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For more information, or to become a member of the CUA, please visit: <http://urban.anthroweb.net>

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A Welcome Letter from the Chair – Why the CUA Journal, *Urbanities*

The project of establishing a journal of the Commission on Urban Anthropology was discussed at the CUA Business Meeting during the Commission's 2010 Annual Conference in Gioiosa Marea, Sicily. Senior scholars who attended that meeting paid tribute to the CUA's many accomplishments; among them, the expansion of the international network of scholars actively engaged in urban research, the publication of the Newsletter – later replaced by the Bulletin – the establishment of the website, the successful Conferences and Symposia, some resulting in the publication of edited volumes, and the many academic events to which the CUA, or its members, had contributed. It was also felt, however, that the Commission could do more to bring out the relevance of urban research to the discipline as a whole, as well as to the broader society. Italo Pardo suggested the establishment of an 'interactive' Journal; that is, an academic peer-reviewed journal organized in such a way as to offer both a forum for analysis and debate among young and established scholars and a platform for anthropologists to communicate and share their research findings with the general public, particularly with professionals who operate outside academia and are involved in key decision-making processes that directly affect people's lives. The Journal would, therefore, carry short articles and other contributions in order to explore new trends in urban anthropology, thus promoting critical scholarship in international anthropology while highlighting the relevance of anthropological urban research in understanding the social, cultural, political, economic and environmental changes of today's world.

The suggestion was enthusiastically received by the meeting, though all were well aware that establishing a journal raised many practical issues with which the Commission had to cope. As Jonathan Parry pointed out, the CUA did not have a budget. Having the CUA no paid membership, all its initiatives have been made possible by the active involvement of its members in seeking funds, particularly for the organization of conferences and seminars. Joan Weibel Orlando suggested that the Journal could be on-line, at least at an initial stage. The pros and cons, and the actual implementation of the project, were carefully discussed, and useful suggestions were made about international scholars who might be interested in joining the Journal's Scientific Committee. It was also agreed that Ilka Thiessen – who had efficiently edited the CUA's Bulletin over the past two years – should be asked to take up the Editorship of the Journal. We left with the feeling that establishing such a Journal would not be easy, but could be done.

Ilka Thiessen was both enthusiastic about the new Journal and somewhat timid about serving as its Editor; the professional quality of the first issue testifies to the fact that such timidity was wholly unjustified. Dr Thiessen suggested the title *Urbanities*, which was later adopted for the Journal.

Urbanities' cover image intends to convey an informed positive message; it is a modern, multifaceted cityscape dominated by an enlightening sun – reproduced from a bronze sculpture by Lello Esposito. The centre of this sun is an egg, representing fertility, rebirth and, of course, knowledge.

Following several discussions and proposals, an agreement was reached with *Il Denaro Group*, an independent Publishing Company based in Italy that, among other initiatives, promotes non-profit the pursuit of cultural and economic development goals. Their technical team have efficiently designed the website and the format of the Journal. We owe them a debt of gratitude.

I would like to acknowledge the engaged collaboration of the CUA members who have contributed their ideas and suggestions, of the many colleagues who have supported us in this endeavour both joining the Scientific Committee and in other, complex ways and of all the people who have freely given their time and expertise to help bring this project to life.

I wish *Urbanities* well in developing as a forum for intellectual debate and the exchange of ideas, and as a useful research tool. I hope that the international community of scholars engaged in urban anthropological research will support this endeavour.

Giuliana B. Prato

Chair, IUAES Commission on Urban Anthropology

Editorial

Inaugural Issue: Urbanities 1

In recent years urbanity as a concept has gained vigour, importance and interest, moving away from locality as a fixed place of identity. Social scientists have analysed urban localities as places of strife, destruction of social relations and isolation, or as melting pots of different cultures. For the most part, however, anthropologists shied away from such localities and urban issues, regarding them as the traditional field of sociology. Anthropologists were to focus their efforts on the exotic, the ‘unknown’. When I first suggested, in my Ph.D. proposal, to study the life of a small group of female electrical engineers in the city of Skopje, Maurice Bloch, the head of my anthropology department at LSE, bluntly said to me that a city, particularly a Western city, was not a place where anthropologists did research; it was the prerogative of sociology.

Anthropology, with its emphasis on long-term qualitative ethnographic field research, could only be practised in small, circumscribed places: that is, villages or tribal societies. It was only with the support of Peter Loizos that I was allowed to go and carry out fieldwork in Macedonia. He was interested in social change and international development and looked at dislocation and political uncertainty, studying how his informants drew on their experience of war strategies in developing their political and social relations. In my research I looked particularly at how individual actors moved from a Yugoslavian identity to a new identity in the Republic of Macedonia. I chose to apply participant observation as my main research method, which turned out to be both possible and very useful, even in the multifaceted scenario of an urban setting such as Skopje. My approach privileged qualitative as opposed to quantitative data, looking at the interactions between social actors and the broader context of the Yugoslav War and the establishment of the EU Maastricht Treaty in 1993. I was able to bring out the multitude of economic, political and cultural connections my informants built around themselves and to study how their lives were contextualized in the dynamic of war and in the creation of a nation-state ideology. While my informants stressed their urbanity and EU identity, they now lived in a newly established country where national processes drew on the rural and ethnic elements to create a Nation-State based on a grand historical rural past; at the same time resenting the EU, and especially its acceptance of Greece’s opposition to recognizing Macedonia’s national identity in the EU. Today an ever-increasing number of holistic ethnographic studies are carried out in

European cities using participant-observation and the collection of case material. In *British Social Anthropology*, this trend was pioneered by Italo Pardo's seminal work in Naples in the mid-1980s.

The difficulties in identifying and delimiting the field of study in the city lies at the heart of the discomfort some anthropologists continue to feel with urban research. *Urbanities* will endeavour to address such difficulties and their implications with the aim of making anthropology more comfortable with research not on 'the city,' but in 'the city,' envisaging urbanity as a concept that engenders meaning well beyond the mere definition of space as expressed by borders on a map. Urban space might create meaning for our informants; however, as the articles in this journal show, such a meaning is not necessarily bound to specific spaces and activities. As a concept, urbanity suggests distinctive means to express and give form to expectations and needs that are shared anywhere in our global world, in New York as in Brasilia, in Skopje as amongst the Merina of Madagascar.

Urbanities invites authors to engage with the concept of urbanity to demonstrate the relationship between micro- and macro-level processes that link individual and collective agency to the broader social system. The contributions that we seek should, therefore, contextualize social agency, urbanity and history.

This Journal is not interested in categorical assumptions, or in looking at changes associated with globalization and democratization through a dualistic and moralistic stance – the urban standing for the familiar, exploitation and colonization; the rural for the exotic and the purity of an untainted past. *Urbanities* encourages, instead, a more differentiated approach. The contributors to this first issue recognise the complex ways in which urban life is transformed and that such changes are not necessarily specific to given localities or to ideas of the exotic in the familiar versus the familiar in the exotic. Locality has long been recognized as a contentious concept in anthropology; the focus on urbanity highlights the tangled, unstable, shifting and all-too-often impromptu dynamics of power, as opposed to casting power and people as fixed in one location. We can find the rural in the urban and the urban in rural locations. Is the distinction between the rural and the urban still sustainable? Is the distinction between the exotic and the familiar still useful? Do we not, perhaps, need to try to reach much further than what we have been taught to see as the city proper, recognizing that urban life is not, nor can it be seen or portrayed as fixed into a location, that it can be virtual space, sometimes even without a place?

We need to take into account that urban life can be found in the virtual world of avatars, Wikipedia and YouTube, as Lesley Braun so graphically show in this issue. These reflections bring our analysis very far away from the diverse anthropological interest in urban research initially stimulated by the Chicago and Manchester Schools, or in the opposition originally expounded by mainstream British anthropologists.

Urbanities' objective is to step away from such straitjackets. Instead, we need to ask such questions as, for example, does inequality of globalisation reinforce the interdependence of rural and urban communities? Since anthropologists will be reluctant to give up the strict micro-demarcation of the 'people' whom they study, which is distinctive of research in 'developed' societies, *Urbanities* may play a leading role in understanding 'the urban' as a field for the detailed ethnographic study of critical, and often ignored, aspects of our 21st century world. *Urbanities* will encourage reflection on the vantage point that Urban Anthropology can provide in understanding the complexity of today's, greatly and ever increasingly urbanized, world.

There are questions that urban anthropology needs to address. Can we define urbanity if we include virtual space in our definition? Is the city always, or merely, a place of oppression, neglect and misery, a world of corruption and endless consumerism? Can it, instead, be something marvellous, beautiful, despite pollution, urban sprawl and the deterioration of the built environment? The bizarre and the mundane, the mystical and the corrupt can be found in any form of associated life; none is idiosyncratically urban.

The entwinement of past and present rural-urban and urban-rural migrations linked to changes associated with globalization and democratization has reinforced the interdependence of rural and urban communities. This Journal will encourage reflection on the spatial multiplicity of urbanity as a way to approach difference and power. The articles published in this issue take on such a theoretical challenge discussing, among other things, website broadcasting and transnational complicities and conspiracies. Ruffo's article on the Murdoch affair has been included, as a special contribution by a non-anthropologist, because it addresses this complex issues in the media, a problem all anthropologists face in the preparation and execution of their field research and in writing up their material. Ruffo's article eminently helps to point out the intertwinement of academic study and the professional world, a key element in researching and discussing urbanity.

The notion of land as a means to ensure solidity, as found in traditional anthropological

theory on rural or small-scale societies is a theory that *Urbanities* will question. Bardhoshi's article encourage the reader to reflect on the creation of informal areas in the quest to secure legitimacy, which does not suggest fluidity versus solidity, but solid fluidity or the fluid solidity of space. Bardhoshi points out that the state no longer seems to be seen as a 'reified' power but as a solid human with a face and a name. As I have mentioned, Braun's article looks at the 'YouTube phenomenon' and at the possibility that it offers to embody urbanism in the most remote places. Lindsey's article looks at a phenomenon that he calls 'Olympicisation', offering an examination of the social implications of an Olympic-related urban regeneration. He argues that the Olympicisation of space focuses upon transforming and, subsequently, controlling a city. Lindsey contends that Olympicisation needed community solidification during the bidding phase and then required the dismantling of such a community during the delivery phase. In her research report, Petronoti views transnational migration as instrumental in understanding the creation of a Greek national identity based on the ideal of a solid and local Western lifestyle. Torsello helps us to understand transnational institutions, such as the EU, and environmental organisations and their interaction with local people and space. He addresses the challenges faced by the sovereignty of the state's policy-making and development plans under the broader influences of neoliberal capitalism and global governance. He demonstrates how these influences, via direct political intervention, lead to a decreasing mobilisation from below, which is often characterized by personalised and informal strategies and by the transposition of public and private interests. These contributions indicate progress in the study of urbanities, at the same time raising question whether the urban-rural differentiation is more apparent than real, amongst many other very current under-theorised and under-portrayed nodes of action. These concerns point to intensifying disagreements about the utility of 'the urban' as a concept. The contributors offer a variety of refreshing views which invites debate. Some seem prepared to discard 'the urban' as an analytical notion, while others try to pin down the paradigm of urbanity and inequality.

The current challenge to anthropology and its holistic claim is to develop an understanding of the macro processes that mark the context in which people live and operate according to different but distinct micro processes. As Touval shows, a direct path to such an understanding is to seek out the connecting links, real and symbolic, among the various aspects of the urban system. I would advocate an analysis of symbols and actions that addresses the ways in which they are used to separate or join individuals and groups. Petronoti alludes to these issues in her

contribution. The point of departure for *Urbanities* is to acknowledge the multidimensional character of urban life. One issue that requires debate is the urbanity of the anthropologists themselves. I think it can be said that anthropologists introduce urbanity into the localities where they carry out their research. We, as anthropologists, have come a long way from the idea of an objective representation of the life 'they' live, widely acknowledging that our research is based on the social encounters we have in 'other' spaces. We recognize that our research is subjective, and that it is influenced by our own urbanity. The question is how can we acknowledge this in our research?

We invite researchers to address the issue of urbanities as well as to acknowledge and reflect on urbanities as they exist and are represented, in the fieldwork site and by the researchers themselves.

Through field research, anthropologists acquire specific knowledge of the world of their informants. We need to draw lessons from such knowledge, which should be reflected in the critical analyses that we develop. The emphasis should always be on combining critical theory with sound ethnographic evidence from the urbanities that we enter, live in and re-enter.

Urbanities will offer a platform for intellectual discussion and exchange of new ideas, as they are developed through the work of junior and established anthropologists, as well as through doctoral research, letters and comments. This Journal will endeavour to help to secure urbanity as a field of anthropological investigation. I hope that *Urbanities* will serve anthropology as a generator of in-depth, informed knowledge and stimulating thinking.

Ilka Thiessen, Editor

Announcement from the Editor

The first issue of *Urbanities* is being published too close to the established deadlines. Therefore, it has been agreed to extend the next deadline for major contributions, such as articles and review articles, to 30th January 2012. Other contributions should be submitted by 30th March 2012.

*An Ethnography of Land Market in Albania's Post-Socialist Informal Areas.*¹

Nebi Bardhoshi

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This article analyses the creation of informal areas at the periphery of Tirana, Albania's capital city. I argue that these urban informal areas are sites of fluid uncertainties and appear to be the product of people's distrust of the state law. In post-Socialist Albania, the land market has operated in a 'legal vacuum' and has acquired legitimacy by drawing on a system that has enabled the circulation of property as capital through adaptations of the local tradition of customary law. In such a situation, while national processes may follow a neoliberal approach, what occurs at the micro level would be more appropriately described as a 'kanunisation of the free market'.

Key words: Albania, land market, informal areas, legitimacy.

Introduction

In its commonly accepted logic, neo-liberalism regards market exchange as an expression of *individual freedom* to satisfy rationally given needs through selling and buying any kind of commodity, from land to human labour. Referring to Hungary, Chris Hann has argued that the process of de-collectivization in post-socialist settings brings out a number of competing perspectives on the notion of property, especially the way in which people operate, manoeuvre and use competing ideologies in order to legitimize their claims on land property (Hann 1993: 299-320; see also Scott 1998). The complexity and fluidity of post-socialist realities suggests that there are no durable certainties. In such a scenario, the notion of land *as subject of position* plays an important role in people's lives as a mean to ensure solidity against the uncertain future (Verdery 1996: 135).

Although the market of land in post-socialist Albanian is supposed to be open to the international one, it seems that foreigner buyers are not only restricted by the '*ethno-cratic*' legal logic (see Verdery 1998) but also by the rules set by the *Kanun* law on land. In broad agreement with the suggestion that in a 'mobile world' people deal with a very dynamic and plural legal set up (see Benda-Beckmann F., Benda Beckmann K. & Griffiths 2004: 6, 7, 10), the following ethnography shows how a contemporary version of Kanun law has shaped the land market

¹ I would like to thank Giuliana Prato (University of Kent, UK) and Olsi Lelaj (Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies, Albania) for their valuable comments and for helping with editing the English.

in post-Socialist Albania's informal areas. The Kanun law is a kind of customary law, a non-state law. Roughly speaking, all matters solved through the Kanun are legally unacceptable and thus illegitimate for the Albanian state (Bardhoshi, forthcoming). The Kanun law possesses all the characteristic of Khnotic Law as described by Glodsmith and Patrick Glenn (2007).

This article is based on ethnographic research carried out in Albania's urban informal areas, which developed as a consequence of internal migration. Most of the people living in these areas are originally from the North-East; a region that was considered a 'Kanun area' even during communism (Bardhoshi 2009, 2010a). The creation of informal areas appears to be connected to the political élites' continuing quest to secure legitimacy. However, in terms of formal market they can be seen as 'dead capital' (de Soto 2000), because they have no legal back up. As we shall see, the ethnography tells a different story.



Map of Tirana, showing the informal areas.

The land market has operated in a 'legal vacuum'. It has drawn on a system that enabled the circulation of property as capital through adaptations of the local tradition of the Kanun to the new socio-economic and political environment of post-socialism. The *Kanun legal system*

legitimizes actions on the basis of *the ideology of blood relationships*, including economic transactions relating to property.

