the obsolete technology of tape cassette. The second example is the so called "algorithmic suggestion" of new music, which is possibly the more distinctive feature of streaming music platforms. In this case, we can trace back this new technological feature to the different and dispersed pre-existing practices through which music listeners were discovering music before platforms: for instance, music experts like journalists, friends and direct relationships as well as music stores' organization of music on the basis of genres, moods and other musical parameters Finally, we will focus on the listening practice based on a seamless flow of music, presented in a casual or random way: on the one hand, this practice has roots in dj's selections and radio broadcasters' formats, on the other hand, this music listening form consolidated with the iPod's function known as "shuffle", which for the first time allowed listeners to browser within their own music in a random way.

"BUT I'M A NICE GUY". ITALIAN MEN'S RIGHTS ACTIVISM AND ONLINE BACKLASH AGAINST FEMINISM

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In recent years, we have witnessed an online backlash against feminism (Menzies 2008). This backlash is mobilizing a loose confederacy of interconnected communities from more traditional men's rights activists (MRAs) to the new misogynistic techno-cultures of the Manosphere (Nagle 2015). Despite their differences, in all of these groups, feminism is reconfigured as intrinsically prejudicial and threatening towards men (Blais, Dupuis-Déri 2012) and labelled as nothing more than misandry (Marwick, Caplan 2018). The use of misandry as synonym for «man-hating» serves both misogynist subcultures and more moderate men's rights interests, in that it allows these groups to appropriate the language of identity politics in order to place men as the silenced victims of a reverse discrimination in every political, economic, and social arena (Savran 1992; Farrell 1993) and reinforce their sense of aggrieved entitlement (Kimmel 2015). Situating their belief system in a social vacuum that fails to consider intersecting social dynamics, MRAs construct an over-simplified cultural model of the social world that isolates practices and phenomena that they believe are uniquely harmful to men (Schmitz, Kazyak 2016) In this way, their anti-feminist rhetoric takes the form of a neoliberal and seemingly neutral strategy that avoids any analysis of structural inequalities in favour of a commonsense celebration of individual choice for women and men (Nicholas, Agius 2018). This «pro-male» anti-feminism (Ging 2017) is indicative of a wider complex backlash (McRobbie 2004) that both accepts some of the precepts of feminism such as the principle of liberal equality, alongside a strong rejection of feminism as a label and political project.

Given the theoretical framework outlined above, the general aim of this study is to explore the Italian MRA and Manosphere online network to take stock of the current situation and the risk it represents for feminism More precisely, the study aims to unveil some of the key drivers of anti-feminist ideologies and will be guided by the following questions: which representations of feminism and feminists emerge in Italian online communities and how they spark criticism of feminism? Is neoliberal feminism a specific target of this criticism? Are MRA and manosphere communities both represented online and, if so, how are they bound together? How does the Italian situation differ from the international one?

"I KEEP THINKING ABOUT MY EX. SONGS FOR THIS SITUATION?" SOCIAL MEDIA, MUSIC FANDOM AND THE MEMETIC PERFORMANCE OF AN AMBIVALENT EMOTIONAL MASCULINITY

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Men's studies have often explored the relationship between masculinity and emotions, in view of a redefinition (White, Peretz 2010; Gottzén, Reeser 2017; Waling 2018). The use and subsequent rewriting of definitions occurred over time, for example "unemotional men" (Lupton 1998; Robertson et 2001) started from situating hegemonic masculinity construction (Connell, Messerschmidt 2005) also in relation to rationality (Seidler 2003), considered to be of exclusive male relevance, separating it from the expression of a particular emotion whose capacity thus became feminized. Men 's emotional inexpressiveness (De Boise, Hearn 2017) was also addressed in the relationship with music (De Boise 2015), and in relation to fan cultures. Indeed, literature defines and distinguishes them through a particularly emotional approach to the object under consideration (Duffett 2013). Among stereotypes that have labelled its representation in popular culture (Lewis Bennett, Booth 2016) Suzanne Scott (2019) underlines how much feminization of the emotional approach weighs to the denigration of the feminine universe within geek/fan cultures.

For this reason we propose to focus on a social media fan community that refers to the Italian indie/itpop scene that fans themselves define through sadness of the contents and attitudes of musicians and the audience itself, with continuous references to sentimental misadventures, but which has undergone ambivalent criticism over time in reference to gender issues: the influence of "male gaze" on representation of women (Oliveri 2018) and the identification of the indie male as asexual and ankward (Sambruna 2019). The Facebook closed group to which it refers can highlights characteristics of an online community of practice: a reference domain; relationships between members of the community; a practice that brings together these members. In fact, alongside the actions of more classic fans such as sharing posts on the itpop scene, advice on playlists, expectations and hype for release of new albums, we find a practice that brings together users: parodic meme production representing the itpop scene and what it means to be part of the audience of the "itpop" scene.

Performative practice of meme production (Milner 2013), make it part of what Phillips and Milner have called "ambivalent internet" (2018): the coexistence of opposing characteristics and feelings typical of folkloric and vernacular expressions that find space and propagation through digital affordances (Boyd 2010) and platform logic (Van Dijck, Poell 2013), by means of trolls, memes, tricks Participatory ambivalence (Phillips 2013, 2017) that develops within these digital environments through performances based on ambivalent and reflexive self-parody (Bachtin 1979) was considered as platform vernacular practices (Gibbs *et al.* 2014: Keller 2019).

Almost respecting the objective majority male composition of itpop/indie artists, memes mostly concern male artists, who face problems within heterosexual relationships from the male point of view, identifying the indie fan himself with the male one so periodically represented. The male gaze almost encompasses the ideal type of fan but comes out in apparent distance from a hegemonic virile ideal, represented by the fans themselves as if in the grip of sentimental disappointments. This bring to us that some studies have also included this kind of practice in a particular affective turning point of digital (Kanai 2018, 2019) based on "self -deprecation relatability"(Ask, Abidin 2018). Through the use of these self-reflective objects then we see the appearance of themes that, inspired by the self-reflection on masculinity, manage to create for the male fanbase part a protected and suitable place for confession, to help request, through the sharing of posts and the crystallization of practices and themes. The group space is used to ask for advice about issues apparently not related to the music scene: one of the main themes is the disappointment related relationships with "ex-girlfriends". The sharing of episodes of private life, of melancholic or apathetic

moods, of negative experiences, seem to find in this way in the audience of fans of the scene a moment of emotional openness, of request for closeness and shared/collective reflection on daily experiences. For this reason could be the right place to investigate the emotional construction of masculinity and its expression. In order to analyse it was necessary in the first instance a digital ethnethnography that can observe related practices of everyday life (Ardévol, Gómez-Cruz 2013; Pink et al 2016) in a multi-sited logic (Hine 2015). We consider this an initial exploration Through a non-participant observation, using screenshots as field notes, we moved in three directions: within Facebook closed group and officials Facebook and Instagram pages to trace the individual productions of users that make up the collective construction of ambivalent-fandom narration; following the spontaneous emergence of themes related to male emotional expression, through post sharing and following comments; trying to understand how these themes were re-used in meme practice representing itpop masculinity. We therefore propose as useful to relate this particular representation on relationship with the fan base practices, which includes both women and men, focusing precisely on masculinity itpop representation in a non-homosocial context. We recall the importance according to Connell (1996, 2011) of addressing reflections on male in interaction with female.

We therefore ask ourselves, what role digital affordances, social media logics and vernacular practices play in the emotional expression of masculinity within these particular fandom communities? (RQ1) Could this be an example of a redefinition of hegemonic masculinity? (RQ2).

ALGORITHMS MATTER: AN ENACTIVE ETHNOGRAPHY OF RIDERS WORK

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Empirical studies on food-delivery work have widely addressed the disembodied workers control enabled by algorithmic management. Stressing the opacity of the algorithm as such, riders' interaction with the app has been analysed in terms of exploitation or resistance of the former (Veen et al 2020), as a new stage of the conflict between capital and labour in times of digital capitalism. Nonetheless, a deeper reflection on the role of algorithms as a material and symbolic element of food-delivery practices has remained underexplored Algorithms are an emblematic example of manyfold object.t Drawing on a practice-centric perspective on material processes (Shove 2016), algorithms may be understood as the infrastructure coordinating different agents in realizing the delivered meal, or as a device used by riders in their working practices. Different perspectives result from the analytical construction of the research object at stake. Here, focusing on the everyday experience of app-mediated food-delivery workers, we aim to explore how they use (Aragona et al 2020) and practically understand algorithms to the extent that, besides being an opaque code, algorithms constitute and "[are] constituted in and through practice (Bucher 2018, p31). Thus, we consider algorithms as a material and symbolic element of riders' practices, whose integration with other entities – such as bodily and mental knowledge, rules, material arrangement (means of work, urban materiality, etc) – results in a specific arrangement of the practice itself (Schatzki 2001): that is, a certain way to carry out the work. This contribution reports some results from a six-months enactive ethnography (Wacquant 2015) conducted in Milan during 2020, combined with 21 biographical interviews with food-delivery workers.

A relational understanding of the role of algorithms resonates with non-media-centric approaches in media studies (Krajina et al 2014) insofar as it acknowledges that the use of algorithms is embedded in a practice which is not media-based in character. It is to the corporeal and urban-based practice of delivering food that algorithms matter, in at least two ways:

1) Great part of riders learning journey lies on the interpretation of algorithms computational functioning Part of these skills is directly referred to the algorithmic organization of the work – e.g. learning how to work differently during the weekend or the week-days – Yet, a great part of this knowledge is not algorithmic based, while being fundamentally entangled with it. As instance, achieving a greater knowledge of the city – which entails its geography, rhythms, and materiality – is fundamental to understand what gigs a rider may accept or reject, and the area he may choose to work more proficiently. While part of this learning is the result of the individual ongoing learning-by-doing, a specific algorithmic-related knowledge is also collectively produced and shared in different micro-communities of workers that spontaneously born in the city, because:

2) The absence of routinization and direct imposition of formal rules that describe riders work (Vallas & Schor 2020) encompasses also the way they engage with algorithms In this vein, the interaction with algorithms is also one of the sites where different subjectivities emerge as the result of the "adoption of norms in praxis" (Alkemeyer & Buschmann 2016). Accordingly, different conducts of the job related to the construction of a certain algorithmic imaginary (Bucher 2018) become attached to meanings such expertise, correctness, professionalism, risk, working as devices of distinction within a poorly institutionalized occupation. Moreover, given the variety of riders in terms of social trajectories (Bourdieu 1998), the "proper" way to engage with algorithms also depends on how participants with distinct perspectives are distributed by the practice into different positions.

The notion of resistance, which is often used to address users' agency (Velkova & Kaun 2021), demystifies deterministic accounts of the role of algorithms in social life. Yet, as an umbrella category encompassing different alternative uses, it hardly enables to explore the complex and manyfold role played by algorithms in situated social phenomena. On an organizational level, it hardly informs an analysis of workers struggles, because individual deviations from algorithmic prescriptions can still comply with the underlying logic of the work. If referred to an observation of riders' experience, as we do in this research, it is neither apt to describe the variety and meaning of the interaction between workers and algorithms. Here, we advance an understanding of such interaction as a site of learning and differentiation between various ways of unfolding the job. By doing so, we also aim to highlight the variety of this community of workers in terms of perspectives and experiences, which has been neglected by a highly standardized and politicized media coverage so far.

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SESSION 16

DOING ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF ANTI-TRAFFICKING: METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES

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METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGIES AND CHALLENGES IN DOING ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF ANTI-TRAFFICKING: THE CASE OF N.A.VE PROJECT

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This paper aims at proposing a critical reflection on the methodological approaches and strategies that can be adopted in conducting research in the field of anti-trafficking in Italy, with a specific focus on the challenges and potential of an ethnographic methodology. The contribution draws on the research activities conducted by the research team of the INSigHT project, financed by the European Commission. The project aims to address human trafficking in three countries, Nigeria, Sweden and Italy, with the specific objective to monitor and evaluate the prevention, protection and rehabilitation systems in the three countries and to explore the extent to which they are equipped to deal with new trends of HT, among which the risks associated with secondary and reverse movements and re-trafficking.

This contribution will focus on the research conducted in Italy, specifically with reference to the anti-trafficking project of Veneto Region, the NAVe project, that is considered as a good practice at national level. The actual project consists of a regional network, founded in 2016, that includes several municipalities in Veneto, by the Municipality of Venice as leading partner. As it is emerging in the research, although the project is a regional one, different practices exist in different provincial territories, as a result of different histories of the actual projects and backgrounds of the operators and actors involved, besides the actual network constructed at local level. The paradigm at the basis of the founding of the NAVe project is the creation of a network of all these local resources and the belief that the public sector could play a strategic role in the implementation of integrated and multi-agency interventions against HT.

Given the complexity of this regional structure, that implies the dialogue and the collaboration among several subjects and various level of action (political and administrative, on the one side, local, regional, national, on the other, but also private and public), the effort of the research team has focused on taking into consideration all these levels, while focusing both on the local daily activities of social workers and on the experiences of the actual beneficiaries of the program. All the operators – included cultural mediators – are indeed specialized in thematic areas of intervention (contact, reflection, evaluation and inclusion), that coincide with the several phases of the protection project for victims of human trafficking. With different local and educational backgrounds, the operators of the NAVe project are employed either in the public or private sector and are called to collaborate as a network, through regular local and regional coordination meetings, to implement integrated interventions involving social services and relevant partners in the territory (such as anti-violence centeres, police, social services for minors, private enterprises, trade unions, reception structures).

Drawing on a ten months' research activity conducted, as a team, in three municipalities of the regional network (Verona, Padua and Venice) - we propose to reflect on the potential of an ethnographic methodology to observe, on a daily basis, the work of the actors involved in the NAVe and to dig out the extent to which they manage to address the intersection of several dimensions associated with beneficiaries' needs (gender, age, vulnerabilities). Additionally, the paper will reflect on the challenges encountered by researchers in accessing the field and in the constant renegotiation for it, which has ultimately contributed to build up the

research in a participatory manner In the first eight months, the three researchers simultaneously observed the activities of several operators in the different localities and participated at regional coordination meetings. In the second part of the research, narrative interviews were planned with selected operators and beneficiaries who finished the protection projects. Finally, we will point out what it means to carry out research, as a team of precarious researchers, with different educational and professional backgrounds, but also as women anthropologist and sociologist with past experiences as precarious social operators and as activists, which has required continuous reflexivity in terms of positionality in the field.

HAS "SEX TRAFFICKING" DISAPPEARED? THE IDEA OF TRAFFICKING IN THE PORTUGUESE COUNTER-TRAFFICKING FIELD

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When I started researching "human trafficking" in Portugal, I found myself in an unexpected and sometimes disorienting situation. Documentary research has suggested that in the years following the 2000 United Nations Protocol on Trafficking in Persons, and in the wake of a broader international trend, alarmist concerns about "sex trafficking" contributed to the fight against trafficking, a position that also entered the Portuguese agenda. Here, despite limited evidence regarding its prevalence, the potential exploitation of women in the sex market has contributed to the implementation of international and European policies and the building of a counter-trafficking system. However, during the process of consolidating this system, migrant women "trafficked" in the sex market were excluded from the rescue priorities. Instead, other "victims" and forms of trafficking appeared in discourse, forming in some cases a baroque portrait of Portuguese citizens: people characterized by problems with mental health, drugs or alcohol, who have been trafficked by family organizations; migrants exploited in rural Alentejo; and minors and adults exploited via begging or through being trafficked for illegal adoption or organ removal. What might have been the welcome emancipation of trafficking from its historical association with prostitution, or even the unlikely outcome of a successful fight against it, was soon reduced to media-friendly stereotypes and social policy clichés. Meanwhile, migrant women in the sex market, whose exploitation could be considered as exemplifying trafficking, remain excluded from the possibility of protection and conspicuously absent from research and policy agendas, a situation that calls into question the extent to which the current counter-trafficking system is fit for purpose. This state of affairs explains why my presentation questions the apparent disappearance of sex trafficking from the idea of trafficking in Portugal. To respond, I analyse the construction of the counter-trafficking field in the country, using the analytical tools of "field" and "ideological closure" I argue that in a context of violent conflict around the sale of sex, as well as the intensive institutionalization of counter-trafficking, the overarching goal of building a counter-trafficking field has served to restrict the parameters of trafficking, with sex trafficking substantially excluded. The paper is based on two research projects, following an ethnographic approach, employing a combination of documentary research, observation and qualitative interviews with representatives of governmental and inter-governmental organizations, police, non-governmental organizations and trafficked migrants.

AWARENESS RAISING AND ITS DISAWOVALS IN ANTI-TRAFFICKING EFFORTS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND ITALY: PERSONHOOD, AFFECT, KNOWLEDGE AND POWER RECONSIDERED

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The paper will draw on over 18 months of participant observation in the activities of various (governmental and non-governmental) anti-trafficking agencies between Nigeria (and especially Benin City) and Italy (Turin), which I undertook within my doctoral research, and on subsequent encounters with Nigerian women seeking to escape from forms of debt bondage, up to the present. My doctoral work analysed dynamics of control, subjectivation and escape (playing around the dialectic of transparency vs secrecy) in relation to the multifarious and historically deep assemblages (that include kinship and other relations; religious practices; state and third-sector interventions, and their underbelly illicit economies) spun around the bonded-labour migration of Nigerian women. In this paper, I will focus my discussion on the secrecy,

ambiguity and self-transgression that characterise forms of awareness raising during anti-trafficking campaigns and other forms of 'enlightenment,' as they are explicitly called in the Nigerian context, considering their reception and questioning the extent to which they can be characterized as practices of transparency cumaccountability. The affective dimension of legal practices, intended in the broad sense of the term to encompass different forms of accountability, is further explored by reference to oath swearing, its relation to state laws and NGO discourses concerned with transparency and disambiguation, and to their potential critique.

In particular, the paper will focus on two events: on the one hand, a series of awareness campaigns targeted at market women in different Nigerian towns, all within Edo State (where the prevalence of practices of debt bondage migration towards Europe, commonly labelled 'human trafficking for sexual exploitation in policy discourse, is particularly high). I will show how the notion of awareness raising clashes against forms of cynicism, denial and refusal, not only on the part of its supposed targets (potential 'victims of trafficking') but also in the ways in which anti-trafficking agencies themselves conceive them. In particular, I show how the choice of sites displayed a compulsive, repetitive character, as did the violent response of market women, whilst the message being conveyed straddled ambiguously the threshold between abolitionist, anti-prostitution, anti-migration and anti-exploitation discourses. These dynamics, I argue, point to the ways in which 'awareness' is constructed from the assumption of a transparent, self-driven individual subject, discounting structural dynamics and affective, emotional, unconscious processes.

Secondly, I will consider a day-long training session on the 'Influences and use of voodoo in the exploitation of prostitution' organized by a Turin-based Italian NGO working with migrant sex workers. The symposium's main purpose was that of raising the awareness of the agencies whose field of intervention concerned migrant sex work, and specifically Nigerian prostitution 'Voodoo,' it was argued, needed to be taken seriously as evidence of pressure, imprisonment and torture by Nigerian traffickers against those portrayed as their victims. The event attempted to acknowledge the affective dimension of what was understood as a legal form, which ideals of bureaucratic rationality and secular legal procedures (as well as notions of transparency, awareness and accountability) are refractory to I explore the ways in which the affective register played out in this context, through processes of displacement and re-emplacement that politicized voodoo in specific ways. On the one hand, the format and goals of the seminar sought to make audiences conscious of the strongly affective power of voodoo/juju, aiming to make it felt and thereby displacing categorical distinctions between practices that are often constructed as culturally specific, by appealing to supposedly universal affective experiences I relate this attention to the visceral register to voodoo/juju as an affective object itself: the epistemologies and the embodiments of personhood which materialize in juju powerfully resonate with those proposed by what has been labelled as 'the affective turn' in social and critical theory. The questioning of emotional/energetic self-containment that characterizes such - in other ways heterogeneous - critiques fits rather neatly with accounts of volt sorcery, juju and its powers, as produced both by the participants in the training programme and by scholars. In this landscape, the affective map of social interactions is rather nuanced; its contours exceed divisions created along racial/cultural lines and between subjects and objects, echoing the processes of displacement that enable Nigerian women to reach European shores. And yet, against the stated aims of the training program, an exercise in categorical distinction re-conceptualized voodoo as a superstitious practice that wields its force on those with insufficient or erroneous knowledge by distinguishing between authentic and fake, good and bad voodoo. An enlightened, secular reading of voodoo surreptitiously re-emerged, erasing the ambiguity inherent in it and re-emplacing it within a subjectifying discourse.

Overall, the paper seeks to analyse the ways in which awareness raising relies on assumptions about personhood, knowledge and affect which meet recalcitrance, resistance or refractoriness, not simply in the potentially racialising terms of 'cultural difference' but rather as the disawoval of forms of embodiment, action and power which can be seen to subtend to a multiplicity of diverse subjects and contexts.

ETHNOGRAPHY IN TERRITORIAL COMMISSIONS FOR THE RECOGNITION OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION – OBSERVATIONS OF AN ANTI-TRAFFICKING OPERATOR

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The proposal intends exploring the ways asylum seekers and Territorial Commissions for the recognition of International Protection deal with the search for a "real story" in asylum requests of people sheltered in anti-trafficking programmes The research is based on observations carried out while working as socio-legal operator in the anti-trafficking project NAVe in Veneto region It intends addressing as well the use of ethnographic methodology as operator in anti-trafficking systems.

In the last years both the asylum system and the anti-trafficking system became increasingly aware of the interconnectedness of the fields of action, developing tools such as the referral system between Territorial Commissions for the Recognition of International Protection and anti-trafficking projects, the UNHCR guidelines on asylum and trafficking in human beings, as well as including the possibility of people with a permit of stay as asylum seekers or international protection to access anti-trafficking shelters and programmes.

The role of the socio-legal operator specialised on International Protection was introduced in the regional anti-trafficking system of Veneto Region in 2018 in order to support people sheltered in protection and social inclusion programmes in the asylum-seeking procedures. Over time the role developed in different actions, among which a major function is to offer information on regularization to people sheltered in the anti-trafficking programmes, collecting their narrations of their life experiences, supporting those who intend seeking asylum, preparing them to the audition in commission and sustaining the re-elaboration of the process.

This mansion allowed me, as socio-legal operator, an access to the secluded spaces of the audition in Commission, as a support figure to persons who had the experience of being trafficked and hence are defined as "vulnerable". Many of the asylum seekers were young women, mostly Nigerian, who had the right to receive other forms of permits of stay but who decided to seek international protection. They all held their auditions in three Commissions in Veneto region The need to observe and highlight the layered aspects of the experience and the interaction leads me to the use an ethnographic approach.

The expression of "real story" is recurring in the words of several stakeholders dealing with asylum seekers, from UNHCR in sensitisation campaigns to functionaries of the Commission It is strongly connected to the "credibility assessment" procedure, a method used by members of Commissions to determine if the events narrated by an asylum seeker are plausible, as a first step in the process of acknowledgment of the refugee status. The research reflects on how the narrations are constructed, influenced and received in the interaction during the audition. Which are the actors involved? Which factors make the voice of the asylum seeker seem "authentic"? How are contradictions in the narrations of events framed within the process? How do spaces and locations come into the picture? Which are the power structures that take form during the hearing and shape the interview?

The research addresses issues emerged in the settings of Territorial Commissions hearings Moreover, it aims at reflecting on the use of ethnographic methodology as a method to collect useful and sharable information within an anti-trafficking system. It addresses, at the same time, an issue of positionality in being an anthropologist and an operator in the field of anti-trafficking.

Finally, the paper aims to contribute to the research on the interaction between two protection systems, the anti-trafficking and the asylum system, within the different assumptions, diverse methodologies and specific aims but overlapping fields.

MIGRANT SEX WORKERS REDEFINING TRAFFICKING IN AUSTRALIA

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Both quantitative and qualitative academic research on trafficking faces great difficulty in recruiting participants without recurring to organisations and institutions that offer support to persons in trafficking situations. In most cases, it is these organisations who identify who to refer researchers to and whether the people to be interviewed or surveyed are "trafficked victims". Far too rarely are respondents asked themselves how they define trafficking or their experience of it. However, in order to understand these

phenomena and to provide best practice and policy recommendations that would help those affected, the experiences of the latter must be at the core of research. Qualitative, ethnographic research has highlighted how, when migrant sex workers and persons with trafficking experiences are asked how to define trafficking and exploitation, they provide very nuanced answers which defy strict definitions of coercion and are better defined as experiences of "bounded exploitation" (Mai, 2018). Within the field of sex work research, the concept of "trafficking" has been contested both for conflating all sex work with coercion (and hence promoting anti-prostitution policies) (Musto 2009) and for failing to offer protection to victims due to the difficulty to legally meet the conditions to be officially recognised as trafficked victim (O'Connell Davidson 2006). In this paper I will explore how the contested nature of trafficking is reflected within the narratives of migrant sex workers themselves, drawing on ethnographic research and qualitative interviews with 50 migrant sex workers between 2017 and 2019 in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia, conducted as part of the ERC-funded SEXHUM project, researching sex work, migration and trafficking in Australia US France and New Zealand. This research methodologically centred on the experiences and self-definition of migrant sex workers and therefore did not recruit exclusively from anti-trafficking or humanitarian organisation In Australia, sex work participants were recruited through a variety of venues, including direct outreach in workplaces, personal networks, snowballing as well as through sex worker organisations and one through the Australian Federal Police While all of the migrant sex workers interviewed had a clear understanding of trafficking and coercion as separate from sex work, when asked about their own experiences, some used trafficking as a synonym of labour exploitation and even of deception in marriage. For migrant sex workers in Australia, trafficking has trickled down form a strict meaning of forced labour to a synonym of being taken advantage of in many aspects of their working lives, indicating the necessity to understand trafficking as entrenched in (reproductive and other) labour relations. On the other hand, in Australia, the official numbers of victims of trafficking dramatically dropped in the past 10 years, two states have decriminalised sex work and several others have implemented forms of regulation and documented migrants (even with temporary or partial work rights) can legally engage in sex work in all states (if they comply with the state regulations). By drawing on ethnographic research with migrant sex workers, governmental and non-governmental key informants, participation in anti-slavery trials, I will argue that, in order to address and reduce exploitation and trafficking in sex work, a labour and migrant right perspective are necessary. Methodologically, in order to centre the experience of migrant sex workers, this contribution maintains the benefits of conducting in-depth qualitative research through peer organisations, peer researchers and within migrant sex workers own networks, beyond the use of agencies and organisations.

RESEARCHING HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NIGERIA: SOME FOREMOST CHALLENGES
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It is believed that the results of some ethnographic research could help in policy making to combat human trafficking. However, ethnographic research could be challenging especially when it pertains to an organized crime like human trafficking. This paper discusses some foremost challenges in human trafficking research It is based on my three years fieldwork experience in researching human trafficking operations from Nigeria to Europe. I try to further understanding on some methodological, conceptual and ethical challenges, mostly associated with human trafficking research, which may also have implications for other researchers working on organized crime networks In this paper, attention is drawn to the use of the concept "human trafficking" on the field, critical distance of the researcher, the challenge of performance, and suspicion of research motive especially those linked to funding. The paper admits that if not handled properly, these challenges might affect the overall results of human trafficking research. Through empirical examples and case studies, the paper therefore presents some ways in going about overcoming these associated challenges.

SESSION 17

MULTIPLE SPIRITUALITIES THROUGH THE LENS OF ETHNOGRAPHY

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REINVENTING THE ANCIENT CELTIC SPIRITUALITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF MODERN ITALIAN DRUIDS

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My research is focused on Neo-druidism and how it is shaped in Italy. It is a new religious movement and it is part of the neo-pagan spiritualities (Harvey 2016). For this research project I carried out an ethnographic investigation at the Cerchio Druidico Italiano, a group located in Biella that offers a neo-druidic spiritual path: I spent a year as an effective member of the group, almost three as sporadic attendance. This is a preliminary research that does not claim to be exhaustive of the Italian neopagan panorama that still today remains a little explored. It raises a number of methodological challenges because of its creative and effervescent nature. This struggle in creating categories and boundaries, in which to insert it, is rooted in its past and the way it came to light.

Neo-druidism has its roots in the ancient Celtic spirituality rediscovered for the first time during the 18th century on British Isles. It was born in the Welsh and Scottish intellectual circles in London with the aim of pursuing a series of social and political claims against the central British government. In this first phase the spiritual aspect not only remains marginal, but develops within Christianity.

