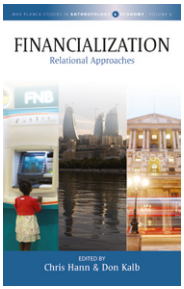

MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

Report 2017–2019

Department ‘Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia’

Max Planck Fellow Group ‘Connectivity in Motion’

Imprint

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Report 2017–2019

Department ‘Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia’

Max Planck Fellow Group (Burkhard Schnepel)
‘Connectivity in Motion: Port Cities of the Indian Ocean’

edited by Chris Hann

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Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

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Department
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Halle/Saale
2020

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Preface

Chris Hann

In the years 2017–2019 the Department of Resilience and Transformation has demonstrated more resilience than transformation. That is to say, the research outlined in this report demonstrates a lot of continuity with the themes documented in the last such report, compiled three years ago. The major change is that we no longer have a sub-group in the field of historical anthropology.[1] The sections devoted to the Visegrád Anthropologists’ Network and to our collaboration with Cambridge (Max-Cam) present new initiatives that were announced in the last report. They constitute extensions of a research profile developed cumulatively over many years, rather than transformations. Continuity is also apparent in research leadership and hence in the authorship of the sections that follow. Christoph Brumann, Kirsten Endres and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann have shared responsibilities with me over the last decade. Sascha Roth has continued in post as the dedicated coordinator of our graduate school, ANARCHIE.

The most notable change this year is the inclusion in our report of Max Planck Fellow Burkhard Schnepel’s account of the accomplishments of his group, *Connectivity in Motion: Port Cities of the Indian Ocean.* Max Planck Fellows are not affiliated to departments and Burkhard has always gone out of his way to open up his programme to the entire institute. However, it makes good sense intellectually to include his project alongside our own, since his vision of maritime connectivity in the Indian Ocean world complements our interest in terrestrial links across Europe and Asia over the centuries. In recent years Iain Walker, a senior researcher working with Burkhard for many years, has participated regularly in the seminars of our department. Moreover Burkhard himself has been active in teaching and supervision for our graduate school ANARCHIE. In sum, he has been a valued colleague and friend of the department for almost two decades: his commitment to the discipline and service to our faculty at the Martin Luther University are second to none.

This report is devoted to our research. It does not elaborate on the many ways in which department members contribute to the intellectual community at our institute, cooperate with our university colleagues and other local institutions, or engage in outreach to our *Kuratorium* and a wider public (we were, for example, very active in the programme offered by the institute to mark the first *Max Planck Day* in September 2018). Nor can we elaborate here on our international scholarly networking. Our annual Goody Lecture plays an important role in this respect: details of the

[1] After a very productive career in the Max Planck Society that began at the Institute for Demographic Research in Rostock, Mikołaj Szołtysek returned in 2017 to his native Poland as a POLONEZ Fellow at the Institute of History at the University of Warsaw. Dittmar Schorkowitz is still based at this Institute; he is now affiliated to the Department of Law and Anthropology.

lectures given by Nur Yalman (Harvard University), Sylvia Yanagisako (Stanford University) and Carola Lentz (Mainz University) can be found in Part IX. Stephen Levinson (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen) was scheduled to deliver the 10th Goody Lecture on 28 May 2020. Alas, as we finalise this report in April, due to the Covid-19 pandemic we have been obliged to postpone this event. The Goody Lecture for 2021 will be delivered on 24 June by our colleague Thomas Hylland Eriksen (University of Oslo). Thomas has been a close associate of the department from its earliest days. His appointment in 2017 as an External Scientific Member of this institute is the absolute highlight of the present reporting period.

Other milestones of the last three years include the following:

- The postdoctoral research group "Financialization," headed jointly by **Chris Hann** and **Don Kalb**, completed its work in 2018–9. An edited volume *Financialization: Relational Approaches* will be published in Summer 2020 in the Berghahn Books series "Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy."
- The European Research Council project "Realising Eurasia" was extended until June 2020. Its major conferences took place in 2017 and 2019 as planned, in Wittenberg and Halle respectively. Project Coordinator **Lale Yalçın-Heckmann** is preparing an edited volume *Moral Economy at Work: Ethnographic Investigations in Eurasia.*
- The Visegrád Anthropologists' Network was launched in October 2017. Besides supporting numerous doctoral and postdoctoral research projects, workshops and conferences have been organized by network members in Halle and Pilsen (2018) and Poznań and Prague (2019).
- The Max Planck – Cambridge Centre for Ethics, Economy and Social Change ("Max-Cam") was founded in July 2017 and formally inaugurated by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and the President of the Max Planck Society in Cambridge on 6 March 2018.
- In connection with Max-Cam, in 2017 **Chris Hann** was re-elected to a Fellowship at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (where he was previously a Fellow between 1980 and 1992). In 2018, as a consequence of Brexit, he applied for and was granted German citizenship. Also in 2018, he was elected a Fellow of Academia Europaea. In 2019, he was awarded the Huxley Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
- In 2019, ten years after joining our Max Planck Institute, **Kirsten Endres** was appointed to a professorship [Außerplanmäßige Professur] at the Martin Luther University. Her monograph *Market Frictions. Trade and Urbanization at the Vietnam-China Border* was published in 2019 by Berghahn Books in the series "Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy."

- **Marek Mikuš**, until 2018 a member of the “Financialization” group, submitted a successful grant application to the German Research Council and took up a new position in 2019 as Head of the Emmy Noether Research Group, “Peripheral Debt: Money, Risk and Politics in Eastern Europe.”
- **Minh Nguyen** (Research Fellow between 2011 and 2016, now Professor at the University of Bielefeld) was awarded the 2019 Book Prize of the Society for the Anthropology of Work for her monograph *Waste and Wealth: An Ethnography of Labor, Value, and Morality in a Vietnamese Recycling Economy* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

Acknowledgements

As always, without the outstanding efficiency of the office team, Berit Eckert, Anke Meyer and Michaela Rittmeyer, this report would never have been completed on time. Kristin Magnucki in Research Coordination took charge of the final formatting; she also designed our cover and all the posters reproduced in the pages that follow.

Using this Report

This report is produced primarily for the purposes of the Scientific Advisory Board of the MPI, which is scheduled to hold its next meeting in Halle in the Autumn of 2020. According to convention, it opens with a full list of departmental researchers in this review period (2017–2019). It concludes with a comprehensive listing of our publications in this period. This list is structured according to the categories used in previous reports. Books and edited volumes are listed at the beginning. To differentiate other references, the following superscripts are used:

$^{\text{Chap}}$ = book chapters (pp. 115–122);

$^{\text{TH}}$ = articles published in a peer-reviewed journal included in the Thomson ISI Web of Science listed journals (pp. 123–126);

$^{\text{Art}}$ = other journal articles (pp. 126–127);

$^{\text{Misc}}$ = miscellaneous (pp. 127–133).

References to other works (including publications by the department’s researchers outside the present reporting period) are provided in footnotes.

Structure and Organization of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology 2017–2019

Because questions concerning the equivalence of academic titles that are conferred by institutions of higher learning in different countries have still not been resolved completely, all academic titles have been omitted from this report.

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* left the Institute during 2017–2019

Department 'Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia'

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Samuel Williams (MAX-CAM)

joined in 2019
Nikolaos Olma
Kristóf Szombati
Johana Wyss

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** left the Department during 2017–2019

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Lizhou Hao (funded by ERC)
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Luca Szücs

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Thi Phuong Thao Vu

joined in 2018
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Kristina Jonutytė (2/2019)
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International Max Planck Research School for the Anthropology, Archaeology and History of Eurasia (IMPRS ANARCHIE)

A cooperation between the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (MPI) and the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg (MLU)

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Frank Rochow
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Miriam Franchina (1/2017)
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Elisa Kohl-Garrity (11/2019)
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Hendrik Tieke (1/2019)
Juliane Tomesch (7/2019)
Hòai Trân (7/2019)

* left the Institute during 2017–2019

Max Planck Fellow Group
‘Connectivity in Motion: Port Cities of the Indian Ocean’

Max Planck Fellow
Burkhard Schnepel

Doctoral Student
Mareike Pampus

Visiting Fellow
Farhat Jahan*

* left the Institute during 2017–2019

I

INTRODUCTION

The backbone of the department, from the left: Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, Sascha Roth, Chris Hann, Michaela Rittmeyer, Anke Meyer, Berit Eckert (inset left Christoph Brumann, inset right Kirsten Endres). (Main photo: Moritz Bloch, 2020)

Populism and Democracy across Eurasia (In the Spirit of Karl Polanyi)

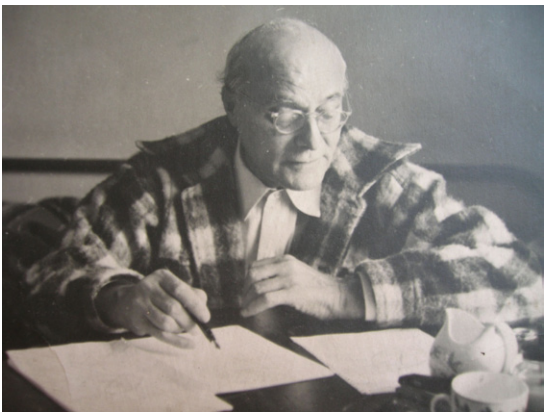
Chris Hann

Readers unfamiliar with the department’s history need to know that during the last two decades we have pursued a number of targets cumulatively. We have changed the precise focus from time to time so as to investigate selected topics in a coordinated way, with the necessary depth and innovative theories and methods. With very few exceptions, we have restricted our empirical projects to the landmass of Europe and Asia, i.e. Eurasia. The Eurasian framework, although central to my own historical and theoretical work, has little bearing on most of the empirical research projects undertaken in the department. This is because the discipline of social anthropology still defines itself primarily through its reliance on the ethnographic method. Most projects have taken place in parts of Eurasia that were state socialist until approximately thirty years ago (the former Soviet bloc) or which still claim to be socialist today (notably China and Vietnam). In addition to contributing to interdisciplinary literatures on socialist and postsocialist societies (Hann 2019, 2017b[Chap], 2019c[Chap]), we have paid a lot of attention to religion (especially in the years 2003–2010). Since Christoph Brumann joined the department in 2009 we have been very active in urban anthropology and studies of cultural heritage. Kirsten Endres has opened up new horizons in the political and economic anthropology of Southeast Asia, as has Lale Yalçın-Heckmann for the Caucasus since the department’s foundation in 1999.

From the beginning, when the study of rural property relations was our dominant theme, the department has continuously renewed its activities in a broadly defined economic anthropology. Numerous leading figures in this field have found their way to Halle to enrich our intellectual community.[1] It is impossible to list them all but for their unpaid labour over the years I am especially indebted to Catherine Alexander, Michał Buchowski, James Carrier, Chris Gregory, Stephen Gudeman, Deema Kaneff, Keith Hart, Deborah James, Don Kalb, Attila Melegh, Jonathan Parry, Frances Pine, Mihály Sárkány, and Gerd Spittler.