Towards an ethnography of land market in Albania

According to official statistics, in Albania 6 out of 7 buildings are constructed without formal permission from state authorities. These buildings are located in the informal areas that sprung all over the country during the first years of the post-socialist period.



Uniformity between houses: a sign of equality and solidarity between brothers.

Alia observes that ‘Over 350 thousand Albanian families, or at least 50% of country’s population possess in a way or another extralegal asset, and almost 80% of all business companies are in nature partially extralegal’ (Alia 2008: 230).

The expression ‘informal area’ has emerged as an official legal category in late post-socialist Albania (See Law No. 9482/03.04.2006). These areas have all the characteristics of the informal settlements created throughout Eastern Europe after socialism (Tsenkova 2009: 1-23). They emerged following the internal migration of people who were escaping poverty and hoped to find a better life in the big cities. There have been several waves of migration, two of which were major and are particularly significant in post-socialist Albania. The first big wave took place in 1992, when the political opposition first rose to power; that political leadership originated from the Northern areas of the country. The second big wave of migration toward the cities took place in 1997, coinciding with the failure of the Albanian state and the Democratic

Party (DP) leadership to run the country following the collapse of the pyramid schemes and the subsequent violence that pushed the country to the edge of civil war. Elections were held and a new government was formed by a coalition led by the Socialist Party (SP), whose leadership mainly originated from Southern Albania. What unites these important moments of Albania's recent history is that in both cases different politicians resorted to the mechanism of *exchanging land rights* for votes; in order to consolidate their political legitimacy in ruling the country, they allowed people to settle in the fields of the former state socialist farms.

Ordinary Albanians widely believe that the land of the former state farms has been occupied by the newcomers. Such belief is partially true, as in the cases when 'the law of the strongest' has prevailed in occupying the land. In many cases, however, the occupiers were representatives of the former state farms, who seized the land and then sold it to new comers. In doing so they used their power and knowledge of the legal status of the land, benefiting at the same time from a lack of sanction from state institutions. For example, while he was in office, the former chairman of a commune sold almost all the land of the state farm under his jurisdiction to the new comers in the early 1990s. Before becoming chairman of the commune, this man was the director of that specific state farm; now that land is called 'informal area 52'. It has also often happened that the same plot of land has been sold to several people. Sometimes politically connected individuals who lived in the neighbourhoods near the former state farms occupied the land and bullied the new comers to buy the land from them. They used their political connections as a protection mechanism or as a guarantee for the transactions. Inevitably, the widespread use of political connections has strongly influenced the public image of the state, which has become especially evident in the processes of negotiation and delegitimization of state law. The 'privatisation' and use of the state's public power for personal interest by politically well-connected individuals seems to be symptomatic of Albania's post-socialist society. The state seems to be no longer a 'reified' power; it has become human with a face and a name. Often, these politically well-connected individuals are identified by their community with the state and the law. They are addressed in the street with phrases like 'you are the state' (*ti je shtet*) or 'you are the law' (*ti je ligji*).



Main square of Kamza Town, representing the etalon of the informal area.

Many people whom I have interviewed on the issue of land transactions possess a hand-written document which includes details of the land that has been purchased, the position and size of the land in square meters, the property's borders and the name of the seller. In several instances these documents include also the names of state representatives, for example the name of the Reeve (*kryplaku*),² or of the chairman of the commune. Sometimes, these documents clearly state that the transaction was done in the presence of officials. In a number of cases the transaction occurred and was signed in the offices of state institutions. Nevertheless, a good number of transactions, particularly during the first phase of migration, were based on verbal contracts stipulated in the presence of witnesses and carried out in public spaces, such as coffee houses. In most cases, the buyer asked the seller to guarantee that the land *was state property and that it did not have any other owner besides the state*. Beyond that, to buy a land that had a prior owner was not considered wise because this would inevitably generate future conflicts of ownership. It seems that people believed that in the near future the state would, in one way or another, recognize their right of ownership. According to an Albanian proverb, the 'State will never be old', meaning that the state will never die. This belief has been endorsed by the promises regularly made by both right- and left-wing parties at electoral times (de Waal 2005).

² The Albanian word *kryplaku* means 'chairman of the village'; literally, this word could be translated into English as the 'elder'. In this case, however, it is used in accordance to the meaning provided by state law, that is, to indicate a local government institution.

The above processes are not exactly in tune with the Kanun and, therefore, with traditional land transactions as they, for example, take place in the villages. According to the *Kanun*, the act of land selling is very much part of a kind of social continuity, as defined by Gluckman (1965: 115, 116.). ‘Ideal types’ of *Kanun land transactions* could be briefly described as follow: 1) The land to be sold should be offered first to patrilineal close kin; 2) If none of the patrilineal kin wants to buy the land, or is unable to buy it, then the offer should be made to the neighbour whose property borders the land: thus, from *jus sanguinis* to *jus vicinities*; 3) If the neighbour is unable or does not want to buy the land, efforts are made to find a buyer within the village, thus preventing the land being sold to someone from outside the village. Both the land market and the distribution of immobile wealth and livestock are controlled by patrilineal males (de Vaal 2005).

The newly formed neighbourhoods of the informal areas appear to have ‘inherited’ some of the traditional relationships commonly found in the villages of origin of the new urban settlers. This does not mean that the new settlers reproduced in exactly the same way the social and economic life of their villages (see Prato 2011 on avoiding cultural determinism, p.135-36); of course there are important changes that need to be mentioned. First, in the new settlements exogamic rules of marriage are less relevant; second, there is not communal property; third, and most significantly, although a good part of the settled families are linked by blood, the new neighbourhoods are not patrilocal. The new social environment displays new forms of vicinities, where the new neighbours might be brother and sister, brothers-in-law or father-in-law and son-in-law. The traditional organization of the village was not based on this kind of relationship; neighbourhoods were patrilineal and patrilocal.

The changing significance of blood relations in the informal areas

The settlers in the informal areas have a distinguishing relationship with the land. First, many did not give up their land in their villages of origin. It is worth noting that, in some cases - like in the case of the Brut village in the Has region (Northeast of Albania) – the village as a whole no longer existed or its borders may have shifted.³ Even in such extreme situations, however, the

³ This process may be due to various reasons, which would need a separate article to be properly explained.

settlers retained ownership not only over their land but also over the village's communal land. Second, in the city, the newcomers have created new socio-economic relations through which new conceptual maps on 'property' have been elaborated and which are defined by the reality of the so-called *informal areas*. The new urban dynamics can be explained by the way in which a family gained *de facto* the property in the informal area, which in turn is very much related to the history of how that family came to establish itself in that specific informal area (for further details, see Bardhoshi, 2010b). It is important to note that this new 'conceptual map' continues to stress the relevance of blood relations. This deserves some explanation.

When selling a property in the informal area, usually a first offer is made to the neighbour. It is often the case that the neighbour is also related to the seller by blood. In this new context, a 'reformulated' *morality* of exchange still obliges the seller to make the first offer to the person with whom he has blood relations and who is also his neighbour. Significantly, in the context of the informal area land transactions are no longer strictly patrilineal – that is, brother selling to brother, or nephew buying from his paternal uncle, or vice-versa; in fact, land transactions also occur between brothers and sisters and between a maternal uncle and his nephew, and so on. The relevance of blood relations is made visible by the uniformity among neighbouring houses, which also represents a clear material sign of equality and solidarity among siblings. Furthermore, often brothers and sisters live in the same building, each having their own apartment. In such cases, the market is restricted to the members of the close family.

The importance that continues to be attached to reciprocal help accounts for another strong reason why, in the informal area, a property should be first offered to the neighbour. The way in which help is reciprocated is not limited to the construction of the house, but includes support provided throughout the time of residence in the area. Such a support extends to relations in the village of origin. Should a neighbour – who might or might not be a blood relative – show no interest in buying the land on offer, the seller usually makes an offer to kin who live outside the neighbourhood. Furthermore, following the 'hierarchy of offers' demanded by the *Kanun's* moral regulation of the land market, the sellers feel obliged to offer the land they want to sell in the informal area to the kin or the neighbour who is taking care of their property in the village of origin. Should they contravene this moral obligation, the sellers would be sanctioned and the kin or the neighbour would no longer look after their property in the village.

Concluding remarks

This ethnography points to the continuous tension between the moral crisis of legitimacy of state law – which is inevitably reflected in the way in which the state is perceived and trusted – and the local logic of land transaction that seems to draw on the ‘sanctity of tradition’. In the Albanian crisis of state authority, which is intrinsically linked to an ‘economy of uncertainties’, the ‘*Kanun Man*’ is faced with, and participates in the creation of, a new socio-economic and legal reality; the reality of the informal areas. This new socio-economic and legal arena reflects the clash between the ideology of ‘possessive individualism’ and what Gellner has defined as the communitarian ideology of ‘the dictatorship of cousins’ (but, see Prato 2011: 136-37 and 139). Such a communitarian ideology has taken many shapes, changing from patrilocal kinship to a more inclusive typology of kinship ties and networks that recognizes the matrilineal line (see also the case of Bledar asking help of his mother’s brother’s son, in Prato 2011: 146) and ‘fictive kin’, and extends to other neighbourhood relations.

When it comes to the land market in the informal areas it is observable that the value of a given property or land derives not only from its market price but also from kin relations, the personal and ‘family’ sacrifice and the work invested in it. Nevertheless, it should be underlined that, in spite of the new dynamics displayed by the land market in informal areas, in all the cases that I have observed, land transactions are *male-only* run businesses.

To put it briefly, informal areas are sites of *fluid uncertainties*; they appear to be a product of people’s distrust and mistrust of the state law (Pardo 2000), a result of the state’s failure to implement the law. It could be argued that this empirical reality is also a by-product of the neo-liberal ideology, challenged (Giordano and Kostova 2002) – as the state and its laws are often challenged – by a morality deriving at times from tradition, at times from failed political promises and often from the daily struggle in pursuing security and happiness in the post-socialist situation. If, following Gledhill (2004: 332-348), at national level what is occurring in Albania can be described as a process of neoliberalised legal systems, at micro level it would be better described as a process of *kanunisation of the free market*.

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Olympicisation: Growing for Gold

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This article offers an analysis of the social implications of Olympic related urban regeneration. This paper argues that the creation of urban Olympic cities necessitates a programme of regeneration that is fundamentally undemocratic and often unrecognizable to the process delineated during its conception. This paper draws upon empirical ethnographic research, represented here as a case study of an urban social movement, that highlights the form, function and impact of Olympic delivery. It argues that the process of being an urban Olympic host – as opposed to a suburban Olympic host that utilizes out of town appendages - is underwritten by totalitarian mechanisms. Moreover, this process ensures an Olympic City model that delineates, marginalizes and ultimately cleanses an area of any perceptible threats to its utopian vision. This process is defined here as Olympicisation. Olympicisation implements a spectrum of controlling mechanisms within its unique brand of urban regeneration. The conceptual framework of the Olympicisation of the spatial realm focuses upon the act of transforming and, subsequently, controlling a city. The imposition of the Olympic city can be seen to perform a primary cleansing function, whilst concurrently minimising and marginalising opposition. The underlying initial processes of Olympicisation necessitate community solidification during the bidding phase and then requires the subsequent dismantling of this community during the delivery phase. This iniquitous practice and its symbolic and instrumental processes are the primary concern of this paper.

Key words Environmental activism, corruption, Eastern and Western Europe

Urban Regeneration: The Great Gold Rush

The fates of individual cities are no longer determined by national economies. Instead, cities increasingly must forge roles for themselves in an international division of labour. At the same time globalization has heightened the sense of cities as actors on the world stage (Smart and Smart, cited in Low 1999: 171).

The evolving autonomy of the contemporary city has necessitated great modification to regeneration policies since the beginning of the twentieth century. Policies governing urban regeneration following this period have undergone a transformative journey from functionality, to aesthetics, via social modification and urban cleansing. David Harvey purports that aesthetic urban design involves an understanding of space ‘as something independent and autonomous, to be shaped according to aesthetic aims and principles which have nothing to do with an overarching social objective’ (1990: 66). However, it can be argued that this view does not consider that the aesthetic ambitions of regeneration facilitate the achievement of its social

objectives. Aesthetically transforming the physical environment can be regarded as the first and most important step toward achieving social objectives:

Physical renewal is usually a necessary if not sufficient condition for successful regeneration. In some instances it may be the main engine of regeneration. In almost all cases it is an important visible sign of commitment to change and improvement (Jeffrey and Pounder 2000: 86). The act of demonstrating a visible commitment to change, whilst, systematically, providing global standardization that is permeated with a locally themed and aesthetically pleasing uniqueness has necessitated a new wave of urban regeneration. This new wave often utilizes aesthetics in combination with spatial actions (Lefebvre 1991) to make change palatable yet progressive. To achieve such proliferation of cultural and sociological modification a distillation of social diversity is often accompanied by the minimization and marginalization of objection. The use of spectacles and events that promote collective, commercialized forms of enjoyment are habitually implemented to achieve this aspiration. 'A spatial action overcomes conflicts, at least momentarily, even though it does not resolve them, it opens a way from everyday concern to collective joy' (Lefebvre 1991: 222) and there is no bigger, more transient, spatial action than that of the Olympic Games. Moreover, critical commentators claim the range of spatial practices in regenerated environments are restricted to those that provide passive social contact and passive experiences such as rest, contemplation, eating, sitting - in other words quiet consumption (Crilley 1993; Talen 1999). The primary exemplar of which is, again, the Olympic Games.

Trickling towards 2012

'After major disinvestment in European cities during the 1970s, the late 1980s witnessed the beginning of a radical redesign, refurbishment and renewal of the urban landscape' (Degen, 2008: 6). Articulations of these reinvented or rediscovered cities are customarily dominated by embodiments of wealth, branding and power such as London's Canary Wharf or Times Square in New York. Those that do not fit this model are often perceived as in need of modernization. The east London of the early 2000's was perceived as the domain of the unsafe, the criminal, poverty, immigration and deprivation. It was the backside of the City and according to Olympic Park Legacy Company (OLPC) head Andrew Altman it was London's gash and it needed healing. Arguably, it always has, Dench, Gavron and Young (2006) illustrated, as the City of London began evolving over six centuries earlier into a hub of global capitalism, the east evolved too,

albeit in symbiotic differentiation. At first the east supplied food to the emerging urban community. Then, as the City concentrated increasingly on the pursuit of profit, its less valuable and more polluting trades were relocated to the east. As the City became wealthier and more important its contrast to the East End became more pronounced. Together, they became the hub of the British imperial trading system. They were inextricably linked and yet paradoxical narratives of the same story; one clean, wealthy and powerful and the other dirty, poor and powerless. In this pursuit of wealth the city bought, sold and financed, whereas east London took, stored and transported. This unequal partnership transformed east London into the largest impoverished urban enclave in the world that was ‘abandoned entirely to the working class’ (Sanders 1989: 91). It has, by and large, remained this way ever since.

After decades of stagnation and decline British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher instigated a neoliberal policy of deregulation. The neoliberal ‘trickle-down’ policy she implemented justified private developments that were, fundamentally, profit orientated ventures, fortified with righteous intentions. As David Harvey (1990) suggests, during this period neoliberalism prevailed, consequently, free enterprise and private ownership were considered fundamental to a progressive society. Planning and control were considered threats to this freedom and effectively castigated as disguised slavery. The regulations that were intended to protect society were now considered to be exacerbating sociological problems as a result of unnecessary authoritarianism. Consequently, the legacy of this era was the removal of many of the regulatory restrictions placed upon regeneration. This unregulated methodological baton for dealing with east London’s urban tribulations has now been passed to the 2012 Olympic regeneration.