It should be noted that in these years the historical re-enactment of the ancient Celtic past takes place with celebratory and virtuous tones and above all takes place according to the modalities of the historiographic study of the time. It is in this period, in fact, that some exponents of the rediscovery of the 1700s (John Aubrey, William Stukeley, Iolo Morganwg to name a few) bind the celebrations of the Druids, the great Celtic priests, to the prehistoric stone circles according to the logic for which being both pre-Roman they had to be part of the same age (Piggott 1954).

Progressively this social movement changes, the elements of political activism lose their force in favour of the more purely spiritual aspects and in the Nineteenth century it spread throughout Europe arriving in Italy in the Nineties. This spontaneous evolution in the spiritual sense has resulted in a blank in the systematization of Neo-druidic thought and in Italy we find well represented different souls of this new spirituality.

A first big question arises here since some consider neo-druidism as a religion, others instead consider it a philosophy of life that manifests itself in the good religious behaviour of any religion. This different conceptualization of neo-druidism leads to an internal rupture in the same movement, the group, where I led ethnographic research, fits into the first category and would like recognition from the Italian State as a religion. Another element of difficulty in the process of definition and delineation of the neo-druidism is that sociologically by Wallis' categories, neo-druidism is a cult: this means that it deviates from the cultural mainstream, but it is also inclusive of other practices and spiritualities (Wallis 1976).

Then, we have three different definitions that add up on the same phenomenon but do not completely overlap risking to create deep misunderstandings between practitioners and researcher.

This study highlights the elements of the reinvention of tradition neo-druidism draws its contents from other cultures and reinvents itself over the centuries, adapting to the new questions that time puts into play (Hobsbawm, Ranger 1983). There is therefore some confusion about the boundaries that underline the creative soul of that way of spirituality.

Ethnographic research with a participating observation is a privileged way – if not the only way – to identify the distinctive features of these new spiritual form. The members of this group put resources into play and constantly redefine boundaries in all the topics they deal with.

One of the fundamental and most creative elements of neo-druidism in Italy is the issue of the reinvention of Nature, which is made by keeping in tension the bitheistic conception of gods and an aspiration to pantheism. Bitheism is a new theological category that is introduced by Margaret Murray who theorized the presence of a unique male deity, the horned God, and a unique female deity, the Goddess. On this structure, every deity that humanity has conceived down the centuries is the manifestation of a specific aspect of these two entities. Although some neo-druids try to give other interpretations for a new polytheism, however be that the bitheistic vision is the one most shared.

On the other hand, in their cosmology there is not the supernatural conceived as something beyond nature but Nature itself is at the centre of veneration. The neo-druidic ceremonies in fact always take place at moments fundamental to what is the natural life cycle and the gods invoked, in whatever form they are called, represent specific qualities that are fundamental to the overcoming of that specific period (York 2009).

Then, they constantly re-elaborate everything they read because there is not a sacred book that teach them in what to believe, how to show veneration or anything about neo-druidism. There are just suggestions that challenge the practitioners and consequently the researcher.

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DRUMS, STORYTELLING AND INNER JOURNEYS: CONTEMPORARY SAMI SHAMANISM FROM AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

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In this contribution, my aim is to investigate the relationship between the ancient non-Christian Sámi worldviews and contemporary forms of shamanism inspired by and shaped after ancient Sámi ritual practices. The focus of the contribution is the famous Sami shamanic festival Isogaisa, an international spiritual event organized by shamanic practitioners who identify themselves as Sámi This 4-days festival takes place in the small coastal community of Loabák/Lavangen, in Troms County, Northern Norway.

This presentation is based on the data and the interviews I collected during my fieldwork as well as on my first-hand experiences at Isogaisa. This paper addresses both the challenges and the opportunities I encountered as a researcher in this particular context I carried out a 16-months fieldwork in Troms-Finnmark County as part of my PhD research on Sámi festivals. During my staying, I carried out participant observation and in-depth interviews I attended Isogaisa in 2018 and in 2019 At the festival, I worked as a volunteer while carrying out ethnographic fieldwork I participated in rituals, ceremonies, workshops as well as healing and story-telling sessions. By examining the contents of tales narrated during the festival, I investigate the relationship between human and non-human/spiritual beings according to Sámi worldviews.

Isogaisa, like other Sámi festivals such as Riddu Riu and Márkomeannu, is an international event attracting people from Norway as well as from abroad Many travelled from all over Europe and even further to join the Festival. The analysis of this gathering hence fosters a reflection on spiritual tourism in northern

Norway Isogaisa constitutes an opportunity, for both Sámi and non-Sámi, to get acquainted with material and immaterial Sámi cultures. At the small markets arranged at the festival site it is possible to sell and buy duodji, clothes, but also books, tarots, dreamcatchers, crystals and other objects typical of alternative spiritualities which did not belong to Sámi cultures.

The Sámi people are indigenous to Sápmi, a sub-arctic region encompassing the northernmost areas of Europe Until the 17th century, Sámi people had been exposed to Christianity trough interaction with neighboring peoples. When the emerging nation states enhanced a fierce missionary policy to convert the Sami to the Lutheran or Orthodox faiths (and today the majority of the Sami belongs to Lutheranism). In the 17th and 18th centuries, the missionaries embarked in actions against the Sámi systems of knowledge and worldviews: Sámi ritual specialists were persecuted and killed during the 17th century witch-hunts. At the same time, sacred sieidi (boulders, erratic rocks or wooden object) were destroyed and Sámi drums (goavddis in North Sámi language) were confiscated and either burnt or shipped to museums and collectors in southern cities. The drums had a variety of functions in Sámi non-Christian societies and they were also used as divinatory tools. Drums were stored in the boaššu, the most sacred area of Sámi dwellings Seventy of the drums collected by the missioner Von Westen were accidentally destroyed in a fire in Copenhagen Only around seventy drums have survived and are today displayed in museum Rich symbols decorate these drums' membranes and numerous scholars have devoted their lives to the study of these symbols and, through them, to the study of Sami non-Christian worldviews (cf. Manker 1968).

These objects and their decorations constitute a valuable source on Sámi non-Christian worldviews. Besides being object of academic interest, the symbols on ancient drums (as well as the missionary accounts and scholarly works) are studied by contemporary Shamans to gain knowledge about Sámi non-Christian sets of beliefs. Modern drums may reproduce both the symbols and the structure of ancient drums, can be more modern in both shape, materials and depictions on drum-skin or can be a mix between these two options. Regardless of the nature of the drum, this object is an integral part of contemporary Sámi shamanic practice. The drums are bestowed with their own agency and constitute the most important and cherished elements of contemporary Sámi shamanic paraphernalia. At Isogaisa, drumming sessions took place throughout the day and the most experienced practitioners guided the guests into trommereiser (drum journeys). For the aforementioned reasons, the drums emerged as extremely important elements in contemporary Sámi Shamanism. This contribution does indeed offer an insight into the practices and narratives concerning the drums in contemporary Sámi Shamanic milieu.

THE COMMUNICATION WITH THE TOTEMIC ANIMAL DURING NEO-SHAMANIC RITUALS

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This proposition relates about the ritual practices during the neo-shamanic seminars in Europe that allow the participants to establish contact with the totemic animals. The attributes acquired during these sessions can be regarded as operators in the complex treatment of social ties and as a form of healing rituals. From a methodological standpoint the investigation adopts the native point of view, the European participants, rather than the shamans' point of view and it is aimed at understanding how the audience connects with different entities presented as animals belonging to the shamanic cosmology. As a result of years of intensive fieldwork with practitioners, we observe how the group learns how to approach the animal entities belonging to the upper/lower world In order to reach the totemic animal, the participants follow the drumbeat that favours an altered state of consciousness and allows the embodiment of the entities. To this purpose it is worth to remind that neither the participants nor the shaman takes psychotropic substances Shamanic animals turn out to be more complex entities than those belonging to a religious system such as a divinity. They are generated both by means of the shaman's indication and through the intentionality of the practitioner. During the shared verbal elaboration of the experience following the shamanic journey, the participants describe the totemic animal with richness of details that defines a vivid kinesthetic experience, perceived and lived through both the imaginary and sensorial apparatus.

TRANSNATIONAL SPIRITUAL TRAJECTORIES IN THE VALE DO AMANHECER

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This paper examines the entanglement between spirituality and healing in the trajectories of Brazilian and European mediums considering the transnational spread of the mediumistic practice of the Vale do Amanhecer (Valley of the Dawn). The healing rituals of this Spiritualist Christian Order in Brazil and around the world, are held by mediums manifesting their spirit guides through a spiritual trance. Spiritual healing in the Vale do Amanhecer is indeed highly ritualistic, entailing an active participation that encompasses affect and bodily experience in the relation with spirits; aspects that emerged as a driving force in the spiritual and therapeutic trajectories of participants who eventually developed as mediums in the Vale. In a transnational context, I shall examine how this practice is becoming emplaced not only in relation to religious pluralism but, more significantly, to a therapeutic pluralism that includes holistic networks, energy healing, counselling and other non-biomedical approaches to wellbeing. Whilst these practices developed a fertile ground for the introduction of the Vale's notions of the self, body, illness and health, I argue that the development of an embodied relation with the sacred, and of a specific conceptualization of the body in the Vale do Amanhecer, not only re-establishes spiritual commitment to an initiate order within a context of intense religious mobility, but it also forges new spiritual geographies of belonging.

SPIRITUAL HEALING AND TACTICS OF (IN)VISIBILITY LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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Based on a long-term ethnographic study of "botánicas" (religious-healing dispensaries) in New York City, this paper examines how Latin American communities in the United States (US) develop spiritually-based healing practices, which help them build resilience in a challenging socio-political environment. Particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, botánicas have become a "health haven" for vulnerable immigrant populations that often lack health insurance, have very limited financial means and ascribe to Afro-Caribbean religious-healing beliefs. This is particularly the case among undocumented Latin American immigrants who are excluded from any form of subsidized health coverage in the US.

Botánica providers tend to display complex in/visibility tactics, as they simultaneously exhibit and camouflage their spiritually-based healing beliefs and practices Puertas afuera (outdoors) and Puertas adentro (indoors) epitomize botánicas' inner predicament, as their owners and spiritual counselors negotiate the fine line between being acknowledged by their fellow immigrants while protecting themselves from state surveillance Puertas afuera these ethnic enterprises advertise "magic" spells and charms, along with the use of healing herbs and plants for minor ailments (e.g., rue for fertility problems or valerian root for nervios or "nerves"). In this way, these dispensaries have become "hypervisible" by subtly framing a demand for recognition in the public space. This is reflected in their colourful window displays and services openly promoted on billboards, newspapers and social media (see enclosed Picture).

Puertas adentro, botánica counselors present a complex spiritual world based on the practice of Santeria and other Afro-Caribbean religions. These beliefs play a key role in providing social support and spiritual solace to a mostly Latin American population Botánica owners tend to conceal many of their Santeria-based religious rituals and ceremonies to strangers in order to shield themselves, as well as other immigrants, from punitive government scrutiny and symbolic violence – raids of undocumented populations have increased dramatically during the Trump Administration. In this way, botánicas are able to merge and reconcile different healing explanatory models without calling unnecessary attention. This is crucial given the increasing harassment experienced by vulnerable Latin American immigrants, mostly undocumented, and those who ascribe to non-mainstream religious-healing beliefs such as Santeria. Finally, this presentation will reflect on the theoretical implications of these tactics of religious in/visibility embraced by diverse immigrant groups in global cities.

SPIRITUALITY AND RELIGION, SPIRITUALITY IN RELIGION: NOTES FROM A NETNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF A CHRISTIAN LGB DIGITAL FORUM

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Scholars disagree on how to conceptualise the relationship between spirituality and religion, while underlining their inextricable entanglements. The studies focusing on spirituality in religion (especially those focusing on Catholicism) explore how the faithful variously adopt the concept of "spirituality" to, for example, discuss one of the many forms of religiosity, mark a difference from the traditional forms of the expression of faith, or reclaim autonomy and distance from traditionalist religious authorities by adopting a different language. Research shows that an emphasis on "spirituality" is sometimes used by those faithful concerned with gender equality and associated with personalized versions of religion.

In this contribution I explore the results of a netnographic study of a Christian LGB digital forum. Drawing on a previous quantitative study concerned with the transformation of religious authority in the digital environment, the contribution adopts a qualitative perspective to analyse the tensions emerging in the digital forum around the concept of "spirituality". Facing a largely unchosen institutional autonomy, the Forum participants show in fact the relevance of adhering to the Catholic orthodoxy and orthopraxis.

SESSION 18

ETHNOGRAPHY OF FINANCE. RESEARCH AND METHODS ON A NEW SUBJECT

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ECONOGRAPHY: OBSERVING EXPERT CAPITALISM

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In recent years anthropologists have increasingly conducted fieldwork among economic agents and on practices that would have seemed foreign to our predecessors of just a generation ago. This work can be broadly categorized under "expert capitalism": the knowledge-intensive, abstract, and often technical pursuit of profit. This work has produced germinal insights regarding the contingent factors that make up expert capitalism, the key role of representations and narrative in constituting the object we know as an economy, and the unstated assumptions that frame the actions of expert capitalists. However, there have been as yet few systematic reflections regarding what strategies are adequate to the empirical, anthropological analysis of expert capitalism. This article seeks to open up a conversation about anthropological methods suited to expert capitalism by outlining a toolbox intended to facilitate such research. It argues that these strategies constitute what is termed econography: a methodological approach suited to the diagnosis of expert capitalism.

MICRO, MESO AND MACRO FINANCE. A COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC-BASED APPROACH

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Socio-anthropological research on the processes of financialization has developed since the 1960s (ie Ardener 1962, Geertz 1964), taking into consideration first of all the social forms and moral meanings of indebtedness in non-European contexts. The practices of everyday finance, included in the set of so-called "informal economies" (Bouman, Hospes 1994) have therefore been interpreted tacking account of the economic conditions, gender differences, community ritual obligations and constraints related to specific family structures.

A second body of studies has traced the forms of co-optation of such informal practices within the paradigm of development, institutionalized microfinance, and the popularization of credit among the poor (Armendariz, Labie 2011). The ethnographic literature has thoroughly investigated the pervasive strategy of the neoliberal culture of the individual implicit in microcredit models and its ability to benefit from the social dimensions of community financial relations (Lazar 2004), as well as the consequences of over-indebtedness (Guérin, Morvant-Roux, Villarreal 2014), and its management for self-help groups, ngo's, individuals. A path that showed the pitfalls that implies to turn culture and sociality into new sources of profit (Elyachar 2005).

A well-established, albeit recent, line of research on the anthropology of macrofinance has instead turned its ethnographies to the world of investment bankers, politicians, computer scientists, and financial operators. Ethnographers have shown, for example, their language and persuasive abilities (Holmes 2014), the production of subjectivities in work environments (Ho 2009), the production of value as a political process (Ortiz 2020), the technological yet magical dimension of computation (Zaloom 2006), the centrality of the categories of uncertainty and future (Appadurai 2016) to understanding their world.

In this talk, I will briefly outline some of the characteristic elements of the ethnographies of each of these three blocks-which I propose to call "anthropology of micro, meso, and macro finance", both from the perspective of the methodology of ethnographic research and from that of the issues addressed.

Next, I will focus on the comparison of these three research paths by identifying possible interconnections In line with the panel proposal, the reflexive and propositional effort of my presentation concerns in fact the theoretical attempt to reconnect levels of analysis that have rarely been compared, and this seems a paradox since the main objective of the anthropology of finance is to humanize the economy (Hart, Laville, Cattani 2010). I therefore propose a comparative approach to reasoning around the mechanisms that place human valuation at the heart of the financial products market Starting from the exceptional transversality and globality of the object of study, it is possible to develop a theory of value capable of including the human factor, revealing its reflexive criteria of classification, of cultural variation, including neoliberalism as a specific culture of classification. The financial medium constitutes both a language and an exceptional detector of the functioning of these processes, and this can only be verified ethnographically.

"SO, I HEARD THAT YOU AND MR. SALAM ARE ACQUAINTANCES": AN UNSETTLING ETHNOGRAPHY OF FINANCE

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Like its counterparts in global financial institutions, the Turkish finance industry diligently sustains its physical and symbolic boundaries to protect its proprietary knowledge, technological sophistication, and financial expertise. Its meticulous attention to be invisible and unmarked for the outsider's gaze, in turn, fosters financiers' power and hegemony (Ho 2012), turning financial expertise into a complicated secret, an unquestioned norm, and a "black box" (Lange 2016). Financiers' and financial institutions' unmarkedness from the position of power brings many challenges to the researchers who want to conduct ethnographic research. For instance, "studying up" (Nader, 1972) financial elites in different settings, such as firms, corporations, military or bureaucratic structures, comes with difficulties in accessing the field (Ortner 2010, Salverda and Abbink 2013, Souleles 2018), maneuvering research interlocutors' resistance throughout the research, and managing ways of notetaking, observing, and interviewing (Gilbert & Sklair 2018, Preda 2017, Smith, 2006). Consequently, researchers who study up the finance industry have to tackle the interlocutors' exclusionary gaze that monitors, defines, and sorts the "legitimacy" of the researcher (Conti & O'Neil 2007, 70). Since these challenges concretize and symbolize the power of financial institutions and financiers, one way or another, studying up witnesses and often reproduces the positions and structures of power and hegemony that exclude the researchers from the field and reproduce financial elites' unmarkedness.

What if these structures of power and positions of expertise are not as determined and reified as they seem to be? What if they change, take different shapes, get unsettled, or reversed through ordinary ethnographic encounters between researchers and research interlocutors? If we take these structures, positions, and encounters fluid, how do they illuminate how researchers and research interlocutors make each other experience studying up?

Based on the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted on the trading floor of a prominent investment bank in Istanbul in the highly unstable aftermath of the failed coup in July 2016, this paper will answer these questions by highlighting the "affective" nature of studying up the Turkish finance industry I will offer multiple "identities". I found myself on the trading floor as manifestations of how forms and flows of power within and outside the trading floor shaped my encounters with traders: i) an insufficient outsider to be granted access to the field, ii) a not-yet-innocent guest at the household of finance, iii) an (accidental) expert on behavioural finance, and iv) what I call an "affective placeholder" for traders' "passionate servitude" (Lordon 2014) to the head of the financial household, which unsettled the unmarkedness of traders and turned my study "upside down". I will demonstrate that these identities accentuated how my bodily presence consolidated or undermined spatial and symbolic limits, gender dynamics, institutional and personal risks, and affective attunements on the trading floor. If studying up is about "speaking to power and listening to power" (Anderson-Levy 2010, 186), I will suggest that the identities I became equipped with during my fieldwork emerged from how traders negotiated their identities based on their and my supposed financial expertise, position, and re-position themselves vis-à-vis power dynamics and hierarchies on the trading floor.

CHASING WAVES: STRATEGIES FOR CONNECTING AND ANALYSING OFFICES AND OCEANS IN THE BLUE ECONOMY

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For the past six years I have conducted fieldwork in sustainable and climate finance with a focus on the significance and impact of white-collar work and the experiences of people in this sector in financial centres in London, Boston, and New York City. As a researcher with the Impact Hau team at the University of Bologna, I am now beginning research on the blue economy to complement my climate finance research. The blue economy is a growing discourse amongst policymakers and financiers centred on ocean and water management and commercial activity. Through focusing on a Republic of the Seychelles bond connected to funding marine conservation I hope to find ways to connect and challenge my knowledge of and fieldwork in climate finance offices to the direct environmental and social impacts of a bond associated with climate finance and the blue economy. In this paper I outline my initial thoughts on my research project and invite discussion on how best to grapple with and understand the multiple scales and power systems involved within and surrounding finance.

STATE ACTION AND THE MOVEMENTS OF FINANCE DURING THE SPANISH HOUSING CRISIS: ALLEVIATING OR AMPLIFYING THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF FINANCIALIZATION?

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This paper addresses the entanglements, complicities and collisions between financialization processes and State action during the current housing crisis in Spain, with a focus on Catalonia and the Barcelona area in the last decade. State interventions, including housing policies and legal regulations imposed on financial and real estate markets and on landlord-tenant relations, will be interpreted as modulators that may either alleviate or amplify the impacts of financial dynamics on people's access to adequate housing. The housing crisis has consisted in two overlapping waves: the proliferation of foreclosures following the 2007 crash has led way, from 2014 on, to a predominance of rental evictions, including judiciary ones, due to non-payment, and also so-called 'invisible' or 'no-fault' evictions due to the sudden increase of rents or to the non-renewal of leases The current COVID-related crisis is adding to these previous waves.
Drawing on the cases of several legal reforms, we will illustrate the different attitudes towards financial extraction adopted by the Spanish State, from the blatant promotion of the interests of real-estate and banking lobbies, to some interference with capital accumulation projects aiming at protecting housing rights. In the rare cases where the State has tried to alleviate the social harms derived from financial extraction, reforms have been superficial, have arrived late, and have failed to reverse the structural drivers of the crisis.
Reforms and policies will be interpreted as contributing either to the movements or to the countermovements of finance, to the perpetuation of its internal consistency, or to its mutations and reinventions in new social and political scenarios. We will try to shed some light into the nature of State action in the face of housing financialization, and to discuss whether States should be understood as 'outsides' with respect to finance, or whether, to the contrary, they are part of finance's very conditions of possibility.

EMINENT DOMAIN AND THE POSTMODERN URBAN CONDITION. A CASE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON THE COASTAL CITY OF LONG BRANCH, NEW JERSEY

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Statement of the Problem: The history of urban areas within the United States shows a variety of governmental efforts to maintain cities as economic and socially vital areas One strategy in revitalizing an urban area is through the use of acquiring private property for public use, particularly through Eminent Domain Eminent Domain can be essentially defined as "the private-to-private transfer of property to achieve a public purpose (economic redevelopment, urban renewal), as opposes to a strictly public use"

This last case would include the acquisition and holding of private property by the government for a clear public use, such as the construction of a school or a public road On the contrary, the most common case of use of eminent domain has been that of the government take of private homes from their owners and transfer them to another private party as part of a larger private developers, who typically demolish existing stock and replace it with high-end residential units, restaurants, retail stores and the like .

The proposed paper intends to present an ethnographic study that has been done between 2011 and 2016 to investigate the use and the social consequence of Eminent Domain in one coastal area in New Jersey – the cities Long Branch – to answer the larger question of how private property and public commons can coexist in urban policy and planning Does ED represent a form of "state neo-liberalism", whereas the private profit makers are asking the public help in order to have the government legitimate their private interests? Is it a way through which capitalist urbanization expand the margin of profit in a period of financial crisis? Using an field ethnographic approach, and drawing on both primary and secondary data, we tried to answer the following broad and guiding research questions:

1 What are the economic, political, environmental, social, and cultural impacts of the use of those strategies particularly on coastal cities trying to revitalize themselves?

2 Does the use of Eminent Domain target poor and minority communities?

3 What happens to the dispossessed owners? And to the communities after the redevelopment projects? How does social stratification change in those communities?

Keywords: urban sociology, ethnography, visual sociology, city & urban planning, eminent domain

PARTICIPATING IN FINANCE

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Few participant observations have been carried out in finance as the difficulty of entry is a practical problem not easily surmountable. However, participant observations are crucial for the sociological approach to finance as they can disentangle the messiness and intricate power structures and social relations in financial markets, contrary to more normative approaches. With the help of a participant observation in risk management in banking and insurance, this paper will show the advantages and drawbacks of participant observations in financial organisations. The benefit of participation ensures a direct interaction with the norms and values of the field of study and therefore also their in-depth understanding. Moreover, the active interaction with research participants ensures that the locally accepted can be studied rather than the representation of the socially acceptable.

PLATFORM CAPITALISM'S HIDDEN ABODE: PRODUCING DATA ASSETS IN THE GIG ECONOMY

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In this paper, we argue that the governance of gig work under conditions of financialised platform capitalism is characterised by a process that we call "dual value production"; the monetary value produced by the service provided is augmented by the use and speculative financial value of the data produced before, during, and after service provision. App-governed gig workers hence function as pivotal conduits in software systems that produce digital data as a particular asset class that is engaged directly in the venture capital and financial worlds platform companies operate in. As such, ethnographic study of app working becomes by proxy, an ethnographic study of the worlds of venture capital that keep the platform economy functioning despite massive year-on-year corporate losses. We reflect on the workers' role in the production of data assets and the unequal distribution of opportunities for their valorisation, after which we survey platform capitalism's domination, bankrolled by what we term "meta-platforms" who provide financing on even alrger scales than institutional finance partners. Ultimately, it is the massive wealth and synergetic capacities of meta-platforms that constitute the most formidable obstacle to worker power and social justice in increasingly data-driven societies.

CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS AS SPATIAL PARADOXES: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF FINANCIAL INTERMEDIARIES IN A TRADING FLOOR

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Conflicts of interests (CoIs) are often seen as an inherent characteristic of the financial industry, undermining the orderly functioning of markets, and, as such, CoIs are either eradicated or disclosed where they cannot be avoided. We challenge this perspective using data collected through 36 months of ethnographic participant observations in the trading floor of a Paris-based universal bank. We argue that CoIs are better understood as spatial paradoxes, whereby conflicting practices are not avoided but instead are encouraged and managed through careful management of organisational space. Our findings necessitate the paradox concept to the analysis of financial intermediaries and, more broadly, to the theory of markets. We also contribute to the literature about CoIs by revealing the constellation of interests and practices that help to maintain financial CoIs.

DISCLOSE AND PUNISH: A BATTLE FOR GREEN POWER IN CHINA AND EUROPE

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The urgency of tackling climate change is leading to a general "green" consensus among both regional and private financial institutions. Not only is the giant asset manager Blackrock leading the corporate world towards the "net zero" emissions; China has recently committed to zero emission within 2060, building a global leading role to climate neutrality. In the current turn towards the increasing financialisation of nature, multiple financial institutions, from central banks to private funds are mobilising a new "green" "wall of money". This systemic convergence, however, appears to travel along locally situated and clashing trajectories driven by new forms of green power/"environmentality". This term refers to the power strategies that render "nature governable" and, through a "ecological rationality," attempts to make the environment a site of (bio) political calculations (Fletcher 2017; Agrawal 2005).

In this paper, we focus on these frictional points. Focusing on two case studies in both China and Europe, we explore the way in which these new modes of green power become operationalised. Building on Eve Chiapello's analysis on the disciplinarisation of (green) corporations, we discuss how this burgeoning "green" power both reshuffles old analytical categories, i.e. "disciplinary society", "society of control", "biopolitics" and exceeds new ones, i.e. "green biopolitics". First, we explore the conflict between the Chinese state and the tech-empire Alibaba over the production of new green financial practices that shape "green" trustworthy citizens and corporations. By dismantling Alibaba's Big Data infrastructure and incorporating it into its own centralized Social Credit System (SCS), the Chinese State appears to exert a distinct form of green sovereign power. The SCS is based on a vertical centralised mechanism of "punishments and rewards" that are based on, among others, their environmental performance. Second, we describe the emerging new European regime of non-financial disclosure (NFD). In contrast to the Chinese context, this relies mainly on private fintech platforms that process and analyse ESG (environmental, social, governance) information. These political technologies of governance point to yet another mode of environmentality, one where corporations are disciplined through environmental disclosure Here "the market" undertakes the task to aggregate information and evaluate behaviours.

We conclude underlining that while these new forms of "green" power have been increasingly legitimated by the double crisis of the environment and capitalism, they deserve investigation on their wider political implications at local and global scale.

THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF ECONOMIC INCOMPETENCE

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This communication is based on an ethnographic fieldwork that studied the economic practices of inhabitants of a French working-class neighbourhood. It aims to point out some of the social processes that increase the difficulties for the poorest to access to financial instruments. The originality of the proposal lies in the fact that it does not focus on the already well-known institutional arrangements that designate (almost mechanically) the poorest populations as incompetent: face-to-face interactions which are above all power relationships (Caplovitz 1974; Perrin-Heredia 2009), assessment instruments whose categories disadvantage the poorest (Desrosières 2003; 2003; Perrin-Heredia 2011), moral judgements and behavioural expectations which are socially situated (Zelizer 2005; Lazarus 2009; Bergeron et al 2018), failure to take into account lay skills (Bourdieu 1977; Gaxie 1978; Perrin-Heredia 2013). Rather, this proposal suggests looking at more discrete social processes which contribute to hindering the access of these populations to financial instruments, those processes that lead to making certain economic skills invisible, including the most legitimate ones.