[1] My own contributions in the present reporting period include Hann and Parry 2018; Hann 2017b[Chap], 2018c[Chap], 2018a[TH], 2018b[TH], 2018d[Art], 2019b[Art].
Halle does not have strong traditions in the sub-discipline of economic anthropology. Let us note in passing that 2019 marked the centenary of the *Habilitation* thesis presented to the university here by one of the giants of the field, Richard Thurnwald. However, the ethnologist of Austrian origin, who just a few years earlier had pioneered the application of the concept of reciprocity to Melanesian social organization, chose to submit a dissertation concerning the psychology of totemism. Thurnwald’s brief stay in Halle was overshadowed by his imprisonment for bigamy. See Melk-Koch, Marion. 1989. *Auf der Suche nach der Menschlichen Gesellschaft: Richard Thurnwald*. Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin; see also Hann, Chris. 2012. Universalismus hinterfragen, Eigentumsbegriffe hinterfragen: Ursprünge der Wirtschaftsethnologie im Leipziger Raum, *Comparativ* 22 (2): 126–36.

For all the diversity of the approaches that these and other guests have opened up in working with our doctoral and postdoctoral researchers, it is important to stress some abiding intellectual loyalties. The most significant is our debt to Jack Goody, about whom I wrote at some length in our last report, following his passing in 2015 (see also Hann 2018b[Art]). On this occasion I would like to engage with the work of Karl Polanyi (1886–1964) and explain why I see him as a major figure: not merely the author of classical contributions to economic anthropology, but an intellectual who has had huge influence on many other fields of scholarship, and whose critique of market economics is highly topical at our moment in history. Polanyi's concept of the "double movement" is useful for grasping the links between neoliberal forms of capitalist economy and populist threats to liberal democracy. I shall also suggest that Polanyi's social philosophy, exemplified in a short essay on Jean-Jacques Rousseau, should be attractive to the discipline of social anthropology more generally.

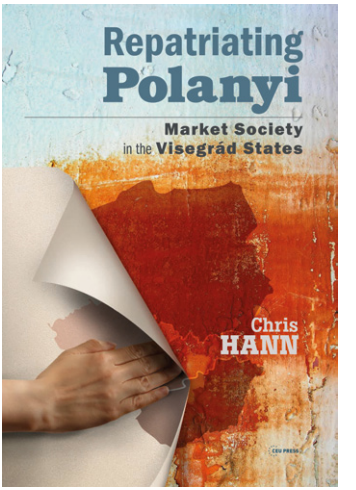


Karl Polanyi late in life at his home in Canada. (Photo: courtesy of Gareth Dale and Don Grant)

Let me start by confessing a few personal reasons for celebrating Polanyi (see Hann 2019 for a more elaborate account). In recent years I have been deeply preoccupied with contemporary developments in the Visegrád countries, and especially Hungary, where since 2013 I have undertaken at least a few weeks of field research annually in the small town of Kiskunhalas. I have known this town, located in the south of Bács-Kiskun county, close to the border with Serbia, since the 1970s. I find it a good vantage point from which to monitor events in the Hungarian capital, and indeed elsewhere in Europe and the world. The town experienced enormous disruption in the 1990s and is still struggling to recover (Hann 2019a[Chap], 2019e[Art], 2019a[Misc]). Many local citizens are pinning their hopes for the future on the reconstruction of their railway station, as part of the upgrading of the Budapest-Belgrade line. This is scheduled to take place in the near future with funding provided by China in the framework of the "Belt and Road" programme. This, and the policies

of Viktor Orbán generally, provide concrete illustrations of the contemporary relevance of a Eurasian perspective, even at the micro level at which most anthropological research takes place.

Most sections of the single-track railway line that runs through Kiskunhalas have not been improved since it was opened in 1882. One of the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s leading railway engineers in that era was a certain Mihály Pollacsek. Mihály and his Russian-born wife Cecile had a son in 1886, who they called Karl. The family surname was later changed to the more Magyar-sounding Polányi. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to track down any evidence that Karl Polanyi’s father was involved in the construction of the particular railway line that helped to transform the economy and society of the Kiskunhalas region in the late nineteenth century. In any case, Mihály’s business collapsed in 1905. It is unlikely that his son Karl ever set foot in this small town. I nevertheless found it helpful to frame my 2019 book, which contains a lot of detail about this region of Hungary, in terms of Karl Polanyi’s economic anthropology, which has never been more topical.



Chris Hann: Repatriating Polanyi. Market Society in the Visegrád States. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2019.

Kiskunhalas, Cwmbrân, Halle

One nexus in which I continue to find the work of Polanyi inspiring is that which connects capitalist market economy with democracy, including the threats posed to liberal democracy by “populism.” The department has never created a focus group specifically to investigate contemporary populism, though the topic figures indirectly in numerous projects in the frame of the Visegrád Anthropologists’ Network (see Part IV of this report). I have found it impossible to avoid, not only because of my ongoing fieldwork in Hungary, where the government of Viktor Orbán is often taken to be an exemplar of illiberalism, but also because of Brexit (in Cwmbrân, my home town in Wales, 60 % of those who voted in the referendum of June 2016 were pro-Brexit) and because of the strength of a populist political party, the Alliance for

Germany (AfD), in the German *Bundesland* that has been my home for more than twenty years. What do these three locations have in common?[2]

The obvious answer is that all three have experienced dramatic economic transformations in recent decades. When the Labour government decided after the Second World War to establish new towns in various locations around the United Kingdom, one major goal was to alleviate and remedy the consequences of earlier capitalist dislocation. Cwmbrân, the only new town created in Wales, was an industrial village at the eastern edge of the South Wales coalfield, a region that had boomed for the best part of a century down to the 1920s, before everything fell apart in the course of the Great Depression. The new town provided affordable housing and jobs for a generation of newcomers (including my parents, who moved to Cwmbrân from Cardiff). During my childhood the prosperity and security of the "Keynesian" era were reflected in the construction of a vast new shopping complex on a green field site in the centre of the valley. Nowadays the town centre still attracts shoppers from a wide region, but like the housing stock it was privatized in the decade of Margaret Thatcher. One by one, the large factories that had guaranteed employment closed down. The economic situation would be even worse were it not for the proximity of the M4 motorway which, combined with the relative cheapness of land and labour, makes Cwmbrân a relatively attractive option for entrepreneurs who in Germany would be classified as *Mittelstand*. In short, my home town has been transformed in the course of my lifetime. In my childhood an exemplar of how interventionist policies can create and sustain community, Cwmbrân is now a good example of neoliberal deindustrialization. This has consequences for politics. I remember the joke that you could nominate a donkey to represent this valley in the Westminster parliament and, if it had the endorsement of the Labour Party, it would be elected. In the election of December 2019, support for the Labour candidate fell to below 42%. Had a Brexit Party candidate not divided the ("populist") anti-EU vote, Cwmbrân might have elected a Conservative for the first time in its history.[3]

Populism takes very different forms around the world. The postsocialist transformations of Eastern Europe since 1989 obviously diverge in significant ways from the experience of Cwmbrân in the era of Margaret Thatcher and afterwards. But there can be no doubting the fact that the paths followed in the east have been profoundly affected by the neoliberal conjuncture that was simultaneously gaining strength in most of the west. Of course, within the east there are huge differences.

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[2] I have addressed populism in more detail in Hann 2019a[TH] (this *Anthropology Today* editorial was conceived as a commentary on Brexit, which at the time was expected to take place in March 2019); for the connection to Polanyi, see also Hann 2017c[Misc], 2019c[Art]. For further discussion of Kiskunhalas and the nearby village of Tázlár see Hann 2017a[Art], 2018d[Art], 2018a[TH], 2018b[TH].
As for Halle, the decision by the Max Planck Society to locate our new institute in this relatively small provincial city (rather than, say, Leipzig or the capital) was always congenial to me. For an appreciation of the social roots of contemporary populism in Germany, this location has proved serendipitous indeed.

[3] The Conservative and Brexit Party votes combined were in excess of 47%; no other party reached 5%.

The German Democratic Republic was the only socialist state that disappeared in the wake of the revolutions. Anthropologists such as Felix Ringel have led the way in documenting the destruction of industrial communities by the Treuhand privatization mechanisms.[4] But the expression of protest is multiply inhibited when your country has voted by an overwhelming majority for reunification, and when that federal state is undeniably making huge investments in your region, e.g. to improve long neglected infrastructure. The AfD polls strongly in the *neue Bundesländer* (roughly 25 % nowadays), but it stands no chance of gaining power, since the other parties refuse to have anything to do with it.

This policy of exclusion is easily understandable in the light of German history. Additional justification is sometimes offered in the German media via comparisons between the AfD and the populists who have formed governments in Budapest and Warsaw. The western liberal critique of the Visegrád states has been led by the European Parliament, which has repeatedly levelled charges of declining *Rechtsstaatlichkeit*. From the vantage point of Kiskunhalas, the spirals of accusation and moral scorning have accelerated dramatically since the “migrants’ crisis” of Summer 2015. Alongside Brussels and Strasbourg, Berlin has become stereotyped as a stronghold of cosmopolitan liberalism. The leader of a Christian party is accused of promoting policies that, behind a smokescreen of humanitarianism, are serving the interests of capital and leading to the destruction of national and civilizational identity.

Now, many of the discourses of Viktor Orbán (in particular his vendetta against George Soros, who is accused of having a “plan” to flood Europe with Muslim immigrants) are as absurd as they are distasteful. But some of them contain a kernel of truth: truth in the sense that they posit causal relationships that academic analysts confirm, irrespective of discipline and political preferences and values. For example, while the integration of millions of refugees entails huge costs, even for a country as large and wealthy as Germany, it may be true that the incorporation of these immigrants into the labour force will result in lower wages for existing workers, at any rate in certain segments of the economy. It is surely no accident that the employers’ associations were prominent in their support for Chancellor Merkel’s *Willkommenskultur* in 2015. Who can deny that rapid integration into the labour force is the best way to promote the more general socio-cultural integration of immigrants? But so long as considerable disparities in wealth and opportunities persist in the receiving society, is such a policy not bound to stimulate the “populist” politics of resentment? Such an outcome would seem all too predictable in regions which have suffered since the end of socialism, where decent jobs have always been scarce and it is hard to maintain standards in education, and even to keep schools open, when numbers are falling due to out-migration and low birth rates (Hann 2017a[Chap]).

[4] Ringel, Felix. 2018. *Back to the postindustrial future: an ethnography of Germany’s fastest-shrinking city*. New York: Berghahn. For the department’s current doctoral projects in the *neue Bundesländer* see p. 52.

In this general sense, the situation in Hungary resembles that in the *neue Bundesländer*. The transfers that the latter received from 1990 onwards from the federal state as a result of reunification have their equivalent in the cohesion payments that the other ex-socialist states have received from Brussels. These transfers began well before formal accession in 2004–7. But neither in East Germany nor in Hungary do they significantly mitigate the consequences of the massive privatizations of the 1990s, and the ongoing exposure to the forces of hyper-globalization. The differences are relative. Hungarians might argue that the predicament of poor East Germans is very different from their own, because if the latter show initiative, there is no barrier to upward mobility within their own country. Who can blame provincial Hungarians for feeling resentment towards Germany's *Willkommenskultur* when this prepares large numbers of non-Europeans for Europe's most attractive labour market, access to which is hardly available to them, if only for linguistic reasons? Hundreds of thousands of East Europeans have found their way instead into the lower segments of the British labour market. They did not end up in places like Cwmbrân, where no jobs were available. But this flow of human beings, what Karl Polanyi referred to as the "fictitious commodity" of labour, undoubtedly impacted on the perceptions and political preferences of the "left-behind" (I find the German *abgehängt* more expressive) sections of the electorate. Just as Brexit proved popular in Cwmbrân, so the anti-Brussels rhetoric of Viktor Orbán has helped to consolidate the power of his Fidesz party in the market town of Kiskunhalas since 2010.