London 2012: Taking the bait

David Stubbs was employed as London 2012's Head of Environment to assess the practicalities of the London 2012 bid. In 2005,¹ he stated that to be a creditable candidate, London had to ‘engage with the community so that they felt part of the process. Public Support was critical.’ Stubbs explains that his advisory group made of representatives from NGOs, public authorities,

¹ See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/4299714.stm>

academia and business, 'did a lot of work with the voluntary groups to get them involved in the process. By the end, they were really championing the whole thing' (Kinver 2005).²

The London 2012 bidding committee approached The East London Communities Organisation (TELCO) to contribute to this process. TELCO are a social movement that acted on behalf of London's citizens in negotiations with the Olympic delivery team. Telco encompasses a diverse alliance of active citizens and community leaders that promote democratically selected causes intended to benefit the local community. Over thirty-five institutions including faith groups, schools, student organisations, union branches and charities, across five London boroughs constitute its membership. Moreover, they form an integral part of a London-wide social movement, London Citizen's (LC) affiliated with the nationally recognized Citizen's Organising Foundation (COF), who, in turn, are affiliated with the internationally recognized Industrial Area Foundation (IAF) based in the United States. All of these movements interact and share advice, resources and methodologies.

TELCO felt that such support should be conditional upon certain guarantees to benefit the East London populace. These guarantees included employment opportunities, affordable housing, greater sporting provisions and educational opportunities. Consequently, an agreement was put in place to delineate the rewards for public demonstrations of support for Olympic hosting. This became known as the Ethical Olympic Charter. This charter consisted of six key points: Affordable homes were to be built for local people and managed through a Community Land Trust where the value of the land is removed from the property price making homes more affordable.

Olympic development monies were to be set aside to improve local schools and health services.

The University of East London was to be the main higher education beneficiary of the sports legacy with a view to becoming a sporting centre of excellence.

At least £2m would be set aside immediately (upon winning the bid to coincide with the first building phase), for a construction academy in Leyton to train local people in employable trade.

² See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/4299714.stm>

It was determined that at least 30% of construction jobs would be set aside for local people, which, would require the implementation of a 30% local labour clause with the contractors responsible for construction.

The Lower Lea Valley made to be designated 'living wage' zone with all jobs in the defined boundary guaranteed to pay a 'living wage' (Set at £6.70 per hour in 2004).

The proposed benefits were agreed upon between the community leaders and the Olympic bidding team. This agreement was publicly solidified during its signing in 2005. It was signed on behalf of the Olympic Bidding Team by the Chairman of the Olympic Bidding Committee Lord Sebastian Coe, by Ken Livingstone, then Mayor of London and by John Biggs, Deputy Chair of the London Development Agency (LDA). As a result of this shared commitment Lord Coe stated that the Games were now 'eminently more winnable' (Lydall 2005).³

This act of unifying the community through a written agreement between Olympic deliverers and TELCO solidified the boundaries and expectations of the local community. This unifying charter was an agreement that instilled hope, promise and expectation. It created what Benedict Anderson (1983) referred to as an 'imagined community.' Anderson's definition of imagined communities relates to nationalism where citizens unite despite being unfamiliar with each other by virtue of shared characteristics and criteria. It is argued here that these principles are applicable to more than nationalism. Furthermore, that throughout an individual's life they will become part of many such identity defining, imagined communities, often concurrently. In this instance as the community became unified through hope and promise, they became such an imagined community. The assurances made to them instilled a sense of ownership of place, and of resources therein, during Olympic delivery and beyond. The promises instilled a sense of right and entitlement into this community that were previously non-existent in this transitory, impoverished deprived location.

This community was assured that because they would be most affected by the upheaval of delivery that they would benefit commensurately. This definition allowed the community to reconstitute and solidify its boundaries and its expectations in relation to identity. As Anderson contends for an imagined community to exist there must be other communities against which self-definition can be constructed. This community became delineated during the bid and,

³ *Evening Standard*, 10th November 2004, p.12.

consequently, anyone from outside this delineated community became part of the group against which their self-definition was constructed.

Reality bites

The 2012 Olympic Games are principally concentrated across five London ‘Olympic Boroughs’: Newham, Waltham Forest, Tower Hamlets and Hackney in the east of the capital, and the more prosperous Greenwich in the south.⁴ Post-industrialism impacted upon this part of the capital particularly hard. A 2007 report by the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG) found that ‘[t]he north east quarter of London remains particularly deprived with Newham, Hackney and Tower Hamlets continuing to exhibit very high levels of deprivation’ (DCLG 2007: 40). On the bases of an averaging of rank over 50 different indices of deprivation, England’s three most deprived local authority areas were the Olympic Boroughs of Hackney, Newham and Tower Hamlets (respectively) with the fourth East London Olympic Borough, Waltham Forest, placed fifteenth (DCLG 2007). This deprivation fulfills all the criteria for urban regeneration and the area has long been earmarked for such. This regeneration was expedited enormously following the success of the bid.

Theoretically all local Government councils should be accountable for everything that occurs within their designated region. The Olympics necessitated the removal of much of this control from the local councils. The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA)⁵ is responsible for

⁴ As Olympic organisers have been at pains to point out, Olympic events will also take place in other parts of the country, including football at Coventry, Manchester, Newcastle, Cardiff and Glasgow. However, the vast majority of events will take place in London with 61% hosted by Newham.

⁵ The Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) is the public body responsible for developing and building the new venues and infrastructure for the Games and their use post 2012. The ODA was established by the London Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Act, which received Royal Assent in March 2006. The Act was passed to ensure the necessary planning and preparation for the Games can take place. It allows the ODA to buy, sell and hold land, make arrangements for building works and develop transport and other infrastructure, develop a Transport Plan for the Games, with which other agencies must cooperate, and make orders regulating traffic on the Olympic Road Network and be the local planning authority for the Olympic Park area. See <http://www.london-2012.co.uk/ODA/>

delivering the 2012 Games and is accountable only to central Government. This not only removes any notion of being accountable to local people, it also alleviates local authority planning controls and regulations.

After London won the 2012 Games the ODA would not interact with TELCO on the issue of the Ethical Olympics. The ODA claimed the Ethical Olympics proposal had nothing to do with them and refused to honor them. TELCO decided that to achieve ODA interaction organized collective action was required. They decided that the most appropriate course of action was to demonstrate their ability to mobilize and ambush the, then chairman of the ODA, David Higgins who was known for high-powered breakfast business meetings at London's top hotels. TELCO attracted significant media support and through their lobbying they established their credibility with the ODA, which led to an on-going series of meetings.

These meetings were intended to establish the implementation and progress of the TELCO Ethical Olympics, which included discussing the living wage and the promise of hiring of local residents. As Srivivasa (2006) purports that to use information most effectively the selective release or withholding of information is crucial and the ODA consistently achieved this. They maintained that 95% of the workforce was earning over and above the living wage. Furthermore, guidelines were in place, such as the necessity for proof of residence for construction workers to ensure local employment. One member challenged this point by commenting that, because there was no limit upon how long potential employees needed to be a resident this guideline was surely just a method to placate rather than actually improve the employment prospects of Londoners. This challenge was deflected and never returned to during the course of the time-limited meetings. Fundamentally, these negotiations were taking place during the building phase and, consequently, the window of Olympic delivery employment was rapidly closing with migrant workers filling these positions.

The conceptual vagueness surrounding accountability within Olympic delivery proved problematic. The repetitive act of replacing short-term, unaccountable hegemonic structures with other short-term, unaccountable hegemonic structures appears to be intended to deliver the most valuable commodity possible in time-limited social change scenarios – more time. In a Durkheimian sense, the processes involved in Olympicisation appear to hold functionality that augments the position of those imposing order, rather than the publically articulated beneficiaries of such processes, widely assumed to be the residents of regenerated communities.

Olympicisation

The contestation for resources between global cities necessitates an unrelenting frenzy of urban regeneration. Olympicisation provides a boost to any city that is engaged within this global commercialization contest. It is a process that satiates both pursuit and demand for standardization and provides arguably the greatest example of Lefebvre's spatial action to overcome conflict and objection - the Olympic Games. Olympic redevelopment also provides a strict time frame that permits the circumvention of democratic process that is imposed upon other urban creation or regeneration projects.

The commercialization of the city ensures 'city space and architectural forms become consumer items or packaged environments that support and promote the circulation of goods' (Boyer 1988: 54). This commercialization habitually replaces heritage with mythology that circumvents 'the negative iconography of dereliction, decline and labour militancy associated with the industrial city' (Hall and Hubbard 1998: 7). This 'production of image and discourse is an important facet of activity that has to be analysed as part and parcel of the reproduction and transformation of any symbolic order' (Harvey 1990: 255). This process re-emphasizes the clean-slate potential of Olympicisation, complete with its associated rich and historic Olympic mythology. Consequently, urban managers increasingly perceive Olympic hosting as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for the large-scale redevelopment and rebranding of a city.

Olympicisation is the pursuit of lifestyle branding, inclusive of place, people and existence. The initialization of which instigates cross-border economic processes of flows of capital, labour, goods and services, raw materials and tourists. It is a finite process and only one city can become Olympicised every four years. This limitation increases hosting desirability and exclusivity and further enhances the willingness of a host to become subjugated by the movement because it is perceived as something to aspire towards. Furthermore, because a host is selected, only, after demonstrations of widespread public support all objections and objectors have been minimized and marginalized before the outset of the process. This prerequisite subservience ensures the process will flourish whomever the contemporary host nation.

Olympicisation permits its deliverers to design and implement clean-slate regeneration of entire urban areas to facilitate the creation of globalized utopian hubs. They utilize huge budgets to accomplish this goal with the new city designed for an idealistic future populous rather than

considering the existing one. The entire process circumvents democratic rules and regulations and is, for the most part, above rebuke and public scrutiny, and offers little or no chance of accountability. Furthermore, local communities that had voraciously demonstrated their willingness to become Olympicised, if they somehow survive the transition, are often left unable to exist in these new utopias for any extended period of time. Eventually, most are forced to move elsewhere, making way for a more suitable Olympicised populous to fill their void.

Conclusion

Perceptions of the virtues of Olympicisation are readily apparent within wider society. However, this research has found that the representations of this phenomenon have proved at odds with the local communities' experiential perspective. This study examined the genesis of a new Olympic city and how the characteristics of this informed community identity. The TELCO case study demonstrated the complex, inconsistent interplay between ideology and implementation during the evolution of Olympicisation.

Hosting the Olympic Games has altered the process of identity formation in East London. In terms of composition, time, space and place. The communities willingness to accept that the much-anticipated benefits of Olympic hosting will never materialize to the anticipated levels resulted in the breakdown of the Olympic imagined community that was delineated during the bidding phase. This attitude of acceptance appears systematic of the original processes of this highly transitory, low ownership, diverse location.

The key difference between the period before the imagined unification of this community and the period after its dismantling is that within the communities systems of meaning and identity which have changed immeasurably. This is perhaps best symbolized by considering that the biggest surges in new national insurance numbers, necessary for legal employment in the UK, are from within the Olympic borough of Newham since the success of the 2005 bid. Furthermore, more than 51,000 migrant workers have surged into this area, the vast majority of which came from Eastern Europe (Pierce 2008).⁶ To put that into context official statistics demonstrate that

⁶ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/london-2012/3453006/More-than-50000-migrant-workers-move-into-Olympics-borough.html>.

the borough had a population of 246,200 before the bid.⁷ Therefore, previous articulations of identity have been systematically taken apart during Olympic delivery as the community attitude towards this appears limited to apathetic acceptance. This apathy more than most defines the identity of members of this transitory community. It is the characteristic that leads to the inescapable question: Is ownership of time, space and place a domain reserved only for the rich?

⁷<http://resources.cohesioninstitute.org.uk/Publications/Documents/Document/DownloadDocumentsFile.aspx?recordId=105&file=PDFversion>.

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YouTube and the Urban Experience Embodied¹

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While abstract anthropological concepts such as the ‘urban feel,’ ‘urban spaces’ and ‘urban imaginaries’ are difficult to wrestle with, I would nevertheless like to introduce a new perspective of ‘urban-ness’. By focusing on the recent explosion of home-made, worldwide dance videos on YouTube, I will illustrate how, in the search for ‘otherness’, young people are now motivated primarily by a yearning for cosmopolitanism and urban-ness. I will explore how that desire has taken hold, as well as how it is disseminated. Furthermore, I will examine how this yearning for otherness is shaped by the very vehicle that disseminates it. Specifically, I will explore dance culture that as it has emerged trans-locally from dance clips on YouTube-particular local places. I will highlight several different dance genres, all of which emanate from urban centres. The platform YouTube provides facilitates and disseminates these expressions – ones which, in turn inspire new dance expressions and genres.

Key words: urban alterity, youtube, dance, globalization, internet.

Charles Beaudelaire’s flâneur figure has historically been important to the discussion of the modern urban experience. Walter Benjamin characterized the Parisian arcade flâneur of the 19th Century as a figure who ‘plays the role of scout in the marketplace. As such, he is also the explorer of the crowd’ (Benjamin 1999: 21). YouTube audiences may be seen as virtual flâneurs, traveling virtually to burgeoning cities, exploring new dance forms and where they are being created.

Benjamin’s analysis of Beaudelaire’s flâneur reveals a character who is at once a dispassionate member, and observer, of the city’s crowd. In other words, the flâneur is both producer and consumer — not dissimilar to the role of the YouTube user. The virtual flâneur surfs the Internet, observing other people’s activity, sometimes commenting, other times becoming the activity by producing content. With the help of YouTube, the virtual flâneur is afforded the possibility inclined to of embodying an urban alterity, as well as the opportunity to participate in the online communities of urban dance aficionados. YouTube allows people to self-publish videos for potentially huge online audiences, which has prompted new forms of sociality to emerge (Lang 2007; Boellstorff 2008). In addition to providing a video sharing platform, YouTube also enables its users to construct their own personal profile page — called a ‘channel page,’ where people can ‘friend’ other users. The study of how young people project identities affiliated with particular

¹ I would like to thank my advisor Bob White for all his helpful advice and support and to Emily Wilkinson for her editorial help.

social groups by using YouTube's video sharing and commenting features is one that merits attention.

As well as offering these new social tools, YouTube has also become a new pedagogical tool. In a non-institutionalized way, individuals can now produce 'how-to' videos and tutorials, the sole aim of which is to instruct others, for example videos produced by young Jamaicans about how to perform the latest Dancehall steps. Rather than just filming themselves performing a dance, they break down its movements and articulate the best execution. By focusing on dance performed on YouTube, I will examine some of the ways in which young people are currently copying, performing, and embodying and mimicking urban-ness. One only needs to do a simple search on YouTube to discover the profusion of dance videos that people post of themselves emulating urban dance genres from around the world — ones depicting cosmopolitan scenarios. I will also consider how global urban-ness, as well as knowledge of particular local urban-ness, has become cultural capital for young people around the world. The emulation and appropriation of dance forms new to one's own repertoire is a cross-cultural phenomenon that is equally present among youth in the West as well as the global South.

Not just a Western thing

Although there have been exciting advancements in technology and Internet expansion, my attempt at analyzing the new international public spheres created by the Internet does not discount the fact that access to Internet technology remains uneven. However, it must be said that dance videos posted by young people from a wide-range of socio-economic classes in the global urban Africans South from a wide-range of socio-economic classes are proliferating. We know this in part because YouTube has a built-in feature to track the number of people watching each video, as well as their respective countries. It is not uncommon to find videos of urban youth in cities in the developing world posting videos of themselves performing dance to European-style techno music.

One particular video that comes to my mind of people looking 'further abroad' is of a group of young boys in the streets of Harrare, Zimbabwe. Positioned in a semi-circle around the trunk of a car, listening and dancing to fast-paced techno, dancers are clearly performing for the camera, each taking turns showing off their own moves and dance steps. Posted in February of 2010, the dance video has since been viewed 75,000 times. This is a prime example of the ways

in which YouTube has penetrated communities and cultures globally; not only are these Zimbabweans publicly displaying local popular dance expressions, but they are also using European music, though their exposure to this musical form may or may not be a direct result of their YouTube use. The YouTube viewer is afforded the chance to get a glimpse of city-life in motion within urban popular dance videos. There is a sense in which city-living and traveling have become synonymous, and it is apparent that ‘virtual tourism’ is not unique to the West. On YouTube, viewers are not just exposed to other forms of dance expression, but also often imitate them. When these viewers become producers of content on YouTube, others can then view and become inspired by their dance performances.