BACK TO THE FUTURE? TIME IN FINANCIAL EDUCATION

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The future is a "cultural product" that takes its shape from the representations, imaginaries and meanings we collectively ascribe to it (Pellegrino 2019). It has long been removed from the public discourse and, thus, from the sphere of "the possible", i.e. a space open to different configurations of the future and improving changes. The very capacity of thinking the future has been undermined in this context with impacts especially on the most vulnerable people (De Leonardis and Deriu 2012).
Financial education, which comes on the scene notably in the aftermath of 2008's economic crisis, tries bucking this trend by restoring future to a central role for strengthening welfare states and people's well-being starting from individuals' direct engagement. More to the point, financial education points to encourage the dissemination of basic economic-financial knowledge and the development of the capacity to translate this knowledge in "adequate behaviours", i.e. financial capability (Sledge, Gordon and Knisley, 2011) .Such behaviours include the ability to make rational use of money, save and, more widely, spur individuals and families adopting a long-term orientation in their everyday life and develop the capacity to imagine and plan the future. But what does it mean for financial education's receivers to learn to imagine and plan the future? What are the expected implications for their present?
The article tries to answer these questions by drawing on case-based qualitative research. The study considers a service of finance education designed and implemented by the Department of Social Policies of the Municipality and firstly experimented into the broader project "WeMi - The City for Welfare". Such municipal service aims to prevent future poverty, enhance self-protection strategies, and promote well-being by raising citizens' awareness about the need to acquire a better financial education. Methodologically, the research draws on interviews and participant observation. Six in-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted with key stakeholders and practitioners: three responsible for the project on behalf of the Municipality, two financial educators responsible for the company that manages the service, and a practitioner working as a financial educator. Participant observation has concerned the participation to these moments: a) online course (about 60 hours of observation in 20 days); b) group meeting on Future, Planning and Management of Incomes and Expenses (2 hours); c) group meeting on Indebtedness and Investment (2 hours); d) event. The useful financial education (4 hours) dedicated to the professional figure of the financial educator. The empirical material has been collected between October 2019 and February 2020.
Findings show that fostering the adoption of a long-term orientation should mean for participants developing the capacity to imagine the future with specific techniques, such as the "mental time travel". Moreover, it means promoting the capacity to act in accordance with these imaginaries. Such capacity involves, on the one hand, learning why do it, i.e. that is internalize the reasons that guide financial education in general. On the other hand, it involves the acquisition of knowledge about how – through

which methods, techniques, devices – to act and imagine the future, i.e. detailed prediction of main events for the whole life course, accurate description of needs and consequent objectives for each event through precise quantitative economic evaluations In this way, financial education places the future in the already traced furrow of the "life cycle", made up of linear stages and "needs" whose order of priority cannot be negotiated. It will be shown how the future is, in other words, given largely in advance and how it might allocate a heavy burden on people's choices and behaviours both in the present and future. Finally, the article discusses the implications for present conducts and subjectivities that constrain the present and the future into the strict grid of market rules, thus continue limiting the capacity to think the future, and "aspire" (Appadurai 2004).

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SESSION 19

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIFE DIMENSIONS
OF RESPONSIBILITY

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THE SOCIAL WORKERS WITH ASYLUM SEEKERS AND REFUGEES IN QUARANTINE-SHIPS: LOCAL-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS AND DE FACTO POLICYMAKERS

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The social worker with asylum seekers and refugees in quarantine-ships is a new professional figure in the Italian panorama, who is called to develop the required skills starting from field-knowledge. Although more and more professional roles are needed to cope with demands and specific situations, characteristics of each profile are still blurred and not defined Indeed, they are not recruited on the basis of a clear set of skills and professional competences; neither they received clear-cut rules for their work while they are into the quarantine-boat. Thus they learn within their equipe how to challenge the relational tasks they often meet, what makes their action "good", which requests have to be addressed, which instrument they should use, and so on. During my field experience, I worked as caseworker (RFL - Restoring Family Links) into a quarantine-ship for migrants coming from the Central Mediterranean Sea. I have been able to observe how different ideals, roles and actions of the various workers significantly influence and shape paths and experiences of migrants while they are in the quarantine-boats and when they have to go out them: the perception and presence of social workers is a fundamental element in crafting the possible paths and attitudes of migrants.

HOMESCHOOLING AS AN EVERYDAY PRACTICE: RESHAPING RESPONSIBILITY IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION

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The global agenda of the new public management have introduced discourses, technologies as well as incentive and punishment mechanisms that have profoundly restructured the arenas of education (Ball & Youdell, 2007; Normand, 2016). For instance, the logic of quality assurance requires educational institutions to 'produce' workforce with the greatest efficiency and the least waste (Gunter, Grimaldi, Hall, & Serpieri, 2016). As a result, pressures to individual and organisational responsibility have penetrated all levels and spheres of education New social and individual challenges arise thereby, such as crises induced by social factors that are lived by subjects as individual failures rather than collective experiences (Beck, 2007). Thus, 'fields of responsibility' emerge in the spheres of education within which two central actors are co-implied. On the one hand, education professionals are increasingly demanded to account for their daily practice (teaching, research, administration, etc), often through the mediation of digital technologies (Espeland & Sauder, 2016; Fenwick & Edwards, 2016). On the other, students are sometimes pressed towards over-/under-performance by guidance and evaluation practices in which opaque cultures of blame and shame are concealed (Romito, 2016).
In this scenario, and alongside virtuous examples of the use of responsibility and accountability in the worlds of education, bottom-up micro-social practices emerge that challenge the conventional custodians of legitimate responsibility in the fields of education. In particular, homeschooling can be understood as a form of "schooling which occurs outside of an institutional school setting, where parents are the primary

instructor or supervise instruction" (Vieux, 2014, p 556). It constitutes a well-established alternative to public and private schools in the United States, reaching up to 1,689,726 students in 2016 (McQuiggan & Megra, 2017, p 18). As to Italy, homeschooling is legal – on the basis of interpretations of Art 30 of the Constitution – and involves about 5,000 students who practice 'istruzione parentale' (IP) (parental education) across the different school stages (MIUR, 2019). The label 'istruzione parentale' captures a plethora of home education forms in which heterogeneous teaching methods, spaces and artefacts are made operative. As a matter of fact, IP can be articulated across 'unschooling' forms (no structuring of times and places for learning, no curriculum and maximum freedom in the choice of topics), more structured 'homeschooling' forms (at home, in the morning, with the expectation of achieving educational goals), and hybrid forms. These experiences share the direct assumption of responsibility from parents for the education of their children. The purpose of this contribution is to explore homeschooling as an everyday practice and the articulation of its 'field of responsibility' across students, families, and education professionals. An effort has therefore been made to examine what 'holds' the homeschooling practice together as an assemblage of emerging effects: knowledge, artefacts, narratives, 'ways of doing' co-participated and organised around unevenly shared practical understandings (Gherardi, 2005). On the methodological level, twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with homeschooling parents reached through snowballing. A documentary analysis of the Italian normative sources regulating IP has also been carried out.

The research shows that the IP practice embeds orders of values (Thévenot, 2001) and conceptions of the local 'good' which challenge the status quo and prompt new forms of subjectivity. Heterogeneous ways of performing home education are held together by the assertion of a 'logic of care' (Mol, 2008) in education – a full and open-ended attunement and engagement with the processes of educating children. The traditional forme scolaire (Vincent, Lahire, & Thin, 1994) – relationships, practices, times, and spaces of teaching and learning that are perceived as typical of public schooling – is thereby firmly rejected.

Through the ongoing practical enactment of such logic, a rearticulation takes place in the field of responsibility of istruzione parentale Students are less required to account for their learning practice. They are freed of the responsibility for their performance and the shame they might experience from failure. They are thereby often able to engage with learning in a spontaneous and serene way. Education professionals are mostly excluded from the field of responsibility, since homeschooling parents consider them unfit to take care of students and their needs. Parents frame themselves as practitioners of responsibility, as they refuse to delegate the education of their children to the public education IP is in fact narrated as a means to achieve a broader and deeper process of education – a process that cannot be delegated and which can reconfigure the entire family sphere.

Education emerges through homeschoolers narration as a field where practices of daily responsibility are performed and delegation to 'expert knowledge' is denied Therefore, on a theoretical level, 'responsibility' emerges as a situated social practice – something that people perform in-action and in everyday interaction, rather than an essential property.

Further reflections are set about the promises and perils of such educational model. In particular, a focus is put on the shift of responsibility from institutions to families. Frictions may indeed arise between the priorities of democratic systems and an educational model which is crafted around parents and the individual experience only.

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THERE WAS A PROBLEM OF EXCESSIVE FORCE USE. REACTION STRATEGY DISCOURSE EMPLOYED BY SPOKESPERSONS TO RESTORE POLICE REPUTATION

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Negative media coverage of police scandals such as the commissioners' resignation following sexual and corruption allegations, excessive police force used against Ethiopian immigrants and continuing public dissatisfaction – all testify that the Israel Police is experiencing a prolonged reputation crisis (Avraham, 2009). A state of perpetual reputation crisis.

A favorable reputation is important for an organization as it promotes its stakeholders' support, which facilitates its operation. A crisis occurs when it fails to meet their expectations: anger is evoked and escalates with each additional transgression. The organization's suitable reaction during crisis is critical Since spokespersons represent their organization, this study explores the reaction style of spokespersons representing organizations experiencing a prolonged crisis. The Israel Police serves as a case study. Analysing reaction strategy discourse employed by spokespersons as a means to identify conceptual flaws in the organization's culture is this study's contribution.

An organization's reputation is based on its stakeholders' overall evaluation in meeting their expectations (Coombs, 2007). Stakeholders maybe external (public) or internal (employees) entities who have an interest vested in the organization A crisis occurs when an unexpected event threatens the organization's ability to meet these expectations. People attribute responsibility to events and experience an emotional reaction to it- mainly empathy or anger (Coombs, 2007). Anger motivates action therefore disappointed stakeholders may turn to rivals jeopardizing private organizations. When anger is directed to an institution such as the police than the wellbeing of a democratic society is at stake. The escalation or ending of a crisis depends on the organization's reaction, it's ability to manage the crisis and the media The spokesperson's status in the organization and his ability to control its message predict their ability to overcome crises (Marra, 1998). Reputation is essential to organizations who will protect it when threatened is the basis for Image Restoration Theory (Benoit, 1997). A threat appears when the accused is held responsible for the action, and/or that act is considered offensive Benoit's strategies are 1) Denial (of responsibility for it) 2) Shift the blame (to the responsible others) 3) Evasion of responsibility (by claiming defeasibility) 4) Reducing act's offensiveness by minimization 5) Corrective actions (to prevent recurrent wrongdoing) 6) Mortification.

What are the reaction strategies employed in discourse by spokespersons of organizations experiencing a prolonged reputation crisis? The selected research period is 2011-2018 which covered the terms of two police commissioners. On the second term the spokesmanship department was upgraded by subordinating it to the police headquarters- a reform which predicts overcoming crises (Marra, 1998). A qualitative approach was adopted using content and rhetoric analyses of semi-constructed interviews with four police spokespersons: two regional and two chief spokespersons – Spokesperson1 served prior to reform, Spokesperson 2 – following it. Analysis of the interviews used Atlas-ti. The study was approved by the ethics board of University of Haifa

BRIDGING AS CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY: AMERICAN MUSLIMS BUILDING CIVIC INCLUSIVITY IN LOS ANGELES

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How do American Muslims practice inclusivity and bridge religious differences in US civic life? Sociological research on bridging focuses mostly on bridging efforts on the part of majority groups, leaving unanswered the timely question of if and how inclusivity is practiced by minority groups, particularly religious minorities, in US civic spaces. Drawing on participant observation among two Muslim groups in Los Angeles, this paper studies bridging as civic responsibility for American Muslims and identifies two practices of inclusivity that participants adopt to bridge religious difference: the interreligious heritage practice and the shared ethics practice. Both practices simultaneously draw and diffuse group boundaries, emphasize sameness, albeit using different sets of religious meanings, and are grounded in an understanding of civic spaces as implicitly exclusionary of minorities. I find that these practices can create tension points in the pursuit of mutual understanding and create textures of meanings that operate differently depending on the situation and the participants in the interaction.

TRIAL AS NARRATION. METHODOLOGICAL IDEAS FOR A PSYCHO-SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF CRIMINAL PROCEEDING STARTING FROM MASTROGIOVANNI'S CASE

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In the last decade in Italy a broad public debate has taken hold about the "deaths for psychiatry" that have affected people under hospitalized psychiatric treatment "Suspected deaths" happened during the person's withdrawal for TSO (involuntary treatment) or during the recovery, and due to the use of physical restraints for security reasons (both for the hospitalized person and for the healthcare professional). Many people have been involved in these episodes, one of these was Francesco Mastrogiovanni. He died in 2009 in the hospital of Vallo Della Lucania (SA) after 87 hours of physical restraints, tied to the bed on the wrists and the ankles He was there because of involuntary treatment required by two doctors carried out by some healthcare professionals with the help of the policemen.

During Mastrogiovanni's recovery in SPDC (psychiatric service of diagnosis and care) CCTV camera was on It allowed the reconstruction of the episodes happened, and the family's denunciation against the healthcare personnel involved in this event Mastrogiovanni's trial opened some essential questions both about the responsibility of the doctors and nurses and about some medical procedures like physical restraint and the overuse of drugs. In particular, the judges have been examined the deontological codes related to the professionals' responsibilities and the safeguard of human rights in the contexts of hospitalization.

The criminal proceeding can be considered as a narration: a "stage" where the actors involved, divided between defence and prosecution, are called by the law to discussing their version of events. This version, driven by a third party (judge), lead to a unique narration. In this specific event, the social roles of the healthcare professionals are characterized by patterns of behaviour and social expectations: considering a person as responsible of some specific actions means understand them with reference to his/her role. For the healthcare professional the expectations are that they take care of the patients. In Mastrogiovanni's case, this did not happen and the healthcare professionists have been called to justifying their actions.

This contribution presents a methodological proposal: to read the procedural documents with a psycho-social perspective about the responsibility of the actors involved in episodes of death in contexts of hospitalization. In particular, the case study is about the qualitative analysis of the procedural documents of the Mastrogiovanni's judgment at first instance.

Qualitative analysis with the software Atlasti has been made. The analysis highlighted the use of the mechanisms of moral disengagement among the social actors involved: diffusion of responsibility, displacement of responsibility, advantageous comparison, self-condemnation and others. A discussion on personal and role responsibility will be done, as well as one on obedience to authority. This study is interesting for the understanding of the motives of the actions, and how people justify individual choices in the institutional contexts.

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RESEARCHING THE CONSENT. EMPIRICAL ISSUES IN CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

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Social and ethical responsibility both play a central role in defining social science research as, through their lenses, social researchers examine their relationships with the larger society and the responsibility for generating public knowledge respectively. Additionally, when conducting qualitative research, social scientists must respond to ethical and social demands that usually arises in every step of the research process and that, most of the times, cannot be foreseen before entering the research field. In this scenario, specific tools, such as ethical approval, informed consent and coding scheme, are usually used as controlled and reliable indicators of the research and researcher's ethics. However, access to research participants is "both a crucial aspect of the research process and one that is often dealt with as relatively unproblematic in mainstream research methods textbooks" (Miller and Bell 2012). Before asking for informed consent, the researcher must gain access to research participant and achieving such access can be challenging for the researcher, especially when the researcher is exploring cultures that are extraneous to his/her experience, when potentially complex power dynamics define the research field and when the potential participants are not well acquainted with qualitative research epistemology and methodology.

While in the last 30 years qualitative research in medicine and healthcare has become more prominent, there still is a lack of methodological discourse on conducting researches with health professionals. Especially when discussing recruiting processes and informed consent outside formal medical fields of research (e.g. hospitals), little is known about the challenges that academic researchers without a health professional background might encounter Scientific literature shows that when interviewing health professionals, the researcher's identity does matter. When interviewing peer health professionals, Coar and Sim (2006) highlighted not only that participants felt to be under scrutiny, viewing the interview as a test for their professional competences and knowledge, but also that the potential researcher's lack of medical/health professional background might generate reserve or mistrust, consequently jeopardizing the participation of health professionals. A recent research conducted with Italian health professionals (General Practitioners, General Pediatricians and family counseling psychologists) confirmed such concerns While trying to find perspective participants for an exploratory research on congenital variations of sex characteristics, several issues emerged. All the participants agreed to be audio-recorded except for the General Practitioners (GPs). During the recruiting process ten of the first GPs contacted by the research team refused to participate due to the possibility to be recorded. Additional 5 GPs declared their willingness to participate only if not recorded Because of these issues and given the need to explore mainly the topics related to the interview questions, the answers given by the GPs were promptly transcribed during the interview in an interpretative grid previously set up by the research team.

Participants working as family counseling psychologist were very difficult to approach either. Before being able to contact prospective participants, the research project had to be authorized by the management of the Local Health Authority (eg ATS, ASST) of reference. After the approval, the project had to be evaluated and validated either by the managers of the Complex Psychological Operating Units or by the district managers, who – once given their consent – were able to present the proposal to the local managers, who, in turn, were allowed to discuss the project with the entire multidisciplinary team, including the potential psychologists who were then able to decide whether or not to participate.

Furthermore, a transversal concern was found in all three groups of participants. Potential participant chose to decline the request to participate due to their "lack of previous experience", although the topic description in the research presentation was deliberately generic and even if some professionals claimed to be the experts of reference for the health of the family.

Starting from the setbacks that this recruiting process experience had to face, this article aims to address the following issues: how research responsibility relates with perspective participants in social positions of power? How a standardize ethical research expressions (eg informed consent) clash with the ethos of qualitative research (eg to co-construct the researcher-participant relationship)? How "assumptions of responsibility" of both social research and health professions can be put in practice? Consequently, how these "cultures of responsibility" can communicate between each-other?

A RESPONSIBILITY TO CARE: SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY IN THE SARDINIAN ANTI-MILITARY YOUTH MOVEMENT DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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In Sardinia – one of Europe's most militarized regions – anti-militarization and youth activism has long highlighted the neglected issues of territorial occupation and the harmful implications of land misuse for the environment and public health (Esu 2020, Lutz 2009, 2020, Vine 2019). As the island's economy and healthcare face the consequences of COVID-19, the local anti-military movement A Foras (Out) and other youth activists – like their global counterparts – are confronting new challenges as well as opportunities in mobilisation practices. This proposal explores how the anti-military youth movement has kept its cause visible during the pandemic by creating a Popular Solidarity Network (Mutuo Soccorso Kasteddu) to help with and overcome everyday life hardships. By highlighting the inextricable political link between responsibility and precariousness in light of care they go in the direction traced by Tronto when she states that , "the notion of care is a valuable political concept how we think about care is deeply implicated in existing structures of power and inequality (Tronto 1993, 21)". Rather than shrinking its practices during the lockdown restrictions, the anti-military youth movement has expanded and shifted its tactics of mobilization and organization around the ethics of care (Robinson 2011, Santos 2019). From a political point of view, the movement's tactics informed by such ethics make visible: the incongruity between growing military spending and the lack of investment in public health calling the attention of public opinion during the lockdown restrictions with the social media campaign "less military expenses more hospitals"; the deepening and expansion of conditions of deprivation, vulnerability and social exclusion engendered by the pandemic By evoking responsibility as a collective "obligation to care", rather than as an individual act or as an institutional and often militarized task, anti-military youth activists develop a culture of solidarity which moves in the direction of a caring democracy (Butler 2004, Tronto 2013). Acting in this new pattern of community interest, they highlight the political connections between military spending, health, precariousness and isolation, conveying a renewed political message of antimilitarism through – and as – care Their political platform rooted in the territorial defence moved from military occupation and land misuse to a larger prospect progressing in the direction of caring democracy as a moral relation of care for the security of people (Robinson 2011, 7). Thus we interrogate whether the Mutuo extends the common concept of security, which includes the security enabled by the weaponry and testing war tactics, to a security based on solidarity and proximity. In our proposal we focus ethnographically (digital/in situ fieldwork, qualitative interviews, participant ethnography) on the movement's new actions. Looking more closely at these activist practices as the core of a shifting culture of responsibility, we observed that the turn towards a "caring" ethics of engagement has extended social ties by building networks of political militancy and social solidarity among market vendors, students, workers, teachers, disengaged citizens as well as political militants In setting up a complex and ever-growing urban solidarity network – i.e. engaging vendors for "Sa Spesa Sospesa" (suspended shopping), taking in all requests, collecting and delivering goods, offering various types of support, connecting volunteers – the Mutuo Soccorso brought to light the vulnerabilities and inequalities magnified yet invisibilized by the lockdown. The collective action drew an alternative map of the large urban area based on its needs and relationships of care. For instance, they showed that even residents of supposedly affluent areas contacted the Mutuo Soccorso to ask for help. Additionally they address and make social inequality, exclusion, work exploitation, precariousness and

isolation visible through practices of solidarity in everyday life. These actions move toward the social justice arena as a "purposive orientation" within the system of opportunities and constraints (Melucci 1995). This case study offers a grassroots example of a renewed space of knowledge production (Chesters 2012) in the anti-military youth movement. As recent scrutiny on social movements practices under the pandemic shows the severe limitations to political and social organization have been turned into opportunities (Della Porta 2020, Pleyers 2020) by widening the actions in the ethical direction of social justice and rethinking human security. The proposal thus provides a current, expansive understanding of what solidarity, and security mean for the anti-militarist youth movement in southern Europe.

SESSION 20

CRITICAL AND DECOLONIAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN

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THE MATTER OF "TRANS-PERIPHERALISM" FROM MARACAIBO (VENEZUELA) TO BARRANQUILLA (COLOMBIA)

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Consistently with the subject of the session Decolonizing Ethnographies of Migration from the Southern Mediterranean, this recollection intends to escape from the main ethnographic approaches related to the predominant migratory patterns. In this sense, we think it right to widen research views about migrations focusing on the survey of populations' displacements within Caribbean and Latin-American environments. Those areas are envisaged not as an "amplified Mediterranean" (Nesti, 2012, p1) but rather as a set of "trans-territorialities (Haesbaert, 2013, p13), fit for overcoming the differing eurocentric interpretations of such social realities. Some current South-South migratory researches gave indeed new scopes for pondering upon the grounds underlying migrations. Besides the well-established tellings according to which a migrant would move from one side of the Earth to another to improve his material living status, Léon and Falcón (2016) describe as "a process taking shape gradually more and more influenced by relational factors" (p. 737). The South-South migratory flows would be therefore mainly motivated by "migratory nets" (Gomez and Léon, 2019, p. 4). Migrations, more than due to strictly economic reasons, would result also from solidarity that new migrants may receive from other migrants, from people or from organisations (Léon and Falcón, 2016).

Taking such considerations as a starting point, we propose the socialisation of a migratory study that took place between September 2018 and October 2019 with a group of Venezuelans who reached Colombia during that period. By the means of a multi-centred ethnography had been actually followed the paths of life of those migrants who, coming from Maracaibo's outskirts, gave rise to a new bidonville area by Barranquilla's side, known as Villa Caracas It was then verified the happening of a phenomenon we named "trans-peripheralism". This word intends to express a condition of trans-national exceptionality that, apart from any context of origin or destiny, subdues first and then expels the involved individuals, reproducing situations of endemic marginality It happens then that those who move away, besides the persons, are especially the structures of exclusion, being the result of two political antipodal regimes: i.e., the Venezuelan Chavism and the Colombian neoliberalism. Among the main outcomes of our research, besides the confirmation of a peculiar relational net between subjects being part of the "trans-peripheralism", we noticed that, despite such condition, the migrants devise resistance strategies tied to the symbolic trade of their own suffering.

This project belongs to a series of activities related to the research project: La migración de retorno en Colombia Nuevas tendencias y configuraciones de los migrantes colombianos retornados en la Región Caribe (Contract n 176/2019) This initiative was financed through assets brought about by Patrimonio Autónomo del Fondo Nacional de Financiamento para la Ciencia, la Tecnologia y la Innovación Francisco José de Caldas del Ministerio de Ciencia, Tecnologia y Innovatión (Miniciencias Colombia).

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MOVEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES OF CASERTA OSARE (OBSERVATORY ON EXPLOITATION, AGRICULTURE AND RESISTANCE): AN EXPERIENCE OF RESEARCH-ACTIVISM FROM THE AFRO EUROPEAN "FRONTIER"

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The present contribution aims at shedding light on the ways social activism, academy and third sector mingle to produce de-colonial perspectives in the Southern Mediterranean space.

The paper focuses on the research activities of the OSARe Observatory (Osservatorio Sfruttamento Agricoltura e REsistenze/Observatory on exploitation agriculture and resistances, established in January 2020 through a partnership between CSA Ex-Canapificio, University of Salerno, Frontiera Sud Aps Association and Caritas Caserta) whose main interests concern the nexus between agriculture and migration.

The Observatory's activity has its centre of attention on two of the main agricultural enclaves located in the South of Italy both in Campania Region: the Sele Plain – in the Province of Salerno – and the Domitian Area – in the Province of Caserta. The Observatory's objectives concern multiple levels of analysis: i) specificity of migration dynamics; ii) social organization of labour; iii) production of global agri-food chains in the context of the current economic crisis affecting Southern European countries; iv) immigration policies.

The creation of the Observatory relies on the necessity to investigate whether and how the agricultural system in Southern Italy and its social connotation are producing proper Afro-European spatial formations in the hearth of Europe. In the Southern Italian agricultural enclaves, transnational agribusiness, long term migrant communities, national management of forced migrations, racism and local system of power are closely interconnected. The economic hyper productivity of these areas is counterbalanced by institutional abandonment, emigration and the proliferation of informal social and economic systems It is possible to state that in the Southern Italian agricultural enclaves, the narrative on a pretended European racial, social, and symbolical unity collapses, sowing the current configurations of the so-called Italian Southern Question. The public disinvestment on these areas on a social and political level is often mitigated by the activity of local activist groups Between them, one of the most involved is the Ex-Canapificio Social Center, which represents the pivot of this research Since 2002, Ex-Canapificio has mapped thousands of immigrants (mostly Sub-Saharan Africans employed in the Domitian and Agro-Aversano agriculture) passed through its legal desks. If the desks were born as tools to solve disputes, they also guarantee a wide collection of

data and information about migration mobility, job activities and working conditions (seasonal, regular or irregular employment and exploitation cases).

Drawing on the methods of the Ex-Canapificio, the Observatory aims at enacting a practice of action-research able to contest the unequal relations between Africa and Europe Adopting both a qualitative and quantitative approach, one of the Observatory's goal is to substantiate empirical evidences concerning the nexus between migration, juridical status and job conditions, in order to reinforce the struggle for the "permesso di soggiorno" (permit of stay) reclaimed by undocumented migrants and to ask for a more equal management of forced migrations.

In this paper, we show the way by which the Observatory builds its methodology as well as its "presa in carico" of migrant's legal problems as a process of de-colonization By combining the qualitative approach – based on observation of the participation of the researcher at the legal desk – the quantitative data analysis and the plurennial expertise of the "Ex-Canapificio", the Observatory aims at conjuncting analysis and activism as drivers for social change.

In this perspective, the Observatory aims at enacting the transformative potential of ethnography in the political arena, as i) a methodology of data collection, ii) a way to reflect upon social practices and iii) a tactic of "con-research" Ethnographic methods will be crucial not only to involve migrants and refugees in the Observatory but also to bring informal knowledge and practices into a broader methodology in order to create new "meticci" methods of analysis and action.

Reflecting on the emergence of Afro-European spaces in southern Mediterranean, the Observatory aims at calling into question Eurocentric paradigms of analysis and aims at representing a point of observation about race, citizenship and belonging from the Afro-European "Frontier".