Whether the policies of those who gain power by playing the "populist" card will actually serve the interests of those they claim to represent is, of course, hotly contested. It is hard to see how Brexit will improve material conditions in the valleys of South Wales, or how the free market inclinations of the AfD will benefit the socially deprived in Halle, or how the emergence of a new national bourgeoisie in Hungary will benefit provincial citizens in places like Kiskunhalas.[5] These puzzles are similar to those that animated the very first cycle of projects in the department when it was founded twenty years ago. One of the challenges then was to illuminate why many "postpeasants" in Eastern Europe supported decollectivization ideologically, even when it was glaringly obvious that the privatization craze was detrimental to their class interests. In both cases, it is the task of the anthropologist, on the basis of careful field research, to explain what motivates (the) people to rally behind leaders and causes that, to most observers, seem more likely to accentuate problems than to alleviate them.

Hyper-globalization in the European Union of the 21st century means not just unprecedented mobility of labour but also mobility of capital. Daimler-Benz has

[5] The work of Kristóf Szombati, a Research Fellow in the framework of our Visegrád Anthropologists' Network, illuminates the politics of populism in provincial Hungary with regard to the manipulation of "anti-Gypsyism." See Szombati 2018.

built a huge factory in Kecskemét, the county capital of Bács-Kiskun, a little over fifty kilometres from Kiskunhalas. The roads are poor and the daily commute takes the best part of an hour in each direction, quite apart from its cost. But another factor that diminishes the attraction of this factory is the detail that assembly workers are paid somewhere between one quarter and one third of what workers in Germany receive for doing exactly the same work. The cost of living in provincial Hungary is not that much cheaper. On the contrary, in the German supermarkets where most Hungarian citizens buy their groceries the prices are nowadays close to those of the West; resentment flames up when it transpires that, although the brand and packing look identical to those found in the West, the product sold in the postsocialist countries frequently turns out to be made with inferior materials.

These macro level economic and ethical issues are sure to preoccupy politicians, their electorates, and a range of academic disciplines for many years to come. Field research in a location such as provincial Hungary enables anthropologists to offer a distinctive contribution. For example, economic anthropologists have traditionally paid close attention to household budgets. I can report that the cost of the pork sold in *Aldi* or *Lidl* in Kiskunhalas is very close to that charged by the same supermarkets for similar cuts of meat in Halle. Should one conclude that it was the extraordinary efficiency of the German hog industry that enabled it to triumph in the competitive market, eliminating the possibility that postsocialist Hungary might challenge German domination, at least in this sector? In the last decades of socialism, Hungarians were proud of their sausage and salami, some of which found its way to western markets, in spite of the formidable customs barriers. But that strength faded rapidly with the dismantling of socialist agrarian institutions and privatization.

The pork sector is the only branch of the former state farm in Kiskunhalas that survived the 1990s. A former senior agronomist in the state farm succeeded in raising the credits he needed to acquire the assets and build up a private business. Recently he has transferred the managerial responsibility for this enterprise to his son. Both approve of the measures taken by the government of Viktor Orbán to require the multinational supermarkets to declare the national origin of the meat they sell. They hope that Hungarian producers will benefit from more consumer patriotism.

When I report such detail, some readers may suspect that the anthropologist has adopted the values of the populists. The last book on which Karl Polanyi worked before his death in Canada in 1964 was a collection of “populist” writings, which he and his wife helped to translate from Hungarian into English.[6] They identified strongly as Hungarians. This did not make them nationalists in the sense we see that card shamelessly played by so many politicians nowadays. When it came to

[6] Duczyńska, Ilona and Karl Polanyi (eds.). 1963. *The plough and the pen. Writings from Hungary, 1930–1956*. London: Owen. Karl Polanyi was particularly interested in the poetry of the “peasant boy,” Ferenc Juhász (born 1928).

political economy, Karl Polanyi preferred to focus on larger regional blocs. Today he might find the Visegrád cooperation an appropriate unit. At this level, perhaps a degree of economic populism is the best way to preclude the more virulent forms of political illiberalism?[7]

A Three Step Approach to Populism

The writings of Karl Polanyi can be a source of theoretical inspiration in more fundamental ways. In an essay drafted in the early 1950s, Polanyi commended Jean-Jacques Rousseau for the "breath-taking recognition" that the only notion of freedom worth pursuing should be rooted in popular culture. He notes the disdain of Voltaire and other *Lumières* for the "canaille," the "stupid populace."[8] Is this Enlightenment contempt for the masses not reminiscent of the cosmopolitan liberals of today, who critique the populism that has become so strong in their nation-states? Should it not be a key part of the task of the anthropologist to connect with "the common people" and question the arrogance of those who can only deplore them?

Polanyi's encouragement to set forth and study the people will strike many as romantic, naïve, and beset with political dangers. It is certainly not sufficient as a maxim for contemporary anthropological practice. In the age of Rousseau and Herder, when the first great wave of ethnographic data collection was launched across Eurasia, the identity of the people (in a modern, ethno-national sense) had still to be created. This was also the case when anthropologists encountered "tribal" societies around the world in the era of European colonialism. But things are different today. Few if any researchers study entire peoples. What is a people anyway? The accelerating connectivities of our globalized world have further undermined what Michael Carrithers termed "the sea-shell theory of culture."[9] Doctoral theses in socio-cultural anthropology have become highly specialized; some students have moved on to investigate the "posthuman." But in an age of populism, a return to the original motivations of the "ethnosciences" seems overdue. This is a good moment to reconnect the study of *the common people* with the study of *a people*.

The first step for the anthropologist who wishes to understand populism, is to identify some people to research. This can hardly be undertaken in the spirit of the Russian *narodniki* of the 19th century, locating the essence of their nation in the preindustrial countryside. It will be necessary to specify which particular segments of humanity are to be investigated. Of course, one could choose to restrict the enquiry

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[7] See Rodrik, Dani. 2011. *The globalization paradox: democracy and the future of the world economy*. New York and London: W.W. Norton.

[8] Polanyi, Karl. 1987. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, or is a free society possible? *New Hungarian Quarterly* 28 (108): 119–27.

[9] Carrithers, Michael. 1992. *Why humans have culture. Explaining anthropology and social diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; pp. 17–21.

to activists in the populist cause, but that would seem regrettably narrow (quite apart from the fact that many of these activists have long queues of political scientists and sociologists making demands on their time). I have engaged with relatively large sub-groups of the populace of a Hungarian village and later a nearby market town, widening the perspective when appropriate, e.g. to include emigrants from these settlements now working in London.

No sooner immersed in particular local communities, the ethnographer discovers complexity. It is impossible to cover all of the target segment(s) in the same depth, and so the focus has to be narrowed. In my own case, during the five years of the REALEURASIA group (see Part VII of this report), I have concentrated on family businesses in Kiskunhalas. Even within this category there is a huge range between the typical shopkeeper and the entrepreneur who has built up an international network in the construction sector (see Hann 2019a[Misc]). The wider population contains many more sub-groups, which crosscut each other in ways that the ethnographer tries to uncover. Beliefs and values vary even within a sub-group. They may vary for the same individual during the life-cycle, and situationally. As a result, no easy generalizations are possible: blanket diagnoses of xenophobic populism are no more helpful than blanket celebrations of the moral economy of an ideally self-sufficient community. The second step, then, is to document this diversity through field research, empathizing with subjective feelings and probing the causal relationships behind them.

This meticulous documentation of variation is likely to subvert the more extravagant claims of populist politicians to act on behalf of the masses of an essentially undifferentiated people. Does this render populist invocations of a common identity spurious? If we go down this road, we risk aligning ourselves with libertarians, with those who, like Margaret Thatcher, recognize only individuals and families, while remaining blind to society. Thatcher was smart enough not to ignore collective identifications: her electoral victories depended on her populist appeal to Britishness. The third step in the approach that I am proposing here is to specify the mechanisms through which more or less unscrupulous politicians render electorates blind to their many differences, and lead them to celebrate what binds them together in a community they experience as meaningful.

For example, one key element in Orbán’s strategy has been to stress common values. Allusions to the grandeur of the imperial past and to Judeo-Christian civilizational legacies are frequent. These are tempered in the Hungarian case by invocations of specific traditions as descendants of a nomadic pastoral people (Hann 2019a[Art]). In everyday life Orbán’s agenda of the “work-based society” has an appeal that draws on multiple sediments of the past, from peasant versions of the labour theory of value in the 19th century to Marxist-Leninist ideological celebrations of the vanguard working class. Cutting social security spending and linking benefits to workfare were not perceived as punitive measures, because those who did not work were not considered to be deserving. This appeal to the moral dimension was welcomed by

the great majority of the population, including those forced to participate in such schemes to support their households (Hann 2018b[TH]).[10]

But appeals to the virtue of hard work are not in themselves sufficient to maintain high levels of populist mobilization. Observers of the Hungarian scene are generally agreed that the populism of Viktor Orbán has been ratcheted upwards since 2015 by his manipulation of the "migrants' crisis" to identify external threats to the Hungarian people. The influx of unwelcome foreigners (especially Muslims) is complemented by the identification of additional external enemies in Brussels and Berlin, not to mention George Soros and all the NGOs that he has funded, all of them dedicated to undermining the Magyar nation. These are exceptional times, in Hungary as in many other parts of the world, due to the malfunctioning of hyper-globalized capitalism (including problems associated with unregulated social media). However, even when the political atmosphere is less fraught, the attachments of "the common people" to long-established hierarchies and homeland, and their susceptibility to campaigns based on scapegoating and othering, should not be underestimated.

To sum up, the anthropological researcher of populism at its roots should follow three steps:

1. Select a segment of humanity (preferably one that other social scientists do not know much about);
2. Study these people in their social contexts to bring out their diversity; since most people retain commitments to particular places, much may be gained if the ethnographer stays in one place – even if the mobilities of some members of the local population play a significant role in the shared narratives of *ressentiments*;
3. Specify the mechanisms that lead people to gloss over internal cleavages, and instead to internalize and assert more or less aggressive forms of collective identity, "we the people;"

It should go without saying that engagement through field research does not require embracing beliefs and values the scholar disagrees with or finds abhorrent. Whether the topic be gender relations, or capital punishment, or supposedly pure racial groups, the anthropologist is free too espouse different values. But despising and condemning

[10] The value of work is being strongly reasserted at the time of writing by the government as it tries to respond to the economic consequences of the coronavirus pandemic. There is no question of relying on the free market to solve mass unemployment. Instead the government will assume responsibility – while making its task easier by curtailing unemployment benefits (already exceptionally low) and workers' social protection. Orbán's rapid move to expand his executive powers has been widely criticized at home and abroad because it is seen as a further threat to liberal democracy. Much foreign criticism of Hungarian illiberalism is ill informed (Hann 2019b[Art], 2018e[Misc]). Critics fail to appreciate the deeper structural causes of the malaise, of which politicians such as Orbán are a symptom. It is easier to appreciate these factors in locations such as Kiskunhalas, and easy to miss them altogether in Budapest and other privileged locations with a booming tourist sector (though the coronavirus will hit this sector hard in 2020).

are inappropriate. The double task of the anthropologist is to capture differentiated opinions (including the deplorable) with empathy, and to investigate their causes with social scientific rigor. This is how socio-cultural anthropology can make a vital contribution to tackling the problems of our world, as a populist social science.