A shift in values: Privileging the city and the new

In the exploration of cultures different from one’s own, many have found it important to feel as though they were getting an authentic representation of that culture. However, as far back as the Romantic era, and as recently as the 1990s, the authenticity of an exotic cultural encounter was determined by how pristine and isolated from modernity that culture was. This was often characterized by a rural or pastoral setting, untouched by technology or other civilizations. Though the search for authenticity remains, it is now qualified differently. Increasingly, people no longer expect that reality to be one of closed-off village life, and instead seek ‘real’ urban expressions. YouTube reflects as well as reinforces this new sentiment.

YouTube urban dance viewers are engaging with current forms of expression, privileging the new, and the future. Michael Wesch (2008), who released a video about conducting anthropological research with YouTube, suggests that, with the increase in commercialization, we see a longing for authenticity. Young people are yearning for something (specifically urban) that is more real than what is being produced by the culture industry, and they are finding this on the Internet.

In the 1990s, the body of literature documenting ‘World Music’ shed light on the way it was romantically marketed to Western audiences as an ‘authentic’ product of non-Western music from often ‘traditional’ rural settings (Erlmann 1996; Taylor 1997). In contrast to the Romantic-era traveller or the World Beat aesthetic of ‘rural’ and traditional folk music, YouTube dance clips often portray young dancers in urban settings, such as parking lots, rooftops, apartment courtyards, and crowded streets. For the most part, popular dance genres crop up in large urban

centres. For example, kuduro is a music and dance genre that chronicles daily urban life in the slums of Luanda, Angola. Dancers who have been victims of Angola's civil war feature prominently in YouTube videos, making use of their crutches and missing legs in their dance performances (Brown 2010). In addition, technology, such as cell phones, is celebrated by being incorporated into dance choreographies. Mixing elements of techno, hip-hop, and reggae, kuduro is at once an Angolan and a global music — a bricolage of musical cultures. This is but one example of an authentic dance expression from a culture that has been touched by technology and has been influenced by other popular culture genres.

British/Sri Lankan musician M.I.A. has been instrumental in bringing kuduro to the international mainstream. There is something about dance music coming out of an urban context that resonates with young audiences. The widespread popularity of music and dance forms emerging from poor urban centres is in itself a testament of young people's favouring the urban over the rural when it comes to cultural consumption.

Like the travels of the 19th Century Romantic tourist, there is an element of romance in watching dance from different international cities on YouTube. The experience is like an adventurous journey into a new land, with the hope of discovering something new and inspiring. However, instead of journeying into the jungle or some wide-open rural space in search of 'tradition,' the YouTube explorer travels through cyberspace to new cities in search of new 'authentic' expressions. Unlike the 19th Century Romantic tourist, or to the consumer of World Beat music, the YouTube dance tourist considers technological change, digitized music, and the grittiness of urban life as marks of authenticity.

A moment to shine

With the conclusion that contemporary popular expressions from the global South are not necessarily bound to traditional village life, it is important to consider YouTube's role in this shift in understanding. YouTube now gives young, poor people in urban centres an opportunity to showcase their own popular expressions as well as to view those of others. These expressions are often considered 'authentic,' as opposed to what the music industry presents because they come from the 'source' and have not yet been commodified.

Young people living in non-Western urban centres, despite their increasing numbers, find themselves at the margins of the economic, political, and public spheres in their own nations.

Despite this marginalization, the Internet has allowed them to make their presence known on the international stage as social actors in the field of popular culture. Getting famous over the Internet is not unique to the West; young people in the developing world are also aware of the potential technology potential offers to one's quest for fame, and they are taking advantage of it. Young dancers from the global South who would likely not have been seen in the West until the advent of the Internet are now being imitated by dancers all over the world, including in the West. As the access to technology increases in cities throughout the world, young people have begun to represent themselves and disseminate their urban experiences on the Internet (Spitulnik 2002).

Internet technology has become a primary means for young people to sidestep the obstacles set up by the culture industry and to showcase their expressions. In her chapter entitled 'To Survive and To Shine' (2000), Janet MacGaffey addresses some of the ways in which young Africans in both Kinshasa and France have done this. In the case of music and dance, technological advancements have contributed to the creation of new mediums through which young people can shine. For example, in many countries in the global South, musical instruments are now more expensive than some forms of computer technology, like drum machines and synthesizers. Young people are now equipped with cheaper means of producing music, which consequently has birthed new genres of music and accompanying dance forms.

Music industry tourism

The music industry is aware of the shift in values and in what it means to be authentic. And it understands that what is 'cool,' as defined by what is 'real,' is no longer a pristine, untouched, and pastoral ideal but, rather, is urban, and affected by industry and technology. The culture industry is presently attempting to capitalize on this YouTube phenomenon, as is illustrated by one of Beyoncé's music videos. Marketing herself as an 'urban music' artist, Beyoncé's team has used YouTube videos as dance inspiration. The Mozambican kwaito dance group Tofo Tofo recently served as inspiration for the pop star's 2011 music video 'Run the World (Girls)'. Posted by a Swedish tourist in Mozambique, Tofo Tofo's YouTube video shows the threesome dancing clad in matching outfits in a local bar. Beyoncé's team's interest was subsequently piqued after viewing the video. According to one of the members of Beyoncé's team, it took them four months to track down the group in Africa. Tofo Tofo was then flown to the United States to help

create the choreography for the dance video. The video evokes a kind of post-apocalyptic scenario in which people from diverse backgrounds are now living together in an ambiguous, dilapidated, urban African shantytown.

Bob White (2011) writes about the ‘personal listening utopias’ that can arise from world music consumption. He questions whether these cosmopolitan yearnings are symptomatic of the anxieties associated with global capitalism. The contemporary consumer of popular music no longer wants to buy into the old utopic ideal of the noble savage living in a pristine natural environment. Today’s music industry is responding to this trend by glamorizing the grittiness of urban poverty instead.

Embodying urban fantasy

Given how urban-ness is now being privileged, even within the music industry, it is useful to explore YouTube as a platform that reflects and disseminates that attitude. It does this in several ways. As I previously showed, YouTube helps people to showcase their own local experiences, and allows others to learn about those new dances. But YouTube also allows people to go beyond that, by embodying the urban fantasy. People can take what they have learned viewing other dances and perform their own version, again using YouTube as a platform to showcase that knowledge. This participatory and transformative act of becoming the ‘other’ contrasts with cultural flâneury, which is passive and observing. This active participation can be expressed through mimicry.

Brian Larkin notes that ‘people consuming popular media participate in the imagined realities of other cultures as part of their daily lives’ (1997: 406). Picture the following scenario, of which there are many variations on YouTube: A young man in Stockholm is intently watching a YouTube clip of another young man in Chicago’s SouthSouth Side, who is performing the latest hip-hop dance, called the *dougie*. The Swede may be watching the video to get an idea of what an inner city looks like and how young people there behave, but he may also be watching to learn the dance. Perhaps this young Swede will later perform his own version of the *dougie* on YouTube himself. With diverse socio-economic classes gaining greater access to the Internet, urban dance has been brought to a large international audience. Even First Lady Michelle Obama was recently filmed doing the *dougie* at a public school in Washington D.C., an event that was

widely circulated over the Internet. The dichotomy between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture today is being dissolved by a new sense of ‘urban-ness,’ which is being facilitated by the Internet.

Whereas the example of the Swede watching the Chicago dancer is an isolated instance of one individual observing another, there are cases of entire subcultures being transplanted via YouTube to other parts of the world. For example, Japanese youth are consuming massive amounts of YouTube video clips of Jamaican Dancehall, which emerged from Kingston’s urban shantytowns. Thousands of young Japanese dancers are performing Dancehall moves, perfectly reproducing the mechanics of the dance. There is even an increase of Some Japanese are even traveling to Kingston to compete in dancehall competitions. Marvin Sterling writes about the Japanese engagement with Jamaican Dancehall, explaining that during his fieldwork in 1998 and 2001, many young Japanese dancers learned to dance from DVDs of parties and events filmed in Kingston. ‘These individuals seek in various ways to deepen their subcultural identifications with Jamaican popular culture, to come into intimate contact with — to ‘touch’, so to speak — the far-away Caribbean island as authentic source of dancehall reggae music’ (Sterling 2001: 54). Now, with the prevalence of young Jamaican DJs and dancers posting videos of themselves, Japanese dancehall aficionados can keep privy to the new developments within this popular cultural form.

Even for people who do not live in urban settings, YouTube can facilitate their imagination of the urban, keeping them abreast of current trends, so that they acquire a kind of cosmopolitan competence, or what Bourdieu (1984) calls ‘cultural capital’. Being ‘in the know’ is an important part of being young, but in our contemporary world, knowing about one’s immediate community is not enough. ‘Being in the know’ now encompasses popular urban culture on an international scale. Young people are not only observing what urban-ness can be like elsewhere on the planet, but are also attempting to feel that difference. In the case of dance, that difference is literally embodied. Until recently, people’s choices of cultural roles have been relatively limited. But now, in the comfort and privacy of our homes, we can watch and learn foreign urban dance genres, and imagine ourselves as part of an urban sensibility.

Mimesis: An expression of cosmopolitanism

Michael Taussig’s (1993) exploration of the ‘mimetic faculty’ might help us to better understand people’s participation on YouTube. For Taussig, the mimetic faculty is described as ‘the nature that culture uses to create second nature, the faculty to copy, imitate, make models, explore

difference, yield into and become Other' (1993: 25). In studying the Cuna in Colombia, Taussig discerns the ways in which people from one group adopt the nature and 'culture' of another group while maintaining distance.

Through the act of mimicking, the copier brings the copied into the physical world. This not only fosters empathy but allows for an experience whereby the relationship between subject and object is blurred, enabling identity experimentation. Furthermore, through mimesis, the individual absorbs influences from the Other without having to compromise his or her own identity or value system — that is, without having to become what is being imitated. Paul Stoller furthers this discussion by positing that 'one sometimes copies otherness to make partial sense of it, to master it' (1995: 87). In other words, one copies or mimes something — in this case, urban dance genres performed on the Internet — to comprehend and master it. Hannerz proposes that 'genuine cosmopolitanism is first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity' (1996: 103).

An example of such cosmopolitanism in dance would be Urban Tribe, a female Norwegian dance group whose most popular YouTube video shows them performing Congolese ndombolo dance with recorded music by Werrason, one of the Congo's most popular bands. Clad in short shorts and bikini tops in an Oslo park, the young women are mirroring the costumes of Congolese dancers, who were themselves originally mirroring American fashion. It is interesting that most videos featuring ndombolo dancers in Africa generally take place in urban settings, while Urban Tribe intentionally sets their dance performance in the more bucolic setting of a park, among fields and flowers. Perhaps what is demonstrated to YouTube audiences is the extent to which Urban Tribe is 'in the know,' by being capable of physically moving like urban African women they see in YouTube dance videos. Dance — in this case, YouTube dance — has the potential to kinetically assemble multiple spaces at once.

Conclusion

In this article I have posited that YouTube has become a wellspring of culture, one which that merits further attention. Dance videos posted on YouTube represent a virtual terrain where the urban imagination is embodied. On YouTube, people demonstrate their mastery and knowledge of popular culture around the world. It is also a site where scenarios of urban-ness are played out,

and where travel, both real and virtual, contributes to the ongoing negotiation of urban identities among youth around the world. YouTube is a new public sphere where this ‘urban’ ideal is expressed and disseminated. Furthermore, it satisfies a yearning to better understand urban-ness and to be ‘in the know.’ Finally, it allows people to immerse themselves in, and even embody an urban otherness through dance expression.

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The Pastoral, Nostalgia and Political Power in Leipzig, Germany¹

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In Leipzig, restorative nostalgia reasserted itself in the 1990s after being eclipsed by the pastoral in the 1960s and 1970s. The re-emergence of restorative nostalgia does not mean that the pastoral has fallen into disuse. Socialist-era politicians draw on the pastoral when they discuss their housing situation, and express their misgivings of the changes that the current administration has initiated since 1990. They invoke the suburbs and countryside as sites of self-renewal, idealized spaces in which they can express their values. At a deeper level, the pastoral charts socialist-era politicians' relocation from the city to the periphery, mirroring their marginalisation in the aftermath of unification. In contrast, Leipzig's current politicians have an affinity for restorative nostalgia, and attempt to restore Leipzig's alleged golden age, its character and energy before World War II. Restorative nostalgia implies criticism of socialist-era development, and, by extension, the contribution of socialist-era politicians. Restorative nostalgia also makes it seem as if the city's development plans are the outcome of tradition, rather than politics. Tracing former and current politicians' affinity for the pastoral and restorative nostalgia, this article provides insight into the relationship between the pastoral, nostalgia and political power.

Key words: East Germany, politicians, city planners, elite, legitimacy, pastoral, nostalgia, power.

A city is at least three things. It is a phenomenon that emerges as the result of many actions and interactions, a setting that shapes different ways of life by accident and by design, and a multifaceted idea that individuals invoke in the course of discovering and expressing their identity and power.² In this article, I am interested in the latter meaning of the city, the city as an idea. Specifically, I aim to understand how deposed and current elites in post-socialist Europe represent the city, and how do their representations of the city align with their identity and power. Previously, I examined Leipzig's former

¹ I would like to thank my dissertation advisors Drs John Eidson, Bill Beeman, Marida Hollos, and David Kertzer for their guidance and support. I'm also in debt to the DAAD, Brown Graduate School, and the Watson Institute for supporting my research. I was first introduced to the pastoral by Prof. William C. Watterson. Dr Josué Ramirez provided very helpful comments and encouragement. All mistakes or errors in interpretation are completely my own.

² The three aspects of the city—as an emergent phenomenon, a setting, and an idea—align with three underlying assumptions: The city as an outcome, cause, and object of reflection. For a definition of the city, I turn to George Cowgill. The city is 'a permanent settlement within the larger territory occupied by a society considered home by a significant number of residents whose activities, roles, practices, experiences, identities, and attitudes differ significantly from those of other members of the society who identify most closely with 'rural' lands outside such settlements' (Cowgill 2004: 526).

politicians' maligned reputation and their accounts of their employment, social life, and housing situation (Touval 2000). Before Germany's unification, Leipzig's socialist-era politicians attended city council meetings, served on committees, and, in some cases, worked fulltime in city hall or the regional party administration. In the course of the peaceful revolution, however, they were, for the most part, discredited and removed from power (Welzel 1996: 28). Here I return to the issue of housing with a fresh perspective, analyzing how they represent the city, and how their representations of the city relate to their downfall from power. I compare their idea of the city with current politicians' perspective, noting how their respective ideas of the city mediate their contrasting circumstances.

Different stakeholders, including scholars, reach for reality-framing tropes such as time and space to capture the changes that have taken place over the past two decades in post-socialist Europe, and my informants are no exception (Weszkalnys 2010: 16). Socialist-era politicians draw on the pastoral to displace themselves in space, while current politicians draw on restorative nostalgia to displace themselves in time. They invoke the city's spatial and temporal aspects to comment on the city as a setting.³ How good is the city to its residents? As one might imagine, former and current politicians provide very different answers. When Leipzig's socialist-era politicians draw on the pastoral, they are not merely comparing the city with the suburbs and countryside; they are also dramatizing the current administration's flawed policies, and creating particular physical, social, emotional, and moral juxtapositions between the centre and the periphery which resonate with their loss of power. In contrast, current politicians have an affinity with nostalgia, particularly restorative nostalgia. They locate Leipzig's unique energy in the pre-socialist past, and aim to bring back features of the urban landscape that recall the city's true identity. Restorative nostalgia implies disapproval of East Germany's imprint on the urban landscape, and the contribution of the city's socialist-era politicians. Restorative nostalgia also masks current politicians' policy initiatives, making their projects seem grounded in tradition, rather than power.⁴

A contested issue in Leipzig since at least the early twentieth century, housing, and related attributes of the city as a setting, such as neighbourhood development and urban policy, inform the context of former politicians' affinity for the pastoral and current politicians' affinity for restorative nostalgia. In the late nineteenth century, urban migration changed the power structure in the city, and by the 1920s housing policy was determined by the socialist parties and the lower-middle class. Seeking to remedy the

³ Some ideas of the city address the city as an emergent phenomenon. Faced with a declining population base, Leipzigers debate the conditions that allow typically urban attributes to surface. This is a topic for a future article.