BLACK NAPLES. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH TO UNDERSTAND THE CROSS-MEDITERRANEAN MIGRATIONS FROM A MERIDIAN PERSPECTIVE

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In the last years the city of Naples has been positively depicted by its local authorities and other social players as an inclusive space for asylum seekers and migrants in general. The establishment of a discourse that would like to be opposite to racist conditions that migrants experience in Northern Italy, often conceals the living conditions of deprivation and affective segregation in which they are compelled. Furthermore this order of the discourse conceals what, in my opinion, is a re-shaping of Italian citizenship, in which Southern Italians, always been rank B citizens, are progressively included within an Italian nationwide identity in contrast with new social subjects, namely migrants and second generations. This ongoing process could be traced in the last political elections in Italy (2018) that resulted in a historical consensus of Southern people for the far-right, anti-immigration – and anti-meridian – party, Lega Nord. The resulting of this defence of a *white citizenship* is a racial conflict that sometimes expresses itself in dramatic but unexplored ways, especially in metropolitan contexts like Naples, frontier land between the Global North and Global South. The purpose of this paper comes by several months of participant observation, ethnographic fieldwork research and first-hand making of an Italian language course for migrants carried out with the Senegalese Association of Naples (Senaso): namely, an overview on conditions experienced by migrants, in this case Senegalese people, from a meridian perspective, in other words from an already subaltern positionality. An attempt to account the question: how migrants and people of colour live in the third metropolitan city in Italy? And which kind of South-South boundaries could be established to get rid of colonial and racist relationships? In the first place backed up by postcolonial and decolonial theoretical framework, I will address the migrant living conditions in the city of Naples in respect of three aspects, freely revealed while establishing a personal relationship with the students of the course: the space, where migrants get a place, which kind of public spaces they live, how the urban space reacts to its new inhabitants; the working conditions, not only in terms of wage level, but also of access to labour market, job duties and chances of climbing the social scale; the state of affective segregation, which kind of social relationships develops between migrants and Neapolitan people and the extent of loneliness and neglect that migrants experience. In the second place a non-Eurocentric approach to the Mediterranean, intended as a cultural, economic and geographic signifier, has questioned my own positionality as Neapolitan researcher and forced me to re-think in a reflexive way

the historical shaping of citizenship in Italy, and to put it into dialectics with the actual rising of subjects that formally have no citizenship or are disregarded as fully citizens and even as persons to have links with.
Keywords: Naples, Mediterranean, Citizenship, Racism, Postcolonial Condition, Migrations, Fieldwork.

THE ILL WIND: "UNACCOMPANIED MINORS" WEATHERING THE IMPACT OF THE FAR-RIGHT GOVERNMENT IN ITALY

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As critical migration scholars have evidenced, European migration policies are underpinned by a 'crisis' discourse Under this legitimising discourse, Southern European asylum reception centres are set up to respond to the migration 'crisis' by simply meeting basic needs and are not based on a right to support but rather 'compassion' to support people in an emergency. Drawing upon ethnographic research conducted as part of my PhD with young African men (aged 14-21) who have made the perilous illegalised journey to Italy across the Mediterranean Sea in search of a 'better future', this paper reveals how these young men reject this discourse. Engaging in spatial and temporal disobedience within the reception system that hosts them as 'unaccompanied minors', these young men contest the framework of the vulnerabilised child victim in need of the protection of the liberal (European) state Instead, they frame themselves as 'wrestlers', actively wrestling with the migration regime to be protagonists, and overturn simply compassion-based support to access the rights they maintain they are entitled to. My research draws upon the counter narratives of these young men to break with Eurocentric paradigms of analysis and foreground the structural inequalities and raced landscape which still shapes their lives today. Using the election of the far-right populist coalition government in Italy in 2018 and resultant legislative changes to immigration it brought about as an analytic lens, I examine the material and emotional impact of the changes on these young men, hosted as 'unaccompanied minors' in a reception centre in Verde [pseudonym], a northern Italian town I refer to these changes as an 'ill wind' and in this paper examine the young men's lived experiences of the ill wind using the notion of 'weathering' – a term utilised by critical race scholar Christina Sharpe to refer to the totality of the anti-Black climate and its effect on Black bodies. The ill wind weathers the young men with its force, blowing undercurrents of racism and hostility ever more out into the open, the mainstream.

The young men's experiences are contextualised within the Italian race landscape, thus drawing attention to the postcolonial connections and racism still underpinning Italian society, a discourse often evaded in the literature This is a silence that is overridden by the narratives of these young men. They provide a counter narrative to the hegemonic discourse of the liberal (European) state as protector which then unveils the story masked by the representation of the humanitarian response to the 'crisis'. A representation that pretends history can be told in one coherent narrative, within an ordered notion of time and constructed around binary categories, pinpointing a period of beginning: the 'crisis'. These binary categories of 'before and after' derive from the dominant colonialist epistemology (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), and are ahistorical in failing to recognise the much longer historical pathways that led to this particular moment.

The ill wind is caused by repeat weather patterns; patterns which are recognised by the young men. These patterns and pathways can be foregrounded through engagement with the Black Mediterranean. Utilising this framework inverts the Eurocentric lens, and, instead, by focusing on the problems caused to these young men, reveals both the racism underpinning European migration regimes and the vulnerabilities these regimes themselves cause. As legal channels into Europe are ever more restricted, taking the 'back-way' increasingly becomes the only alternative for those seeking a better life Without legal routes in, people find alternatives. This is a discourse of people exercising their right to free movement whilst being channelled into increasingly dangerous and precarious routes into Europe.

Further, I argue it (intentionally) increases their lived experience of deportability (de Genova, 2002) and reinstates the biographical border (Mai, 2014) between (deserving) child and (undeserving) adult within the reception system. Through re-enhancing the biographical border and reducing the support available to minors after they turn eighteen, the ill wind increases the precarity and insecurity of 'minors' in the reception system I argue that this is evidence of the bordering work of childhood and a return to deservingness based on vulnerabilities available only to the child. Whilst the young men in my study could benefit from the additional protection afforded by Humanitarian Protection, now abolished, those that follow will struggle to access post-eighteen support and regular immigration status as they transition to

adulthood. The ill wind is clear evidence of the racism and moralistic constructs of deservingness at the heart of Italy's, and the European, migration regime, which tellingly reveals the contention of my research: that age is a rigid border, and its effects are worsened by race.

MIGRATION AND REVOLUTION IN TUNISIA: THE POLITICS OF THE 2011 DEPARTURES

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In 2011, nearly 30,000 Tunisians take the sea to reach Europe at the time of the fall of Ben Ali. These harragas, 'burners of the borders' are faced with an injunction to justify themselves, to explain the reasons for their departure at such a crucial moment for the history of their country. Traitors, revolutionaries or 'simple economic migrants'? These categories do not resonate with the ambivalent discourses of the harragas, who often show both pride and disinterest in the revolutionary events. Their speeches respond to this injunction to justify themselves but also show an aspect inherent to the Tunisian revolutionary process: the demands for dignity and justice cannot be satisfied solely from a national perspective. The departures of the harragas, by challenging the border regime, challenge the system of North-South inequalities more broadly by expanding the revolutionary demands outside the national framework and are at the origin of specific mobilizations upon arrival.

DECOLONIZING ETHNOGRAPHIES OF MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN

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This paper focuses on the international response to the Syrian refugee influx in Lebanon. By international community, I refer to international actors who have enjoyed some degrees of influence on the Lebanese response – notably with substantial donor contributions – such as the European Union. Yet, this papers aims to go beyond Eurocentric explanations of refugee governance and to explore the influence of regional politics and dynamics as well. Specific attention will be paid to actors such as the Gulf states due to their geographical proximity or strategic interest in the Syrian crisis. Drawing upon the power-interest nexus to understand the multifaceted aspect of these actors' motivations and bargaining tools, this article seeks to unravel the interactions, tensions and opposing discourses at play. The methodology is based on a series of interviews with representatives of the international community, Lebanese officials and civil society actors, field visits, and the analysis of a wide range of documentation, scientific literature and media sources. This paper argues that international donors' substantive interest, beyond humanitarian concerns, has been infused with foreign policy considerations that diverge significantly between Western states and Gulf donors.

SESSION 21

SOCIAL SCIENCES FROM DISSONANCE TO AMBIGUITY: BREAKING THE DEADLOCK

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INVESTIGATING BEYOND THE RED LINES: BOUNDARIES OF POWER, LIMITS OF KNOWLEDGE. THE CASE OF POST-REVOLUTION IRAN
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What should orient research agendas: data's availability, or grey zones of knowledge that require clarification? As boundaries of empirical knowledge are delineated by access to the field, even the most impartial research remains skewed towards practices of power, and particularly the topography of its impunity. But how can empirical knowledge be built without field investigation? An answer to this methodological and epistemic question in to rethink in practice the notion of 'boundary' itself, in the age of global circulation and the Internet Boundaries of knowledge, boundaries in repressive societies, and boundaries of political belongings and participation defined by authoritarian regimes areto be reconsidered in the light of 1) global mobility, and how it affects the relation between lockedinsides and multiple outsides, 2) the circulation and availability of data through the Internet and social media, 3) the production of global norms of resistance, through truth seeking initiatives such as legal complaints or citizen tribunals. These contexts and factors offer new opportunities for the modalities of empirical knowledge off-site (and off-sight).

TOWARDS AN IMPERSONAL ANTHROPOLOGY
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This paper addresses the questions posed in the panel proposal by exploring the potential of an impersonal anthropology. Both theoretically and existentially, ethnography has often been linked to "personal experience". In addition, one can speculate that currently the paradigm of personhood, now extending beyond the human, continues to dominate critical political and legal thinking, despite (or as a consequence of) anthropology's deconstruction of the universality of the notion. Questions of rights, respect and recognition are more often than not articulated in relation to the notion of the person.
As a dissonant counterpoint to this domination, the paper foregrounds the idea of an impersonal anthropology. Drawing on encounters between a local poet and an ethnographer in the city of Shiraz, Iran during the summer of 2015, the paper discusses how in these exchanges, poetry enabled not the expected revelation of a person and his traumas – as the prevalent contemporary confessional view would argue – but instead opened up the articulation of an impersonal plane in which political, therapeutic and theological entailments were given form beyond the personal destiny of the poet and the ethnographer. Only by taking into account these impersonal trajectories it is perhaps possible to imagine a politics that does not reproduce the current emphasis on the policing of identities and the hollow appeals to "critical stances".

THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS: TELEVISED POLITICS IN POPULIST ITALY

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This paper evaluates the role of political mediation respectively played by the national and the local televisual industries within the current social peripheries of Naples, Southern Italy. In the context of contemporary Italian populism, the management of these media industries by simultaneously public and private (as well as formal and informal) power-holders, such as the neoliberal Italian state and the Neapolitan Camorra, has replaced the historical role of mediation between centres and peripheries exercised by Gramscian forms of civil society with top-down monitored acts of informal participation of the subaltern in the production and circulation of explicitly populist televisual contents. Far from triggering any crisis of the conditions of cultural hegemony exercised by the so-called neoliberal "establishment" over the local lower-classes, the regimes of representation and the dynamics of subaltern publicity entailed by these mediatic processes have furthered the sovereignty of the state, while amplifying its ability to mediate the political imaginaries of its most marginal citizens and "middle-class" mass-media operators alike in overly populist terms. At the same time, these processes of televised governmentality have opened the door to new modes of socio-economic mobility and forms of "political society," which reproduce the mediacratic feature of the current Italian state among a plethora of local informal agencies, including ostensible "public enemies" such as the Camorra.

THE DISSONANCE OF SOLIDARITY IN GREECE: ON ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE POLITICAL

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"This paper explores the dissonances and ambiguities produced when researchers and interlocutors alike saturate certain social projects with presumed "political significance". How to navigate the fluid boundaries between political spheres, activism, and academic work? How do ethnographers attend to the layered richness of "local" meanings, in contexts where researchers and interlocutors engage collectively in analysing and interpreting, often shared, social realities? I have done ethnographic research in Greece since 2004, publishing on the Greek asylum procedure and, more recently, on the Greek "solidarity movement". I have watched Greece transform from a site often defined by its presumed marginality (Herzfeld, 1987) to a trendy venue for researchers from many fields, where dilemmas of migration, humanitarianism, and financial governance converged to produce a space of so-called "crisis". For local and international stakeholders alike, then, Greece became a key venue for exploring and contesting what constitutes political engagement and action.

Since 2015, I have undertaken a major ethnographic project in Greece on "social solidarity" clinics and pharmacies: grassroots initiatives that seek to bring care and medicines to those who cannot access them otherwise These solidarity structures have garnered significant interest from researchers and activists alike seeking models of horizontally organized forms of care that work against the logics of austerity. Numerous scholars and activists (some of whom were themselves both scholars and activists) insisted on the intrinsic "political" salience of solidarity work through dominant assumptions that social change always emerges in the public sphere and challenges the status quo. Such assumptions complicated my ethnographic goals, at times overtaking my interest in the often contradictory local factors that fuelled these initiatives. Still, I found that solidarity often depended on the unromanticized, uncelebrated, and often invisible labours of individuals – such as unemployed people, migrants, pensioners, and older women – who were often illegible to researchers as political subjects, and often resisted interpretation of their efforts in political and politicized terms. My paper thus complicates not just tactics of ethnographic analysis but also both emic and etic meanings of the "political" as a motivational and interpretive framework I ultimately ask how we might hold in tension the ambiguities of solidarity while retaining interpretive depth and analytic sharpness.

CHORAL KNOWLEDGE AND ITS ENEMIES

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"The Book of the Grotesque" is a short tale, written by nineteenth-century American novelist Sherwood Anderson, that tells the story of an old writer who once had a very strange dream where he saw all of the men and women he had ever known appearing as grotesques figures, and developed an interpretation for it explained in a book never published: "In the beginning when the world was young there were a great many thoughts, but not such thing as a truth Man made the truths himself and each truth was a composite of a great many vague thoughts. All about in the world were the truths and they were all beautiful. And then the people came along. Each as he appeared snatched up one of the truths and some who were quite strong snatched up a dozen of them. It was the truths that made the people grotesques the moment one of the people took one of the truths to himself, called it his truth, and tried to live his life by it, he became a grotesque and the truth he embraced became a falsehood". The moral of the story is a defence of what we might call a mosaic or choral narrative, made up of a diverse plurality of stories.

We can apply this same message to the construction of the anthropological ethnography. Through the typical fieldwork of long-term participant observation, the lone and naive anthropologist aims to account for an overall picture that exceeds the testimonies of each of his informants. However, fortunately he will hardly be able to overcome his own limitations and filters. Truth will require the contrast with other ethnographies and the critical review of others; that is, it will also require the sum of more than one academic version of the facts. The challenge can be assumed through more original ways of doing fieldwork – such as team ethnography – but also through the traditional ethnographic revisitation. Our work focuses on this second option, by exploring the virtue and the dangers of this academic practice guided, in principle, by the objective of achieving a shared comprehension of cultural differences.

Going over an ethnography written several decades earlier can be considered a "literary genre" in Anthropology. Still, there are very different formats of what we recognize as "ethnographic revisits". Some are replication studies directed to corroborate the veracity of the initial version, which sometimes results in a fierce critique of omitted biases –as in Redfield-Lewis classic controversy around Tepoztlan. In other cases, it is the anthropologist himself who revisits his work and exercises self-criticism or self-praise, confronts his informants' criticism or, perhaps worse, their enthusiastic endorsement. Prominent cases of this kind of reflexivity are the work of Nancy Sheper-Hugues on her Saints, Scholars and Schizophrenics, and Renato Rosaldo's essay on Ilongot headhunting fourteen years after fieldwork. With no intention of denying knowledge as a sincere goal, we cannot ignore the fact that science obeys also to economic, political and self-centered interests – interests that may undermine the legitimacy of the revised ethnography, but also the exercise of revisitation itself. In one way or another, we run the risk of letting each ethnography become a grotesque figure claiming to be the only truth. To abound on this risk, we will examine some of the most controversial and well-known cases in the history of ethnographic revisits. We aim to name the obstacles to achieving what we for now call – in the absence of a better term – a choral anthropological account, avoiding the superlative challenge of cumulative scientific knowledge.

THE SUPPLIANTS AND THEIR CLAIMS: HOW TO RECONCILE LITERATURE, LAW AND POLITICS TO CREATE PRODUCTIVE AMBIGUITIES VIA A DIFFERENT POLITICS OF STYLE(S)

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Living Living. This is the fundamental, we are alive, and this is something to be alive after having left the Holy homeland. Not a merciful gaze to look at our procession, but disdain, that, they do. We fled, not banned by our people, but banned by all, here and there. All that is to know about our life has gone, suffocated under a layer of appearances, nothing is the subject of knowledge, there is nothing at all It is no longer necessary to seize ideas. We're trying to read foreign laws. We are not told anything, we are not

aware of anything, we are summoned and then left in plan, we are obliged to appear here, then there, but in which country, more welcoming than this one, and which we do not know, in which country can we set foot there? None" The Suppliants of Elfriede Jelinek" p. 7.

The suppliants are not passive victims. They may be in despair, they do not give up their human identities and memories. They refuse the summa divisio of Europe (and global North countries)'s argument on (il) legality and plead for humanity. They are refugees, not asylum "seekers" or "illegal" migrants in transit, in limbo for an answer of their status by our administrations. They dare to have a voice for supplications in which they are not only insisting on their humanity, they are questioning us about our own humanity Elfriede Jelinek's play is about these claims for a human world beyond the black letter laws of states and beyond the politics of fear the governments entertain to justify a state of emergency. She challenges by her text, her style the view of the executive powers when they consider that their laws are symbols of a previous period, recognizing "too much" human rights, and the judgement of their. Courts that they consider too "lenient", too influenced by cosmopolitan ideas and not enough "patriotism". Using the title of Euripides ‹ play, the Suppliant, she uses the same plot than him in order to describe the situation in Austria in 2013, and by extension the situation of Syrians departing from their homes and crossing the Mediterranean Sea after 2015. Centrally, she refuses to enter into their travels and their suffering, but refers us to this interrogation about our own status of reflexive human beings. As she explains the suppliants implore us, but they are not coming alone, they come with their cherished dead and with their stories It is for them that they do not stay silent. They implore our human and citizen behavior, and are willing to do whatever we want, to obey our laws, to learn our language, to work for our factories, even when they can be our doctors and engineers. They even understand and accept our cowardness, our indifferences. But, with this posture, they don't kept silent, they speak and they reveal these features to us, and the more they accept, the more we are ashamed or angry about our own unease concerning our behaviour "The suppliants" is a category which can bypass the boundaries of legality and creates productive ambiguities. We would like to reflect on such ambiguities in this paper work in order to be able to sketch creative transversal lines between the works of engaged writers using poetic styles, human rights activists and lawyers, political analysts. Terminologies like the one of suppliant if they are associated with a politics of style bypassing the boundaries of legal and sociological analysts may create ways to understand the current situation in regard to the so-called migrants and refugees coming from countries in conflicts. The category challenges the indifference or hostility of groups in the Global North concerning their situation by politicizing our imaginary about the belonging to civilized societies and reinvigorating the role of emotions. How social sciences can « translate » and mobilize these categories while keeping their analytical strengths to push for a different framing of situations.

EYES WIDE OPEN IN THE PRISONS OF FANTASY

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In 2015, Claus Guth presents his "Fidelio" as a psychological exploration of the idea that we all live within self-devised prisons. Director Christian Schmidt places the singers in a large, eerie room, with white wood walls and a tiled floor, in order to suggest Freud's salon of the unconscious. Beethoven's opera is thus set in a dream space and becomes a pure psychological drama. This is a conceptual exploration of the mind's ability to self-impose its own prison. Transgender character Fidelio is both the exaltation of fidelity and resistance to oppression. He is the one who breaks the locks. I will try to take this exploration a step further by starting with a scene from Stanley Kubrick's film, "Eyes Wide Shut" (1999): https://wwwyoutubecom/watch?v=sb-zpSnoHs. Adapted from the novella "Dreamstory" (1925) by Arthur Schnitzler, the film explores the relationship between intimacy and honesty in the psychic life of a "model couple". The boundary between reality and fantasy becomes blurred when they confess to each other their temptations from last summer: Alice's erotic dream and Bill's impulsive "lived" experience respond and increase in intensity, fragment by fragment, as in a kaleidoscope. Their marriage then seems in danger. Both the mask and fantasy are vectors that allow us to pass from reality to the world of the unconscious. I have been speculating that populist leaders are also making this transition between the imaginary that makes community in its modern version to phantasmic formations that result from the rejection of national symbolic pacts. The reference to Ludwig Beethoven's opera takes on an eminently political meaning in "Eyes Wide Shut" Stanley Kubrick always used

the classical repertoire to musically sublimate his images. As for Ludwig van Beethoven, he is eternally associated with Kubrik's other masterpiece: "A Clockwork Orange". The Ninth Symphony, traditionally considered as the exaltation of transcendent brotherhood, is linked by Kubrick into the masked thug Alex's fantasies of sadistic rape and massacre. In that film, beauty is violated: an opera house stripped of seats is the scene for gang rape. For Stanley Kubrick, music is not just a background, it has all the lineaments of a very complex and literal character, playing a particular role, affecting the plot, other characters, altering our perceptions. At that point, what does the nice Doctor Bill unmasking himself at the risk of being killed mean?

SII FEDELE
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"Sei treu, Be true!" whispers Alberich to Hagen in Scene 1 of the second act of Wagner's Twilight of the Gods. A few decades after the correspondence between Adorno and Alban Berg, Berg reminisced, with more than a note of desperate irony, about the inherent ambiguity of a faithful stance. Is it possible to discuss faithfulness in the contemporary social sciences?
On the one hand, the paths to reflexivity that were traced by Writing Culture have transformed loyalty into an ongoing negotiation whose sole claim legitimacy is entirely subjective. On the other hand, senses and definitions of territoriality are constantly muting in response to new wars and conflicts Anthropologists are forced to innovate exploring new methodological perspectives.

SESSION 22

GENDERING ETHNOGRAPHY: HOW DOES GENDER AFFECT THE FIELDWORK (AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND)?

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FORGING THE BODY: DOING ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE BUTCHER OCCUPATION

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In this presentation, I will talk about the bodily experiences of professional butchers in Switzerland from a gender perspective and analyse the places assigned to women and men in this line of work If my theoretical framework invited me to took special care not to impose an a priori gendered interpretation of my field data, my own experience as a female ethnographer in this male milieu brought to the fore the centrality of gender as an explanatory variable, particularly in the definition of what makes a "good butcher".
Using ethnographic vignettes from my field notes, I will show how my interlocutors establish direct links between sex categories and professional activities, which are judged as either "male" (slaughtering and cutting up the carcass) or "female" (preparation and sales of the meat). Thus, the conditions of production for butchers' bodies differ between men and women. My experience as a female ethnographer in a male bastion will enable me to discuss how gender has affected the ethnographer I am, in terms of gendered performance in the field.
Doing ethnography allowed me to use my feelings and own bodily experience to reveal social dynamics in the field I consider therefore my own experience as an excellent illustration of the gendering of the workplace I was investigating and as enabling me to better understand the issues at hand. For instance, I will present a vignette that shows how I changed my own behaviour in order to conform to the codes of the field and go beyond a gender stereotype. In other words, my own sex membership had a very concrete impact on the field. This is how I participated in doing gender in the workplace. At the end, my data will allow me to discuss some of the methodological and theoretical consequences of using gender as a category of analysis.

A MAN AMONG THEM: GENDER AS KEY ELEMENT IN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

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Our proposal aims at analysing the place of gender in a field research example based on an ongoing PhD about the social mobility of Filipino migrant women in the south-eastern region of Baden-Württemberg (Germany). The research example is based on long term field observation among Filipino migrant women groups and life story-based interviews with 13 Filipino migrant women who migrated to Germany after a marriage with German men or in order to join the health sector as nurses. In order to get started, we believe it is important to define what gender means within our research. We see gender as a relation opposing throughout conflict for resources the class of men and the class of women (Pfefferkorn, 2011). The result of these dynamics is material and symbolic inequality between men and women as the first one appropriate resources, contributing to building a social order founded on gender inequality. Moreover, we also adopt the definition of gender as a relation in intersection with other levels of relations such as class, race or generation (Kergoat, 2009). Therefore, gender relations cross and are crisscrossed by other social relations of power, influencing and being influenced by it.

In the following parts, we will briefly analyse how did gender relations affect the access to our field. We will equally try to address how did we overcome some of the obstacles in order to be able to build research relationship. The first question highlights the moment when gender mostly represented a barrier for us, even if we also recognize that gender relations permanently crisscrossed the whole process of conducting the field research. The initial access to the field was remarkably difficult at the beginning due to the fact of being a young man, an element that made the contact with middle age women particularly complicated. We currently postulate that this was mainly caused by their fear of a romantic approach, as they were married to German men Later, the problem of intimacy represented by face to face interviews became another obstacle to address, as intimacy between men and women are in many societies usually seen as a sign of romantic relationship. In addition, these barriers were accompanied as well by a discrete but present resistance by the husbands themselves to an approach. Our main strategy to address these issues was to try to overcome the gender barriers by trying to develop the relationship with older women within the Filipino community in the area. We were convinced that social relations of generation would play a positive role, since we were socially perceived as being young and this would have evoked for older women the image of a young inexperienced man seeking help and counselling. Furthermore, we also considered that the fear of romantic approach and tensions related to intimacy would have been avoided in such context as age difference is socially perceived as an element that 'frees' relationship of these constraints. What is more, and probably the most important, we understood that their role of leadership among young women would have helped us on being able to be trusted by the others and therefore to counteract the gender barrier.s We also tried simultaneously to insist, once the initial access was secured by the development of trust with older women, on the fact that we were in a relationship. We believed that this would contribute to make even more evident that we could be trusted, as a relationship appeared to younger women as either a sign of legitimacy as a man and an element helping to avoid fear of romantic approach and to favour legitimate intimacy (free of suspicion of romantic relationship) Finally, the initial strategy also helped us to have a good image among husbands, as having the trust of older women had the power to make them feel safe about the presence of a young man.

The main strategy of accessing the field throughout the development of a privileged bond with older women was followed by some other strategies aiming to develop the research relationship and therefore to deal with gender barriers encountered at the beginning. For example, we used to our advantage the fact of our national belongings, as we are foreigners from a non-European country, an element that at the moment we assumed could contribute to building an alterity effect appealing to common experiences like the difficulties concerning visa issues, discrimination or the lack of knowledge about cultural codes and languages in Europe. By highlighting the common belongings, we believed then that more trust could be built and that the initial relationship could become a more solid research relationship in the long run. Furthermore, and as the strategy proved to be right, we also tried to develop more our specific national belongings as we come from Brazil, a country whose image in the world is generally represented in a positive way. This also contributed to opening more doors and had an alterity effect that helped to increase trust, since Brazilians are generally represented as well as individuals full of joy whose company is likely to be desirable. On other hand, we had to recognize and deal with it by enhancing the positive side (of being joyful) as at the same time being Brazilian and therefore also Latino contributed in a negative way, since Latino men are solely represented as being «womanizers». Finally, one of the main strategies that we also used in our advantage to counteract gender barriers and that we would like to point out was appealing to our status of researcher, something that helped to put away suspicion of romantic approach among young women, also bringing legitimacy among older women. This was in your opinion mostly due to the fact that being a researcher, as it is socially represented as a proof of neutrality and respectability, increased trust and made our presence among them more acceptable. About this last aspect, we emphasize as well that appealing to our status of researcher was at the same time followed by the negative aspect of suspicion that we would be journalists, as women feared having their stories published in a newspaper. We had then to counteract this by addressing the problem with proofs of our researcher status, such as our student identity card and previous works we had written.

In order to proceed to conclusion, we believe it is important to remember that the approach we adopted postulates an intersection process articulating gender and other levels of power relations such as class, race or generation. Our strategies of counteracting gender barriers by appealing to 'breaches' in other social relations in order to address the issue of these barriers are a consequence of this theoretical approach. Along with the definition of gender that we adopted, the theoretical choice that we made drove us to

being more attentive to power relations that crisscrossed the field itself and the research relationship with women. We developed on the long run a reflexive attitude concerning our belongings of being a young man, a Brazilian, a foreigner or «a man from the university». This reflexive attitude taught us during field research how to recognize the elements that could have a positive or negative effect according to the contexts and the subjects that we related to. Managing all this in order to build trust also made us learn the importance of being able to work on some of the effects that our belongings evoked on other people. Additionally, the same reflexive attitude indicated to us that importance of taking into account our belongings and field research relationship also during the other moments of research, such as the process of analysing data. Finally, and probably the most important, we learned throughout our field that doing ethnographic research meant coming back to these bases each time we faced new situations, each time we met our subjects of research and once we had to draw the final results. That it meant adopting this reflexive attitude about what we were in relation to others.