Departmental garden party at 28 Schleiermacherstraße, 29 June 2018.
(Photo: Johannes Langenhagen)

Comparisons and Diffusion across Eurasia

The department’s focus has always extended beyond Europe to embrace the entire landmass of Eurasia (Hann 2017a[TH], 2017b[TH], 2019b[TH], 2017b[Art], 2018a[Chap], 2018a[Art], 2018c[Art], 2018a[Misc], Arnason and Hann 2018, Endres and Hann 2017[Misc]). In the present review period I have continued to make the case for situating Europe in its proper geographical context (Hann 2017c[Art], 2019b[Chap], 2019d[Art], 2017a[Misc], 2019f[Misc]). As the length of these lists suggests, I am prone to verbal incontinence when it comes to writing about (pseudo-)continents! No one else in the department contributes to this flood. It was therefore a pleasure recently to come across the work of Didier

Gazagnadou, a French anthropologist whose views on Eurasia in global context closely resemble my own. Gazagnadou writes:

> The Eurasian zone played a preponderant role in the history of techniques and their diffusion and is thus decisive in the history of globalization […] Eurasia is an immense geographic and civilizational area consisting of powerful states and powerful societies of nomadic pastoralists […] stretching from Japan to the British Isles. It is worth repeating that this geographical entity plays a specific historic role. On one hand, all the human groups from Eurasia were in contact with each other at one time or another and borrowed quantities of cultural and technical elements from each other. On the other hand, for geographical, ecological, natural and technical reasons […] fundamental inventions were to emerge from Eurasia, leading humanity, in the very long-term, towards a "modern" and contemporary world.[11]

Didier Gazagnadou's plea to look again at diffusionist theory will not be heeded by many contemporary anthropologists. While leaning heavily on Marcel Mauss, André Leroi-Gourhan and others in French schools focused on *techniques*, Gazagnadou extends their materialist approaches by focusing on the techniques for controlling and transmitting knowledge – in other words for the exercise of power. Reviewing his books, I concluded that his political approach to Eurasia complements Jack Goody's focus on commerce and the "merchant cultures" that promoted Eurasian connectivity over the centuries.

Within contemporary Eurasia, the relationship between global economic forces and local political configurations is highly variable. In the Russian Federation and Turkey, large states adjacent to the European Union, it is generally agreed that behind democratic constitutions the authoritarian power of a president has increased enormously. The label "populist" is rarely applied to these cases, yet nationalist ideology is as salient here as it is in the Visegrád states. The links between nationalism and neoliberalism take a more surprising form in the case of India, where the world's largest multi-party democracy combines religious fervour with a pro-market economic ideology. In China, by contrast, political and economic ideology requires that the market be subordinated to the hegemony of the Communist Party, which in turn falls back increasingly on nationalism for its ultimate source of legitimation (Hann 2019d[Misc]).

[11] Gazagnadou, Didier. 2016. *Diffusion of techniques, globalization and subjectivities*. Paris: Éditions Kimé. Quotation from pp. 14–5; see also by the same author. 2016. *The diffusion of a postal relay system in premodern Eurasia.* (Foreword by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie) Paris: Éditions Kimé.

The unity of China is of a different order from the socio-cultural unity of states such as Hungary, Poland, or even Germany. The goal of the power holders in Beijing since Xi Jinping became General Secretary of the Communist Party in 2012 appears to be emulation of the European nation-states, which implies the full assimilation of peoples such as the Tibetans and the Uyghurs. These are nations roughly comparable in size to the Hungarians, which possess long traditions of literacy and “high culture.” The process of homogenization is complicated by the fact that, at various points since socialist Liberation in 1949, minorities have been the object of positive discrimination. But policies respectful of cultural autonomy are difficult to reconcile with the domination of neoliberal markets. Behind the accusations of “splittism” and religious fundamentalism, this contradiction in the domain of political economy lies behind the unprecedented repression of the Uyghurs since 2016. Because of this crisis, Ildikó Bellér-Hann and I have been unable to revisit eastern Xinjiang to complete data collection for the monograph of the oasis of Qumul (Hami) on which we have been working since initial fieldwork in 2006–7 (Bellér-Hann and Hann 2017[Misc]). We have been unable to maintain contact with our research partners in Xinjiang, who have either been imprisoned or sent to the notorious “re-education camps.”

A few years ago, well before the “migrants’ crisis” of 2015 and before the populists Donald Trump and Boris Johnson became leaders of the Anglophone world, I published a utopian essay in which I imagined the landmass of Eurasia united by a single currency (the *Avra*), and also by common values that had taken shape since prehistory, which in one way or another placed the cohesion of communities above atomistic individualism.[12] I imagined that, given the evolution of civilizational commonalities in the course of millennia, it might be possible to reach political agreement on the measures necessary to ensure a convergence of living standards and well-being across Eurasia. I did not anticipate that Britain would leave the EU, or that the leaders of Turkey and Russia would become increasingly authoritarian, or that power holders in Beijing would become so brutally repressive. Eurasian geopolitics today are as divisive as they have ever been. On the face of it, the prospects for any form of political and economic union in the spirit of Polanyi (or of J M Keynes for that matter) have receded. Yet I remain convinced that a new political axis between Beijing and Brussels, founded on principles of social democracy rather than the market, is the best way forward (and perhaps the only way to ensure the sustainability of human societies on this planet).

[12] Hann, Chris. 2014. After the Euro, the Avra. *Soundings* 56: 123–36. Republished in *Eurozine*, 5 May 2014.

Looking Ahead

With two new directors taking up the reins in 2020, the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle will remain committed for the foreseeable future to anthropological investigations of economy, politics, and law, and all their tangled interrelations. Intellectual agendas and regional foci will change in years to come. As globalization intensifies, socio-cultural anthropologists will be obliged constantly to reconsider the nature of their contribution to the global division of scientific knowledge. Are we professionally committed to a cosmopolitanism that emphasizes a universal humanity, in the tradition of the European Enlightenment? Do we suppose that, without this unique foundation, we cannot begin to address the issues of global governance on which the sustainability of our life on this planet depends? Or is it the distinctive contribution of socio-cultural anthropologists to relativize this tradition, and instead to assert values sometimes labelled Counter-Enlightenment? How much value should we attach to *communities* and *societies* in particular places, and to *identities* rooted in socio-cultural differences? Perhaps the surge in populist protest and illiberal forms of democracy is evidence that the former, planetary goal cannot be attained without paying more serious attention to more localized concerns? If this is so, then the contributions of a fieldwork-based socio-cultural anthropology will be more important than ever.[13]

[13] It might reasonably be expected that social anthropology should lead the way in pioneering more balanced forms of globalization in the production of scientific knowledge. But even in anthropology the unevenness is overwhelming. For example, most research in this department in the last two decades has been undertaken east of the line that divides Western from Eastern Christianity. Future historians of the discipline may find it curious that our distinguished Advisory Board throughout this time has consisted exclusively of scholars based at western institutions.

II

ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Members of the Financialization group in Chris Hann's Wintergarten at the MPI: (from left) Dimitra Kofti, Chris Hann, Natalia Buier, Tristam Barrett, Marek Mikuš, Charlotte Bruckermann, Hadas Weiss, Don Kalb. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2016)

Financialization

Chris Hann

Group Leaders: Chris Hann and Don Kalb

Research Fellows: Tristam Barrett, Charlotte Bruckermann, Natalia Buier, Dimitra Kofti, Marek Mikuš, Hadas Weiss

This research group was established in 2015. It followed the pattern established by previous groups in economic anthropology: *Economy and Ritual* (2009–2012) and *Industry and Inequality* (2012–2015). In each case, six postdoctoral researchers carried out fresh field research (sometimes in new locations, sometimes revisiting the locations of doctoral work) and then returned to Halle to analyze the data in a comparative framework, guided by the group leaders and a range of academic visitors. The cooperating partner for *Financialization* was Don Kalb, whose principal affiliation since 2018 has been to the University of Bergen, where he heads the *Frontlines of Value* project. Don’s recent work on class struggles (Kalb and Mollona 2018), populism (Kalb 2018b[TH]), and value (Kalb 2017[Chap]) sets the standard internationally. He has also addressed the role of finance (Kalb 2018a[Chap], 2018c[Chap]). Don provided a comprehensive preview of this project, which transcends disciplinary boundaries between anthropology, sociology and political economy, in our last departmental report.

The aim was to show how the theories and methods of anthropology can contribute to a field that has become of central importance in contemporary political economy. There is general agreement that the financial crisis that has unfolded since 2007 across much of the world (very unevenly) is also a systemic crisis for capitalism. From the demise of Keynesian “embedded liberalism” in the West to the rise of post-Maoist China as an economic superpower in the East, the principle of market exchange (in Karl Polanyi’s sense) has disrupted the global equilibria established in the aftermath of the Second World War. Relations of credit and debt have been crucial to these transformations at every level, from household management to intercontinental geopolitical dependencies. Anthropologists have undertaken pioneering investigations of key financial institutions (such as stock exchanges) and the elites who work there. However, relatively little has been done to examine the impact of increased indebtedness and new technologies of calculation on the everyday lives of ordinary citizens and their households.

Nor have anthropologists looked carefully at the uneven spatial manifestations of global financialization across countries, populations and classes. These forms vary according to the relations of power that characterize countries and regions around the world. We explicitly set out to investigate the multiple forms of contestation that take place around questions of credit and debt, public and open as well as private

and covert. This led us into explorations of how morality and legality interact, and to social reproduction in the broadest sense. Don came up with the idea of calling this approach relational, to capture the scope of our interest in dynamic social relations, including the multi-scalar relations that prevail between global financial circuits, national and local states, and social classes. The aim was to give a more emphatically political twist to what Polanyi might have theorized as the embedding and disembedding of financialized capital in space and in situated social relations.

The projects were spread across Eurasia. In Spain, Natalia Buier built on her doctoral research on the high-speed rail network to deepen her analysis of its implications in different parts of the country; she also carried out a new case study of a community called into existence by the new infrastructural technology, where the international financial crisis had dramatic impact on the local housing market. At the other end of Eurasia, Charlotte Bruckermann carried out multi-sited fieldwork to investigate China's experiments with carbon markets, including their consequences for the dynamics of forestization schemes. Tristam Barrett continued his doctoral research in the Azerbaijani capital Baku by carrying out an ambitious survey of how households in this postsocialist city managed their financial planning, in an authoritarian political context where oil wealth has dramatically increased social inequalities.