⁴ Current politicians' emphasis on citizen participation in urban planning further masks the power dynamics behind urban policy initiatives (Weszkalnys 2008: 255).

housing shortage, in which several families, including boarders, occupied one apartment, the city government created a municipal building company, which aimed to make housing more readily available (Shäfer 2007: 110). Another response to industrialization and overcrowding was the desire to bring nature into the city (Hennecke 2011: 75). When animated by a critique of the city, this desire is an example of the pastoral.⁵



Leipzig contrast

After the destruction of World War II, ‘improving people’s homes—and delivering ever more badly needed worker accommodations—emerged as a central plank of every SED party congress and was a perennial subject of great anxiety’ (Betts 2008: 115). Concurrent with the effort to address the acute housing shortage, there was an attempt early on to recover the traditional flair of the inner city (Jürgens 1994: 302). In the 1960s, however, historic reconstruction was confidently rejected in favour of a new socialist style. Socialist architecture was financially feasible, and aligned with the prevailing ideology of utopia, a total break from the past, a new Germany. While there was an ongoing effort to maintain and improve old apartment units, the authorities emphasized new construction. Historic buildings that survived the war, including St. Paul’s Church, which dates to the twelfth-century, were razed to give way to cube-like office buildings and apartment blocks (Gormsen 1996: 14).

The demise of restorative nostalgia in the 1960s was followed by the emergence of the pastoral as a template for housing development, evidenced, for example, by the large housing estate of Grünau. Deriving from the German word for green (Grün), Grünau is a neighbourhood of prefabricated high-rises designed to accommodate 85,000 people (Kabisch et al. 2008: 12). Built in the 1970s and 1980s, and located in Leipzig’s southwest corner, Grünau’s apartment buildings are surrounded by green lawns and trees, a far cry from the open-pit mines to the south, and Plagwitz’s smokestacks and poorly-maintained accommodations to the east. Grünau’s carefully landscaped surroundings imply a critical stance toward

⁵Because social actors attribute different meanings to the urban landscape at different points in time (Rotenberg 1995), one should be careful when interpreting the meaning that different stakeholders attribute to parks and garden development in Leipzig.

typical city living, revealing the pastoral as its source of inspiration, and conjuring a historical sequence in which restorative nostalgia gives way to the pastoral.⁶

Interestingly, while it served as an inspiration for residential development, East German authorities perceived the pastoral as potentially subversive. Romanticism, in which the pastoral features prominently, was rejected as a threat to modernity. ‘Romantic artists’ were seen as ‘disengaged, retreating to the past and indulging in alternative realities, in nature, religion, and the exotic’ (Kelly 2009: 200). Georg Lukács located ‘the origins of socialism ... in the rationalism of the Enlightenment,’ and argued that the ‘romantic school’ led to ‘bourgeois capitalism and fascism’ (quoted in Kelly 2009: 199). However, the reception of the romantics in East Germany evolved over time. In the 1960s Georg Knepler legitimated romantic composers by classifying them as realists, who engaged ‘with the world around them’ and ‘explored alternative modes of society’ (Kelly 2009: 200). There was a rising interest in romanticism in the 1970s (Leeder 1990: 214), and in the 1980s the pastoral featured in oppositional discourse. ‘Trenchant “civilization critiques”... sprang from the strong sentiment that the GDR had become too modernized and that more traditional elements—Christian faith, love of nature, and so forth—had to assert themselves...’ (Pence and Betts 2008: 14).

Restorative nostalgia re-emerged in the post-unification era, with city planners compensating for the destruction of Leipzig’s architectural heritage by reinstating features of the urban landscape that are allegedly emblematic of its true identity. The re-emergence of restorative nostalgia, however, does not mean that the pastoral has fallen into disuse. The pastoral’s subversive reputation and its association with East Germany’s housing development efforts align with former politicians’ marginal position and personal history. In the next section, I present the accounts of socialist-era politicians whom I met while conducting fieldwork in Leipzig between October 1996 and August 1997, attending public events and interviewing people who were active in various associations and political parties. Although anthropologists in the field assume several roles, including that of interviewer and participant-observer, enabling them to probe the gap between what their informants say and do, my analysis of former politicians derives from what they told me in an interview setting, and limited participant-observation. Also, due to the limitations of space, I present here the two former politicians whose accounts evoke the pastoral most fully.

⁶ Admittedly, in the 1980s there was an effort to integrate new socialist-style buildings into the preexisting street pattern, even when this pattern required that the buildings be laid out at an unusual angle to each other, such as at the eastern end of Kreuz St., a few minutes walk from downtown. Another design choice that suggests the pull of the past (though not restorative nostalgia) is the design of sloping rooftops in Dorotheenplatz.



Leipzig courtyards, old and new

Former Politicians' Accounts of Their Housing Situation

Ms Haussmann was born around 1940, and spent her childhood in Engelsdorf, a town bordering Leipzig.⁷ She has a degree in engineering, and worked as a site engineer constructing chimneys all over East Germany. As a member of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), she served as Leipzig's deputy mayor and chair of the planning committee from 1983 until she was let go in May 1989. After the peaceful revolution, she was hired by a West German real estate firm, and later became an independent real estate agent. Between 1992 and 1997, she shared office space in Gholis with a lawyer. By the time I met her in 1997, she no longer needed to rent office space because she was always in her car, or as she puts it, *immer im Auto unterwegs*.

After the peaceful revolution, she invested money that she inherited in real estate, purchasing several acres of land just north of Leipzig. Keeping a parcel to herself and her husband, she sold another parcel to her brother and his wife, and the rest to people who became her neighbours. In the aerial photograph of the housing development that she shares with me, the streets twist and turn, giving the impression that her neighbourhood developed slowly over time. She likes the fact that her new home is close to natural springs and a forest. On weekends, she and her husband travel to their vacation home in Dübener Heide, a wooded area where they have a vacation home, and where they can let their dog run around without a leash.

Following an initial conversation at a café, we walk through an arcade in downtown. While she finds that it has been beautifully redone, she does not feel safe in this space anymore; she is afraid that someone will grab her handbag. Furthermore, she does not like the other arcades that are dressed up to look like nineteenth-century pubs. Later that afternoon, when we drive through Grünau, she points to

⁷ All names are pseudonyms.

parking spaces overgrown with weeds. She explains that the neighbourhood associations which were responsible for maintenance before 1989 were dissolved, replaced by crews of makeshift workers. As makeshift work is cut back, the neighbourhood deteriorates further.

Her preference for suburban and rural environments and dislike of the changes that have taken place in Leipzig suggest a pastoral pattern, in which the suburbs and countryside are idealized to the detriment of the city. East Germany, she says, invested money so kids could be kids; sports, art and culture kept them busy. Youth centres were among the very first things to be constructed in Grünau. Now youth centres are eliminated—she uses the word *abgeschafft*—and the youth are on the street. Every society, she muses, has its own form of violence. People strive for more and better things; whatever they do not already have. When she looks at it logically, it will overflow its banks, *es ufert alles aus*.

‘It’ refers to society’s dire situation. The social situation in downtown Leipzig and Grünau is deteriorating, and society is not investing enough resources in its youth to properly reproduce itself over time. The reference to a flood in her account implies that the city will not be able to overcome its troubles. Meanwhile, she describes her freestanding house in the suburbs and her rural vacation home as places for family, self-renewal, and freedom.

Born in 1952 in Pomerania (northern East Germany), Dr Block joined the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in 1975. She worked as a biologist at the university, and is currently employed by a health insurance firm, evaluating drugs. Between 1984 and 1989, she was a delegate to the City Council on behalf of the Cultural Association (Kulturbund), leaving her position in May 1989 to protest election fraud. Between 1993 and 1995, she returned to elected office, this time as a delegate to the City Council on behalf of the Green Party. She resides in a large draughty apartment in an old building with her husband and two children. Right after the peaceful revolution her building was claimed by the descendants of the original owner, who, in turn, sold the building to a West German real estate investment firm. The firm failed to solicit bids from the current tenants, inviting West Germans to come and look at the property instead, because they assumed that people in the East do not have a bank account. The real estate firm started to renovate the building, and then stopped halfway, and now the roof is covered with plastic. Her rent is still low, but once the work would be completed, her apartment would become very expensive. It is very large—one hundred and fifty square meters—which means that the rent will be somewhere between 2,000 and 2,500 DM per month (excluding utilities). This level of rent, she says, is fair, yet there are no tax benefits for paying rent.

Alongside her building, her immediate neighbourhood has been undergoing change. She dislikes the contemporary architecture, the new buildings of glass and concrete. Although there are meadows close by, they are not sufficiently close to improve her quality of life, and there are no trees in the vicinity of her

building. Her neighbours have already left, and she and her family are planning to move out as well; she and her husband are building a new house in the suburbs.

Although she and her family will benefit financially from building a new house, the project upsets her environmental sensibility. She explains that if everyone were to do what she is doing, there will be little open space left. Although environmentally speaking she is making a mistake, there are mitigating factors. The new house is in an area zoned for housing, and the neighbourhood is accessible by streetcar. While the neighbours are building houses which are not ecologically sound, her architect is designing an Ecohaus, a house with good materials that follows strict environmental standards. She hired former East Germans to build the house, and purchased building materials that are produced in eastern Germany. She has lived in East Germany for almost forty years and is, as she puts it, an ‘Ossie,’ an East German.

Like Ms Haussmann, Dr Block draws a contrast between the city and its periphery. Her new home in the suburbs represents an idealized, environmentally friendly modernity. Unlike her future neighbours, she follows strict environmental standards and sources materials locally. Defining herself as an environmentalist and a local patriot, she invokes a self-conscious pastoralism that is carefully orchestrated against a backdrop of environmental degradation and the diminishing power of city dwellers—former citizens of East Germany—within united Germany.

The pastoral, nostalgia and power

I define the pastoral as a pattern of meaning in which the urban, as the site of a dominant yet ill-conceived way of life, is criticized by juxtaposing it to the rural, the site of renewal, nature, peace, and tranquility. My informants pattern their accounts of their housing situation along pastoral lines. The pastoral is entangled with their attempt at self-renewal, their interests and values, as well as their predicament as former politicians, individuals who have lost power and personal prestige in the aftermath of the peaceful revolution. Dr Block imbues the pastoral with post-industrial values, particularly environmentalism, while Ms Haussmann, who is twelve years her senior, with the pride of launching a successful career in real estate. In their discussion of urban living, Dr Block and Ms Haussmann invoke rent, maintenance, ownership, and the immediate neighbourhood, attributes which the pastoral dramatizes as flawed. Because housing is a politically-charged issue, and the pastoral has had a subversive subtext in East Germany, their accounts are more critical than they might seem to someone who is not familiar with the local context.

To understand better the relationship between the pastoral and political power, I would like to explore Leipzig’s current politicians’ affinity for restorative nostalgia. However, before I do that, I would like to acknowledge that the evidence and its context of elicitation make the comparison between the pastoral and nostalgia rather tenuous. My evidence of the pastoral is based on personal interviews, while the evidence of nostalgia is based on attendance in public events in which city planners discuss housing

projects in front of an audience. Nevertheless, the comparison is productive of further thoughts about how deposed and current political elites employ pastoralism and nostalgia to signify their identity and relations to power.

Current politicians' personal commitment to revitalizing Leipzig's urban core is reflected in their choice of residence. A number of high-ranking politicians, including the former mayor, live in old neighbourhoods within walking distance of downtown and the beautifully restored arcades mentioned by Ms Haussmann. While restorative nostalgia is not the only template for urban development after the peaceful revolution—there are other influences in Leipzig besides restorative nostalgia, such as glass and steel buildings—the city invests great care in historic preservation. When the head of the city's planning authority communicates to Leipzig residents the concept guiding the development of the inner city, he displays a photograph of pre-World War II Leipzig, featuring a narrow street lined with buildings with elegantly-textured facades (event observed on 1.15.97, Saal der Alten Nikolaischule). At another event, he explains that with the exception of cases in which they hinder functionality, the city uses historical materials for the roads, sidewalks, and lighting fixtures (2.5.1997, New City Hall). These materials recall the past and reflect nostalgia for a bygone era.

Current politicians' restorative nostalgia is different and distinct from *Ostalgie*, or the longing to some aspects of the East German past, which has been documented in eastern Germany by Daphne Berdahl. *Ostalgie* changed over time, comprising initially 'unnamed acts of minor resistance' in the face of rapid change in the aftermath of the peaceful revolution. It was then 'mobilized' by 'the capitalist market to validate and re-narrate the daily experience of East German life,' and finally consisted of 'reflexive commentary' about East Germany's demise (Keenan 2011). Though an important phenomenon, current politicians' restorative nostalgia is better understood with reference to Anna Seghers' sense of nostalgia than *Ostalgie*. Drawing on *The Future of Nostalgia* by Svetlana Boym, Stacy Hartman contrasts Anna Seghers' restorative nostalgia, with its aim of restoration and revival, to Christa Wolf's reflective nostalgia, in which longing has a dream-like quality without the goal of return (Hartman 2009: 31). Within an abstract and context-free typology of nostalgia, current politicians' nostalgia is comparable to Seghers'.⁸

But how are the pastoral and restorative nostalgia related to political power? Current politicians' restorative nostalgia implies that Leipzig will reassume its prominent role when features of the urban

⁸ Seghers and Wolf are prominent East German writers. The generational shift from Seghers to Wolf roughly coincides with the demise of restorative nostalgia and the rise of the pastoral. However, other varieties of nostalgia, such as reflective nostalgia, may well have been important in different spheres of life in East Germany during the 1970s and 1980s.

landscape that symbolize its past glory will be restored. At a deeper level, restorative nostalgia suggests that current politicians locate the city's creative capacity in the pre-socialist past. They seek to displace the city in time, and capture its special spirit and energy by bringing back the qualities that it possessed before World War II. In contrast, former politicians employ the pastoral to displace themselves in space. They imply that life and creativity are found in the periphery, safe from the ills of a decaying city.⁹ Ms Haussmann establishes her home in a new suburban division that she helped develop near natural springs and a forest, and bemoans the dire consequences of discontinuing East Germany's investment in children and youth, as well as other changes that erode Leipzig's urban fabric. Dr Block builds an environmentally friendly home in the suburbs, while the building in which she lives in in the city is in a state of half-repair. While the pastoral invokes sites of self-renewal where people can express their values and thrive, it is also employed to critique Leipzig's deterioration, showing the city's alleged decline to be the result of misguided policies.

The pastoral and restorative nostalgia mirror former and current politicians' distinct positions. Former politicians have an affinity for the pastoral, because the pastoral is a pattern of meaning that charts movement from the centre to the periphery, movement which mirrors their change of status, their relocation to the political margins. Conversely, current politicians have an affinity for restorative nostalgia, because it legitimates and naturalizes their hold on power. Restorative nostalgia makes their actions seem as if they are anchored in the past, rather than the product of an alignment of power which favours them and their policies.¹⁰ The contrast between former and current politicians provides insight into the relationship between the pastoral, restorative nostalgia and political power, at a time in Leipzig's history when restorative nostalgia has become prominent again, after being eclipsed by the pastoral in the 1960s and 1970s. It also highlights how deposed and current elites' distinct ideas of the city mediate their identity and power. Their ideas address the urban setting—the current political elite intends to change the urban setting, while the deposed elite finds it flawed and plans an exit—and reveal their understanding of who they are and the scope of their influence.

⁹ Writing about myth and ideology in Madagascar, Maurice Bloch (1986) analyses how creativity is attributed to a transcendent realm rather than the individuals who are engaged in productive labour. Here I argue that former politicians imply that creativity is located outside the city, while current politicians locate this capacity in Leipzig proper.