STAGED IDENTITIES IN MALE-DOMINATED FIELD SITES: EXAMPLES FROM MALI AND SIERRA LEONE

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Based on anthropological research in two African field sites (Mali and Sierra Leone), the paper examines the way by which female researchers craft a staged identity that emerges in interaction with the social environment of the research. This identity builds on the researcher's subjectivity and personality, while allowing her to adapt to gender norms and relations in the field. More specifically, the authors reflect on the process by which they crafted an image of the self in fields that involved the collection of data that appeared, locally, to be the possession of men.

Anthropological methods are based on the premise that researcher need (up to a certain extent) to conform to local social norms. Yet, this process may remain difficult to negotiate in the field of gender, as this often implies an inherent paradox between one's position as a woman, with a subordinate status in many local societies, and one's position as a scholar. The authors argue that, for a female researcher in male-dominated field sites, building strategies of data collection amount to crafting a staged identity, an effective frontstage, that will both offer her protection and lend her credibility. The researcher not only responds to the role that interlocutors want her to endorse (see Golde 1986), but also actively seeks social acceptance with regard to the type of data that she wants to collect. The staged identity, by creating a female subject with the required social and moral qualities (for instance, passivity, respectability, ability to keep silent and listen) makes data collection smoother. The researcher may appear less 'powerful' or less 'threatening' for local interlocutors, which becomes a critical asset when she works in fields and/or with data that are viewed locally as male prerogatives. The frontstage, however, may be at odds with the researcher's own values and a feeling of alienation may emerge over time, especially when doing fieldwork in societies with strict hierarchical gender norms. Thus, the reflexive process of staging gender often remains part of the silences of ethnography.

In Central Mali, M Deridder has conducted an ethnography of political processes in a rural municipality, where the social organization is patriarchal and sex-segregated. As elsewhere in West Africa, politics is a male issue and mainly studied by male scholars. The author reflects on her ethnographic experience during two periods of fieldwork, one of which she conducted with her husband, who is not a researcher. Her identity as a married woman facilitated part of her insertion in a society in which affinal kinship plays a central role, especially in politics. Her informants were able to situate her within the social structure and power relations in which gender is embedded (Revillard & de Verdalle 2006; Avanza & al 2015). Thereby, she also gained an advantage compared to local men, as she could access both sides of the gendered social structure. Nevertheless, she also observes that, this seemingly positive insertion was conditional on her respect of gender norms and the preservation of her reputation as a married woman avoiding gossip and rumors. She was quickly forced to learn the standards for married women behaviour from the inside and conform to mechanisms of social control.

In Sierra Leone, A Ménard reflects on the process by which she accessed data about male initiation societies. Aesthetics of concealment have constituted a common line of enquiry for anthropologists working in the

region since the 1960s. The Poro male society, has provided a focal point for this enquiry and continues to have a fascinating aura for many scholars, not least because it is strongly associated with politics In a feminist perspective, entering Poro, literally or symbolically, may qualify as the epitome of anthropology's 'masculine preoccupation with penetration, domination and objectification' (Moore 2010: 31). Thus, the West African anthropological literature has assigned objects to specific subjects: while female researchers studied female initiation societies, the Poro society became the prerogative of male scholars. The author explains that her female identity, far from obstructing this field of research, facilitated relations of trust and 'patronage' with senior members of the society. At the same time, she complied with the social and ritual boundaries that were set for her, and thereby, also reached an 'in-between' status, beyond the separated realms of men and women.

Those two cases show that the staged identity responds to a need not only to avoid sexualization or unsafe situations, but also appear as credible professionals in a social environment in which they are rarely perceived to be *at work.* Generally, anthropologist do not appear to be at work in the eyes of their interlocutors In this situation, women are at greater risk to see their credibility crumble and suspicion raise against them (the idea that 'she must be after something' – love, sex). Credibility lends respectability, which becomes a social capital that also ensures the researcher's safety and her ability to collect data. The staged identity allows female researcher to find protective figures (men or women), who will secure their acceptance *as researchers* in the local society. Yet, this type of protection rests on the compliance, by the researcher, with gendered mechanisms of social control (for instance, restrictions 'for her sake' to go out at nightfall), which puts further constraints on her fieldwork strategies.

White female researchers usually navigate between their visibility (of ethnicity/race/class) and their ambiguous invisibility as women. They may conform to gender norms by using local stereotypes: for instance, the researcher may choose to 'fake' innocence, lack of intelligence, docility, inability to understand the data by herself etc. The gendered stereotype of naivety, particularly in fields related to male prerogatives, may be a more widespread strategy than is usually acknowledged by female researchers. Even if their informants are not fully convinced by their performance, this allows women to navigate male worlds and access sensitive data, and to avoid the usual mistrust that interlocutors may feel with regard to researchers in general, and male researchers in particular. Yet, the researcher is a literate woman who keeps her outsider's positionality and remains on the edge of alterity. She may openly decide to do things differently and/or leave the field. Because of this ambivalence, she is an inherently subversive figure.

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DOING GENDERED FIELDWORK BETWEEN HUBRIS AND VULNERABILITY

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This presentation is concerned with the ambiguities and frictions that make up the experience of doing fieldwork as a young woman. Starting from my own experience as a researcher in predominantly male contexts I reflect on the deeply personal nature of the practice of fieldwork and the development of a range of tactics to navigate the field. To do so I want to bring to the fore two separate, albeit interconnected experiences: firstly I will reflect on my own experience of sexual harassment during my latest fieldwork in the Republic of Georgia between 2017 and 2019. Making sense of the seemingly endless sexualisation I have been subjected to throughout my fieldwork has occupied an increasingly important part of my time away: feelings of inadequacy, shame, vulnerability and anger have all become intermixed with my research

practice, directing my research design and foreclosing avenues of inquiry. The second aspect I want to explore is the power attached to a gendered body in gaining access and information from a range of interlocutors. Moving across my fieldwork as a young woman has allowed me to enter a range of situations that would otherwise be precluded to me: from obtaining interviews with high ranking officials to entering sites otherwise off limit. In these cases the same gendered perceptions at the core of my harassment, namely of an innocent, unthreatening and potentially sexually available subject, succeeded in casting my body, and in turn my presence, as welcome.

Within an institutional environment marked by an endemic lack of structured care for young researchers, scholars and students – overwhelmingly female – are burdened by large and unexpected amounts of affective labour to be performed during fieldwork. The centrality of gendered dynamics in structuring not only the fieldwork experience, but the analyses that derive from it, is casted as a private matter to be discussed amongst peers or resolved alone. Moreover, in a context, such a s the UK marked by a rising corporatisation of the university, the increased pressure on scholars to produce risk assessments and ethics clearances crafted largely to protect the university from any liability in case of accidents, often bring young scholars to underplay or oversee the gendered dynamics at stake in fieldwork and the subtlety at play in negotiating access and relations as a gendered subject. By focusing on the complexity and pain involved in navigating the field as a gendered subject, I hope to make a case for bringing these issues to the fore of ethnographic training, exposing students, since the earliest stages to the questions of power, survival and care at stake in entering a fieldsite.

DANGEROUS GENDER. THE LIMITS IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY AND SAFETY
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The paper would like to examine the limits of reflexivity – in a gendered perspective – in the field of security and safety research Starting from two different fieldwork (prison ethnography and 6 months of ethnography in the project Horizon2020 Margin) the work tries to examine the limits and the challenge of the position of the researcher. Aware that the perception of insecurity, especially linked to gender, is affected by subjective variables linked to the experience, interpretative schemes and practices implemented by individual scholars, the theme of gender connected to security (and safety of the researcher) emerged in the field transversely, and this variable is essential for reasoning about methods and practices. The paper will examine how a double exposure to gender variables changes the perception of the field and influences data collection.

On the one hand, in fact, in the literature it is now assumed that the gender issue modifies the relationship with the field, and the aspects of danger / risk / are often implemented. On the other hand, safety studies report that the real and perceived risk of insecurity varies according to gender for multifactorial reasons.

The coexistence of the two variables therefore requires a deepening and further reflection.

With respect to the first aspect, as Warren & Hackney argue, "In the 1980s, we saw a few confessional tales of sexual interest and attraction (Turnbull, 1986); at the turn of the millennium, a darker side of sexuality appears in ethnography Themes of bodily and sexual danger inform turn-of-the-century narratives of gendered ethnography, the bodily danger of violence a concern of both females and males, but the specifically sexual dangers of assault or harassment more salient to women in the field".

According to the authors, it is possible to register a greater exposure to forms of violence characterizing the access of researchers to the field and their research / observation activity.

Adler & Adler (1987) affirm that gender in fieldwork represents a variable in the continuum between the role of foreigners and that of a member of the context that is observed.

With respect to gender as the "subject" and "object" of observation, it is useful here to recall the pioneering work of Tamar Pitch and Carmine Ventimiglia "What kind of security women and men in the city", which in 2001 analyzed the so-called "City of women" both as needs and as a relationship between space and fears, identifying on the one hand an identification in the victim process and on the other the constant difficulty of getting out of the dimension of the unsolvable patérnage and criticism of the idea of the "weak" gender. As theoretical paradigms which then have a response in practices and perceptions.

Even during the research fieldwork, these types of paradigms found a confirmation in the practices.

To put it with Bourdieu and his "Male Domain", the genre performs a habitus that is both in the practices of the observed and in the eyes of the observers, or even more of the observers and is produced and reproduced in even very different contexts.

Not only that: according to Bourgois (2001], and Nancy Scheper-Huges (with Bourgois, 2004) violence operates along a continuum that includes structural, symbolic, daily and intimate dimensions.

These theoretical approaches find a correspondence in the reflections of the researcher in the field A young single woman who spends long periods of time in these spaces presents an anomaly and is subjected to unwanted and unpleasant male advances This reflection brings up the issue of "avoided spaces" for women. Still referring to Scheper-Huges, gender-based violence could fall within those forms of daily violence, therefore transversal and capable of producing social indifference towards brutality (1992; 1996).

The lack of people occupying public outdoor spaces, especially in marginalized contexts, imposed everyday negotiation with the issue of security in the field, a dna strong visibility of the researcher, especially in public spaces.

Important in this sense are the two works on gender and insecurity (Condon, Lieber, Maillochon, 2005; Lieber, 2008) which present the results of in-depth interviews of women in different neighbourhoods of Paris. The objective is to deconstruct the topic, in order to highlight the social construction of insecurity in a gender-based public space, which is dominated by masculinity. The authors suggest that insecurity is crystallized during the night, but that the night does not necessarily restrict the mobility of women However, mobility is limited to stopping-off places, while women tend to avoid open spaces. On the contrary, during the day, the women whose mobility is restricted are usually older, less educated, and more deprived. The paper will reconstruct the experience in the fieldwork in two deprived neighbourhoods of Milan and will try to focus on limits, boundaries and challenges of this issue, following a gender perspective's analysis.

(UN)DOING TRANS STUDIES IN ITALY: BUILDING A TRANS-SITUATED METHODOLOGY IN THE FIELD

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Since the early 1990s, trans studies have represented a field of interdisciplinary studies in Anglophone academia conducted by trans researchers (or persons designated as allies). Although scholars of trans study address a variety of topics and disciplines, they share the goal of producing trans (de)subjugated knowledge that has a beneficial impact on trans subjectivities and communities (Stryker, 2006; 2008). Scholars of trans studies have developed conceptual tools in order to situate norms on the gender axis and in order to make sense of specific systemic oppressions experienced by trans people (eg "cisnormativity", "cissexism" etc.) (Serano, 2007; Bauer *et al.*, 2009) They have also developed methodological tools and ethical sensitivities in their work with trans communities (Bauer et al, 2009; Ferguson, 2013). As the term "trans studies" implies, these studies have been institutionalized primarily in North American universities and thus are inextricably situated within this political-cultural-linguistic context. Trans studies have proliferated in anglophone countries over the last 30 years to such an extent that specific questions about their domestication have been raised In 2019, trans scholars Andrea Long Chu and Emmett Harsin Drager published a paper entitled "After Trans Studies" in the academic journal. Transgender Study Quarterly, suggesting that the field may have become saturated and exploring a possible "post" (Long Chu and Harsin, 2019).

In recent years, études trans have emerged in Quebec and France, partly in response to the dominance of anglophone scholarship. In Canada, these studies are mostly conducted by students, young researchers and activists in a community-grounded research framework (Baril, 2017; Pignedoli and Faddoul, 2019). France, however, is characterized by a different experience Karine Espineira and Sam Bourcier recalled that trans studies are "something else, somewhere else" (Espineira and Bourcier, 2016: 84). The two theorists see the emergence of études trans as a process that is still ongoing but rooted in the trans-feminist and queer political affinities that formed between the 1990s and 2000 when in self-managed militant spaces (as during the "séminaires Q", workshops organized by the collective Le Zoo) lesbian, gay and trans people began to reread together the texts of American "french theory" (e.g. Judith Butler). Thus, the études trans arise from a critical positioning against the anglocentrism of some theoretical traditions and have developed subjects, conceptual tools (e.g. the concept of "transidentité") (Espineira, 2008) and methodologies relevant to the

French context. These studies, which develop between militant spaces and peripheral university networks, have never been "institutionalised" (Espineira and Thomas, 2019).

If we take the American, Quebec and French experiences as reference points, in Italy it seems impossible to identify the presence of studies trans or to think about their next constitution. Within the university context and research on transness trans people are absent or not recognized as "subjects of knowledge" (Transfemministe in sciopero dalla conferenza CIRQUE, 2017). Nonetheless, trans knowledge exists in Italy and is developed and delimited within a specifically subcultural context. Such knowledge is produced within collectives; associations (Romano, 2017); transfeminist political networks (Non Una Di Meno, 2019); blogs and autobiographical material (Marcasciano, 2008; 2018). In addition to having methodological and ethical implications for research, the absence of trans studies in Italy led to a lack of theoretical corpus in Italian produced by trans people and for the benefit of their local communities. This absence also has a direct impact and specific implications on the work of trans and non-trans students and researchers who wish to work with and within their/these networks.

The picture of the state of trans studies in these four geographical spaces represents the premise of a question underlying my research: being a trans Italian person living in a North American and French-speaking university context, how to approach from a "trans studies" perspective an ethnographic research field with trans people in Italy?

My PhD research explores the experiences of trans people within drag king workshops in Italy and France It aims to update the literature surrounding drag king practices and gender from a trans perspective that is also culturally and geographically situated. When I started my research, I wanted to use a qualitative methodological approach based on "community autoethnography" (Toyasaky et al., 2009). The subjects of my research were Italian and French adult trans, non-binary, non-cisgender people who took part in drag king workshops in these countries I wanted to use participant observation and semi-structured interviews to collect data and recruitment took place largely through informal direct communications, especially with people already known to me; social media; and word-of-mouth.

In my presentation I will outline how I built, disassembled and reconstructed this methodology by confronting myself with trans Italian networks, starting from my specific positionality as a trans Italian researcher living in a North American francophone context. Specifically, I will address: the transition from the choice to undertake a community autoethnography (Toyasaky et al, 2009) to the actual structuring of an "affinity ethnography" in the field; the adaptation/opening of the participant's profile (opening the research not only to "trans, non-binary and questioning people" but also to "non-cisgender people"); the adaptation of the recruitment methods (building caring online spaces). The presentation will be accompanied by ethical considerations and reflections on the financial accessibility of ethnography.

MOTHERING WHILE CONDUCTING FIELD-WORK

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The goal of this paper is to analyse the changes between being a not-mother-researcher and a pregnant and later mother-researcher while conducting a four-year-long field-work among women in an Argentine rural district I argue that being a mother normalized me and gave me status among the subjects of my study, as being a mother is for them a source of high reputation. That fact helped them be more open to me to discuss different issues and to participate in their activities while our kids played together, for example. That also contributed to reframe my research perspectives and to reveal new particular insights and generate relevant theoretical implications: in dialogue with postcolonial feminism, I ended up encouraging a consideration of the agency and political activism of women-mothers-caregivers in the rural world from a historically-situated socio-anthropological perspective. Initially my fieldwork did not explicitly focus on gender, as I followed the coordinators and participants of a community theater group, a community medicine group, and a group of advocates and practitioners of agroecological family farming However, gender rather emerged unexpectedly as a relevant category for analysis as I discovered that almost all coordinators and participants were women. Women who participate and even take part as coordinators many time with their own children Women – who care for their children, for those from outlying neighborhoods, for the environment and even for themselves – break the barrier of "discretion" and, as they say, "lose their sense of shame" and propose alternative moral repertoires for a community in

transformation I then finally argue that certain characteristics of caregiving that are attributed to women through a binary vision of gender relations serve to mobilize the agency of women and function as a source of potential power thereby enabling women – who are often perceived as "caregivers" that do "menial tasks" and are not "dangerous" – to become dissidents.

HOW MUCH VULNERABLE AM I? STORY OF A GENDER-CENTERED ETHNOGRAPHY AND ITS 'MAKER'

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This paper presents the path of a gender-centered ethnography, from the writing of the proposal up to the conduction of the fieldwork, and the position and relations of the researcher with the field of study/fieldwork and with the gatekeepers and the participants The research study took into consideration – Study on TRansition and Exclusion in Society of Single-Mums (STRESS-Mums) – is an Institutional Ethnography (IE) and has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Sklodowska-Curie grant agreement no 843976. The study collects data in three EU countries (Belgium, Italy and Spain) and in the UK, with discursive interviews to lone mothers, professionals (judges, lawyers, other experts) and gender issues activists, participant observations, document analysis and photo-voice sessions with the mothers and the professionals. Dorothy Smith first developed IE that is both a sociological theoretical approach and a social scientific procedure for investigating discourse as social relations IE explores how institutional discourses frame the way in which individuals think and act within their everyday practices, according to ethnomethodological suggestions IE has the ability to explicate tensions that are produced by the social organization of knowledge. This explication describes critically how and why experiences of tension are organized in an invisible manner by conceptual practices of power that regulate what people know and do in everyday life. The aim is to generate knowledge about the invisible and taken-for-granted forms of governance that rule everyday life. The choice of IE resides also in its capacity to explore in terms of dominating relations what is conventionally understood in terms of micro-macro relationships and processes IE arose within the feminist perspective (a combination of Garfinkel's ethnomethodology and Marx's materialist method), but some recent reformulations extend the IE method beyond that perspective. The focus of the research study concerns the lone mothers' everyday strategies and social practices to claim inclusion and to negotiate (or not negotiate) the dominant definition of family and parenthood proposed by institutions and professionals, and the less legitimated and multiple situated definitions of lone parents and their families. The study explores the lone mothers' manifest and hidden 'work' of legitimation and of possible de-legitimation by institutions, analysing, in particular, the transition from double parenthood to lone motherhood, that is the period of judicial evaluation for child custody and judicial decisions for children/family allowances and divorce/separation. That transition was selecting since, according to some authors, the law on children shared custody seems to conceal, in its reference to parents' equality, new forms of male dominance embodied in the cultural paradigms of Western societies, with long-term detrimental effects on children and mothers. In other words, a sort of naturalization of dominance relations may be not very visible and recognized in this law. This paper analyses the standpoint of the ethnographer and the gendered practices that, before and during the fieldwork, affected the relationships between the ethnographer and the gatekeepers and participants This paper does not present an auto-ethnography, but it offers an analysis of the intricate and complex relations between the ethnographer's strengths and weaknesses and the gatekeepers/participants' characteristics. So that this paper constitutes in itself an IE on the process of doing research on gender issues like lone mothers' issues. Since IE uses the concept of 'research problematic' as a conceptual research tool with the aim of identifying the social dynamics of a specific sector of the world of everyday experience, the 'problematic' envisaged by this paper highlights a 'disjuncture' between the experiences of the researcher and the ruling perspectives of the academic and judicial institutions. An example of this disjuncture concerns the construction of the notion of vulnerability. The discussion highlights how gender interacts with dimensions of the ethnographer's social life and identity, her values and activism Since, on the one hand, the ethnographer was facilitated by being a female and a (no longer young) woman, into that fieldwork, on the other hand, she dealt with visible and invisible obstacles to deconstruct and dismantle. In particular, this paper focuses on the issue of the vulnerability of the researcher and of the participants as defined and constructed in terms of a

gendered category. That vulnerability implies dimensions of domination and fear, by both the researcher and the participants One of the aims of this paper is to bring to light the naturalization of those dominance relations during fieldwork Keywords: Lone mothers, gender, power relations, Institutional Ethnography, intersectionality.

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RESEARCHING WITH FAMILIES IN A PANDEMIC: ON- AND OFFLINE NEGOTIATIONS OF GENDER, AGE, AND POWER WITH CHILDREN AND ADULTS

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This contribution discusses the methodological challenges of doing family research during a pandemic through the presentation of an ongoing urban research project with migrant families of Italian and Hungarian origin including children in Vienna. Researching with families implies handling multiple, complex relationships across gender and age, reflecting on power distribution and communication strategies. In the 'extreme' condition of doing hybrid (face-to face and online) fieldwork during a pandemic, it is necessary not only to continuously evaluate research methods *in itinere*, but also to be prepared to change them completely or re-invent them.

The ethnographic study explores the concept of quality of life empirically, adopting the capability approach as theoretical framework Spaces of encounter in Vienna – city of residence, renowned for being on top of quality of life rankings using objective indicators – and previous cities and neighbourhoods of residence in Italy and Hungary are explored through the perspective of families, filtered by the researcher. The analysis of the effects of the pandemic on families' everyday life has become a further research goal. The sample encompasses in total 14 migrant-origin families with children aged 6-11. The children are bi-/trilingual, which adds further complexity from the methodological point of view.

In the first six months of fieldwork, gender emerged in manifold ways in relation to the positionality of the researcher and the research actors I am going to focus on these three aspects: field access and entrance; fathers' involvement in the research; relationship and communication with the children.

Women fieldworkers are more influenced by safety issues and subjectively perceived risk than their men colleagues (Kusek & Smiley, 2014), also in online and hybrid ethnography. Recruiting families primarily through Facebook groups implies being more active and visible online, with the risk, especially for young women, of experiencing undesired online encounters. Considering that unknown persons may be willing to help with the research, it seems strategic to accept friendship requests and, in case, block those who send inappropriate messages Furthermore, before using private accounts for research reasons, it is advisable to check privacy settings and delete too personal information and shared contents.

Families are often mixed-gender and mixed-age groups. In order to enter and stay in the research field, the ethnographer needs to juggle multiple relationships and interactions with family members. My adult gatekeepers and contact persons in families are all mothers, with one exception. The majority of them (11 out of 14) are also in salaried work, which demands on the side of the researcher, also online, flexibility and capacity to modulate distance and closeness, also considering that repeated periods of school closure in Austria aiming to tackle the spread of the pandemic make families' everyday life even more challenging. The interactions with fathers have been quite accidental and fleeting, so far. The fact that I, as a woman researcher, consider it more appropriate to get in touch with mothers (first) surely plays a role. A further explanation for this strongly unequal parental participation in the research may be that mothers are still persistently predominant in care issues. However, the announcement of the foundation of a Facebook group of Italian fathers in Vienna during the first months of fieldwork questioned the hypothesis of faint presence of fathers in their children's lives I discovered that some fathers have been members of the Facebook group of Italian mothers in Vienna for a long time, accessing it in some cases 'covertly' through their partners' profiles. It is not realistic to imagine that sedimented gender inequalities in the distribution of domestic and care work would disappear overnight, but it is worth investigating whether new spaces of participation in their children's lives may open for fathers also thanks to the COVID-19 crisis. More active fathering could be boosted, for those fathers who switched to home-office, by new temporal arrangements which are, in some cases, more favourable to the conciliation of work and family, and by the daily exposure to family needs. Interviews with fathers are planned, since a research which ignores fathers would fail to grasp the complexity of the family as a relational network where each member influences the lives of all other members (Donati, 2015). Moreover, children may use and experience urban spaces – focus of this research – differently with mothers and fathers.

Configurations of gender, age, and power make all research projects with children very demanding from the methodological point of view, even more in a crisis situation. The restrictions imposed to contrast the pandemic deeply constrain the possibility to perform shared activities with the children in presence. Oral and written communication mediated by digital media is often unsuitable to replace activities in presence, especially with male children and with male and female bi-/trilingual children who use their non-dominant language with me. Moreover, the medium may be distracting, especially for smaller children, and the presence of mothers in videocalls with the researcher may inhibit the interaction. Adopting effective communication strategies and devising adequate materials (letters, interactive presentations, urban probe packs) is partly a matter of decentration. As a female researcher with two sisters and a millennial, it is hard for me to figure out what could be interesting and motivating for male pre-adolescents born in an age when the digital revolution was already in full swing. A possible strategy to increase the chances of successful communication is to turn to trusted persons from other genders and possibly age groups, not necessarily academics.

Researching with children and families in a period of deep crisis and uncertainty brings issues of positionality to the fore and demands reflexivity directed both inwards, to the identity of the researcher; outwards, to the research participants and context (Rose in Barker & Weller, 2003); in-between, to the mutual relationships. This conference contribution raises methodological and ethical questions and attempts to reflect on possible solutions through discussion.

DOING GENDER IN ETHNOGRAPHY: A FEMINIST COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN TWO SEXUAL HEALTH INSTITUTIONS IN WESTERN SWITZERLAND

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My doctoral research aims to question the notion of sexual health from an ethnographic perspective, by analysing how this broad notion is put into practice in two sexual health institutions in the Western part of Switzerland. In 2018, I conducted an ethnographic research in a family planning clinic and in a health community centre for men who have sex with men (MSM).

During my fieldwork, gender was either a resource or a barrier. My personal social character (a white and young cisgender woman, often seen as "an intern" by sexual health professionals) determined the process of collecting ethnographic data. For instance, I rarely had the opportunity to observe medical examinations that were realised of men's bodies. This contrast with women's bodies that were easily and frequently accessible to my ethnographic gaze.

This communication offers a feminist comparative analysis on the impact of gender in this fieldwork. How did gender play a role in sexual health consultations? What does it say in terms of power relations? What does it say in terms of social construction of masculinity and femininity? How to articulate these reflexions with a feminist reflection on situated knowledges (Harding, 2004: 7)?

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GETTING NAKED. REFLECTIONS AND FIELD NOTES ABOUT AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF RADICAL SEX

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Since April 2019 I am doing qualitative research about MSM (Men who have Sex with Men) and some practices defined kinky which concerns fetishism and not traditional ways ofhaving sex. I used a triangulation for studying in a sociological way those social facts. In particular, I went to some sex clubs in Italy (Milan, Rome, Padova), London and Berlin to observe and take note about what happened, I am writing an autoethnography describing me and my personal experiences into the field and I had already collected 25 in-depth interviews with some participants. My final dissertation will be focused on the religious forms of kinky practices between purity and danger with a meticulous attention to the embodiment and the symbolic meanings built by practicings through the rituals. My participation aims to share some methodological considerations about the role of the researcher in this study, reflecting about my standpoint and my position into the field, my relation to the forms of masculinity and how to connect them with the alterity. There are some important points that I needed to reflect on to make this work strong according to the traditional way of hard sciences. There are some implications generated by sharing intimacy with participants, as an insider, but they can be solved thanks to some meditations about the roles of powers, the own characteristics, how to understand some different worlds far away from us, trying to deconstruct the borders.

POSITIONING: FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGY IN A VIRTUAL ETHNOGRAPHY ON ANTI-WOMEN ONLINE COMMUNITIES

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Today, online groups sharing violent language and hate speech against women are spreading and multiplying Incel and Red Pill groups are part of a manosphere which is active and increasing, in Italy as well. Aim of the study is to analyse gendered languages and symbols (Kimmel *et al.* 2005, Connell 2006) co-constructed and practiced in the Incel and Red Pill virtual communities, as well as representations and discourses linked with gender identities and models of masculinities. These online groups have been active in Italy for some years now, have a high number of members (1000-2000) and are multiplying, even in

local sub-groups. After a long period of ethnography, through the analysis of empirical material consisting of posts and comments on closed groups on social media, I identified three intertwined dimensions, strictly connected to each other: men's aesthetics and self-narratives; reification and dehumanisation of women; violence against women. The first dimension concerns the aesthetics and self-representation of the boys and men that are part of these Incel and Red Pill groups; the second concerns the reification and dehumanization of women, especially women with high LSM and feminists; the third dimension relates to violence against women and incitement to violence The centrality of aesthetics is reflected in language and leads to the reification and dehumanization of women, leading to aggressive and violent discourses. The results also showed that violence is immanent and integrated into the lexicon and the imaginary used by this virtual community.