The remaining projects were all based in Europe. In another postsocialist study, Marek Mikuš examined the impact of the financial crisis on Croatia, where the aspiration to home ownership led many citizens to take out mortgages tied to foreign currencies that left them horribly exposed when those currencies appreciated in value (Mikuš 2019[TH]). The impact of the international crisis on intimate relations of kinship and friendship was perhaps even greater in Greece, where harsh austerity policies were implemented at the behest of foreign governments and international agencies. Large numbers of citizens have been summoned to the debtors' court, where Dimitra Kofti observed how outcomes are influenced by public opinion and moral judgements. In contrast to the other European cases we examined, in Germany, western Eurasia's most powerful economy, home ownership remains relatively low. Hadas Weiss has shown that Germany continues to lag behind in terms of financial literacy (the reluctance of many restaurants and shops in Halle to accept credit card payments never ceases to surprise our foreign visitors).

More than a decade after the first great financial crisis of this century erupted, little has changed in the global governance of money. Finance has continued to penetrate into zones of society and family in which it previously played no significant role. The outcome of a decade of austerity politics in the Atlantic world has not been the restoration of progressive fiscal policies of the kind known before the onset of neoliberalism, but rather even higher levels of state indebtedness and even greater social inequalities. As I write in March 2020 there is every reason to suppose that the next collapse is imminent: this time the coronavirus is the trigger, but the deeper causes lie elsewhere.

CONFERENCE:
Financialization beyond Crisis:
Connections, Contradictions, Contestations

Convenors: Chris Hann, Don Kalb and the Financialization group

Venue: Halle, 10–12 September 2018

The field research for all of the projects mentioned above was completed in 2017. Team members worked together in Halle thereafter. The call for papers for our concluding conference was jointly prepared in the light of our emerging results.[1] All members of the team presented papers, interspersed with a slightly larger number of external participants. The opening keynote was delivered by Deborah James (LSE), who described and compared mechanisms for dealing with household indebtedness in Britain and South Africa. Privileging the point of view of the ethnographer, she argued that it is worth paying attention – both in South Africa and in Britain – to the small gains made by those typically portrayed as the helpless victims of implacable forces (e.g. through the agency of mediators such as debt advisers). In his own keynote, delivered at the end of the second day, Don Kalb questioned whether capitalist financial institutions can be significantly modified by this kind of “redistribution” at the micro-level of society. He was concerned to locate financial markets in the context of *longue durée* capitalist accumulation at the macro level and, at the same time, in anthropological theory.

The majority of papers offered description and analysis at the level of local communities and their constituent households. Many focused on contestation, from changing discursive constructions of the urban underclass in Britain (Ryan Davey) to protest and tenant rebellions in Spain (Marc Morell and Jaime Palomera complementing the case presented by Natalia Buier). Firat Kurt outlined how the government of President Erdoğan was responding to Turkey’s financial crisis with emotional exhortations and economic nationalism. The presentation of Sohini Kar explored some of the problems which have arisen in the course of efforts to bring poor households in rural India into the digital age. Tristam Barrett’s account of a postsocialist hydrocarbon state contrasted sharply with Knut Christian Myhre’s analysis of how the Norwegian Sovereign Wealth Fund manages windfall income from oil democratically, in the long-term interests of society.

[1] For more detail, see
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/conference_capitalism_and_social_worlds_18

The global mobility of money, even more than flows of goods and people, is unprecedented. Yet financial relations continue to be shaped by diverse civilizational traditions and a host of more localized factors. Economic sociologist Aaron Pitluck presented some of the results of his fieldwork with Islamic investment bankers in Malaysia. During the last morning of the meeting, horizons were further widened by Richard Robbins, who offered an original conceptualization of monetary streams and reminded participants of the importance of metaphors and rhetorical tropes in the construction of all economic knowledge. Several invited discussants provided valuable inputs that kept the conversations flowing: Stephen Gudeman, Hadrien Saiag, James Carrier, and Laura Bear (in absentia). At the end of the proceedings, Gavin Smith (not for the first time on our premises) did an excellent job in initiating the final discussion.

Following the usual review processes, a volume will appear in summer 2020 with Berghahn Books in our series Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy. Almost all of the conference papers will be included. This volume contains a substantial introduction in which Don Kalb develops his relational approach to grasping today's financialized capitalism in the long term history of Eurasia. It went to press shortly shortly before the onset of the coronavirus pandemic in spring 2020, the impact of which on society and economy around the world highlights the relevance of our critique of "austerity" and of financialization generally.

Participants in the group's major conference "Financialization beyond Crisis."
(Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2018)

WORKSHOP: Households and Peripheral Financialization in Europe

Conveners: Marek Mikuš and Petra Rodik (University of Zagreb)

Venue: Halle, 22–23 February 2018

Participants in the workshop “Households and Peripheral Financialization in Europe;” conveners Marek Mikuš and Petra Rodik in the centre. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2018)

As noted above, several of our projects in Europe focused on housing, a sector in which an ideological notion of private ownership fed into mortgage booms and played a key role in the global financial crisis that began in 2007–8. Housing and households were the focus of an additional workshop convened by Marek Mikuš and Petra Rodik (University of Zagreb) at the Max Planck Institute in February, 2018. This interdisciplinary meeting (sociologists and geographers were prominent among the participants) was designed to take stock of the “state of the art” in studies of household financialization, and to identify innovative ways forward. Particular attention was paid to the implications of peripheral forms of financialization for households and their linkages to housing markets. Case studies from Southern and Eastern Europe were placed in wider comparative contexts by distinguished guests, among them Manuel Aalbers, James Carrier, Ger Duijzings and Deborah James.[2]

The conveners have prepared a publication of the proceedings under the title *Households and Financialization in Europe* (forthcoming with Routledge). Following a successful application to the German Research Foundation and a brief postdoc with the GEOFIN project at Trinity College Dublin, Marek returned to the MPI as Head of the Emmy Noether Group “Peripheral Debt” in October 2019.[3]

[2] For more detail, see https://www.eth.mpg.de/4763609/news_2018_04_03_02
[3] For details of Marek’s new project, see http://www.eth.mpg.de/peripheral-debt

WORKSHOP: Financialization and the Production of Nature: New Frameworks for Understanding the Capital-Society-Nature Nexus

Conveners: Natalia Buier and Jaume Franquesa (State University of New York at Buffalo)

Venue: Halle, 7 February 2019

While most researchers of this team moved on from Halle in 2018, Natalia Buier (who had started a little later than the others) joined forces with Jaume Franquesa to convene a last workshop in February 2019. Marxist historical materialism has had lasting impact on both anthropology and political ecology, but bringing these intellectual traditions into conversation to address the huge environmental challenges facing the world today remains a challenge. Natalia provided the following summary of the event she co-organized:

"The workshop […] set out to approach issues such as energy and infrastructural development through a holistic approach aimed at overcoming the fragmentation resulting from specialization into subfields. Focusing on the relationship between environmental transformation and contemporary forms of accumulation, the workshop sought to identify and expand anthropology's contribution to debates about the Anthropocene and Capitalocene. At the most general level, the workshop aimed to advance a historical materialist agenda for the anthropological and ethnographic study of the environmental predicament."

Topics addressed in the presentations included carbon economy practices and "technological fixes" in China and Greece, geographies of modernization and deindustrialization in Spain and Italy, and dilemmas of contrasting energy regimes in Germany and Catalonia. The day ended with a provocative synthesis by Don Kalb, who reaffirmed the value of Marxist concepts for analysing problems that were genuinely new, but which had familiar roots in capitalist political economy.

The conveners are moving forward with a submission to the journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, based on the contributions of the workshop participants.[4]

[4] For further details, see
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/de/media/conference_financialization_and_nature_19

III

URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko

Beata Świtek

Kristina Jonutytė

Hannah Klepeis

Christoph Brumann

Buddhist Temple Economies in Urban Asia

Christoph Brumann

Research Group Leader: Christoph Brumann
Research Fellows: Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko, Beata Świtek
Doctoral Students: Kristina Jonutytė, Hannah Klepeis

On the same day in early 2020, two Buddhist priests in Kyoto independently told me a similar story. Resident priests (*jûshoku*) in charge of a specific temple visit those of their parishioners who so desire to perform memorial rites in front of the house altar (*butsudan*), usually once a month on the most senior ancestor’s death day. As is also common, this service is rewarded with a donation (*o-fuse*): parishioners hand over an envelope containing bank notes when the priest is finished, and only exceptionally is the amount noted on the envelope. To my surprise, both priests claimed that they passed these envelopes unopened to their wives, who are in charge of temple finances. The priests preferred to remain ignorant of the contents, lest they reward the more generous parishioners with special attention and thereby violate the ideal of equality.

Neither of the two priests denied that *o-fuse* after funerals and memorial rites are crucial for the upkeep of the temple. Both practiced ordinary economic rationality in their everyday decision-taking, using their resources prudently. Yet they insisted on a moral firewall to separate Buddhist donations from everyday economics. So do their parishioners when using an envelope, instead of presenting the bank notes openly; as for the amount given, they observe regional standards and heed the advice of other laypeople, rather than negotiating a sum with the priest.

This anecdote takes us to the heart of what the research group “Buddhist Temple Economies in Urban Asia” has investigated since its launch in 2014. In five separate ethnographic projects, members have explored the economics of a religion that tends to downplay earthly resources but, like all non-ephemeral organizations, nonetheless requires them. The morality that specialists and laypeople employ in their economic dealings was a key concern. One monograph has already been published (Abrahms-Kavunenko 2019) and a second is in preparation;[1] two doctoral dissertations have been completed;[2] Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko has also published extensively in journals (2019a[TH], 2019b[TH]).[3]

[1] Świtek, Beata. *Fallacy of the sacred: Buddhism for the living in urban Japan.*

[2] Jonutytė, Kristina. 2018. Beyond reciprocity: Giving and Belonging in the Post-Soviet Buddhist Revival in Ulan-Ude (Buryatia); Klepeis, Hannah. 2020. Money, Morality, and Mistrust: Sangha-Laity Relations and Tibetan Personhood in Postreform China (both Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg).

[3] See also Abrahms-Kavunenko, Saskia. 2015. The blossoming of ignorance: uncertainty, power and syncretism amongst Mongolian Buddhists. *Ethnos* 80(3):346–363; Abrahms-Kavunenko, Saskia. 2015. Paying for prayers: perspectives on giving in postsocialist Ulaanbaatar. *Religion, State and Society* 43(4):327–341.