¹⁰ To follow Robert Paine (1981), the political opposition employs metaphors, while office holders, metonymy. In Leipzig, former politicians draw on the pastoral, conjuring a negative metaphor between the city and its periphery, while current politicians draw on restorative nostalgia, creating a metonymic order among different features of the urban landscape.

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***Environmental Activism, Corruption and Local Responses to EU Enlargement:
Case Studies from Eastern and Western Europe¹***

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This article addresses the transformation of environmental activism in relation to EU policies. It is argued that new environmentalism stems from several tensions in the economic, social and political spheres. The discussion draws on case studies from Eastern and Western Europe to address the ways in which environmental activism has been inspired by the ideological, programmatic and policy objectives of the EU enlargement.

Key words: Environmental activism, corruption, Eastern and Western Europe

Scholars who have studied the transformation of environmental activism in recent years, although they take different perspectives, agree on one point: it is increasingly difficult to characterise green movements nowadays (Dobson 1990; Norton 1991; Milton 1996; Mol 2000). Some approaches focused on how these movements shifted towards becoming main political actors, others saw a binary distinction between those movements that lost their ecological character to become increasingly institutionalised (Gerlach 1991; Milton 1993) and the movements which have taken radical positions, and have been labelled as ‘eco-terrorists’.

New environmentalism stems from several tensions in the economic, social and political spheres. One is the tension between the local nature of these movements, their ties with the social and ecological environments of the region in which they evolve, and the global arena in which they interact with transnational institutions, such as the EU and other environmental groups. The second tension has to do with the challenges facing the sovereignty (in policy making and development plans) of the state under the influences of neoliberal capitalism and global governance (Pardo and Prato 2010). The third concerns the above mentioned tendency of the movements to seek more direct political intervention and at the same time to have to deal with decreasing mobilisation from below. The fourth is the need to maintain the appeal of the ecological discourse in a context of increasing politicisation of their actions. The fifth, in the European case, is the sharp differences between Eastern and Western European concepts of

¹ This article draws on the argument that I have developed in my volume, *The New Environmentalism. Corruption and Civil Society in the Enlarged EU*, in publication with Ashgate Publishers, 2011.

mobilisation, ecological awareness, institutionalisation and political participation. All these tensions are, to different extents, present in new environmentalism.

New environmentalism has been inspired by the ideological, programmatic and policy objectives of the EU enlargement. The five ethnographic case studies I have recently analyzed are all examples of to what extent the project of a well-connected and cooperative EU can become stained by the emergence of a number of economic and political bottlenecks. These bottlenecks are not simply 'unintended consequences' or effects of NIMBY (Not in my backyard) protests, as some analysts have hastily declared. They constitute the prices that each member state, and within them each regional government, has to pay for the realisation of the idea of an efficiently enlarged European community. The gap between East and West, manifest from these case studies, is increasingly evident in the modalities in which the projects of infrastructural development are being planned, implemented and managed. However, the differences between East and West are not only in the 'cultural' perspectives on the assessment of environmental hazard. These differences can be interpreted from two perspectives: the top-down and the bottom-up approach. In the top-down approach, EU enlargement policies and EU-funded development projects, although built on the common notion of a well-connected Europe, still work along very different institutional and economic tracks. When local government institutions are plagued by widespread corruption, clientelistic practices, a high prevalence of personalised and informal strategies and the transposition of public and private interests, political bottlenecks can make the Enlargement project a highly costly one. Similarly, in the economic sphere, the aggressive intrusion of (mainly Western European) corporate business investments in Eastern Europe have tended to preclude the positive results of environmental protests not only because of their strong influential power over local political decisions, but also due to the hard-to-die development rhetoric.

In my current research I take a new perspective to the anthropological study of environmental activism in Europe by looking at the impact of corruption in EU-funded development projects. I analyze forms and contexts of environmentalism drawing on an ethnographic and comparative approach based on case studies in Eastern Europe and Western Europe. The case studies are drawn from projects of transport development (TEN-T) and waste management. The projects share the common point of bringing a potentially harmful impact on the environment which evidently collides with the legal prescriptions under which they were

planned. I argue that protection of the environment constitutes the ideological basis on which civil society is built at local and trans-local levels. However, on the long run it is corruption that is the key issue which contextualizes the protest in all the case studies, although with notable differences. Corruption becomes a crucial discourse when the configurations of power emerging from the interplay between the local, national, and transnational (EU) levels increasingly alienate citizens from political participation, decision making and even resistance.

In order to deal with the complex interplay of these levels I find it necessary to bring together three major theoretical frameworks with which anthropology has been engaging in the last three decades: environmentalism, civil society and corruption. Environmentalism is tackled by focusing on the social and political aspects of the opposition movements originating from the need to denounce development projects with a high potential of environmental damage. Civil society is product of local, national and transnational forms of environmental activism. Departing from the historical conditions that have rendered problematic the analytical use of the notion of civil society in contexts as different as Italy and Central Eastern Europe, this research traces a significant link between the EU enlargement project and the strengthening of civic participation from below. Civil society, in its local and trans-local manifestations, is the response to blindness of the structural development projects to problems that arise from their implementation at local level in the range of environmental sustainability, transparency of governments and business integrity.

The ethnographic part of my research analyses five case studies: the Pova ská Bystrica highway, in Slovakia; Vienna-Brno highway; M0 Budapest ring road; TAV fast railway in the Susa Valley, Northwestern Italy; illegal shipments of waste from Western to Eastern Europe. The ethnographic data of this book contribute mainly to build an innovative, bottom-up approach. The new environmentalism benefits from a polyfunctional set of strategies devised by the different types of movements, both in their practices and in their discourses. This research demonstrates that the two fields (practices and discourses) cannot be looked at separately, they constitute a meaningful continuum that finds shape in the changing spatial and temporal conditions of the lives of these movements. Eastern European environmentalism is revitalised by the negative impacts of the EU enlargement policies. This stands alone as a demonstration that a genuinely local civil society can originate from globalising and homogenising trends. However, the novelty of the Eastern European environmentalism lies in the ways in which political discourses

intermingle with environmental practices. The space to consolidation of corruption, lack of transparency and 'lower' quality of governance, being enlarged by the political and economic factors mentioned above, strongly influence the perception of the utility and harm of the development projects. As soon as these projects manifested their devastating potential, not only of an environmental but also of a political, economic and moral entity, the civic movements tried to inform the local public of the whole range of possible damage.

The crucial issue is that corruption in state and local governments has provided legitimacy to the environmentalist discourses, helping them to remain closer to the people through the use of a common language. This tendency is unique in the Eastern European cases (and partially for Italy) for three reasons. First, the new civil society has assumed, as expected, different tones in these countries compared to Western Europe. This is due to the conditions under which civil society emerged during the last years of socialism: as an anti-political movement, and yet not definitively separate from the state, in symbiosis with which it often continued to exist. Second, corruption is present and widely exposed to the public by the media in these countries. This is not to argue that Eastern European countries are more corrupt than Western European ones, as the Italian case eloquently proves. It infers that when generalised 'corruption talk' becomes a social norm, than this can be used as a powerful discursive tool to communicate the harm that may be caused by these environmentally, politically and socially intrusive projects. Third, Eastern European environmental movements are characterised by a high degree of dualism between formal and informal practices. This aspect could be seen as a liability rather than an asset. However, I believe that I have provided enough empirical evidence to show that by seeking a balance between formal and informal practices, the environmental movements have contrasted that excessive institutionalisation and de-mobilisation which has been lamented in their Western European counterparts. Corruption is very much part of this attempt to bridge formal and informal strategies, since discourses on corruption are built mostly informally (Slovak and Hungarian cases). When, as in the case of waste import, corruption becomes a formally communicated issue, the perceived effectiveness (by the environmental movements) of this communication decreases. Instead, as can be seen in the Czech and Italian cases, using the language of corruption remains a fruitful way of transmitting to local inhabitants the risks, allegations and informal aspects of local politics.

Corruption is not only about discourses, it is a practice, as emerged from all the case studies. I have been concerned to show how the discursive use of corruption can become one of the 'hands' through which environmentalism operates, under particular conditions of global institutional transformation. Investigating the practices that underlie the emergence of corruption in the TEN-T transport projects as well as in the waste imports from Western to Eastern Europe, would have required a different methodological and theoretical angle that this book cannot provide.

The final point is on the use of the idea of civil society. I agree on the problematic use of this notion, both on epistemic and on heuristic bases. I am aware of the uneasiness of social scientists, and among them notably anthropologists, to parallel civil society in Western with Eastern European social contexts (Comaroff and Comaroff 1996; Gellner 1994; Hann and Dunn 1996). I also accept the stance that in order to deal with an alleged 're-vitalisation' of civil society in Eastern Europe, attention needs to be paid to the historical trajectories underlying this phenomenon from the late 1980s onwards. I have continued to use the notion of civil society mainly because this was communicated to me by the interviewed activists. In my empirical data civic movements were defined emically as 'civil society' by the actors themselves. I have never attempted to impose such a 'Western-centred' notion on them. What can be inferred from the analysis of these case studies is that civil society in Eastern European contexts has been strengthened by the EU enlargement process. This is a different kind of civil society compared to the one described by Gramsci, Tocqueville and Hegel (see for instance Keane 1998). There are many differences: the changing role of the state, the influence of the socialist experience, the global conditions of governance, the influence of neo-liberalism, changing perceptions of social justice, legitimacy and the public good. Nonetheless, it still makes sense to deal with civil society in the peculiar conditions of the post-socialist and EU enlargement experiences. This notion is undermined or exalted (according to the cases) by discourses on corruption and by the alternation of formal and informal practices. Hence, through its analytical use it is possible to test the validity of the idea that changing historical (and geographical) conditions permanently affect the relationship between state and society.

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GUEST ARTICLE

After the Murdoch Affair: A Better Ethics?¹

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*‘Trying to determine what is going on in the world
by reading newspapers is like trying to tell the time
by watching the second hand of the clock’.*
(Ben Hetch, quoted in the Associated Press)

The wiretapping scandal that overwhelmed Rupert Murdoch’s News of the World in the United Kingdom raises the unanswered question, what is the true nature of news reporting? More specifically, are reported news a commodity or a cultural product? Therefore, should reported news respond to strictly economic principles or to something else?

If news reporting is a market product whose ultimate aim is to sell newspapers, then one of the most important criteria will be its ability to attract readers and boost sales, the priority being to capture readers’ favour by meeting their expectations and preferences. The yardstick changes if, on the other hand, news reporting is aimed at spreading information and improving knowledge, and at offering professional, in-depth investigation. In the latter case, news reporting no longer has to dazzle or amaze no matter what; it must stick as much as possible to facts, even when they are unglamorous; the reporter’s task is to make such news understandable and complete.

There are, of course, many gradations between these two extremes, but the key question stands: to which of these two poles, should the nature of news reporting be closer? To rephrase, which goal should the good publisher, the good editor, the good journalist aim: to ever-increasing

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to Francesca Pardo, who greatly helped to put right the English and copy-edited the manuscript.

sales or to striving to contribute to public knowledge and civic consciousness and to strengthen the readers' ability to understand and interpret events and their complexity and ramifications?

The difference between these two extremes is all too evident. In the first case, the news will take their own independent life, regardless of the facts; or, in a more refined version, one true aspect of the story will be embellished and blown out of proportion to construe some appealing theory that catches the audience's imagination and makes people rush to the newsstand to buy the paper. In the opposite case, the news will respond to facts and possibly include in-depth analyses, expert opinions and comments that will contribute to understanding and will help to bring out meanings and to widen the scope of the analysis. In this second case, sources must be consulted, the findings compared and their accuracy verified. In short, hard work must be done not simply to please readers but, above all, to honour the loyalty pact signed with them when the journalist decided to embrace this profession.

So, which of these two conceptions is more rewarding in terms of consensus? As the statistics clearly show, definitely the first one. In terms of circulation, newspapers that publish rumours and fantasies far oversell others, which in many cases, to keep sales up, appear to increase the amount of superficiality in their reporting at the expense of good journalism. As a consequence, gossip becomes paramount, engendering a vicious circle (for some virtuous) whereby gossip and wild speculation encourage further rumours in competitive pursuit of circulation, sales and advertising contracts; a race fully justified, after all, precisely by this kind of journalism as it does, in fact, pay in terms of audience and income. More explicitly, the use of immoderate gossip becomes a mighty weapon as it gives increasing power to make instrumental choices. Once on this path, it becomes difficult to get out.

According to *Forbes*, Murdoch is the world's richest and most powerful publisher. He is the 122nd richest man in the world with a fortune estimated at \$7.2 billion and the capacity to reach 4.7 billion people (three quarters of the world population) every day. In order to maintain such primacy and continue to beat competitors, he has chosen to push the game to the extreme.

The name 'Murdoch' encompasses all his decision-making staff. There is an ongoing judicial process and we will have to let the British judiciary do its job. Still, it is clear and indisputable that, regardless of individual responsibilities, the tycoon's group has stepped far over the line in order to give its readers what they wanted. In this affair the audience has played a specific role, which is not necessarily that of the victim. It could even be said that Murdoch's

readers have been his accomplices for, by showing their interest through circulation, they have encouraged the paper to pursue the wildest kind of journalism. Readers were crazy about the *News of the World's* scoops. In order to remain faithful to its fame and give its paying pets new emotions, the paper did not hesitate to tap thousands of phones and private mails, including those of politicians, actors, sports personalities and ordinary people who had had the misfortune to become newsworthy. The whole affair involved a network of complicity that the current investigation is gradually unravelling, in the process making the upper floors of many respected and important institutions shake.

The Murdoch system functioned like a perfectly tuned clockwork. No part of the system could complain, for each got what it wanted- money, fame, power, access to intimate secrets otherwise unobtainable, according to the self-combustion principle by which success feeds itself. And yet, under such conditions the risk is to lose control over one's own actions. Perhaps this is what happened to Rebekah Brooks, Murdoch's red-maned proconsul in the UK; his seventh daughter, as the tycoon loved to say triggering jealousy among his family. To please her publisher-mentor, Brooks, as managing director, signed off on increasingly aggressive stories stuffed with confidential information and published under sensational headlines. The competition was in despair, until the unavoidable showdown.

It does not really matter whether the tycoon was aware of the methods used, whether he prompted or just approved them. The craving for indiscretion, the need to delve into private lives regardless of any principle of privacy, giving preference to the crowned heads who provide the highest reading statistics in the UK, arose from a competitive environment and a drug-like addiction to flattery. After all, it must be not easy to meet the expectations of 'the Shark', the nickname by which Murdoch is commonly known to emphasize his inclination to attack, tear apart and swallow his enemies, with no qualms whatsoever. It takes a strong stomach to digest the junk food involved in the task, and Brooks proved to possess an iron one. Where others did not dare to dwell, Brooks was at home. She imposed a distinctive professional style, skirting which brought exclusion from a winning team that 'taught' journalism to competitors, who bit the dust working for papers that seemed written for lilywhites and showed pathetic budgets in red. The formula worked, thrilled and induced admiration, and, more often than not, awe. One does not get to be number one by chance; it takes guts, and to hell with good manners, ethic codes and professional rules. Besides, I stress, in this case readers got exactly what they wanted;

a keyhole through which to look at the world and its protagonists who, unprotected, show as much fragility, insecurity and sometimes ridicule as their ordinary secret watchers, who thus take revenge on the celebrities' luck.

Having inherited the *Melbourne Herald* and the *Adelaide News* from his father, the Australian-born Murdoch quickly increased his reach buying the *Sun* and the *News of the World* in the UK; the delight, that is, and then burden in his adventure. He also acquired the *New York Post* and the *New York Magazine* in the US. He imposed his methods and belief-system, sinking his teeth into every medium that belonged to him. He replaced executives, trampled established procedures and then proceeded to enrich his collection with the *Times* and the *Sunday Times*, flagships of the British press. He established *Sky Television*, which later merged with *British Satellite Broadcasting* into *BSkyB*. Then, the *20th Century Fox*, *Metromedia*, *Harper Collins Publishers* and the *Fox Television Network* joined his empire too. He bought *Star TV* in Asia and then the social media *My Space*, which became the most used web-site broadcasting music and songs. To top it up, he bought the *Dow Jones* and the *Wall Street Journal* from the Bancroft family, one of the most titled in the publishing world.