Nowadays, online sociality is part of ordinary daily life, especially for the younger generation. Over the years, online ethnographic research has multiplied Ethnography has evolved and adapted to an emerging context: it has become virtual (Hine 2000, Domínguez Figaredo et al 2007) or digital (Murthy 2008, Varis 2016) ethnography. Over time, human-machine interfaces have become "mundane" (Markham 2016) and "embedded, embodied and everyday" (Hine 2015).

The observation for this study was conducted online on "closed" social network groups and online forums, which require the user to request access and be accepted by the administrators In this case, it is a covert virtual ethnography, and a fictitious male account, with his hobbies and a life story – whereas I am a female researcher – was created for this purpose. The 12-month observation was conducted from January 2020 to January 2021 and the empirical material collected was analysed using the MAXQDA software. In this particular research, the positioning of the researcher, the decisions/strategies adopted during the fieldwork, and the issues regarding privacy and research ethics, are undoubtedly questions to ponder. Moreover, the ethical implications on the issue of violence were taken into consideration, together with the issues related to reflexivity. As well as questioned the naturalness of many historically determined social and cultural constructs, Feminist movements have put in place the foundations of a critical standpoint epistemology based on the need of a situated knowledge (Smith 1990, Benhabib 1992, Harding 1991). Through a situated approach, phenomena can be analysed in their multiple dimensions and facets, taking into account the differences and dynamics of context, which condition both processes and social actors, and us as social scientists and researchers. The key issue to consider is one's positioning (Harding 1986, 1991; Keller 1989 and 1995, Rose 1983 and 1994): in particular in Italy, the most renowned feminist motto, also for the new generations of feminists, is "starting from ourselves" (Lonzi 1972, Pintus, Da Vela 2019), which means thinking and acting starting from our desires, taking into consideration our body, our experience, as well as our social life. Positioning is considered as a shift from the level of (masculine) power, to the level of construction of multiple alternative practices and reflections. It represents a demand for freedom, to give meaning to our existence - not only to have a voice but to actively look for, find and listen to our voice. The principle of the epistemological approach to knowledge as socially determined and situated is that women and oppressed subjects and groups have the right to their autonomy, to self-awareness and therefore to start from themselves, by rejecting discourses and thoughts imposed by others In this sense, following this fil rouge, we, as researchers, should consider the vision of the world of those whom we are observing, as well as our vision. In fact, the research work, as well as all the other activities, is conditioned by gender stereotypes, prejudices and bias.

The aim of this approach is to give us the possibility to be aware of our position, as well as the position of others involved in the research, taking into account the ethical and reflective aspects, to do professional and better research. As a matter of fact, positioning does not mean lacking objectivity or carrying out weaker research. Even if it sometimes proves very difficult, like in the case of a female researcher compelled to read and analyse violent online discourses against women in Incel and Red Pill groups, it is one of the fundamentals of the ethnographic work.

Positioning ourselves does not preclude the possibility of doing professional research: on the contrary, it allows us to better observe the positioning of others and understand multifarious experiences Feminist Standpoint Epistemology enables us to see the world through the eyes of the group or individual observed, precisely because we, as observators, are aware of our vision of reality. Adopting a reflective and situated perspective does not mean that we can only understand what is similar to us: rather, we can immerse ourselves in the realities of others and see them from their own point of view. Therefore, I would even say that there can be no objectivity without positioning, or rather, there can be no objectivity without aware and conscious subjectivity.

SESSION 23

INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY AND AFRICAN CITIES

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BECOMING CHINESE – AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHINESE MIGRATION IN NAIROBI

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As a Korean researcher in an African city experiencing an influx of people from China, I encountered questions, assumptions, and rumors about racial stereotypes and Chinese-ness in relation to my physically Asian face As in many cities in Africa, Nairobi has many Chinese newcomers investing and working in diverse business sectors, from construction to retail stores and restaurants It is now common to find names of Chinese companies and commodities in the urban landscape, and if you have an Asian face, the greeting that you would randomly hear on streets would be a Mandarin Chinese greeting rather than that of Kiswahili or English Taxi drivers and store clerks found it interesting that I did not speak Mandarin Chinese Every single day, I met people who greeted me with Ni Hao when I did not even know how to reply My presence in the city was often met with Chinese nicknames, sounds mimicking the Chinese language, expectations that I would deliver news or insight into infrastructural changes like the Chinese experts, and even anxieties, threats, and laughter born of popular rumors about Chinese people in Nairobi I vividly experienced the ways in which an anthropologist with an Asian face is reconstructed as a Chinese road construction expert through intercultural/interracial encounters in public This ethnography of Chinese migration in Nairobi is based on my experience as a "Chinese" person I describe and examine Nairobi's spatial changes by drawing my ethnographic encounters entangle with my alleged Chinese-ness and demonstrating the new racial dynamics of urban Africa in the midst of deepening ties between China and Africa.

ENTREPRENEURS AND REFUGEES: TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN AFRICAN CITIES

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This paper is about the Turkish immigrants in Dakar, Dar es Salaam, Banjul and Cotonou Immigration from Turkey to African cities is driven by economic and political factors. While immigrants from sub-Saharan countries in Turkey have attracted academic attention, albeit insufficiently, the migration of entrepreneurs and refugees from Anatolian cities to African cities has remained outside of the academic purview Turkish immigrants in Africa are mainly engaged intrade, construction and manufacture In addition to entrepreneurs, there are increasing number of refugees from Turkey in major African cities has remained outside of the academic purview Turkish immigrants in Africa are mainly engaged intrade, construction and manufacture. In addition to entrepreneurs, there are increasing number of refugees from Turkey in major African cities. This is mainly the outcome of the anti-terror war Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP) government launched against the members of the Gulen network formed around the Muslim cleric Fethullah Gulen Since the Gulen network, known for its schools on the continent, has been accused by the AKP government for the coup attempt of July 15, 2016, hundreds of it members have found refuge in African cities Due to the restrictive migration policies of European and North American countries, African countries have become the new home of many Turkish citizens who had to flee the country with fear of persecution. Therefore, African cities have become one of the major transnational sites in which the national conflicts have been played out Based on over 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Turkey, Tanzania, Senegal, Gambia and Benin, this paper studies the fragmented Turkish diaspora in Africa by focusing on the

economic and political motivations for their migration as well as their economic and political engagements in their new homes.

A CITY BUILT BY THE OTHER: RECKONING WITH THE THINGS LEFT BEHIND BY SETTLER COLONIALISM TO ORAN, ALGERIA

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Twenty-first century Oran, Algeria is a fractured, heterogeneous landscape, marked by absence, ephemerality, pockets of un-reclaimed space, and things left behind or left to decay (Stewart 1996; Huyssen 2003); but it is also a city of revolutionary potential Oran was conceived as the archetypical settler-colonial city of French Algeria, housing hundreds of thousands of settlers from Spain, Italy, Corsica, and other southern European countries in the 19th and 20th centuries (Clancy-Smith 2012). Settler-colonial urbanism in Oran built a city oriented around European imaginative geographies, both in its physical structures and the sociocultural practices it facilitated (Çelik 1997; Prochaska 1990; Slyomovics 2019). At Algerian independence in 1962, the vast majority of those 3rd or 4th generation settlers were "repatriated" to France, vacating their homes, businesses, and leaving behind anything they couldn't carry with them. These "abandoned goods" (biens vacants) became the raw materials of the newly independent Algeria. Nearly 60 years after independence, the debris of settler-colonialism remains at the center of urban life today. To what extent can these "abandoned goods" be understood as a shared inheritance? Or are they better understood as imperials ruins that serve as "the fragile and durable substance and signs, the visible and visceral senses in which the effects of empire are reactivated and remain" (Stoler 2013: 196)?

Drawing from 16 months of ethnographic field research, this paper examines how past and contemporary urbanism in Oran – characterized by international and internal migration and its excesses – has disrupted "the experience of the city as a whole, as a continuous, enduring identity in people's lives" (Munn 2013: 367). Much of the colonial-era city is now crumbling to the ground, displacing hundreds of thousands of city-dwellers to newly constructed urban peripheries Algerian real-estate developers have taken advantage of the emptying out of the city centre to build hundreds of new high-rise towers, employing Chinese, Spanish and Turkish companies and workers to realize their dream of remaking Oran into the "Monte Carlo" of North Africa. Since independence, international companies have come and gone, leaving behind their temporary housing and materials, which have since been folded into Oran's urban fabric. In this context, contemporary neoliberalizing Oran has, literally and figuratively, been built upon the ruins of centuries of international migrations.

How do Oranis appropriate (or not) this city built by foreigners and the settler-Other? In this paper, I analyze ordinary Oranis' narratives of urban change and the abandoned "stuff" of now absent migrants (De Leon 2015) Processes of "ruination" (Stoler 2013) and past international migrations continue to shape regional urban development and imaginations into the present I found that the juxtaposition between what French Algerians left behind and what independent Algerians (and their foreign contractors) have built has become a powerful spatial metaphor for Algerians' grievances towards their government. These grievances came to a head in 2019, when millions of Algerians hit the streets in what has become known as the "second revolution" (or Hirak).

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FORCED IMMOBILITY AND SOLIDARITY NETWORKS AMONG SUB-SAHARAN AFRICANS IN MOROCCAN CITIES

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While significant attention has focused on sub-Saharan Africans attempting to reach Europe, large populations unable or unwilling to return to their home countries are now settling in Moroccan urban centres with irregular (i.e., undocumented) status. An estimated 700,000 irregular Sub-Saharan Africans currently reside in Morocco, primarily from Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Guinea, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Mali. As Morocco shifts from a country of transit to one of settlement, and with a recent significant increase in women migrants in recent years, our research examines the formation of networks of exchange and support in urban centres within a context shaped by both postcolonial interests as well as novel regional political demands. Our project uses ethnographic analysis and visual methods, based primarily in the southwestern coastal city of Agadir, to critically engage with scholarly debates on international migration in cities by examining encounters and conflicts between host communities and migrants who are generally presumed to be temporary or transitory but are now invoking novel forms of settlement. We build upon scholarship on "transit" migration, gender, and processes of racialization by examining forced immobility and networks of support in a Northwest African (i.e., Maghrebi) context. Current patterns reflect broader mobility and policy dynamics in the region, prompting the government to now re-examine what happens to migrants who remain in their territory and appearing increasingly interested in integration measures that respect migrants' rights, especially in exchange for the support of origin countries in Morocco's 40-year conflict over the Western Sahara territory Morocco has become a major actor in regional discussions, touting a new "Africa-centered" approach to migration management, including the recent regularization of 50,000 migrants that provided them with residence permits, the right to work, and access to social services. While the government has begun to address these new patterns of settlement – primarily in the form of nascent integration programs in major cities and management of mobility across Moroccan territory – sub-Saharan Africans continue to live in precarious conditions and face everyday racism, violent attacks, infringement of rights, dire poverty, and a systematic lack of adequate work opportunities. Social services in the country are already stretched thin, calling into question the effectiveness of these integration efforts to alleviate migrants' precarity. Furthermore, public perceptions of sub-Saharan residents have become increasingly hostile, with reports of violence between immigrants and citizens, racialized police aggression, and unlawful arbitrary repression. Significant underlying social tensions and high levels of inequality have challenged Morocco's image as a stable, tolerant, and multicultural society, and migrants find themselves marginalized in a country where democratic promises for the larger population have not been fully met. As contemporary international mobility to African cities is increasingly diverse and complex, our analysis seeks to contribute to notions of forced immobility, settlement, and the rethinking how the "migration-city nexus" is experienced today.

SEEKING WORK, WEALTH AND STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS IN GABON'S ECONOMIC CAPITAL

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The city of Port-Gentil is Gabon's economic centre and comprises a complex mosaic of foreign residents exhibiting widely varying situations, backgrounds, life histories, and depths of time and experience in residence in this regionally powerful petrostate. Attracting success-seeking migrants from across Gabon, much of Central and West Africa, and the West, the city lures the vast majority of its population with the

prospect of work opportunities in the oil and timber industries and in the supporting service sector. Once there, however, migrants' access to particular labour sectors is restricted and shaped by national credentials and identities and newcomers are quickly swept up into an established, and only minimally flexible, hierarchy of nationalities. Work practices become signifiers and markers of national identification and vice versa and access to work, power and social networks is shaped by perceived relative foreignness Portgentillais tend to identify three primary groups of foreigners: migrants from across West and Central Africa, Western migrants, and those who migrate within their own country of Gabon, but are considered to be étrangers in Port-Gentil due to their ethnic, social and geographic distance from local Portgentillais. Each of these groups of foreigners is interpreted through a lens of animosity by the majority of local Gabonese citizens. Symbols attached to national affiliations and to the concept of foreignness have long been used by the Gabonese state in its attempts to manipulate the populace. In order to deflect responsibility for political, social and economic mismanagement over the course of many decades, the state has publicly placed blame on foreigners, contributing to widespread Gabonese resentment of and anger toward the étrangers in their midst, who are often made to feel unwelcome by their Gabonese neighbours in good times and who have been the subject of xenophobic attacks in times of crisis. What strategies do African, Western and Gabonese foreigners draw on to try to achieve success in an environment that is generally hostile to foreign populations? Such strategies include joining established associational groups based on nationality (such as the Cameroonian Community of Port-Gentil or the Petroleum Wives' Club of Port-Gentil), counterfeiting nationalities, maintaining internal judicial systems within national groups that is informal but encouraged by the Gabonese state, and more everyday acts of resistance. Many Gabonese people who have lived in Port-Gentil their entire lives claim that their livelihoods and their privileged social positions are threatened by the continued presence of African, Western, and nonlocal Gabonese migrants. As they define and refine their understandings of the étrangers living among them, Portgentillais are defining and refining their own national and local identities in direct comparison to these various foreign populations. Based upon ethnographic fieldwork in Gabon and two other Gabonese cities, this paper will examine the lived experience of foreign migrants in Port-Gentil and the response of local Gabonese to the ongoing membership of a diverse group of étrangers in the social world of Port-Gentil.

SOFT INFRASTRUCTURES. LABOUR MOBILITIES ACROSS AND BETWEEN SECONDARY CITIES IN WEST AFRICA

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Infrastructures – whether material, virtual, or social – are about the facilitation and regulation of circulation of people, goods, capital, vehicles, or information. While the material infrastructures of roads, rails, air spaces, or waterways in West Africa generally lack the smoothness of the global North, much can be said for the centrality of "people as infrastructure" in the organization of social life in the world's poorer regions. While this "softer" view of infrastructure has become influential in research on urban Africa, the attention to infrastructures has generally been left relatively implicit in the study of migration and mobility dynamics.

This paper is informed by comparative ethnographic research and explores the mobilities of regional labour migrants through and between urban centres in Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali, and Guinea. The study thereby aims to emphasise the circular and transnational dimensions of labour migration, which are often forgotten as national capital cities tend to be seen as the inevitable and final destinations for rural labour migrants. Against this trend, this paper identifies secondary cities as central nodes for various forms of mobility, including labour recruitment.

The more specific aims of the paper are, therefore, to 1) outline a conceptual framework centered on the concept of "soft infrastructures", to inform qualitative analysis of the facilitation of regional mobility; 2) to offer a literature-based discussion of the roles that smaller urban centres play and have played in the wider Sahel region in relation to regional mobility; and 3) to provide a provisional qualitative analysis of the gendered and generationally stratified mobilities that have been argued to characterise this sub-region.

Writing against the current emphasis on Sahelian mobilities as subversive and anomic, the paper thereby addresses the conference theme by offering a historically, socially, and culturally grounded analysis of regional mobilities as a long-standing, yet ever-changing, societal resource.

SESSION 24

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF SUPERMARKET AND LOGISTICS REVOLUTIONS

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AGROECOLOGICAL CONSUMPTION SPHERES: BETWEEN CONTESTATION AND ADAPTATION TO THE SUPERMARKET CONQUEST OF THE ORGANIC RETAILING

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Global food system functioning could be defined as corporate-environmental food regime (Friedmann, 2005) due to the narrative appropriation from social movements by corporations in order to perpetuate capital accumulation. Hence, big corporations articulate under imperial forms (Ploeg, 2008) wide their supply networks and commercialization points in what has been called the "retailing revolution" (McMichael & Friedmann, 2007) by seeking to subsume grass-roots agroecological initiatives (Holt-Giménez, 2017), those that have been connecting urban consumers with producers in the Global North. In this context, agroecological consumption spaces as food coops or ethical shops, where reproduction and transformation rationality was above economic rationality as part of its resistance (Sevilla-Guzman *et al.*, 2012), are the target of food corporations that replicate their discourses and partially their practices. Moreover, corporations and media influencers challenge food perception as that related with health, taste and pristine nature allusions, in order to re-fetishize organic food and expand their regime structure even to agroecological autonomous spheres of action. In these dynamics, the transformation brought by algorithms allows big players the ability to register a mosaic of micro-theories that articulate explanations about probable conducts of consumption (Cardon, 2018), therefore digesting valuable information to fulfil increasing sales. Besides, as happens in conventional food chains (Delgado Cabeza, 2013), economic actors start to insert in between production-consumption relationships as intermediate steps of the chain (logistics and transformation), therefore concentrating power, breaking direct relations and controlling food fluxes even in agroecological initiatives.

In a context where agroecological initiatives have to resist their subsumption, upscaling and overcoming lock-ins are proposed from the agroecological movements (Gliessman, 2018; Nost, 2014). In order to fulfil their goal, agroecological consumption spaces willing to maintain and increase consumers have to partially conventionalize their functioning by acquiring some aspects imposed by big players. These transformations have impacts on the level of technology used, the fordization of work, the combination of productive/reproductive work as a way to make accessible the initiative or the relaxation of the moral economies that usually characterized agro-ecological initiatives.

By using a socio-technical regime approach to the changing structure of the organic supermarket sector and the conquest of the organic niche by big retailing corporations, the goal of this contribution is to observe changes indicated in the precedent paragraph within niche agroecological proposals in relation to the appearance of big players in the organic retailing sector in the city of Madrid. By using in-depth interviews, participant observation and other ethnographic approaches to the organic commercialization and consumption spheres, the goal is to reconstruct the transformations of the sector and the adaptation taken by niche proposals to the mainstream functioning.

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AS IF I WERE WORKING FOR A FEUDAL LORD: THE QUALITY OF WORK LIFE AND THE HANDLING OF CONFLICT IN SUPERMARKET RETAILING

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Retailing employs over 10% of the labour force in developed economies (Bozkurt and Grugulis, 2011; Fellini, 2017) and in particular food retail is the largest sub-sector within it (Sparks, 2000). Moreover, food retailers are among the largest global companies and most powerful actors of the consumer driven chain (Sparks, 2000). The centrality of food retailers is also due to the long-term decline in the job quality. Retail and especially supermarket jobs, often comprising women and students (Mason and Osborne, 2008), are indeed typically low-paid, labour intensive, flexible, and highly constraining (Bozkurt, 2015; Warhurst *et al.*, 2009). Food retail embraces highly centralized 'lean retailing', de-skilling and workplace rationalization (Ikeler, 2016; Smith and Elliott, 2012), and operates on low profit margins through a cost minimisation approach towards employment (Broadbridge, 2002). Moreover, there is evidence in the literature of a deterioration in industrial relations in retail (Carrè *et al.*, 2010): there are lower collective bargaining coverage levels (Visser, 2015), and workers seem hardly join together to claim better working conditions through the unions (Bozkurt and Grugulis, 2011; Dribbusch, 2005). In Italy this is especially true for the large-scale retail (Ambra, 2017). Despite the relevance of these issues, research on the food retailing sector is still sparse. Moreover, this process of deteriorating job quality may have undergone further exacerbation with the ongoing pandemic. To this regard, some scholars have recently talk about 'extreme work' (Cai *et al.*, 2020) On the other hand, Covid-19 has drawn attention and social visibility to this category of workers, declaring it "essential", possibly representing an opportunity for trade unions to give workers collective voice.

Against this background, our paper relies on a qualitative case study research (Yin, 1984) in the supermarket retailing to explore the quality of working conditions, workers' experiences and the handling of conflict at the workplace through the union support. We look at these issues both before and after the Covid-19 pandemic. We are carrying out the research together with one of the major trade union in Italy, which told us about its difficulties understanding the recent changes at the workplaces and knowing workers' visions and needs.

The case-study, for which we use the pseudonym "Northeast Supermarket", is particularly suitable to answer the research questions since it is the largest member among the six in Italy which are part of a multinational franchise that manages independently owned and operated food retail stores Northeast Supermarket, which employs more than 8000 collaborators, is a growing company in the large-scale retail which manages the international branding in the geographic area of North-East of Italy and has collective agreements with the retail union. It manages logistics hubs, operated retail stores, owned stores and one game-handling establishment as it controls the entire supply chain for some branded products.

To address our questions, we carried out before the pandemic an explorative qualitative research in which a multiplicity of data was collected allowing for triangulation: analysis of organisational and union's documents; 3 focus groups with workers' representatives within the retailing sector; 10 qualitative interviews with shop-floor employees, including supervisors; 1 semi-structured interviews with a store manager; and 2 semi-structured interviews with specialised human resources staff at head office. Since the pandemic started, we have collected 1 qualitative interview with the regional union representative of the tertiary sector and other semi-structured interviews with workers are planned.

The analysis of the first data shows how working conditions depend on managerial autonomy and type of control of the store manager (Price, 2016). The case study highlights how despite the centralization of business processes, budgets and organizational policies tends to curtail the power of retail store managers who are under strict surveillance in terms of observable results (Grugulis *et al.*, 2011), their managerial autonomy has a relevant impact on the quality of working life, working conditions and the way conflicts are managed at the workplace.

In particular, the decision-making power of the store manager affects the quality of working life through the following devices which find concrete support in the collective agreement: flexible working hours decided less than a week in advance; power to move the worker to another store within 30 km of distance; power to make warning letters for worker behaviour deemed inappropriate. The general trend is to push towards individual relationships between the store manager and workers through the mechanisms of blackmail and promise on the basis of the three devices. To this regard younger workers are the most vulnerable according to data because they are more prone to blackmail of total availability (temporal-spatial availability and discipline) in the name of career progression. In this way, privileged or disadvantageous relationships are built between store managers and workers. This hinders solidarity between colleagues and the collective voice because claiming better working conditions for all can mean losing a privilege. In addition, respondents tell about fear of reprisals among colleagues (especially in terms of working hours and space mobility) in case of union membership. Only in the cases when the store manager builds a relationship of recognition and trust with the workers' representative, the type of management of personnel appears to be more equal and inclusive with an improvement in the quality of work life for all employees. The next interviews will help us to understand whether the emergency situation is contributing to worse job quality or, on the contrary, is an opportunity to make the workers' collective voice heard and to claim better overall working conditions.

The analysis is aimed at making three contributions. First, it sheds light on the links between deteriorating job quality, new forms of control and their effects on worker consciousness and forms of conflict in the supermarket retailing. Second, it explores how working in a pandemic is experienced by food retail workers and whether it contributes to exacerbate working conditions or instead to improve them In addition, the paper aims to give some methodological insights on the potentialities/limits offered by the participatory research design, which develops out of the convergence of two perspectives, that of sociology and of union's practice.

CATALYZING SOLIDARITY AT THE END OF THE RETAIL AND AGRI-FOOD CHAINS: THE CASES OF THE OUR WALMART AND FIGHT FOR $15 MOVEMENTS

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Our Walmart and Fight for $15, two major large-scale movements started in 2012 among low-wage workers in multinational service companies in the United States, illustrate recent attempts to organize the unorganized in order to revitalize the trade union movement. These movements target low-wage labour industries, of which the food processing industry is one of the main representatives, and multinational service companies in particular, where women, black and Latinx, and part-time workers are over-represented in a work environment generally hostile to any form of employee representation. Thus, since 2012, more than 20 million employees have benefited from an increase of the minimum wage through a series of decrees, laws and agreements established at different levels (cities, states, companies), making these movements the greatest successes of the labour movement in the last 50 years in the United States. We will see in this communication that these campaigns questioned several blind spots in American trade unionism and militancy. This paper focuses on the catalytic role of these campaigns by emphasizing the

union work of framing, federating and strengthening collective demands around these jobs and industries Drawing on ethnographic work carried out around the Our Walmart and Fight for $15 mobilizations in California, Illinois, New York, Florida, Louisiana and Virginia between 2012 and 2017, this paper reveals two contrasting approaches to labour organizing as innovative ways of catalyzing conflict among these employees long forgotten by unions.

The first, horizontal and participatory, is marked by the desire to instill professional solidarity in the unskilled jobs of mass distribution By relying on innovative use of new technologies, Our Walmart strategy tends to put the negotiation of production conditions, long neglected in North American labour relations system in favour of the negotiation of social benefits, back at the heart of professional negotiations in a context of retail crisis In order to strengthen employees' bargaining power, the organization is working to change the narrative around jobs with little value by constantly calling on employees to be vigilant in monitoring and reforming the retail giant's workplace policies.

The second, favouring a vertical and narrative approach, derives more of its success from a rhetoric of citizen solidarity around low-paid tertiary employees at the crossroads of class, gender and race dominations. Fight for $15 thus takes up a double intersectional discourse: around struggles (convergence of progressive struggles/ participation of a constellation of associations in mobilizations) and in struggle (mixing issues related to employment and work in terms of class, gender, race and sexuality). The aim is thus to federate by overcoming the shortcomings of unions that remain largely blind to institutional racism at work and in employment, to the heteronormativity conveyed by the main anti-racist associations, and to the failure of major feminist associations to consider the experiences of black and Latinx women at work and beyond.

LOOKING FOR DIGITALIZATION: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DIGITAL DYNAMICS IN FRENCH LOGISTICS AREAS

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At the interface of industry and services, the logistics sector appears as one of the major levers for transforming industrial policies based on the digital and environmental transition. These announced industrial revolutions, led by national public-private consortia (including the Alliance Industrie du Future in France and Plattform Industrie 40 in Germany), are still today at the stage of prescriptive government plans that are slowly spreading Indeed, while for a large majority of actors a technological momentum is indeed underway, outlining major trends of transformations in work and low- or unskilled employment, academic and political debates underline a strong heterogeneity of projections as to the medium-term effects of digitization on these jobs (Hirsch-Kremsen, 2016). In a period characterized by the emergence of programs and the effective implementation of technical systems (mechanization, automation, digitization), what are the concrete effects of digitalization on the logistics sector and more particularly on labour management in warehouses?

Through a combination of observations conducted during various meetings between logistics employers, public authorities and workers (meetings between regional public players and employers, public events promoting the logistics industry, logistics technology exhibitions, warehouse tours, job fairs) combined with a statistical approach of work and employment in the sector, we will see in this paper that digital in the logistics sector remains an "iceberg" subject of study, of which the recent and ongoing development of very large, largely automated warehouses (Amazon, Uniqlo) is only the emerging face. Thus, based on a mixed approach carried out in three of the main French logistics areas near Paris, Lyon and Marseille, this communication focuses on the methods of diffusion and appropriation of this announced revolution as well as on the concrete effects of these transformations on the organizations, work and employment in logistics warehouses. As a labor-intensive industry relying on a large proportion of workers, logistics is today faced with the dissemination of digital technologies in warehouses: radio frequency identification, pallet stacker cranes, Warehouse Management Systems, intelligent shelving allowing the application of the goods to person principle, drones carrying out inventories, voice commands, gloves and exoskeletons to assist order pickers in their daily work. More broadly, logistics face a re-transformation of its value chains (Alimahomed-Wilson, 2020) linked, in particular, to new digital distribution channels (purchasing or intermediation platforms for online purchases, development of drive and e-commerce, reverse logistics and last mile logistics). In terms of workforce management, the sector has been experiencing difficulties in recent years

in recruiting and retaining workers and has seen a proliferation of experiments, both digital and non-digital, aimed at overcoming these difficulties. As such, logistics represents a pivotal object of investigation where we will question the last digital push in a territorialized, dynamic and broadened manner. Indeed, if the technical and organisational transformations in the sector appear in many recent works, especially around the themes of arduousness, occupational health, circulation of labour or conflictuality, this communication questions more broadly the social construction of technological dynamics in the sector, its consequences on work, organizations and their actors in terms of training, work, employment and skills.