After all group members had completed their fieldwork, we organized the conference "Sangha Economies: Temple Organization and Exchanges in Contemporary Buddhism" at the Max Planck Institute in September 2017. This enabled us to compare our results with those of eleven international colleagues. David Gellner acted as principal discussant, supported by other specialists including Stephen Covell, Patrice Ladwig and Nikolay Tsyrempilov. A selection of the revised papers has been prepared for publication, edited jointly by the senior members of the group.[4]

Participants in the workshop "Sangha Economies: Temple Organization and Exchanges in Contemporary Buddhism," September 2017. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

While individual members of the group broached a wide range of topics, including the special challenges of urban environments and the relation of Buddhism to ethnic and national identity, our core focus was on the proper way to deal with money. This is a preoccupation for both religious specialists and laypeople. It is also a touchstone for assessing the authenticity and trustworthiness of clerics. An expectation that Buddhist transactions be distanced from ordinary profit-oriented economic exchanges appears to be universal. This similarity was striking, especially since the societies we studied were quite distinct. Two projects were located in the postsocialist contexts of the Russian Federation and Mongolia, one in "late socialist" China, and two in Japan, a paragon of capitalism. While Japan, Mongolia and the federal republic of Buryatia can be classified at the lenient end of a clerical discipline spectrum, with priests allowed to live family lives, drink alcohol and eat meat, celibacy is strictly enforced in the Buddhism of the Tibetan areas of China. Theravada

[4] Brumann, Christoph, Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko, and Beata Świtek (eds.). forthcoming. *Temples, money and morality: the balancing act of contemporary Buddhism*. London: Bloomsbury.

monastics in South and Southeast Asia follow an even more rigorous discipline. The cases discussed at our conference included strict adherence to the monastic rules (*vinaya*) that prohibit monks from handling money among the forest monks of Sri Lanka, where financial matters are left to the abbot and trusted lay assistants. The other extreme is represented by the cash register positioned squarely in the main hall of an Ulaanbaatar temple, where adherents pay for rituals to be carried out by the monks (Abrahms-Kavunenko 2019: 144); and by the one-off, “rent-a-priest” Buddhist rites advertised for fixed prices on Amazon Japan.[5]

Despite this diversity, the impulse to draw a symbolic line between Buddhist and everyday practices is universal. It is expressed in the aforementioned envelopes for *o-fuse*, in the use of crisp new bills presented in special scarfs when remunerating tantra practitioners in Tibet, or in silently leaving bank notes on the table after consulting a Buryat priest, rather than handing them over in person.[6] Verbal etiquette requires a de-facto payment to be called a donation. Temples in Buryatia and Japan – even in popular touristic locations – invariably require a “worshipping” rather than “entrance” fee from their visitors. More often than not, however, behavioural expectations are implicit. People become conscious of them only when confronted with actual or imagined breaches. For example, after my presentation of our research group’s results, a circle of priests in Kyoto were surprised to find that they disagreed as to what kinds of shopping were acceptable when wearing Buddhist robes. Visiting a bank, they all agreed, would require changing to plain clothes. Open solicitation of donations by the clergy, beyond the customary alms rounds of Theravada Buddhism, is often considered inappropriate, be it in Bangkok, in Shangrila (the former Zhongdian in the Tibetan part of Yunnan province, Klepeis’s field site) or by a Kyoto friend of mine who was outraged when, following his father’s death, the family’s regular temple priest lost no time in stipulating the funeral fee. Similarly, Caple reports a visitor’s shock when seeing lay clerks at work in the shop of a Tibetan temple in Qinghai province, undermining all her expectations of monastic businesses being distinct and therefore more trustworthy than ordinary establishments.[7]

The symbolic boundary also manifests itself in more general worries about monks, priests and other religious specialists becoming corrupt and obsessed with money. Gossip assessing clergy in this regard (with a penchant for zooming in on the bad

[5] Sirisena, Prabath. Wealthy mendicants: the balancing act of Sri Lankan forest monks; Świtek, Beata. Economic exchanges and the spirit of donation: the commercialization of Buddhist services in Japan (both in Brumann et al. forthcoming, see note 4).

[6] Sihlé, Nicolas. Ritual virtuosity, large-scale priest-patron networks and the ethics of remunerated ritual services; Jonutytė, Kristina. Donations inversed: material flows from sangha to laity in post-Soviet Buryatia (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

[7] Borchert, Thomas. Merit, “corruption,” and economy in the contemporary Thai sangha; Caple, Jane. Monastic business expansion in post-Mao Tibet: risk, trust and perception; Klepeis, Hannah. “Bad” monks and unworthy donors: money, (mis)trust and the disruption of sangha-laity relations in Shangrila (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

examples) is found across the Buddhist world, even though open criticism of the sangha – the community of Buddhist priests, monks and nuns – is often out of the question. Conscientiousness in money matters, rather than doctrinal erudition or ritual experience, often appears to be the laity's key criterion for assessing clerics. In Shangrila, for instance, "bad" monks are the ones who divert lay donations to their own private business ventures or to their natal families, and "good" ones those who reject contributions from shady Han Chinese businessmen.[8] These worries are shared by the clerics: priests and monks fear that engaging in ordinary business ventures, even if for the collective good of the temple's, might drag them away from their true purposes, taint them with a market mentality associated with deception or instil in them a capitalist mind set.[9] Given that capitalism and monetization are expanding across all the studied societies, Buddhist clerics have ever more reason for such concern.

One countermeasure is to question the old formula according to which the laity supports the sangha, and pious giving generates karmic merit in quasi-automatic fashion as the only return. Instead, Buddhist temples and practitioners feel driven to justify their own existence and ease the laity's burden by generating their own income and/or by contributing to the welfare of the surrounding society. Examples presented at our conference included projects of "Socially Engaged Buddhism" in Ladakh and the hospitals and schools that the *khruba* – the charismatic Buddhist saints of the upper Mekong region – finance from the donations showered upon them.[10] Even the Sri Lankan forest monks who observe the old rule not to channel lay contributions back to the laity know full well that the ordinary monasteries to which they transfer their surplus are more permissive in this regard. The umbrella organization of Buryat Buddhist temples runs the "Social Flock" charity project to give impoverished laypeople sheep to start their own flock. Some of the lambs have to be returned and are then given to the next family in line. These and similar initiatives challenge the dominant view of Buddhist exchanges as bilateral affairs between clergy and laity. Jonutytė speaks instead of "pooling," with all participants aware that their economic interactions contribute to the common cause of rebuilding Buryat Buddhism from near-extinction and making it visible in the urban context of Ulan-Ude.[11]

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[8] Borchert, Jonutytė, Klepeis, Sihlé, Świtek (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

[9] Casas, Roger. Monks and the morality of exchange: reflections on a village temple case in Southwest China; Caple (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

[10] Horstmann, Alexander. Saintly entrepreneurialism and political aspirations of Theravadin saints in mainland Southeast Asia; Caple (Brumann et al. forthcoming); Williams-Oerberg, Elizabeth. 2017. Socially engaged sangha economies in Ladakh, India. Paper presented at the workshop "Sangha Economies: Temple Organization and Exchanges in Contemporary Buddhism," MPI for Social Anthropology, Halle, 21 September 2017.

[11] Jonutytė, Sirisena (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

Another way to domesticate concerns is the cultivation of ambiguity and grey zones. I found this prevalent in my own research in Kyoto. To a surprising degree and despite occasional hassle from an exacting tax office, religious corporations – the legal status that most Buddhist temples choose – are exempt from the detailed financial reporting required of other bodies enjoying tax privileges, such as NGOs. Many temple priests hesitate to prepare accounts and parishioners often support this approach. Monetary questions are muted and ignorance of financial details appears to be desirable. Such an approach thwarts efforts to consolidate temple management: a seasoned business consultant who, upon becoming a Buddhist priest, has been recruited by his denominational headquarters into temple crisis management told me that he had never seen such patchy accounting. In a similar case reported by Świtek, a priest stipulated precise contributions to a costly joint activity but then failed to police their implementation, to the parishioners’ dismay.[12]

Buddhist clergy and laity often employ a split vision. Neither priests nor laypeople in Kyoto openly challenge the view that *o-fuse* after rituals should be voluntary donations determined by one’s feelings, not quasi-obligatory remuneration. Yet laypeople told me that rates are fixed by custom and some priests admitted to suggesting specific sums in the rare cases where uncertain parishioners pressed them. Likewise, Buddhist laypeople in Shangrila hesitate to confront monks about a lackadaisical conduct of house rituals.[13] Even though these are services rendered on demand, a contractual logic that would allow the parties to insist on correct implementation of the negotiated terms does not fully apply. Rather, faith is required for ritual efficacy. Parallels can be found in anthropological work on the Janus-faced character of the gift: to be acceptable, it must be presented as a one-off, altruistic prestation, yet in reality it is often carefully calibrated to the ongoing relationship between giver and recipient and to earlier gifts exchanged. While Bourdieu prioritizes the element of calculation, others have emphasized the co-presence of both perspectives in people’s minds.[14]

Money continues to be a challenge for contemporary Buddhists in urban Asia. The popular image of the world renouncer indifferent to financial matters shapes the expectations of clergy and laity alike. Even where actual practices have long diverged from the strict terms of the original monastic rules, Buddhist clerics still feel driven to avoid or mask anything that might smell like ordinary business. Money-mindedness and avarice are censured in other world religions, but Buddhists’ concern with the potential polluting effects of money is of a special order.

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[12] Świtek (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

[13] Klepeis (Brumann et al. forthcoming).

[14] Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 194. Brumann, Christoph. 2000. Materialistic culture: the uses of money in Tokyo gift exchanges. In: John Clammer and Michael Ashkenazi (eds.) *Consumption and material culture in contemporary Japan*, pp. 224–248. London: Kegan Paul International; Smart, Alan. 1993. Gifts, bribes, and guanxi: a reconsideration of Bourdieu’s social capital. *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (3): 388–408.

Subsequent Research: Opening up Kyoto Temples

Buddhist temples have continued to occupy me beyond the formal end of the research group. In my fieldwork in Kyoto between October 2019 and March 2020 I investigated how the economic questions discussed above form part of the larger task of sustaining Buddhist temples through time as a resource shared by clergy and laity.

Buddhist temples in Japan usually function as both religious establishment and family residence, with a (most often male) priest, his wife, who often plays a crucial role in temple management, and their children, often including the designated successor, living as a household on the premises. This differs from the monastic arrangements found in most Buddhist temples elsewhere. This Japanese practice has considerable historical depth, going back to the Meiji period or, in the case of the Shin denomination, to the Middle Ages. At the same time, temples are typically supported by a fixed circle of households (*danka* or *monto*) of many generations' standing, continuing a pattern imposed by the seventeenth-century government. These parishioners have their family grave in the cemetery or their family ashes in the columbarium (*nôkotsudô*) – if the temple has such facilities –, rely on the priest for memorial services in the temple and their homes, and come to the temple for collective rituals several times a year.

This leads to some ambiguity as to whose temple it actually is. Most temples are independent religious corporations (*shûkyô hôjin*) controlled by a board of trustees (*sekinin yakuin*), often with the priest as head representative (*daihyô yakuin*) and

Buddhist priests discussing temple futures at a workshop in Osaka. (Photo: Christoph Brumann, 2019)

his wife as one of the trustees. Most parishioners are more than willing to follow the priest’s lead in temple decision-making. Since he and his family live there, the temple is treated as their quasi-property. Formally, however, the priest and other family members are salaried employees of the corporation over which the parishioner trustees have no less a say than the priest.

This can give rise to tensions, such as when priests’ wives feel under pressure to be constantly available to receive spontaneous worshippers or when a priest resents being envied for the comfort of his living quarters when these are not his personal property, a fact that his homeowner acquaintances tend to overlook. In the case of the two Shin temples to which I developed a specially close relationship, however, the priests strive to open up the temples, encouraging parishioners to see them as more of their own affair.