In Italy, Murdoch is active through *Sky Italy*, born from the merger of *Tele+* and *Stream* a venture that has made a marked difference in terms of information liveliness and timeliness. Under the direction of Emilio Carelli, attracted from Silvio Berlusconi's *Mediaset*, *SkyTg24* has won twice the accolade of best newscaster in the country. Through the broadcasting of football matches, the company has attracted huge subscription, substantially threatening the Berlusconi primacy.

The tycoon's private life also appears to be affected by his exuberance. Born in 1931, Murdoch graduated at Oxford, married three times and fathered four daughters and two sons, who have been involved in his activities with ups and downs and lack of continuity. At present, the star is his last wife, the Chinese Wend Deng who, much younger than him, has proved to be a true fighter in the face of investigators' questions.

Used to soaring to the stars and sinking to the gutter, to sell family assets to secure debts and to get the most beautiful and expensive houses when fortune smiled back, the Shark knows how to sail in all seas moving unscathed between Republican and Democrat support, while playing with relish and ruthlessness his king-maker role and taking advantage of the complexities of bi-polar political systems.

Presidents, chancellors, prime ministers and royalty have all bowed at least once to the wrinkled, fake friendly figure who controlled the most popular papers and the most watched TVs networks. Throughout, Murdoch cleverly selected staff who were always up-dated, extremely well informed and privy to what goes on in the secret corridors of power, as if they were physically there. In a way, that is precisely where they were. Taking full advantage of state-of-the-art technological gadgets and with the complicity of key people in power, the electronic ears of the *News of the World* – and, many suspect, of other authoritative media – captured private conversations, secret communications, confidential briefs, angry outbursts, hopes, disappointments, joys and sorrows; it all was then used to satisfy an increasingly demanding audience.

Where should the limit be in all this? Who should sets such a limit, and according to what criteria? What should be punished, unlawful action or the intrusion into people's lives? How far can and must go the right, and the duty, to inform the public? Where, in the democratic system, lies the antidote to intrusiveness? Who is capable of using such means timely, before injustice is done, and without fear of retaliation?

This story, packed with incredible developments, is marked by society's slow, almost slothish reaction. Had it not been for the competitive scoop by the *Guardian's* journalist Nick Davies, author of past brilliant investigations full of scandalous implications, probably no one would have switched off the disreputable machine driven by the *News of the World*. Indeed, as complicities developed increasingly higher and wider, there was an ever diminishing hope that somebody would disclose the sources of so much vaunted (alleged) journalistic skills. The system's antibodies did not work or, perhaps, were neutralized by an illness that had become too pernicious to be defeated physiologically; that is, by actors' conscience, by the machine's drivers' rethinking or by action by the authorities. Instead, it was an equal and opposite thrust that did the job; a thrust authored by a professional rival most likely annoyed by the success of its competitor and unwilling to accept that that intrusive information resulted from appropriate investigations. All those thorny details, so voluptuously devoured by the public, could only come from espionage. So, the *Guardian* published the indictment on its front page, scoring a damaging hit to the great satisfaction of its editor Alan Rusbridger. It would be interesting to know what makes Rusbridger tick; would it be a commitment to justice and to protect the audience from this kind of

journalism, would it be sympathy with the victims or would it perhaps be revenge and the pleasure in hunting a powerful rival into the dust?

The *News of the World's* talented, and for so long unbeatable, journalists were bested by someone who managed to uncover the technological tricks at the root of their professional success and who happily stripped naked the publishing world's king. The apparently granitic building from which Murdoch built his victories began to unravel at unexpected speed, indicating that the time was ripe for revenge.

Can we be happy with this epilogue? Can we always say that all is well that that ends well? Apart from the fact that this story's ending has not yet been written, the way in which it has unfolded so far leaves much to be desired; too many unanswered questions are left hanging. Missing, critical elements in this affair are a sense of proportion, before and after taking the lid off, and a definition of the dividing line between bad and good journalism. There has been a remarkable lack of measure in the *News of the World's* staffs' ambition, in the conspiracy chain that helped and protected the paper, in the readers' greed, in the widespread deference to the holder of editorial power, in the complicit network of flatteries, in the advertisers' opportunism and in the hypocrisy of those who cried scandal for moralistic reasons. What happened was bound to happen. It was the unavoidable consequence of unscrupulous hands treating the journalistic product as a commodity. One cannot help wonder whether, given the chance, many harsh critics would have been more than willing to sit in the place of the winning Murdoch. Now, they rub their hands toasting the tyrant's fall. And yet, do they care about the presumably restored ethics and perhaps cleanliness of the profession?

RESEARCH REPORT

Immigrant women and entrepreneurship in Greece

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This ethnographic research on immigrant women and entrepreneurship was carried out in Athens and addresses the growing interest of Greek people in immigrant women's skills and services, particularly African hairdressing. The interaction between immigrant hairdressers and Greek customers appears to be instrumental in understanding how national identity constructs articulate with Western debates and lifestyles.

Key words: Immigrant women, national identity, consumerism, self and the other.

This research focuses on Greek women's interaction with African hairdressers who run small salons in Athens. Given that hairstyling is both an aestheticized commodity and an embodied dimension of identity carved out in self-care regimes of body culture, immigrant entrepreneurs' narratives enhance our reflexivity on the ways with which the Self and the Other are re-created in contexts of consumption. Moreover, such narratives illustrate that while Greek customers include elements of local African traditions in their stylistic choices, such choices do not reflect on their social views and perspectives; that is, the ways in which they perceive cultural difference and think of and deal with immigrants in general and African hairdressers in particular.

The ethnography suggests that hairdressers' shift from employment to business ownership is consistent with the accelerated pace with which ethnic goods and traditions are incorporated in Western fashion and with the lax market system and expanded sectors of informal labour prevailing in Greece. The appeal exerted by African hairdressers on Greek customers also relates to generalized perceptions of black women as 'naturally' resourceful in body decoration. By extension, salon owners decorate their small premises with meticulous care – for example, with posters depicting African landscapes and black fashion models – making them spaces in which Greek customers have access to 'authentic' hair arrangements; these spaces satisfy curiosities about unfamiliar customs and weave imaginative bonds with the world beyond their geographical borders. Advertising 'Africaness' as 'authenticity' works as a strategy that bestows notability to African entrepreneurs as holders of particularly desirable cultural properties and places them in the interstices between modernity and tradition.

In their daily life, entrepreneurs try hard to safeguard the delicate balance between economic needs, rigid migration policies and the benefits (symbolic and material) drawn from ownership. To achieve this, they resort to self-discipline and intensive labour, adapting their work schedule to domestic and family obligations. The most significant device with which they reinforce salons' maintenance is anchored, however, on the diversification of their economic activities. In addition to hairstyling, most of them sell a broad range of jewellery and cosmetics products, face and body creams which are manufactured abroad in keeping with African people's taste. The crucial point is that by importing such goods to European cities, entrepreneurs retain networks that extend beyond national borders and, at the same time, trade ethnic goods in the national markets. They also enrich and promote their activities by training immigrant and Greek apprentices. Undoubtedly, culturally specific coiffures are conceptualised as tokens of a global fashion world, in which these entrepreneurs transmit their skills to 'hosts' who otherwise look down upon immigrants' cultural heritage as 'lower' to the Greek one.

It seems reasonable to say that the experiences of African hairdressers dispute the assumption that immigrant business ownership is little more than an innovative way to confront unemployment. The dynamics of their pursuits supersedes economic factors; it brings out the perplexity of their attributes as women, wives, mothers and formally unqualified albeit unique providers of 'authentic' services. As dynamic agents, these hairdressers have a remarkably good grasp of how to cope with shortcomings and they take immense pride in eliciting modernity out of a repertoire of culturally inherited aptitudes. More significantly, they realize that by arranging Greek customers' hair they channel informal but nonetheless meaningful processes of integration in key sectors of Greek society; namely, consumption and body culture.

By all accounts, the most interesting finding of this research concerns the variable meanings that entrepreneurs attach to the relationships that they develop with their Greek customers. In spite of the indispensability of their skills and of the trust and physical intimacy involved in the act of hairdressing, essential ties and communication with the Greek clientele are virtually absent. As a consequence of the different access immigrants and nationals have to civic and social rights in Greece, in addition to the reinforcement of intense dislike of 'others', the use that Greek women make of African coiffures intensifies rather than eliminate cultural hierarchies and discriminative attitudes. In other words, the fact that both Greek and African women assess modern aesthetics in relation to ethnic workspaces by no means counteracts the representation of

Greek national culture as devoid of foreign influences. Instead, ethnic hairstyles as fashion icons serve the dual purpose of projecting Greeks' standards of consumption as an irrevocable part of Westernization and as culturally 'pure', prior to immigration.

However, it is important to note that the antinomies that mark the interaction between Greek nationals and immigrants include the potential of their resolution. The potential of defining Greek customers' tastes and looks amidst restrictive policies and values is an accomplishment with major symbolic beneficial implications for African entrepreneurs. African entrepreneurs use this potential reflectively and for their benefit.

It should be stressed that, although Greek women who step into African salons are relatively few and differ in age, education and social and occupational status, the aspiration they all share 'to look different' is pertinent to the way in which socially and politically marginalized immigrants are empowered by their encounters with privileged members of the host society. By advocating the transformation of an ethnic hairstyle into a constituent of mainstream fashion, while at the same time maintaining ties with their cultural history and performances, immigrant entrepreneurs mediate between different social and cultural settings, re-contextualise the meaning attached to African legacies and contribute to the amalgamation of ethnic with global imperatives of fashion. Combined, these processes operate as an instrument with which entrepreneurs 'correct' wider asymmetries and cast strong links between the new environment and the world left behind.

In view of the above, immigrant entrepreneurs intuitively and critically understand that Greek women's fascination with elements of ethnic cultures is not conducive to open-mindedness; instead, Greek women remain conditioned by stereotypical representations and are unable to modify or free themselves of their stereotypical attitudes towards immigrant producers of difference and modernity.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Multiculturalism: Theoretical Challenges from Anthropology

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John Nagle, 2009, *Multiculturalism's Double Bind: Creating Inclusivity, Cosmopolitanism & Difference*. Farnham: Ashgate.

and

Giuliana B. Prato (ed.), 2009, *Beyond Multiculturalism: Views from Anthropology*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Both these books are published in the Urban Anthropology Series. Both are concerned with examining multiculturalism from an anthropological viewpoint - that is, from the close study of particular situations - but otherwise they are remarkably different publications. John Nagle's book is primarily concerned with minorities in a 'global city' seeking to take advantage of state-sponsored multiculturalism, through grants to people organizing 'ethnic' arts festivals etc.. The irony is that ethnic groups are encouraged to make their cultures inclusive and accessible in order to contribute to a 'liberal-pluralist celebration of cosmopolitan diversity. Yet, at the same time they must maintain their ethnic differences in order to maintain their rights to maintain their claim as a distinctive group to resources. Nagle looks particularly at those claiming an Irish identity in inner London Boroughs, such as Camden, particularly during the '80s and '90s as leading members sought to move 'the Irish' into the category of a recognised 'ethnic' group. *Beyond Multiculturalism*, on the other hand, is a collection of papers dealing with ethnographic accounts ranging from Europe, with papers on a wide variety of topics that, amongst other things, examine immigration of outsiders from many areas into Southern Italy, and Vienna, to the analysis in China and India (Calcutta), of the influx, within a single state, into urban areas of rural peoples with very different cultures. There are also papers on particular situations in Canada and Argentina; and also on the migrant family as a cross cultural kin-based organisation.

The most challenging essay is the Introduction to the latter book by the editor, Giuliana Prato, in which she confronts key important issues. Multiculturalism is widely seen as 'benign'. It is widely assumed amongst the intelligentsia of the democratic west that it is indisputably a morally

good thing for states to be ‘multicultural’ for this term assumes that an underlying ‘philosophical good will’ translates ‘into policies that truly promote pluralism, the peaceful coexistence of diverse cultures and equal citizenship’. In relation to each of these assumed results, she raises questions.

Writing this in the week that has seen the Norwegian massacres carried out by a self-proclaimed opponent of multiculturalism, I understand the difficulty of publicly doubting whether multiculturalism is benign, but Prato, confronting detailed analyses of the consequences of so called multicultural policies, has the courage to raise doubts, and in doing so raises also fundamental issues. She doubts whether the assumptions behind the multicultural project can stand up to analysis. A common assumption is that the host society is an undifferentiated cultural entity, and that a minority group, moving into it, presents an unchanging cultural object that needs to have its culture protected. Both assumptions, she thinks, are faulty because they make false judgements about the very nature of culture; ‘culture’ refers to learned behaviour and is not genetically inherited so it is inherently malleable. The indigenous population of a ‘host’ society normally manifests different cultures; and an incoming group changes culturally even when shown toleration. Multiculturalism is, moreover, an obstacle to integration because ‘[by] celebrating diversity in the form of group membership, [it] does not break down cultural barriers but reinforces them’. And, fundamentally, she posits an irreducible dilemma between individual and group rights on two counts. Positive discrimination on the basis of membership of a minority group in effect means that the state empowers the leaders of such groups to which privileges have been granted, to define the rights of their individual members, and this may have the effect of confining them within the group instead of granting them equality of opportunity in the society as a whole. Positive discrimination by the political class, also, on the other hand ‘grants privileges to selected minorities (and) creates new forms of inequality’ that commonly further disadvantage sections of the host society that were already disadvantaged – Thus the ultimate question is raised ‘is multiculturalism compatible with equal citizenship for all?’. Prato confronts these uncomfortable ideas and introduces examples of a variety of types of multicultural situations presented in this book and musters the empirically based insights of ethnographers into the increasingly complex and ambiguous concept of multiculturalism. For reasons of space I can comment on only a selection of the papers here presented.

In relation to Southern Italy, Pardo builds on his very fine earlier studies of the 'popolino', the 'little people', of Naples, the very disadvantaged local inhabitants, historically and in contemporary society the abused targets first of the aristocracy and in recent years of corrupt politicians, to show how the ordinary citizen continues to lose out. He examines the situation in Naples from this viewpoint and places the lack of integration of non-E.U. immigrants in the context of the failed integration of the indigenous Neapolitan. He sees the irony in the multicultural demand made on them today that those who have never been respected by others should now show toleration and respect for the cultures of immigrants even when some of the latter make no secret of their own lack of any respect for the culture either of the popolino or of Italians generally.

Fong, writing on Canada presents the dangerous slope that had to be negotiated when an apparent simple initial decision in the post 1945 era, to grant equal status to Francophone and Anglophone rights was taken up by those who promptly demanded equal rights for the speakers of indigenous languages, to be followed by the claims of immigrants from a range of other areas, that their languages too should be respected. The question is raised – does all this ultimately promote the equality of citizens?

A chapter on the influx of an indigenous ethnic group into Rosario, a large urban area in Argentina previously devoid of native South American inhabitants, shows the complexity of the problems that arise when a population accustomed to exercising special rights as indigenous inhabitants expect to translate such rights into their new urban environment. These rights include linguistic and educational priority; control of land and the right to have their indigenous medical practices recognised. Should their demands 'involving the presence of aboriginal medical practitioners in the public hospitals' be accepted as their multicultural right?

A chapter that discusses the structures of immigrant families in multicultural societies raises other very significant issues that have implications for integration. It has been generally assumed by 'host' governments that in two to three generations, the children of the original new arrivals will cease to have linguistic problems, and in general families, even while retaining elements of their original culture, will in fact be in many respects 'acculturated'. But in the modern era of easy communications such assumptions may be false. Mobile phones and emails can mean daily contacts between family members resident in different parts of the globe. Relatively cheap flights may mean frequent visits as those who have gone abroad for economic

reasons return 'home' for holidays. Rubel and Rosman look at the 'transnational' family 'as it is manifested by the Tongans and the Dominicans and south-east Asian Indian families in the USA, the Pakistani family in Britain and Sikhs in many areas.