LIVING AND LABOR CONDITIONS OF THE ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS IN THE GLOBAL AGRIFOOD CHAINS

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The production of fresh fruit and vegetables is a global business dominated by large international corporations and business groups. Organised in global commodity chains, different actors – from small farmers to centres of technological innovation, agricultural labourers and logistics and transport companies – must coordinate their actions so that produce from the countryside reaches our tables in perfect condition. To this end, since the end of the last century, new forms of transnational regulation have been developed which, under the of new demands for food quality and safety, respect for the environment and social responsibility, organize and regulate the process of production, transport and distribution of food. These are standards, protocols and quality certifications, both public and above all private, which represent a new form of governance of the agri-food sector (Bair, 2009; Loconto and Busch, 2010; Gereffi, 2018).

The aim of this communication is to explore the implications of these new agri-food quality and safety systems on the labour and living conditions of the road transport workers. One of the main agricultural production enclaves in Spain is taken as a case study: the Region of Murcia. This territory, which specialises in fruit and vegetable production for export, is an ideal place to analyse the impact that these new forms of corporate governance, marked by a greater weight of commercial distribution, have on the organisation of food transport by road.

SESSION 25

EXPLORING DEATH IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: FIELD RESEARCH RESULTS

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LIVING WITH THE DEAD: DISCOURSES OF NATIONHOOD AND MODERNITY IN CONVERSATIONS ABOUT 'TRANSGRESSIVE' DEATH PRACTICES IN GEORGIA

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In Georgia some mourning Megrelian families share houses, food and a lasting relationship with their dead relatives. These families are refusing the notion of the deceased belonging to the past and dead relatives are actively included in everyday mundane activities, by elimination of divided spaces and inclusion of the dead as suitable and active family members.

In Georgian society such practices are considered transgressive by several seemingly clashing discourses: for some, these practices do not coincide with Orthodox Christian tradition of body disposal. According to these views, family members actively disobey the "commonsensical" and religious rules of proper burial and mourning: relatives are "torturing the poor souls," "preventing the souls to enter the heaven" and relatives are acting "against Orthodox Christian traditions". Discussions about the aforementioned families are also incorporated in the dichotomy of European/non-European, civilized/non-civilized imaginary. By marking such practices as "outdated traditions," peripheries are deemed backward, yet-to-be modernized.

Others believe that the family members need psychological help because they violate the boundaries between the dead and the living and fall out of the "normal grieving" curve; and although the family members, especially the mothers and wives of the deceased, should mourn till the end of their lives, wear black to signify their grief and maintain the appearance of lamenting women, they should also accept the reality that the family member is gone forever. For many observers, peculiar mourning practices in Samegrelo signify the "inability of coming in terms with the reality of death" and they think that mourning relatives create make-belief scenarios instead, which they deem to be unacceptable.

My paper attempts to understand what are the discourses surrounding the burial and mourning practices enacted and improvised by some Megrelian families I will briefly contextualize these practices by talking about agency and duality of structure; arguing that such practices do not deviate too much from the expectations of what "normal grieving" and grieving women are in Georgia. On the other hand, I will describe discourses of transgression, anxieties about nationhood and modernity that are mobilized in the conversation about Megrelian death, burial and grief.

"IT WAS ANOTHER LOSS FOR US". THE VAJONT VICTIMS CEMETERY BETWEEN MUTATIONS AND MEMORY CONFLICTS

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The graveyards, "places of mourning work, of questions without answers but incessantly reformulated" (Vovelle, 2000), are important starting points for reflecting on the link between memory, spaces, and the present time It is in their materiality, in the organization of burials and tombstones, that processes of memory and oblivion take shape (Favole). The Vajont Victims Cemetery is emblematic of this: here rhetoric and politics of memory keep acting over time In October 1963 an enormous landslide collapsed into the reservoir of the Vajont Dam, a giant infrastructure recently inaugurated in northern Italy. The resulting mega-tsunami caused the death of 1910 people and the destruction of locals' living environment. The

event was labelled as an "authentic massacre" caused by human greed in a network of colluded powers that could have prevented it. In this context, the cemetery has been a matter of conflicts and debates between institutions and survivors for many years now. Built in the days following the Vajont tsunami, the graveyard played a fundamental role in keeping alive not only the survivors' bond with their dead but also the memory of an entire community swept away together with its living environment. The bodies recovered from the mud were brought here, and many were unrecognizable. Lots of bodies were also missing and their absence still causes great suffering to the families. The rebuilding in 2003 turned this traditional Alpine graveyard into a memorial monument, changing its social function forever: a gathering place where people could "meet" their beloved dead was turned into a civil monument with pedagogical purposes. The aim of this reconstruction is clear: focusing on the global effects of an "ecological disaster" rather than on the subjectivity of the victims (which disappears under white marble blocks) and the survivors' demands for truth and justice, i.e. an actual condemnation of the human responsibilities that led to this massacre. The removal of photographs, flowers, and epitaphs, which are defined by Michel Vovelle as "chronicle of a life and expression of the family bond", caused a sense of further loss to the community members, who can't acknowledge this place as their own. The survivors claim that uniformity is an expression of a politics of memory linked to monumental works, which aim to induce the visitor to sympathize rather than understand. Nevertheless, the cemetery is not the only place to commemorate the dead: other ways of dealing with remembrance and mourning exist, and survivors use them to preserve the memory.

My reflections come from an ethnographic research in progress on the Vajont territory. The link between the living and the places of the dead, which plays a crucial role in survivors' narratives and practices, is fundamental to understanding the political value that the memories of the Vajont Dam disaster have in the present days. My fieldwork on memories and practices in the Vajont area is an ongoing project which I started for my master's thesis, and I'm carrying on for my PhD work during the Covid19 pandemic. Lots of new challenges came up in the attempt to combine observation and interaction with my informants. Are "interact" and "being there" concepts that have a new meaning today? How to carry on a work about grief, death, and trauma without losing the opportunity to empathize with our interlocutors?

"NIJE ŽIV I NIJE MRTAV" ("NOT ALIVE AND NOT DEAD"): THE SREBRENICA COMMEMORATION AND POTOARI MEMORIAL CENTER AS TEMPORAL MEDIATION

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 "Nije živ i nije mrtav" ("not alive and not dead") is how one interlocutor and Srebrenica resident described his town to me, as a place that is neither alive nor dead. Site of the 1995 genocide of approximately 8,000 Bosniak boys and men, Europe's worst massacre since the Second World War, the town's population is at present approximately 2,600 with many of the residents living there only part-time. Located in the Serbian Republic, the town, like much of the landscape of Bosnia-Herzegovina is replete with the intentionally discarded remains of the 1990s war. Many are every day places like schools, community centers, hotels, warehouses and factories that have been marked by extreme violence of the 1992-1995 war, and have been either returned to their former use or left unmemorialized and in states of ruination. The 1990s war transformed these "ordinary" spaces – such as the Kravica warehouse, the "Dom Kulture" (Cultural Center) in Pilica, the Hotel Vilina Vlas in Višegrad, the battery factory in Potoari, part of which is now the Potocari Memorial Center near Srebrenica – into abject, tainted, contaminated and possibly even toxic sites of crime that witnessed rape, torture, massacres and genocide (Volcic and Simic 2016). These spaces exist in the context of what Mariella Pandolfi argues is an emergency state of "permanent transition" in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Pandolfi 2013:153) and what Jasminka Husanovic has incisively analyzed as the nefarious *managing of affect* in Bosnia-Herzegovina through biopolitical strategies often masked as "therapeutic" in the paradigms of "transitional justice" (Husanovic 2015:20). The commemoration and re-burial ceremony that has taken place in and around the Potocari battery factory and Memorial Center every July 11 since 2002 brings international media attention to Bosnia-Herzegovina each year and for a few days during that period the town becomes more "alive" than "dead" as Bosnians and people from around the world come to attend the commemoration. The commemoration is also both a re-burial of newly found human remains and an event that many have argued has become highly and increasingly politicized, a quintessential example of what Verdery called dead-body politics (Verdery 1999).

Based on my ongoing research in Srebrenica, this paper will draw upon ethnographic and visual ethnographic material to examine the Potocari Memorial Center and the annual commemoration to analyze how the commemoration and Memorial forge a liminal mediation between life and death and between "transitional justice" and violence. It will argue that the Memorial Center and commemoration are especially important and generative for thinking through the limitations of the trace's linguistic and visual representation (Derrida 1967), especially in this context of a broader local geography of what anthropologist Roma Sendyka (Sendyka 2013) calls "non-sites of memory," sometimes unmarked and uncommemorated sites of violence, silence filled sites that may be in the process of ruination yet sites that are temporally, affectively and potentially ethically persistent (Didi-Huberman 1998:230; Sendyka 2015:16).

RESEARCHING MEMORIALIZATION PRACTICES IN THE MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIETY IN MEXICO CITY: METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES RELATED TO THE REFLEXIVITY AND EMOTIONS IN THE FIELD

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The talk will be based on several ethnographic fieldworks I conducted in Mexico City in the years 2014-2019. The series of these fieldworks were carried out as parts of doctoral anthropological project, focused on the cultural manifestations of the nationalization of death and the attitudes of research participants to death and The Day of the Dead feastin this talk. I will focus on some methodological issues related to researching death attitudes and to the ways of memorializing deceased among the members of Mexican middle-class. I draw the attention to the importance of using reflexivity and acknowledging the active role during the entire research process, which required a sensitive approach due to the specific topic. The aim of this talk is to present possible ways and procedures for examining sensitive topics during research, such as dying and death.

I will introduce a total of three areas that played an important role in my research. The first focuses on the reflexivity and identity of the researcher in the field, the second focuses on the relationships between researcher and informants and the third focuses on so-called emotional overwhelming that come along with researching sensitive topics as death attitudes and the ways to deal with it. I'll show how changes related to my perceptions due to experiences during fieldwork affected the research process and results and helped me to understand my informants' attitudes towards death.

Last but not least, I'll try to explain the fact that the strong emotions and experiences that the researcher not only experiences in the field but also in her own life can ultimately be positive for the research itself and can serve as a further step in revealing the motives and lives of those we study to better understand their culture (Dickson-Swift 2007: 328). In every way, however, they are an essential part of research, giving it individuality and should be included in an ethnographic text. I'll present the examples when emotions, as well as reason, can make a positive contribution to high-quality data and I'll introduce the ways to work with emotions in research.

BUILDING AND MANAGING RELATIONS WITH THE 'BEREAVED' INTERVIEWEE: THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER IN INTERVIEWING ABOUT DEATH AND MOURNING

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One of the key points of qualitative research conducted through non-standardized, detailed interviews is without doubt the relation to the question of the researcher's own position and authority. If the issue of bias that can arise during process of interviewing and their analysis is an aspect usually accounted for, it seems that the issue of the researcher's position and the construction of the interviewer-interviewee relation, within the context of research projects that investigate sensitive and emotional issues, is less studied (among the few such investigations, see Brannen 1988, Campbell 2002, Lee 1993, Seiber and

Stanley 1988). Rarer still, however, are studies in which attention has been placed on this relation when the issues under investigation are those of universal experience, such as death and mourning.

This contribution, based on the four authors' experience in a wide range of qualitative interviews within their role as research assistants for PRIN project "Death in Italy: Behaviors, Attitudes, Beliefs and Rituals", will analyse in an almost auto-ethnographic sense (Ellis 2004), the construction and management of relations between interviewer and interviewee within the context of researching death and mourning. The paper will focus on the relation of the interviewer and interviewee, examining the creation of a relation of trust (Bichi 2002) that allows interviewees to feel at ease to the extent that they will share their most intimate experiences (Liamputtong 2007) despite the possible asymmetrical form of communication and status (Punch 1994, Kvale 1995, Orletti 2000, Tusini 2006). Another aspect studied will thus be the combination of empathy and emotional distance – necessary for guaranteeing an objective stance – which the researcher/interviewer must enact, within a relation or project that also contains emotional labour (Hochschild 1979, 1998), i.e. the management of the emotions of the interviewee first and foremost, and also of the interviewer, thus recognizing feelings as part of the research process (Stanley and Wise 1983, Hubbard *et al*. 2001, Dickson-Swift *et al*. 2009). In other words, the mixture of empathy and emotional distance required for objectivity, and which allows the researcher to maintain their credibility within the field, is combined with a "maieutic function" (Cardano 2003) that must be as discrete and non-invasive as possible, allowing the interviewee to feel part of a social interaction as close as possible to a conversation but at the same time providing them the possibility to freely express themselves (Caplow 1956, Atkinson 2002).

The aim of the contribution is thus to question the construction and management of relations with the "bereaved" interviewee and the researcher's role in relation to death and mourning but bringing to light the potentialities and critical junctures in maintaining a balance between the shared nature of universal experience and the objectivity of research.

GRIEVING ONE-SELF: MORTUARY CARE FOR SOCIAL SINGLES IN JAPAN

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In the face of socio-economic shifts –a high aging/low childbirth population, decline in marriage and co-residence, irregularization of labour and precaritization of life – the family model of mortuary care that once prevailed in Japan is coming undone. As more and more Japanese live and die alone these days, they face the prospect of becoming "disconnected dead": stranded without a grave to be buried in nor the social others to tend to it once there. Given the specter of such a bad death, new designs and trends are emerging for both necro-habitation and care-giving the dead Prominent here is making mortuary arrangements for and by oneself while still alive (seizen seiri). Such anticipatory death-planning is the issue taken up in this talk. Based on fieldwork with new initiatives and services catering to a clientele of aging singles in Japanese, it is asked: What kind of grievability is this when the sociality of being cared for by others is handled by the self in anticipation of death? Mortuary presentism; a new ontology of the dead?

LAST DAY OF JUNE: WHAT GAMES CAN TEACH US ABOUT LOSS

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Narratives can be considered as a transcultural and ontological device to enter in contact with the self Some authors (Mc Adams, 2003; Mc Entire, 1997 *et al.*) use the expression "homo narrans" to identify the strategical acquisition of the narrative skill by the homo sapiens as an evolutionary sign both at cognitive and reflective level. Since the first elementary stories, narration started to be the way by which not only to share experiences but also to give them a meaning (Demetrio, 2003; Di Fraia, 2007 *et al.*) In the course of the time, human sciences focuse their attention on the role of narratives as fragments by which explore cultural, social and personal identity. Both psychological and social researches show the power of the act of narrating personal stories. From a pedagogical point of view, narrative structures have a dual function: 1) to help the subject to give an order to his thoughts; 2) to objectivate an experience and in the concrete act of pronouncing it to be able to take a distance and reflect on it. What we have described at this point is a natural

mechanism that takes place at personal level. However, since the beginning of their history, media (TV, cinema, radio and more recently videogames) have presented themselves as powerful story-tellers Media produce, share and broadcast stories: it doesn't matter if they are true or simply probable. They are canvas of personal experience toward which activate projective mechanisms. Sometimes, reading or listening a story can activate the projective identification mechanism Morin (1991) studied this phenomenon when it refers to media contents showing how media stories or media characters can stimulate a process of reflection of our lives in theirs. This process can have cathartic or therapeutic effects if the narratives are about controversial or negative experience (such as a loss of a beloved). A rich recent literature shows how games can offer interesting results if used for "serious application" according with the vicarious effect on players Playing a game can be a full experience: at cognitive and emotive level (Karpouzis, Yannakakis, 2016). Even if the debate about the effects of playing a game is open, they agree in confirming the power of game mediation as a protected context in which to experience emotions and experience in a controlled way (Bianchi-Berthoze, Isbiter, 2016). Games were used, for example, in the treatment of severely burned patients in order to control the perception of pain during dressings. This paper aims at proposing a narrative analysis of Lat Day of June, a game that develops the plot around the experience of an important grief: the loss June, wife of the main character. The player's mission is to help Carl in order to retrace June's last moments of life to prevent her death. The game, produced by Ovosonico, was published by Games365 in 2017 (Contin, 2017). What are the emotional and cognitive consequences of playing a game in which the player is forced to deal with emotions such as the suffering of detachment and regret? Last day of June isn't an example of a serious game, however it can have some pedagogical effects teaching the sense of life and the value of letting go. The game is an interesting cross-media and trans-media example: the clip, the game and the soundtrack are held together by a single thread and by the life stories of their authors. Moreover, some narrative choices (such as the almost absence of dialog and the use of intensive images) have a specific role in the plot and affects the perception of the player and his/her immersion in the story. Appling narrative models, the paper offers a point of view on positive effects on mediated and controlled emotional experiences by using a game as a moratory contest.

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OPEN SESSION

Chairs: Alberta Giorgi and Andrea Brighenti

ALGORITHMIC MANAGEMENT AND THE REAPPROPRIATION OF INFRASTRUCTURES. SOME INSIGHTS FROM A MULTI-SITE ETHNOGRAPHY ON PLATFORM LABOUR

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This contribution examines the relationship between digital devices and platform workers in the on-demand economy, presenting the first results from a multi-sited ethnographic research carried out between Buenos Aires and Bologna. In Argentina, I had the opportunity to spend some months in the capital interviewing Uber drivers and then following the ethnographic research online (Kozinets, 2015). In Italy, I spent several months working on Uber Eats and more than a year following rider union activities in Bologna and Turin Digital platforms such as Uber, Glovo or Airbnb – also defined place-based platforms (Woodcock & Graham, 2019) – can be considered as economic and technological infrastructures in urban economics: a particular kind of digital infrastructures of intermediation between supply and demand for specific goods or services. According to the growing literature addressing the relevance of infrastructures in contemporary capitalism (Anand et al, 2018; Borghi, 2019; Easterling, 2016; Graham & Marvin, 2001; Rossiter, 2016; Star, 1999), I argue that platforms share several characteristic and hallmarks with infrastructures (Plantin *et al.*, 2016; Marrone & Peterlongo, 2020). The stacked configuration of data infrastructure in the platform ecosystem allows companies to exert their power over the workforce largely through the control of information (Bratton, 2015; Shapiro, 2017): data collected on the activity of workers and users are processed – at the control layer – and then asymmetrically and arbitrarily presented on the interface (Rosenblat & Stark, 2016; Shapiro, 2018). The private ownership of platform, as well as the centralised and opaque control of data, unlock black-box mechanisms (Pasquale, 2015) and are crucial for being able to organize and discipline workers (Griesbach *et al.*, 2019). First, I will briefly analyse the digitization impacts on platform workers, addressing the issue of opacity of algorithms and the problem of information asymmetries (Rosenblat & Stark, 2016). Both in couriers' apps and Uber Driver app there are several performative and disciplinary effects on workers expressed by the algorithmic use of scores, ranking and data about workers' activity and users' demand (van Doorn, 2017). The use of algorithmic management results in an intensification of labour, it expands the frontiers of surveillance at work and at the same time it shows that the type of relationship established between the platform and the worker – always defined as independent contractor or 'partner' – takes on the characteristics of subordinate work (Kellogg *et al.*, 2020; Wood *et al.*, 2019). Platforms of the gig-economy are therefore the most successful sociotechnical outcome of on-demand capitalism and, more generally, are product of the growing use of tools for remote management and control based on quantified and standardised information in contemporary capitalism (Borghi, 2019; Fourcade & Healy, 2013). Nevertheless, while technology is used by companies to further intensify and subjugate work, on the other hand it also becomes a tool that may meet workers' needs and resistance, showing the ambivalence of technology (Leonardi *et al.*, 2019). The digital re-appropriation of infrastructures in platform work occurs mainly through forms of hacking or sabotage of app functions, or through the counter-use of digital tools and the sharing of tactics between workers. These forms, however, can follow a logic of solidarity and mutual aid between workers, or they can express predatory behaviour of exploitation and profit. Therefore, predatory, clientelistic-mafia actions, and self-interest can easily coexist with forms of refusal of work, collective solidarity, and organised resistance to the precariousness of work For example, both in ride-hailing and food-delivery platforms, workers develop and share tactics (de Certeau, 1981). In Buenos Aires, where Uber ride-hailing service is formally illegal due to a long dispute with the local authorities, Uber drivers challenge the rules of the platform, avoiding paying the fee established by the company and counteracting the use of digital tools to their advantage. In Italy, food-delivery workers use to induce service breakdowns during digital strikes organized by rider unions. There is a lot of research on algorithmic management or on digital control over platform workers, but few studies are beginning to look at platform workers as active subjects capable of challenging the models imposed by the digital architecture of platforms. Social research, as Rossiter (2016) argues, should promote remarks on the reappropriation of infrastructure

and the role of counter-imaginaries in the political geography of data, addressing the question of how to recouple infrastructural design with new forms of collective governance.

EXPLORING THE VISUALITY OF MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES

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Since the so-called migrant/refugee crisis escalated in 2015, we have witnessed a plethora of visual depictions of migration. From the New York Times' Pulitzer Award winning photo montage to local news outlets all over the world covering those in faraway places hoping to get to Europe, the visuality of migration has exploded in the public sphere. This phenomenon engenders many questions for social scientists, such as: How does the public interpret the visuality of migration and engage in meaning-making processes as a result?

In this study, we tackle this question in a country which has not been targeted much by migration studies. The Czech Republic is not a common destination for migrants and refugees, yet the issue figures high on political agendas and among the public. In 2018, it was a major issue in the presidential election, with each candidate striving to show their ability to handle a surge of potential and dangerous newcomers (Jaworsky 2021). Among the public, at the height of the "refugee crisis," almost 90 percent of Czech respondents perceived refugees as a threat to Europe, while approximately 80 percent identified refugees as a threat specifically to Czechia (Hanzlová 2018). By May of 2018, Czechia had accepted just 12 of the 2,691 refugees mandated by the European Union (EU) quota mechanism established in 2015. The European Court of Justice launched hearings on the cases against the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary (McEnchroe 2019) Fears about the potential "thirteenth immigrant" (Junek 2017) continue to reverberate among the Czech public. We conducted qualitative in-depth interviewing among Czech residents in various settings (urban and rural), with different political views and stances toward migration. We combined face-to-face interviews with online interviewing, asking the research partners about their associations with the words "migration," "migrant," "foreigner," and "refugee," their awareness about migration and the visibility of migrants, their personal experiences with migration, and their relationship to media regarding migration issues. At the end of the interview, we conducted photo elicitation and asked a few survey questions.In this article, we present the findings from a cultural-sociological analysis of the photo elicitation.

We presented our research partners with four migration-related photos that had appeared in Czech media, eliciting their opinions and feelings regarding each, posing questions that would stimulate narrativity. The photos depicted 1) a room with Vietnamese women sewing face masks; 2) the rescue of (presumably) African migrants in the Mediterranean; 3) a scene at the Macedonian border, with migrants at a fence; and 4) a group of male Ukrainian migrants waiting for public transport. We followed the principles of "comprehensive interviewing," aiming to reach a better understanding of the research partners' meaning-making processes, offering space for certain level of improvisation (Ferreira 2014). We coded and analyzed the interview data using Atlasti software, to reconstruct the "culture structures" (Rambo and Chan 1990) within the system of meaning "Czech attitudes toward migration".

In our analysis of the narratives about the visuals we presented to our research partners, we focus on capturing and reconstructing meaning-making processes, following a "strong program" cultural-sociological, "meaning first" perspective (Alexander and Smith 2003, Alexander and Smith 2018). A strong program approach sees culture as complex and rich webs of meanings (Geertz 1973) and as deep generative principles orienting and informing visible action (Levi-Strauss 1974). Our goal is to reveal how Czech residents make sense of the phenomenon of migration by drawing symbolic boundaries between themselves and migrants (Rétiová *et al.* 2021).

The analytical lens of symbolic boundaries allows us to reconstruct the ways in which Czech residents draw lines between "us" and "them" Ethnicity and gender are often invoked by the respondents commenting on the photographs, drawing boundaries between legitimate migration and migrants who can fit in and illegitimate migration and migrants whose ability to become one of "us" was questioned In particular, young male migrants were the most contested figures, symbolizing skills and productivity that would qualify them as able to contribute to "our society" but at the same time could have built up the societies they come from. Based on our findings, we conclude that photo-elicitation helps to engender richer narratives

and overcome the staged setting of an interview, allowing the researchers to observe research participants' reactions to the photographs.

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TRANSMEDIATION A/R/T/S: IMAGINATION MEETS INNOVATION ILLUMINATING COMPLEX TEXTS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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Covid-19 shifted life into a tech-driven normal that has forced educators and researchers to adapt in real-time when challenges in education arise. As the world continues to turn amid social distancing measures that prevent us from connecting face to face, academia's need to develop innovative new methods for teaching, learning, and researching complex concepts grows. Transmediation entails bringing meaning from one semiotic system to another, for example, qualitative prose (ie, Poststructuralist theories) transmediated (i.e., transformed) into poetry, visual art, dramatic enactments, abstract narratives, etc.) and is a dynamic tool with benefits in process and product.

The theoretical concepts in qualitative research are often difficult to understand. Transforming concepts written in prose into arts-based representations makes these ideas clearer for the creator of the expression and the viewers who later experience it and use it in exploratory analysis and discourse. This presentation will present examples of student transmediations created to explore. Poststructuralist theories and arts-based methods in qualitative research courses.

Visual art, poetry, script writing, and performance are just a few of the mediums this session's audience will experience as text is transformed into visually stimulating artworks that intrigue and engage the imagination. The theories of Deleuze, Foucault, and Butler come alive through arts-based methodology and illuminative explanation Insight into the power of transmediation for the artist and audience, and the reasons researchers, teachers, and students should incorporate transmediation into their work is revealed through the perspective of an Artist/Researcher/Teacher/Student.

CHALLENGES IN AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN IN TURKEY

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In an ethnographic fieldwork with children and families, building relationships can be demanding for ethnographers as non-family members. Through participant observation, the researchers get being actively observed by the participants as well as they observe the participants The agents therefore take part simultaneously as observers and observes. Considering this constantly inverted interactive nature of researching, reflexivity (Davies, 2015) constitutes a significant aspect of ethnography.

Research in a family context with children may challenge researchers in manifold ways due to the inherent power dynamics within families. Situating themselves within such power asymmetries, the researchers may thus have difficulty in reaching out to children. Literature is abundant on connecting with particularly children, as a marked, yet a mainstream group. For instance, approaching children through a participant observational methodology (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988) may facilitate the researcher's communication with children in many aspects. It may help reduce generational hierarchy and aid in recruiting children as co-producers of the research. Yet, collecting data in a family context that comprises of myriad intersecting social variables can be complex and be considered to remain unmarked.

This paper reflects on several concerns in entering into family settings through an ethnographic fieldwork with children It builds on participant observational data from a research on children's intra-familial privacy in Turkey, consisting of qualitative interviews (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2012) with 33 families (comprising of 11 to 13-year-old children, the parents and siblings, if any) in urban and rural neighborhoods in Eski.ehir, in addition to ethnographic revisits (Burawoy, 2009), throughout a nearly six-month period, followed with another one-month after half-a-year. A major part of sample selection was made with the guidance of middle school teachers. This ensured the participation of families from an array of socio-demographic features (SES, religious tendencies and children's gender etc).

By presenting fieldwork notes and interview excerpts, this paper touches upon the challenges encountered in key four areas: First one concerns the parental presence and intervention during the interview between the researcher-children. Parental gatekeeping was a strong obstacle to hearing children's voices in some families. Secondly, the cultural value attributed to the age gap between the adult researcher and child participants was found to make it harder to reduce power hierarchies. Turkish culture on forms of addressing among younger and elder people (ie younger ones are expected to refer to elder women as elder sister ("abla") etc) led to an inevitable emphasis on authority roles. Thirdly, the researcher's negotiation of her role did not appear convincing for some families. While reaching some families via their children's middle schools facilitated bonding with the researcher in some families, it created an adverse impression to other families about the research. Finally, as the participating family members were from heterogenous sociodemographic background, the ethnographer was challenged with adjusting her role across families throughout the revisits. Working with different families demands being in a constant reflection on the varying contexts and being mindful of the appearances, use of everyday language and gender roles. The paper employs a posthuman approach to observe the relationality amongst the agents involved in an extended fieldwork. By gazing at the network of relationships in its integrity, it draws attention to the intricate relations in power dynamics that are challenging to address in a childhood and family research conducted by an adult researcher.

Keywords: Children, Participant observation, Power relations, Turkey.