One of these priests, on top of his routine ritual activities, has been a trailblazer in holding Buddhist study groups, debating circles, live concerts, science talks coupled with Buddhist sermons and other special events; he also makes appearances on TV and in live talk shows, where he engages with priests of other denominations. This unfolds independently from his parishioners and does not help him to attract new ones and the priest’s sense of Buddhist mission plays a larger role than his economic concerns. The other priest has a larger number of parishioners and meeting their ritual needs keeps him and his son and successor fully occupied. However, he too wishes for more outreach. Participation in a workshop aiming for “healthy” temples, organized by the denominational headquarter temple, provided an opportunity to discuss the future of the temple with parishioners for the first time.

Together, they agreed to organize a culture festival in 2021, based on the parishioners’ special skills. They also decided to launch *konkatsu* activities, that is, events that, in a country with a plummeting marriage rate, would bring together parishioners looking for a partner. Following the progress of these initiatives and examining their impact on parishioner commitment to the temple will be an important task in future research visits.

Sharing Kyoto’s Townscape

Much of my recent field stay followed up on a topic that has kept me interested since initial fieldwork in 1998/99: social activities concerning the townscape of Japan’s ancient capital and the public life of its cultural heritage.[15] The adoption of Japan’s strictest building regulations controlling the heights and designs of new buildings in 2007 – a surprise to many back then – has greatly reduced construction-related conflict in the historical centre; the regulations work to widespread satisfaction.

[15] Brumann, Christoph. 2009. Outside the glass case: the social life of urban heritage in Kyoto. *American Ethnologist* 36(2): 276–299. Brumann, Christoph. 2012. *Tradition, democracy and the townscape of Kyoto: claiming a right to the past.* London: Routledge.

Public space is more thoughtfully designed and additions to it are more in line with traditional patterns. This has contributed to a tourist boom in which the number of foreigners visiting the nation's most celebrated stronghold of history and heritage has skyrocketed. Controversy nowadays therefore tends to focus on the proliferation of hotels, guest houses and restaurants in downtown residential communities.

Instead of supplementing the generalities of the new building code with more fine-grained area-specific rules, as originally intended, in 2011 Kyoto City introduced a new system of "local townscape councils" (*chiiki keikanzukuri kyôgikai*). Active neighbourhood initiatives that work out a "townscape plan" for their area can be designated as such a body by the mayor. Builders planning new construction, major renovations or even changing shop signs must consult with representatives of this body before the work can be authorized. There is no obligation to come to an agreement and promises made are not binding, but there is no way for builders to avoid at least one such meeting and the submission of a mutually approved written record of the proceedings to the authorities.

Starting out from the introductions made at their network meeting to which an activist friend took me, I interviewed members of all eight townscape councils active in the historical centre of Kyoto. Two of these barred outsiders from their meetings but the other six allowed me to sit in on both their internal meetings and their consultations with developers. The latter proved to be fascinating encounters. Given that the councils are purely consultative, little is fixed concerning membership and procedures, which are accordingly diverse. While these bodies are officially charged with giving voice to local residents, almost all also include specialists, such as architects or university researchers, who do not necessarily live in the area. Citizen activists I have known for two decades also play central roles. Ambiguity plays to the councils' advantage, as they are less constrained than city officials, who are required to maintain neutrality. Developers are not always certain as to the true powers of the councils and hesitate to estrange people who, after all, will be future neighbours. This can make for comprehensive compromises in which initial plans end up much adjusted and improved, with buildings' appearances improved and burdens on the neighbourhood, such as increased traffic flows, ameliorated. The councils are powerless, however, against profit-driven developers with no public reputation to lose, as the latter know their rights and exhaust the regulatory limits, whatever the council's demands.

Ambiguity also characterizes the relationship with public officials. The councils are mandated by Kyoto City to achieve what municipal authorities could only realize at a much larger cost than these volunteers, if at all. For their part, council members often complain about a lack of support, including city funding, and the fact that their recommendations are not binding. Council members differ in their policies toward municipal officials: some admit the bureaucrats to their internal meetings and/or to consultations with builders, hoping that this will exercise a restraining effect on the latter; others make a point of acting independently. Confrontation has

Traditional Kyoto residence converted into guest house. (Photo: Christoph Brumann, 2019)

arisen at times, most strongly in 2019 when the councils jointly submitted a petition against proposals to ease the limitations on the height of buildings in one area of the city centre. City officials characterized this to me as a disproportionate reaction to some preliminary ideas. In fact, however, the petition and its media echo led to the plan being shelved. The municipal administration is itself divided: some offices perceive the councils as allies while others see little value for their own activities, or even a nuisance.

The local townscape councils are a major arena for negotiating public space in contemporary Kyoto, in an environment where extending public rights over the buildings proper continues to be problematic. The traditional wooden town houses (*kyô-machiya*) are still all the rage, remodelled into shops, restaurants, guest houses and residences from the most luxurious to shoestring levels. Kyoto City offers much verbal support and limited subsidies for brushing up facades and increasing earthquake resistance but hesitates to show more substantial commitment, such as by acquiring grade one houses and converting them into public facilities or by waiving land taxes. Even *kyô-machiya* bequeathed to the city for free are only reluctantly accepted, due to the management burdens and risks involved. The high price of real estate plays a role here, but the general Japanese consensus that land is primarily an asset – and a private one at that – lingers strongly.

All in all, the focus of public debate has shifted considerably over the last two decades. The value of Kyoto's townscape and public space is much more widely recognized now and the confrontations modest in comparison to what I witnessed initially. Nonetheless, quite a few citizens, specialists and public officials are still not satisfied. After a period in which townscape discourse reigned supreme, they perceive a decline in public planning ambitions. The evolution of Kyoto's historical centre is still left largely to the vicissitudes of the market. With land prices rising, tourism booming and hotel developments barely regulated, speculation and gentrification have surged. The current corona crisis and its disastrous impact on tourism will redraw the coordinates; bankruptcies and plummeting land values seem likely. How exactly this will play out and how citizen initiatives and public authorities can succeed in their efforts to control Kyoto's built space and sustain the link to the city's cultural heritage will be the subject of further investigations in years to come. In the course of these, the role of Kyoto's World Heritage properties in reviving the tourism industry also calls for consideration (Brumann 2017a[Chap], 2017b[Chap], 2018a[Chap], 2018[TH], 2019[Chap], 2019[TH]).[16]

Increasingly, my Kyoto research produces ethnographic feedback loops: informants request public lectures and other contributions that then provoke unexpected viewpoints in the ensuing conversations and debates. This encourages a "then and now" perspective where my twenty years of ethnographic commitment motivate reflection on how things have changed. I am often called upon to provide a detached, long-term assessment, for example when a journalist interviewed me precisely because her colleague did so two decades ago. The ethnographer's role in making palpable the passage of time is worth further reflection.

[16] Brumann, Christoph. forthcoming. *The best we share: nation, culture and world-making in the UNESCO World Heritage arena*. New York: Berghahn.

IV

VISEGRÁD ANTHROPOLOGISTS’ NETWORK

Launch meeting of V4 Net, 9 October 2017, (from left): Michael Stewart (University College London) ■ Agnieszka Halemba (University of Warszawa) ■ Elena Soler (Charles University Prague) ■ László Kürti (University of Miskolc) ■ Bertalan Pusztai (University of Szeged) ■ Marcin Lubaś (Jagiellonian University Kraków) ■ Nicolette Makovicky (University of Oxford) ■ Daniel Sosna (University of West Bohemia, Plzeň) ■ Chris Hann (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale) ■ Bettina Mann (Research Coordinator, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale,) ■ Juraj Buzalka (Comenius University, Bratislava) ■ Tatjana Thelen (University of Vienna) ■ Margit Feischmidt (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest) ■ Frances Pine (Goldsmiths, University of London). (Photo: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, 2017)

Introduction to the V4 Network

Chris Hann

The Visegrád Anthropologists’ Network (V4 Net) was launched on 9 October 2017. Stefan Schwendtner, freshly appointed as this Institute’s Press and Public Relations Officer, issued the following press release:

> *Since 2004 the Visegrád states have enjoyed all the benefits of EU membership, yet they have been reluctant to share the burden of the “migrant crisis” that erupted in 2015. It is not just political solidarity with the EU that is judged to be lacking: Western politicians and journalists bemoan rampant xenophobia in East-Central Europe, when humanitarian sympathy with refugees is called for. Viktor Orbán and Jarosław Kaczyński are depicted as demagogues, manipulating the media and amending constitutions in order to undermine the independence of the judiciary. A generation after the collapse of socialism, democracy itself seems to be threatened.*
>
> *“Such hasty judgements and stereotypes must be questioned,” says Prof. Chris Hann. “I am especially interested in tracing grassroots social changes taking place within the Visegrád region. Various sectors of labour migration to the West have been well documented, from agriculture to hospitality and the care sector, both private and public. We know the root causes of this exodus: even where jobs are available in the homeland, the wages are abysmal, insufficient even to support household reproduction. But we don’t know very much about what is happening to families and neighbourhoods in the villages and towns which these emigrants leave.” At the inaugural meeting, anthropologists from the Visegrád states were joined by Western specialists on the region to discuss the present state of research and the priorities for future investigations.*
>
> *“Right-wing, populist mobilization in Eastern Europe is currently attracting a great deal of attention, from anthropologists as well as other scholars,” Hann observes. “This is quite right, it’s an important issue, but to grasp it adequately we need to widen the context. There are plenty of topics where more research is urgently needed – for example, into the social impact of EU transfers and of transnational investors like Mercedes-Benz. Remuneration patterns, payment practices and taxation strategies in enterprises owned by native entrepreneurs should also be examined, together with continuities with the shadow economy of the socialist era which are still widespread in some sectors. A lot of work has already been done on social memory*

> *and nostalgia, the manipulation of historical symbols, the branding of exemplary national products, and the staging of new rituals; but here too, in the understanding of subjectivities and emotions, as we move forward in the second postsocialist generation, there is a need for innovative anthropological research."*
>
> *With a mix of empirical projects exploring both political economy and changing social relations and notions of personhood, the aim is to create a solid foundation to address larger conceptual questions concerning trust and morals in states that used to be on the periphery of the Soviet empire and now find themselves structurally marginalized by the EU and global capitalism.*[1]

The programme outlined in this press release has been steadily implemented during the last two years. We have been particularly concerned to assist young researchers at institutions within the region, many of which have struggled under political and financial pressures in recent years. This network is a novel initiative, quite unlike any previous project or focus group in the department. The very name Visegrád is highly evocative for me personally. I visited the castle that commands the Danube bend at Visegrád for the first time in the course of a Summer University in Economics in Budapest in August 1974. This is the region in which I began my career as an anthropologist. Over the decades I have been fortunate in the assistance and collegiality shown to me by countless "local scholars." I cannot even begin to correct all the asymmetries that derive from my privileged position as a Western researcher. Even so, I hope that those who have justifiably complained in the past about "hierarchies of knowledge" in our discipline will see this network as an effort to promote more balanced exchanges, such that future generations of European anthropologists will be able to interact on a more level playing field.

When I entered anthropology (following undergraduate studies in economics and politics), Hungary and Poland were at the forefront of attempts to reform socialism. At the end of the 1980s, following "roundtable" talks rather than violent revolutions, these same countries were in the vanguard of the "system change" that eventually led to the break-up of the Soviet Union. Thirty years on, however, they stand accused of populism or a full-fledged "illiberalism;" the statesmen of Hungary and Poland are deplored by the liberal establishment of the EU (to which all four Visegrád states acceded in 2004). Much of my own research in recent years has been devoted to explaining this transformation.