As I have seen it, the transnational family is of great significance amongst the Bangladeshis in London. This is evident at two levels. The father of a family in the East End may have his interest so fixed on raising his status in Bangladesh that he ploughs his savings (that may come in part from family welfare payments, at cost to his wife and children) into buildings in his home village. At the same time he may strengthen alliances with important people there by negotiating marriage alliances for his children with families in his home village. In fact it is still not the norm for marriages to be contracted between young people already resident in the U.K. Such traditional contracts demand not only that individuals should be of the right caste, but also be actual cousins.

Interestingly, the custom of arranged marriages may involve the confrontation of the state with the fundamental multicultural rule, that immigrants' cultural practices be respected. As Prato points out this rule can lead, via political correctness, to moral relativism. This demands that the indigenous population must not object to cultural practices that offend their moral norms; and the organs of the state must not object either. Certainly this was until recently the case in places like the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, where social services have been reluctant to notice the problems of women generally, and in particular of young teen-age girls forced into unwelcome marriages. In recent years, however, there has been a growing awareness of the fact that such girls, taken by their parents 'on holiday' to Bangladesh, may have their passports removed, be browbeaten (if nothing worse) into accepting the father's choice of husband, and then be allowed to return to the UK only with husband, and hopefully baby, in tow. When I asked a girl to tell me what she most hoped for in marriage she answered promptly: 'a husband who sees me as more than a travel ticket'. More recently so called 'forced marriage' has been identified as a public service scandal because the institutions that should protect British youngsters fail them (and these teenagers, boys as well as girls, are especially valued as marriage partners in Bangladesh precisely because they hold British passports that entitle them to enter the U.K. accompanied by a spouse). The result has been direct conflict between two opposing principles – the right of immigrants to pursue their own cultural practices, and the rights to protection of all British

citizens. In a few extreme cases, the state has imprisoned, to their considerable indignation, male immigrants who have killed or injured recalcitrant female kin.

Against such complex backgrounds showing the varieties of multiculturalism, it is instructive to return again to the London of the 1980s onwards, and the very detailed study by John Nagle of the environment of state-sponsored multiculturalism and the endeavours of some Irish leaders to benefit from the advantages to be gained from achieving an 'ethnic minority' status. He shows with meticulous detail, the very tangible benefits that the Greater London Council, under the leadership of Ken Livingstone, who was aiming at 'municipal socialism' based on a network of sub-group alliances, was making available to those it classified as disadvantaged ethnic minorities. Unsurprisingly, the aim of these Irish leaders was to reap the reward such a status would bestow on the organisations they represented. It seems that particular official encouragement was given to the Irish organisations, possibly linked to the fact that Livingstone was nursing a parliamentary seat in Brent with a very high Irish population. Cynics might say that the programme, unconstrained, would have taken a significant step in the direction of pork-barrel politics. From my own experience in Camden at this time, I know that the greatest advantage was gained by those groups classified as 'Black'. Extra funding for example was made available to schools with a high percentage of 'black' pupils, and the local authority instructed them to classify Greek Cypriot children as Black. Various Irish organisations, I was told made an understandable, but ultimately unsuccessful, bid for this classification; but Nagle documents the successes they achieved, even against the opposition of many middle class Irish immigrants, of whom there were an increasing number, in their striving for 'ethnic minority' status. The greatest achievement of the leaders was the attainment of a separate, Irish, category on the 2001 and 2011 U.K. census forms. On this, people were invited to tick the 'Irish' box if they 'regarded themselves as of Irish cultural background', even if they were not born in Ireland and could not show evidence of Irish ancestry. (The leaders seem not to have been outstandingly successful in getting people to adopt this identification since in the event those who ticked this box were fewer than those known to have been born in Ireland.)

It has been difficult to review together two books that, despite both dealing with multiculturalism and both doing so from an explicitly anthropological basis, are so very different. *Beyond Multiculturalism* suffers from the problems inevitable in a book based on a wide range of papers. In comparison the narrative of *Multiculturalism's Double Bind*, that considers in depth

the case primarily of a group of leaders, is easy to grasp as they seek to take advantage of state-sponsored multiculturalism, to raise the profile of their social network and turn it into a recognised ethnic group. The story, well handled, is a remarkable tale of what may prove ultimately to have been a unique situation. It is undoubtedly a good read. I would not say that of the other volume, but ultimately *Beyond Multiculturalism* is the more rewarding as it bubbles with ideas and challenges readers to think seriously about multifarious social situations, all of them labeled 'multicultural'.

BOOK REVIEW

Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato (eds).
2011. *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of
Governance: Anthropology in the
Mediterranean Region*.
Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Since its beginnings anthropology has constantly developed new methods and paradigms, responding to new historical situations or to theoretical debate. Urban anthropology as a relatively new specialism has the ambition to bring innovation to anthropology in general as well as to urban studies in particular. One of the most interesting aspects of urban anthropology is the attempt to apply the classic anthropological methods also to research in Western urban settings, thereby strikingly transcending the traditional disciplinary borders of anthropology. High expectations have accompanied one of the major recent publications in this field: *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance*, edited by Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato, two pioneers in the field of urban anthropology.

The collection contains ten essays on urban ethnographies from some EU member states and post-Communist and Middle-Eastern countries in the Mediterranean Region. The empirically-based comparative

studies focus on the problem of the critical relationship between citizenship and governance. The volume documents in-depth case-studies from Albania, Greece, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, and Turkey. The North-African countries were excluded from these researches for methodological reasons.

At least since the 1980s we have observed that the gap between the rulers and the ruled has continuously widened. Political parties have failed to reorganize themselves and to counteract the growing disconnection between citizenship and governance. Particularly impressive are the confirmations that the analysis presented in this volume have found in the case of Italy (Pardo). The difficult relationship between politics, law and the broader society has further deteriorated and has become untenable in the context of the international financial crisis. Formal citizenship does not automatically entail other political or civic rights. In most of the countries examined in this volume a

discrepancy has emerged between the formal political rights and their actual implementation. Alex Weingrod has studied the unequal 'citizen rights' in two Israeli coastal towns (Haifa and Jaffa-Tel Aviv), analyzing the relations between Jews, Arabs and foreign workers from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Weingrod illustrates why the ethno-national rhetoric does not work in Israel's 'mixed cities'. A similar situation of interethnic relations with unequal rights is investigated by Mateja Sedmak in the Mediterranean part of Slovenia. Whereas the small autochthonous Italian minority enjoys a legally acknowledged minority status, the immigrants from former Yugoslavia have no specific political and civil rights.

Margarida Fernandes and Teresa Morte have documented how Portuguese media contribute to foster racial tensions, reinforcing the negative image of the black population. To conform to the European Community policies the Portuguese government has legislated on immigrants and 'ethnic minorities', but the legal norms on non-discrimination have not been effectively implemented. The State is perceived as ineffective both by the autochthonous population and by immigrants.

In times of surprising changes in citizenship urban authorities and city-planners need to develop a new understanding of public space, argues Fernando Monge, illustrating how Barcelona succeeded in promoting its image but failed to respond to new emerging social identities. While Barcelona's port can be read as a global phenomenon, it is deeply rooted in a 'local, social and cultural situation'.

Nebi Bardhoshi has dedicated his article to systems of 'regulation' in post-Socialist settings. Land occupancy in the informal zones of Albania's great cities is interpreted as a completely new reality which has no point of reference in previous systems. As has been highlighted by other contributors of this volume, essentializing interpretations of cultures must be overcome, but it would be a mistake to consider the *culture of informality* as a complete new phenomenon. Giuliana B. Prato, which has undertaken a long-term research on regime change and legal reforms in Albania, is more cautious when she writes about 'new applications of people's appeal to reciprocal help and family obligations', arguing that the traditional system of reciprocity seems to be moving towards a system of 'exchange of favours', thus indicating a development that necessarily starts from a point in the past.

The connection between the international pressure on nation-states and the crisis of legitimacy, studied by Prato in Albania, runs across the case-studies of Manos Spyridakis (Greece), Kayhan Delibaş (Turkey), and Marcello Mollica (Lebanon).

The aspiration of this book is to supply extensive ethnographic material for an analysis that should help towards ‘an

informed knowledge of how people actually respond to macro policies’. In their introduction Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato announce a forthcoming publication that will address the methodological and theoretical issues of urban anthropology.

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COMPLETED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

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Memory, Oblivion and Imaginary Realms, Study of two Centres of the Communist Memory in East-Berlin: the Palace of the Republic and the Stasi Museum

Berlin spawns an impressive imagery related to the history of the 20th century. Few other cities contain so many landmarks of the great events that shaped Europe and the world. From the ruins of the past century, Berlin is trying to set itself up as the German capital, a centre of political and economic power which embodies German democracy and sees itself as modest and exemplary. The collapse of the Wall has led to a break of intelligibility for those who lived within it. The stigma that made Germany an exception amongst the nations of the world has been swept away with the wall. However much it opens *de facto* new prospects for the future, this break of intelligibility also foreshadows a radically new relationship with history. In the reunified Germany, and especially in Berlin, a large scale re-evaluation of the past has begun, aiming at bringing sense to the new historical, political, economic and social order born from the events of 1989. The treatment of the high places of Communism, in conjunction with an extensive work on the past of the GDR, addresses multiple requirements formulated in political and economic terms, as well as in terms of identity. The discussion focuses on how the construction of official narratives of the communist past is part of an overall dynamic of incorporation of narratives of the new Germany in the urban space of the capital, paying special attention to the ways in which these reconstructions of the past are received in Berlin's 'public arena'. The thesis analyses how a common history of the GDR is taking shape and how, in turn, alternative narratives of the city and its past contradict the, sometimes homogenizing, interpretations proposed by the 'New Berlin.'

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Making video games and microcomputer a cultural heritage - Online and offline ethnography of a hobbyist community

This dissertation focuses on a community of 300-to-400 hobbyist-collectors of micro-computers and video-games from the 1970s to the 1990s, which they call ‘*vieilles machines*’. The collectors are mainly from France, but also from Belgium and Switzerland. Fieldwork was carried out both ‘on line’ and ‘off line’, mainly in Paris.

The community members communicate through online forums which belong to local offline associations. These forums are mainly used to exchange objects and information among collectors. The discussion looks at the rich and complex system of values and representations that regulates social relationships among the collectors. The main points are: a love for the *vieilles machines*; the will to use them; the idea of sharing knowledge and the rejection of monetary speculation. Sharing is the very basis of the daily behaviour and social imaginary of the community. Sharing is not, however, the rule in neighbouring economic systems (eBay, garage sales, other online auction websites). During the initial stages of the formation of this community – around 1998 – when these machines were seen as just obsolescent technical rubbishes, as opposed to collectible items, the community members could collect them for free or at very little cost. Thus, when an outside market developed and prices increased, they felt as if the *vieilles machines* had been stolen from them. As a reaction to the increase of prices caused by the outside market, the collectors changed the social norms and rules of exchange inside the community, so that at least they could mitigate the internal price increase. In particular, they promoted the idea of mutually satisfactory exchange as opposed to the idea of profit, and developed a ‘taboo system’ on the object’s real price, using the stance of major online opinion leaders whose expertise had contributed to give the community the status of main promoters of video games and microcomputer heritage. These collectors have, thus, managed to create a niche economy; a low price market in which one cannot integrate easily but in which, when fully integrated, anybody can benefit from an extended system of generosity and mutual aid.

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Clerse Laboratory-University of Lille 1
Doctoral dissertation defended on 4th November 2011

Modernization and change in China: Anthropological and social stakes: The renovation of the residential districts lived by a community of dwellers in Harbin

In China, the phenomenon of new building work has increased since the end of 1990s, raising issues of the implications and consequences of urban modernization in people's life. Questioning locally the process of urban modernization, this thesis is mainly the result of an investigation conducted in the city of Harbin, in the northeast of China (Heilongjiang Province). The thesis offers a comprehensive ethnography of a community in the 'Gu xiang' district, in the western part of the city.

The renovation of the district activated anxiety and fear in the community. The thesis offers a description of the context in which conflicts and negotiations between residents and authorities took place. The 'dwellers movement' was formed following the eviction of residents and the destructions of their houses. The discussion addresses the emerging nostalgia and the mourning, and its symbolic expressions, which followed the transformation of residents' lifestyles. When residents returned, they attempted to re-appropriate the new houses and to redraw the urban space as a synthesis between their past and their future.

CONFERENCE REPORT

Report on the 2011 CUA Conference Market vs Society? Human Principles and Economic Rational in Changing Times

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The annual conference of the IUAES Commission on Urban Anthropology was organized in collaboration with the University of the Peloponnese, Department of Social and Educational Policy. The conference was held in Corinth, Greece, between 27- 29 May 2011. It addressed the changes occurred in the international economy after the 1970s and the ensuing shift towards neo-liberalism in the 1980s that brought out a ‘rediscovery’ of the ideas of Friedrich Hayek. The view was put forward that the concept of liberalism was the ideological guise of economic globalization. Thus, the liberalization of market forces, as an ideological and economic project, has imposed a model of compliance through employment flexibility, the minimisation of social security, the fragmentation of social solidarity and the conceptualisation of the economy as money exchanged in the market rather than as an efficient management of resources.

Within this framework, the Conference’s task was to point out that states and policy decision-making are evaluated according to criteria related to the severity of macroeconomic strategies aiming at reducing fiscal deficits and cutting welfare and social benefits. Karl Polanyi’s claim has been confirmed that the economy has gained an independent life. Thus, the concepts of economy and society seem to be defined in terms of conflict rather than of harmonious coexistence. As a consequence, social life has become increasingly insecure and individualistic, the natural environment is being destroyed and the markets have changed into arenas of unfair competition and opportunistic speculation, while the unrestricted movement of capital jeopardizes the economic bases of the welfare state internationally and its subsequent ability to sustain full employment policies.

In addition the view emerged that for many people it has become gradually impossible to make the connection between impersonal market institutions and the reality that they

experience in their daily life. As anthropologists have shown, although people try to resist, explicitly or implicitly, ‘self-regulating’ economic processes, they would appear to play no role in the calculation of economic theory and practice.

The Conference’s basic aim was to address the complex connections between society and economy taking into account the processes that mark this often uneasy relationship in key social and political fields. Such aim was achieved satisfactorily by the large number of contributions. The participants were of a mixed origin mainly from European Countries, such as Greece, the U.K., Italy, Germany and Austria. The keynote speakers of the Conference — Dr Rosemary Harris, Emeritus Reader in Anthropology at the University College London and Mr Apostolos Ioakimides on behalf of the European Commission — offered acute discussions of the listed topics and of the issues and problems raised by policies and measures taken at national and European Level.

The organization of this Conference benefited greatly from the efficient and effective cooperation of the CUA Chair, Dr Giuliana B. Prato and of the local Organizing Committee. The Conference was sponsored by the Postgraduate Program ‘Institutions and Health Policies’ of Department of Social and Educational Policy at the University of the Peloponnese, the Greek Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance (European Social Fund - Human Resource Development), the Municipality of Corinth and by the publishing companies Papazissis Publishers and Ashgate Publishing Limited.

On behalf of the local Organizing Committee

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

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Diversity and Local Context: Urban Space, Borders and Migration. Prague (Czech Republic), 25-26 May 2012. Deadline for submission of paper proposals: 31 January 2012.

For further information see Forthcoming

Conferences at: <http://www.urbananthroweb.net>, or contact Zdenek Uherek at: uherek@eu.cas.cz.

International Conference

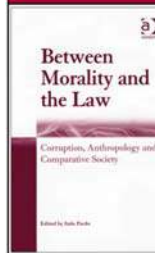
Issues of Legitimacy: Entrepreneurial Culture, Corporate Responsibility and Urban Development. Naples (Italy), 10-14 September 2012. Deadline for submission of Panel and Paper proposals:

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World Congress

Evolving Humanity, Emerging Worlds. 17th IUAES World Congress. Manchester (UK), 5-10 August 2013. For details on the Congress And to view the list of accepted panels, visit: <http://www.iuaes2013.org/>

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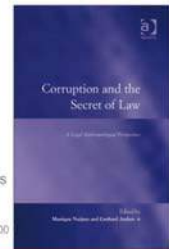
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