DYNAMICS OF URBAN SOCIAL COHESION IN ALBANIA

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Social identity is individual's knowledge that he belongs to a social group It is an important concept in sociology, influencing many aspects of socio-cultural debates and a very fundamental topic in sociological analysis. The concept of identity has been central in the work of classical and modern sociologist, such

as Webber, Simmel, Durkheim, Bauman, Bourdieu and Foucault Within their work, issues of rural, urban, and social identity were seen related with some emotional and value significance to the social group membership. Of particular interest is Foucault's assertion that our identities are not fixed in a traditional sense but mediated by the many various situations we encounter each day.

Today we live in an urban world. As a result urban and local identities are in the core of central social identifications. These rural-urban identifications gather distinct social groups with some emotional and value belongings of the group membership Individuals seek a positive social identity, a positive self-concept based on their membership through social comparisons between their own and other groups.

In the horizontal and vertical life of cities, new problems have arisen as a result of the different construction of traditional and classical relations of the individual with his city. Economic, cultural, social, and demographic phenomena need to be reevaluated sociologically, moving away from the paradigms of urbanization of the limited model of city structure, stemming from the new relations of "new comers" with the "citizens". This article tries to consider the analysis of these relations with the typical features of adaptive skills and the ways of social comportment of the Albanian citizen, who tries to live and adapt in the pluralistic environments of the metropolitan city. Modern and urban Albanian society, rather than becoming more inclusive, reflects a divided society, a split between urban and rural inhabitants, reiterating stereotypes of rural-urban difference.

In the course of standard living, there is a serious danger that the rhetoric of urban chauvinism may become entrenched among new dwellers, reflecting in most urban aspects: morphology of the city, access to work and education and more important, everyday interactions. The study pays intention to understand the dynamics of urban social cohesion and we try to bring a new perspective that focus mainly on the social problems that present the evolution of Albanian urbanity. The social problems of urban society are not only limited to the economic aspect, but also to a deep divide between city habitants and new arrivals in the city.

Modernization in Albania has finally erased the old pattern of cities as purified urban areas, as walls of isolation for the rural population, based on the segregationist mindset that "the peasant never becomes a citizen". Although extreme paradigms of discrimination, segregation, differentiation and discrimination of the rural population have been overcome due to the geographical origin and mentality of rural life, we cannot say that the relationships and interactions between peasants and citizens are harmonious, normal, organic, without discriminatory and quite unaffected by the social prejudices of the past.

If we do a more detailed analysis of the situation of these relationships, it is easily understood that mentalities are still left. They often shrink our optics and sound judgment, especially when judging by the selfishness of the citizen the population arriving in the city. The urban-driven demographic movement in Albania has been the size of a real demographic revolution.

But this does not mean that this process has affected the quality of the indigenous population's relations with the incoming ones. Behind the discriminatory mentality of the villagers, it is disguised as a refractory attitude, influencing the establishment of a silent exclusionary model that is present as a reality in the Albanian city of today.

Urban identity is seen as an achievement to an evaluative-loaded social category, with societal, situational and relational characteristics. Maintaining a balanced perspective towards shared forms of social relations and a solid culture consciousness associated with lifestyles and norms with which the majority of the groups identify is the main social challenge. These identities therefore result from inter-group relations leading to a progressive segmentation on the urban dimension along multiple lines of physical, social, economic, cultural and ethnic nature.

Albanian cities are evolving, expanding, modernizing, but this reality should not be an obstacle from seeing and assessing the quality of life for certain strata and social groups. The forced expansion of cities creates artificial communities that remain with limited opportunities for urban and social integration. Those cities have become social environments that have enveloped the individual with the social weight of strong impressions, the competition for individual success, the great dangers of sudden failure, and the constant uncertainties that these environments produce.

The aim of the study is to understand how groups nowadays, within their particular urban life conditions, foster a culture of collective failure and frustration towards others that contributes to the neglect of the political participation and encourages chauvinism. Additionally, the study focuses on the perspective of the everyday to analyse how inclusive practices and policies can overcome urban fragmentation and anomie and reinforce social cohesion for more than just a livable city.

MATERIAL CULTURE OF TEMPORARY HOUSING: AN ACCESS DOOR TO THE FIELD

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The earthquake that affected the Central Apennine mountain in Italy between 2016 and 2017 is considered one of the gravest socioeconomic disaster in the last few years. Starting from an ongoing field work about temporary housing and emergency policies in Alto Nera (one of the epicenter areas, including the villages of Visso, Ussita and Castelsantangelo sul Nera), the aim of this paper is to analyse how the public space has been experienced. Specifically, this paper wants to examine the links between the actual housing configuration, such as shelters (Soluzioni Abitative di Emergenza), and the temporary structures where one can find services and commercial activities. These kind of emergency solutions have been erected to give a functional place to live for inhabitants of the region until the reconstruction.

The main criticisms detected by inhabitants and scholars concern: the impact of the SAE from the point of view of soil consumption; the choice of steel modules involving a construction system not different from that of the containers; the underestimation of the costs of the necessary urbanization works; the adoption of a single model for the entire territory in the face of different needs and significant territorial specificities and social composition; the lack of precise regulation regarding the phase of removal and disposal of the structures. Furthermore, from a sociological-anthropological point of view on the multiple aspects of living, it has been noted by several voices that the standardized spatial configuration and the almost total absence, in some cases, of meeting areas does not encourage relational dynamics. In the framework of the progressive depopulation of the Marche inland and the bureucratic stalemate surrounding the massive reconstruction process, the livability of the SAE seems to play an important role on the fragmentation and the progressive demeaning of individuals and communities. It is necessary to observe that the unprecedented proximity to which the SAE have in many cases forced the inhabitants has been a stimulus for someone for a renewed care of relations with the territory and with others. The frame which clearly depicts these processes is that of time suspended (tempo sospeso): general deadlock (gridlock), no longer an emergency but not yet reconstruction, not yet a potential. After – seen as a vision of a reconstructed and restored future – but a temporary and dramatically eternal present. At the same time, we must remember that the time suspended is an ideal typical interpretative key that well describes, figuratively, the deadlock condition of those who are systematically excluded from large-scale interests and processes which, far from being suspended, follow also in this context schemes of action that can be framed in the so-called disaster capitalism.

In addition to the analysis of the physical spaces one talked about, it is fundamental looking on the narration that inhabitants give about the situation: how costumes and daily routine did change? What are the subjects of the public discourse? These questions allow to understand how people experienced a deeply modified space since the earthquake and how the changing of social practices is linked to spaces.

In conclusion, one can observe that two issues appear side by side: as first the uncertainty about rebuilding time which weakens the possibility of thinking about future and the agency of inhabitants; secondly the connected issues of the temporalities in post-earthquake and the perspectives of the "permanent emergency", in which existing territorial vulnerabilities are aggravated, and new ones are generated.

MINORITIES SCAPES IN COVID-19 PANDEMIC. DIFFERENCE, CONTROL AND ETHNIC EXCLUSION IN BERLIN AND SEVILLE

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In the European context, one of the most stricken group from the COVID-19 was the migrants' one due to job losses, precarious working conditions in labour market niches where the migrant labour is prevalent, loss of requirements for maintaining residence permits, and lack of access to social assistance and services (European Commission, 2021). However, since the beginning of the pandemic has grown up, political and media representations depict migrants and internal ethnic minorities (e.g., gypsy) as one of the highest risky collectives for the COVID-19 widespread, linking the increase in cases in specific neighbourhoods of

the city with their presence. First, this spatial correlation is explained by the fact that a consistent part of the migrant population tends to live in less expensive and peripheral dense neighbourhoods, often sharing the house for cutting rent cost, especially in the metropolis. Second, migrants are most represented within the essential jobs (care, retail sector, agriculture, industry) which cannot switch to the home-office modality and must move within the city, often on public transport (Wacquant, 2014).

Nevertheless, since the first months of the pandemic, some outbreaks that happened in disadvantaged neighbourhoods have reached the top of the media agenda In the media and public narration, the COVID-19 outbreaks have not been connected to the urban-social condition On the contrary, they have been often linked to non-standard or deviant "cultural attitudes" and "lifestyle" (ABC, 2020), which favoured the contagious On this ground, this narration has directly impacted public administration practices, such as the tightening of surveillance and controls and enforcing lockdowns, to prevent the contagious of the general population. Further, it influences citizens' perception of these groups' social responsibility, putting into question their right to receive social aids as the rest of the population. The production and dissemination of such discourses target both migrant and ethnic minorities shape a narrative frame where the definitions of risk and contagious have effects that are much more complex to analyse.

The tie between the "migrant" category and the idea of contagious is a historical constant within the social construction of the foreigner (external and internal), labelled as a potential importer of illnesses because of the deviant behaviour from the civilness (Colombo, 1999; Dal Lago, 2004, Fassin, 2013). Likewise, on these primitivist/culturalist premises are grounded the cultural racism (Taguief, 1994) Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand how this narration is produced and reproduce and its practical consequence within the current context. In this sense, following the theoretical proposal of A. Appadurai (2003), we consider such discourses and practices as part of the media, ideological and ethnic ""scapes"", the elementary blocks through which the social imagination of reality.

The paper draws from two cases of COVID-19 outbreaks that are thought to be originated in overcrowded religious celebrations in the late spring of 2020. The outbreaks lead to the isolation of blocks of flats in the destitute neighbourhoods of Neukoëln (Berlin, Germany) and the Tres Mil Vivienda (Seville, Spain) where lived mainly Romani migrants (Berlin) and autochtonous gypsies (Seville). The paper proposes a comparative analysis reflecting on the articulation between media, ideological and ethnic "scapes" connecting to the different manifestations of cultural racism in the different contexts. The cases are investigated within the framework of the research project MIGRASCAPES, which aims to analyse with multi-level analysis of the impact of migration and asylum on European values. The empirical data were collected with qualitative technic both off-line and on-line, collecting news on traditional media and Online Social Networks (OSNs), public discourses, interviewing with neighbours and other actors (civil society organization and local government representatives) who lives and produce of self-narrations of the outbreaks, as well as, of the implementation of the restrictive measures (e.g. strict lockdowns) promoted by public administration.

The paper shows that in the Seville case, the explicit racism impulse on traditional media and OSNs (and public discourse?) reproduced the stigma on the gypsies and on this peculiar neighbourhoods, which is considered the most degraded and dangerous of the city. On the other hand, in the Berlin case, the public and media discourse were not explicitly racist, and the public administration show solidarity with the neighbours, however the practice of isolation and contention of the virus (testing, lockdown measures, press conference) denoted differential management of these migrant and internal minorities. Finally, the paper shows as the narrative of contagious and its management is a privileged scope to analyse the reproduction of the structural racism within the society.

POSTER SESSION

ROLE OF A RESEARCHER'S GENDER IN DIFFICULT RESEARCH TOPICS: CHALLENGES AND DILEMMAS BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF RESEARCH ON WOMEN EXPERIENCING STIGMA

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Role of a researcher's gender in difficult research topics – challenges and dilemmas based on the example of research on women experiencing stigma. In our speech we would like to share our experience in conducting research on so-called difficult research topics. These usually include those that are related to traumatic events, stigmatized and excluded social groups, conflicts and suffering experienced by participants. Due to the emotional burden, the research is a challenge for both sides of the interaction. A research participant shows the researcher their difficult everyday life, shares some traumatic experiences and returns to painful memories. In turn, the researcher must find a way to deal with the emotions of the research participants, as well as their own, aroused by the information gathered.

In the case of such a sensitive research situation, an important category that affects relationships in the field is the gender of the researcher. We would like to present its significance at various stages of the research process on the example of two ethnographic projects we carried out in large cities in Poland. The first concerns the stigma experienced by female sex workers and the second the stigma experienced by mothers bringing up children with disabilities. In both cases, the interviewees were women of different ages (similar but also clearly different from those of researchers), with quite difficult financial situation, experiencing various manifestations of social stigma.

In the case of a project regarding women in prostitution, the researcher was a woman. This had a negative impact (to the researcher's surprise) on the possibility of entering the field, but once the research started, it made the talks much easier. At the same time, the common (female) perspective on men (and various life issues) assumed by the participants posed a source of challenges when gathering data. It was also a source of ethical dilemmas about how similar and different the female researcher and the female participants are.

In the second project, the researcher was a man. It is worth noting that in the lives of plenty of participants, men (husbands, partners) were physically or mentally absent. The opportunity to talk openly with the man-researcher and present their perspectives to him was an important reason for agreeing to participate in the study. For the same reasons, conducting interviews required the researcher to be vigilant, delicate and constantly aware of his words and actions.

In the case of both projects we were accompanied by dilemmas concerning how the gender of research participants and researchers affected the collected data: who was the researcher in the eyes of research participants; what was revealed and what was omitted in the interviews because of the researcher's gender; how the researcher played his or her gender at research meetings; how did the experiences related to his or her gender affect the data analysis process. In the speech we will present the difficulties outlined above, as well as the ways in which we dealt with them in the field.

ANALYSIS OF ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF BEDOUIN CHILDREN

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This paper will address forms of presentation of Bedouin children in Palestine, at the turn of the 20th century. The Bedouins were a migrant population from Arabia, Jordan and Egypt, that arrived in Palestine and Sinai largely in the 19th century during the Ottoman rule. The beginning of the British Mandate in Palestine in the early 20th century was characterized by a rise of Western colonialist activity in the Middle East.

The region was a volatile political arena, influenced by conflicting political populations struggling to claim a stake hold over the land. Western Colonial, imperialist claims over the land and the people encouraged gentlemen travelers, pilgrims, painters, missionaries, and explorers to travel to Palestine and to document the Holy land, its sights, landscapes, and its migrant and indigenous populations. Colonialism historically produced social discrimination, it established a hierarchy between peoples, creating terms such as "racial", "ethnic", and "national" (Quijano 2007: 168). The local Arabs and migrant Bedouins, perceived as "ethnic", were photographed as such in their natural environment. Quijano describes the particularity of European colonialism: "The old ideas of superiority of the dominant, and the inferiority of the dominated under European colonialism were mutated in a relationship of biologically and structurally superior and inferior". There was no attempt by Western photographers, who perceived the local population as inferior, to create a clear distinction between the different peoples, in spite of the specific nomadic culture of the Bedouins and the migrant history of the Arab population in Palestine during the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, unknowingly, local Arabs and Bedouins played a part in the visual construction of a picturesque, romantic depiction of a land perceived as a living land of the Bible. People were often presented as staffage in the scenery in the photographs.

The local population was intentionally presented as primitive and backward. Our research has shown that Bedouin children were rarely the focus of the work of these photographers. The number of images of Bedouin children from this period, which appear in online archives and in publications, is scant. Furthermore, the subject of photographs of Bedouin children has not been researched previously.

Analysis of images of Bedouin children shows them appearing in the photographs as part of a family or a tribe rather than standing on their own right. Figure 1 shows a photograph of a mother and baby. Bedouin women rarely exposed their faces to male photographers, for reason of modesty and due to male discrimination and subordination.

The women would not interact with the photographers and were commonly photographed from afar, while working. The child is seen clinging on to the mother, his back to the photographer. It is not clear if the subject of the photograph was the woman, or the woman and child. The child appears to be insignificant. He appears dressed only in a shirt, his bottom is exposed. Documentation in Palestine in the 19th century was largely nurtured by Orientalism. Woodward defines Orientalism as a "biased system of representation that creates an essential patronizing and hierarchical difference between the "Orient" and the "West". This manifested itself visually, in relation to the documentation of Bedouin as being appearing children in the shadow of their parents, rather than objects of their own right, an approach which perpetuated the discriminatory approach to local children. The children were presented as the weakest link in the chain, with no evident distinction between male and female children in their early years.

The definition of childhood culture and expectations in Bedouin culture were that the children accompanied the mothers with their chores. Western photographers would stumble on women at work, with their infants or toddlers, who often appear in these images as filthy and ragged, often barefoot, with disheveled hair. This stood in contrast with styles of portraiture of children common in Western bourgeois society at the time, in which children were dressed for the occasion and photographed in studios. Photography was not common amongst Bedouins at the time, so that

awareness of their appearance, or of Western viewers' gaze was of little consequence to them.

This study will explore how these photographs of Bedouin children, by Western photographers, served as a form of instrumentalization in colonial struggles in the region while exploiting the vulnerability of children to empower Western viewers in their imperialistic aspirations of entitlement in the Middle East. The critical reading of these photographs today, from a post-colonial perspective, will allow the viewer to understand the power of the images created during that era on influencing public opinion regarding the social standing of children in Bedouin society. Our aim is to explore the potential human consequences of these codes of presentation of children and to question what effect they might have had on the children? Can this form of documentation be perceived as an intentional imperialist practice, presenting a visual manifestation of human injustice?

Did these norms of documentation of children affect the attitude of Western viewers towards the children? Did the photographs impact any lingering forms of authority that prevailed in Israeli society during later years?

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"WHO ARE YOU AND WHERE DO YOU BELONG?": QUEER REFLEXIVITY IN QUALITATIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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When I was conducting the first step of the participants' recruitment process for my research, I immediately had to deal with a first, unexpected, "external factor" to manage: one of the people interested in taking part in the research contacted me in order to know some specific characteristics of my identity, such as my age, sexual orientation, and where did I belong in terms of activist background. At that time, I didn't realize how powerful that situation potentially was, as it represented the beginning of a deep transformation involving several aspects of my personal and academic identity.

My research project concerns people aged 60 or more who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, or non-heterosexual (LGBQ+), and involves a mixed-method design that use both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Using an in-depth semi-structured interview (Frost et al., 2019), I try to elicit participants' memories of meaningful life experiences, as well as their current opinions and feelings concerning the cultural context they live in, and I ask them to define the different aspects describing who they are, namely their social identities.

I gradually realized that the function of the interviews was not limited to provide a report of participants' life experiences, rather they had the potential to augment experiences, alter meanings, and produce change in both the researched and the researcher (Beer, 1997). I therefore started to reflect on my position in the research field: my identity, or rather identities, significantly determined several aspects of the research process, from gaining access to the population to the quality of the content generated through the interview process (Rooke, 2009).

As a female-born non-binary (NB) researcher who deals with Italian LGBQ+ older people, I experienced several ways in which my gender identity was involved during the research. For sure, as a primary source of contact and confidence with participants: indeed, older LGBQ+ people are – understandably – often reluctant to talk about the intimate aspects of their life and identity and it is a common struggle for researchers in this field to reach this population. It was common for me – while dealing with the participants in my research – to be perceived as a young lesbian woman – which actually was my main sexual identification for a long time – and to consequently find a personal connection through this kind of channel. The role of gender in my case tended to blend with sexual orientation, making impossible to split these two aspects. This represented a particular struggle for me as I wondered whether to come out as NB or not, finally deciding to do so only when I felt comfortable and/or when I perceived the coming out could enrich the conversation.

Consequently, I started to consider also the "external aspects" – feelings, impressions, participants' actions, etc. v rather than only the transcript of the interview as important source of data for my research. Adopting the concepts of reflexivity (Wilkinson, 1988) and positionality (England, 1994), I could rigorously evaluate how intersubjective elements influence data collection and analysis procedures (Finlay, 2002). Indeed, engaging in self-reflexivity allows to reflect upon the impact of social identities – e.g. gender, race/ethnicity, age, ability, sexuality and socio-economic class – of both researcher and researched, to take into account insights, and to embrace new research questions (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

McDonald (2013) introduced the concept of queer reflexivity, by providing a theoretical and methodological approach for researchers to consider their own sexual subjectivity, including the multiple and mutable identities of the self. I identified three main identities as particularly salient with regard to the interactive process occurring between me and participants: (1) the non-binary queer identity, that is to be seen mainly as a non-heterosexual person, closer to lesbian women's experiences as well as sensitive to gay men identity; (2) to be seen as young, and then to represent a different generation of the same community; (3) having an activist background, and therefore feeling closer to those participants with a similar history of struggles.

Queer reflexivity was particularly suitable for my purpose, since allows to understand "how the acts of disclosing and hiding certain aspects of identities impact the research process, the data collected, and the power dynamics between researchers and participants" (McDonald, 2013, p. 133) and to evaluate how the social identities of my position as researcher have changed over time, both prior to and during the fieldwork. Through queer reflexivity, for instance, I recognized how my experience on the research field changed, switching from initial attempts of representing "objectivity" by wearing an academic armor during fieldwork (Lerum, 2001), to the acknowledgment of my personal involvement in conducting the research with the consequent recognition of reflexivity as a potential rigorous method, rather than a source of bias. I also used this lens to examine why strong personal connections emerged with some participants compared to others, as well as the consequences of this (lack of) connection in terms of quality of the emerging content during the interviews (Wertz, 1984).

This contribution is positioned within a research methodology focused on the role of the researcher in the process of construction of his/her/their research object. Through this presentation I would like to discuss the way in which (perceived) gender identity potentially influences the research, but also how the research can impact the researcher's identity transformation processes. Research is here conceived as a process and not just a product: "research as an ongoing, intersubjective (or more broadly, a dialogic) activity" (England, 1994, p. 244).

REFLECTIONS OF THE HISTORICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF POST-68 SOCIAL FEMINISM AND HOMOSEXUALITY STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

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Historical ethnography (Masclet, 2014) is a research method developed and theorized in particular in the field of studies of historical social movements, highlighting the importance of historical sources of stories and memory in the context study of the invisibilised struggles at political, social and academic level (Masclet, 2014; Eloit, 2018). This method can be defined as an immersion within historical social groups through an archival work (textual, photographic and videographic documentary sources from public and private archives), a tracing of former militants, then the realization of biographics interviews and life stories.

We are inspired, firstly, from studies carried out on militant commitments in regional metropolises (Fillieule et al. 2018; Masclet, 2017), which are participating in a movement to decentralize Parisian history. Secondly, we are inspired from historical ethnographic approaches that promote a renewal of the voice of actors. Our investigation relates to the bonds of solidarity and the intersection of militant groups of feminist and homosexual movements of the 1970-1980 years in France. To conduct this study, we chose two comparative study cases : Rennes and Paris cities. We carried out a historical ethnography on 4 associations in Rennes and 5 Parisian associations. Based on life stories and biography, we show that militant groups implemented strong solidarities between feminist demands and claims of sexual diversity. The influence of gender or sexuality in different areas of life of all respondents is similar.

Theoretical developments stemming from field work, this communication aims to reflect on the epistemological advantages and political and militant implications of the historical ethnographic method of studying social movements from a gender and sexuality perspective.

1. The epistemological advantages of the historical ethnographic approach to study feminist and homosexual movements and the complexity of the history of post-68 social struggles: Ethnographic methods are increasingly used in the field of social movements and gender studies (in connection with the commemorations of the fiftieth anniversary of May-68, the women's liberation movement and the Stonewall events). The objective is to contribute to the development of knowledge with these social groups and integrating criticisms made against the methods of ethnography (colonialist and elitist relationship). These studies promote new archival and memory sources that are interested in ordinary actors of social movements. This work of memorial collection is important because the generation of these actors of the 1970-1980 years is aging. This attention paid to gender and sexuality leads to a revival of analysis concerning post-68 struggles (Fillieule, Masclet, 2013).

This renewed interest in oral and memory sources to study social movements lets think the epistemological advantages of ethnographic approach for writing a history of feminist and LGBT groups : access to life stories of ordinary people who have acted to change society; diversity of socio-demographic profiles; analysis of the influence of their biography on their militant action and conversely of their militant action on their other social activities; analysis of the extent of the influence of gender and sexuality in life stories.

2. How to study gender and sexualities in historical ethnographic approaches: considerations and limits. Studying feminist and LGBT groups requires a particular approach with a great knowledge of feminist and LGBT cultures, terminology, theories and current political issues to start the exchanges and gain trust that is necessary for working with minority and discriminated groups. Ethical considerations must be taken into account (avoid promoting prejudices and using terms which open the way to hate speech ; respect the confidentiality of people's private lives). Proximity of gender and sexuality with the respondents is a major asset for making contact. An activist posture is necessary to conduct studies about poeple's intimate sexual life and which could harm them according to their interlocutors.

The whole investigation process is turned upside down: making contact is much longer; an inter-knowledge phase is necessary to obtain real confidence and detailed data. A relationship of more dialogue is implemented in which the researcher also becomes subject to the questions of the respondents and must open up to her own experiences and her intimacy (different facets of the researcher's identity or beliefs can create proximity or distancing relationships with respondents). 3. How to do ethnographic surveys differently taking into account gender and sexualities: militant posture and contribution to history of one's own community.

The objective of the study conducted was part of the recent development of militant research and the development of points of view epistemologies (Quéré, 2018; Eloit, 2018). To conduct the field investigation, and get out of a vision of marginalized groups and a hierarchical relationship with the researcher, we developed a method of investigation that was carried out with activists. This consisted of back-and-forth between the field and the analysis, re-readings of transcripts interviewed by the activists, an importante place given to their own vision of facts and their biographical narrative. Then we asked ourselves questions of what it implies to adopt a posture of militant researcher who studies historical circles of militancy : How to promote research about militant groups that do not tend to marginalize them further? How to conduct research with the groups studied and promote their words and knowledge?

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SLOT MACHINES: OBJECTS, TOYS AND RELATIONS FOR DIGITAL CULTURE

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I present an analysis following a fieldwork carried out in some slot halls in two provinces in northern Piedmont. I conducted a research through observation within these shops dedicated to gambling thanks to the agreement of the managers who allowed me to access the halls without the obligation to play with the electronic devices.

Starting from the reading of the work of Natasha Dow Schull (2012) who takes gambling into consideration from the point of view of the producers companies, in my field notes the architectural features of the slot rooms are highlighted, both in terms of space organization and regarding the design details of the "machines".

I therefore realized an ethnography that describes the objects present in the gambling spaces of the so-called "entertainment devices". At the heart of this reconstruction there are the slots, with their screens, buttons, lights and sounds. But also a series of furnishing accessories that characterize the halls, such as stools (which sometimes can have the shape of real armchairs), specific place cards, ashtrays, change machines and the money itself (which is transformed into a specific material form in this context, the so-called "ticket").

The attention paid to the material aspect of electronic devices also derives from reflections relating to the concept of gaming itself. As many authors have argued (among which Huizinga, Caillois, Bateson) there are connections between play and social organization. So how can we not think that the attraction of the players for screens and keyboards has nothing to do with the familiarity that these material forms have with our daily lives? Considering the slot machine as an "object to play" it is possible to associate it with the definition of toy, and following the suggestions of Roger Pinon "a toy must be analyzed on the basis of its material, its shape or the scientific principles it implements, the psychological needs that it meets and the educational use that can be made of it, the ethnic characteristics it manifests, its antiquity and its diffusion, the social strata in which it penetrates and settles, also based on its aesthetic qualities and games which acts as a support". (Pinon 1967)

From a technological point of view, toys reproduce existing technological types, but reinterpreting them to meet different needs. Even in the case of slot machines it is easy to trace the imitative aspect of a serious reality; it is a toy that, like all the others, seems a simplification, a miniaturization or a giganticization of reality.

Since the toy is both a search for realism and a symbolic simplification, the slot machine can be useful in explaining how the human-machine relationship is an emblem of our time. Each game constitutes a sort of microculture with its standards, its rules, its objectives, its social networks, its rules of interaction between human actors. Slot machines mix the functionality of video games with elements of the world of fate. As for the video game side, Thierry Wendling's work is full of solicitations and allowed me to trace similarities between the two areas (Wendling 2006).

Other implications are suggested by studies such as that of Roberte Hamayon which connects the movements of the game with the activities envisaged by the social organization. If in the Siberian culture of the Buryat people the hopping game can evoke the movements useful in hunting actions (Hamayon 2012), we can assume that the movement of the hands on the buttons of the slots can be traced back to the centrality of this competence in digital culture.

A further aspect is that of the agency of objects, which in the case of gambling is manifested in the ability of machines to represent the will of fate, of chance. An emblematic example collected during an interview is that of a player who speaks to the slot machine using the expression "electronic person" and giving me an explanation for this interpretation of his relationship with the machine: "you feed it and it speaks to you, that's why I tell you that it is a person, because it speaks to you. How does it talk to you? Every now and then it gives you a few € 2, every now and then it doesn't

give you anything, every now and then it gives you the bonus... it talks to you". The relationship between man and machine is evident in the slot halls.

In this paper, therefore, I propose to consider slot machines gambling from the point of view of material culture. The electronic object becomes a bridge between material culture and digital culture. As Daniel Miller writes: "the digital, as all material culture, is becoming a constitutive part of what makes us human" (Miller 2013).