[1] My thanks to Stefan Schwendtner for this extensive summary of our goals in this initiative. This outreach to the media was especially important in view of the strong interest that the public in Halle and elsewhere in the former GDR takes in the condition of former socialist neighbours. For more detail on the launch meeting of V4 Net, see: https://www.eth.mpg.de/4607479/news_2017_10_13_01?c=3198137

The States of the Visegrád Cooperation.

As usual, the causes must be sought at multiple levels: from global political economy to particular national and regional histories (see my discussion in the Introduction to this report). While populism has been prominent in the discussions of the network, there has been no attempt to forge a cohesive overall project. Rather, V4 Net exists primarily to support the priorities of its members in the four countries, in particular through a scheme to enable doctoral students based in the region to benefit from Max Planck scholarships and funding for their fieldwork. Altogether 16 students are being supported in this way. In addition, two-year scholarships have been awarded to 7 postdocs, whose work is based at the MPI in Halle. Apart from supporting conferences and workshops, the network facilitates the mobility of individual scholars between all the participating institutes. Senior and junior members alike are encouraged to spend time at the MPI for Social Anthropology, to work on their own projects as well as to provide stimulus and guidance to the research community in Halle. V4 Net is scheduled to run until the summer of 2021, when a concluding conference will be organized at the Max Planck Society’s castle in Bavaria, Schloss Ringberg.

Doctoral Students supported in the framework of V4 Net

Matej Butko (Comenius University, Bratislava): *The Postsocialist Schengen Borderlands: Comparative Perspectives on Local Governance, Economy and Power* (Supervisor: Juraj Buzalka)

Ewa Cichocka (University of Warsaw): *Life Strategies of Second-Generation Immigrants and Intergenerational Transfers in a Multicultural City. The Example of Polish Immigrant Families in Berlin* (Supervisor: Sławomir Łodziński)

Balázs Gosztonyi (Corvinus University, Budapest): *From Waste to Vintage: An Exploration of an Informal Value Chain in the EU* (Supervisor: Zsombor Csata)

Kamila Grześkowiak (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań): *In the Name of Security. Securitization of Everyday Life in Poland as a Reaction to the Socio-Political Situation in Europe* (Supervisor: Michał Buchowski)

Jana Hrčková (Central European University, Budapest): *Wedges of Warsaw: On Green Infrastructure and Pollution in a Postsocialist City* (Supervisor: Daniel Monterescu)

Katrin Kremmler (Humboldt University, Berlin): *'Eurasian Magyars': Postcolonial Perspectives on Hungarian Neo-Nationalism* (Supervisors: Regina Römhild and Margit Feischmidt)

Katarzyna Ewa Król (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw): *Knowledge Production and Biomedical Cultures within Rare Diseases in Poland* (Supervisor: Małgorzata Rajtar)

Pavel Mašek (University of West Bohemia, Pilsen): *Rusting Away: An Ethnography of Automobiles, Value, Informality, and Daily Morality at a Salvage Yard* (Supervisor: Daniel Sosna)

Jan Ort (Charles University, Prague): *The Policy of 'Controlled Dispersal' of the Roma in the 1960s in former Czechoslovakia. A Case Study of Humenné District* (Supervisor: Helena Sadílková)

Sandra Ort-Mertlová (Comenius University, Bratislava) *The Roma Community of Eastern Slovakia from the Perspective of Dependence, Dominance and Reciprocity* (Supervisor: Juraj Podoba)

Barbora Stehlíková (Charles University, Prague): *E-Waste between Morality and Ethics: Waste Practices in the Czech Republic* (Supervisor: Daniel Sosna)

Barbara Tołłoczko-Suchańska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw): *Social Life of Foreign Things: Changes within Relations of People and Objects since the 1970s in Poland* (Supervisor: Anna Wieczorkiewicz)

Martin Tremčinský (Charles University, Prague): *Technologies of Exchange: Comparison of Currency Design and Its Political Impact* (Supervisor: Jakub Grygar)

Roman Urbanowicz (University of Warsaw / University of Helsinki): *Uncertain Prospects behind the Edge of Europe: Projected Futures of Polish Youth in North-Western Belarus* (Initial supervisor at Warsaw: Agnieszka Halemba; present supervisor, following transfer to Helsinki: Sarah Green)

Márk Vangel (University of Szeged / University of Pécs): *Working Abroad at Home: Unequal Development from the Perspectives of Mercedes-Benz Workers in a Rapidly Changing Hungarian Town* (Supervisors: Bertalan Pusztai and Ágnes Hesz)

Tereza Virtová (Charles University, Prague): *Work, Create, Innovate! Inquiring into the Start-up Scene in the Czech Republic* (Supervisor: Tereza Stöckelová)

Postdoctoral Scholarships have been awarded to:

Emma P. Greeson: *Polski Design: Nostalgia, Nationhood, and Everyday Objects in Global Capitalism*

Joanna Mroczkowska: *Social Memory in Rural and Small-Town Poland: Anthropological Perspectives on Food and Postsocialism*

Nikolaos Olma: *Crossing the San: Bridges, Cable Ferries, and Everyday Cross-River Mobility in Southeastern Poland*

Gergő Pulay: *Value, Livelihood, and Dependency in Poor Neighbourhoods of Hungary and Romania*

Michal Šípoš: *Ethnography of Loss and Change: War Refugees in Visegrád Countries*

Kristóf Szombati: *Illiberal Statecraft in Hungary*

Johana Wyss: *Memory and Commemoration in Czech Silesia*

CONFERENCE: Visegrád Belongings:
Freedoms, Responsibilities and Everyday Dilemmas

Convener: Chris Hann
Venue: Halle, 7–8 June 2018

This conference cast a broad net to attract leading figures from all four Visegrád states, together with younger scholars from the region and a sprinkling of experts from elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Western Europe and North America. Our call for papers invoked Karl Polanyi and ran as follows:

> The first conference of V4 Net will tackle very broad themes pertaining to "belonging": from face-to-face communities and regional identifications to loyalties to larger imaginary constructions such as the nation. Beyond the nation-state, does the V4 itself generate sentiments of belonging, and if so, how are these effects achieved? How can anthropologists illuminate current tensions between national belonging and larger entities such as the EU, or a Christian European civilization? In addition to all these forms of collective belonging, other forms may also be explored: to one's family or larger kin groups, to workplaces, secular associations, religious congregations etc. In all cases, acts of categorization and processes of boundary construction result in exclusions, with implications for social relations and their imagination. The juxtaposition of "freedom" and "responsibility" is inspired by Karl Polanyi (see the final chapter of *The Great Transformation*, 1944). The mature Polanyi argued that freedom cannot be attained in conditions of bourgeois liberalism, where market exchange is the dominant form of economic integration, but only through socialist democracy based on the recognition of society and responsible action towards others. Today, when economic pressures force families apart and politicians manipulate sentiments of national belonging to disguise increasing social inequality and to monopolise power, Polanyi's social philosophy seems utterly utopian. In his home region and elsewhere, the notion of responsibility may itself be acquiring darker aspects (e.g. in racialized notions of kinship). But is this to paint the picture too black? Can we detect other forms of belonging in the contemporary V4 that might contain the seeds of a new emancipatory "double movement" in Polanyi's sense?

It would be misleading to claim that the conference provided definitive answers to any of these questions. However, we certainly learned a lot from each other in the course of two full days of debate. The "business meeting" was devoted primarily to

discussions of the scholarly priorities and possible locations of further meetings; but we also found time to note the difficult situation of our Canadian colleague David Scheffel, whose treatment in a long-running legal process in Slovakia appeared to be well below what one would expect from a member of the European Union.[2]

Participants in the conference “Visegrád Belongings.” (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2018)

Follow-up BASEES Panel

Some of the central themes of this first conference were taken up a year later at a meeting of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (Cambridge, 12–14 April 2019). At a panel convened by Chris Hann and political economist Gábor Scheiring (currently a Marie Curie Fellow at Bocconi University, formerly a Member of Parliament in Hungary) entitled “Digging Its Own Grave? Postsocialist Liberalism and the Countermovement in the Visegrád States,” the papers of the conveners were supplemented with presentations by two other members of V4Net. Juraj Buzalka and Anna Malewska-Szałygin spoke about the legacies of older streams of peasant political imaginaries in Slovakia and Poland respectively. The panel generated good discussion and the feeling that we should follow up with a publication. The conveners are therefore currently working on an interdisciplinary Special Issue for the journal *Europe-Asia Studies*, under the title “Neoliberal Capitalism and Visegrád Countermovements.” Revised versions of the Cambridge papers will be supplemented with a further four papers commissioned by Gábor Scheiring and myself, all illuminating contemporary political phenomena in the Visegrád states. A final paper (by Felix Ringel) explores closely related constellations in the former German Democratic Republic.

[2] For more detail about this conference see
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/conference_visegrad_belongings_18

In the current reporting period V4 Net has supported three significant meetings outside Halle:

WORKSHOP: Thrift in Anthropology: Between Thriftiness and Wasting (jointly sponsored with the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the University of West Bohemia):

Convener: Daniel Sosna
Venue: Pilsen, Czech Republic, 18–19 October 2018

Daniel Sosna provided the following summary of the meeting:

Stephen Gudeman pictured in front of the Museum of Western Bohemia, Pilsen, during the V4 Net Workshop "Thrift in Anthropology," September 2018. (Photo: Chris Hann)

A small group of primarily anthropologists gathered in Pilsen to discuss the concept of thrift and explore its potential for understanding human economy. An incentive for this workshop was to explore inconsistencies and contradictions of thrift as well as its relations. We included both junior and senior scholars from different academic environments to bring their varied perspectives and stimulate the discussion. The format was based on nine longer presentations that left enough space for subsequent comments and questions. The core papers represented primarily ethnographic case studies from Europe, although there were also presentations focusing on a discursive level of thrift and North American and Asian examples. The workshop uncovered several different dimensions of thinking about thrift. It can be traced across different scales, refer to different temporalities, mobilize calculative reason, morality, and emotions. Thrift has a specific relationship to value that can operate in various regimes and their mutual tensions may produce contradictions.

I can only add that for myself and Stephen Gudeman (with whom I shared eventful (delightfully slow) train journeys from Halle to Pilsen and back) this was indeed an exceptionally pleasant and stimulating meeting. Further information is available at the webpage.[3]

The papers of this meeting are currently being revised for publication in a volume edited by the convener in collaboration with Catherine Alexander.

Mercedez-Benz Factory, Kecskemét. (Photo: Márk Vangel)

The doctoral project of Márk Vangel is a cooperation between the Universities of Szeged (Bertalan Pusztai) and Pécs (Ágnes Hesz), with additional support provided by the V4 Net of the Max Planck Institute. Vangel’s research focuses on assembly-floor workers’ perceptions of “working abroad, at home.” The influence of this plant on the regional labour market extends to Chris Hann’s field sites in Tázlár and Kiskunhalas, more than 50 kms away (see Introduction, pp. 8–9; see also Hann 2017b[Art], 2017b[Misc]). Specializing in top-of-the-range vehicles that few Hungarians can afford, this is one of several very large German investments in the automotive sector, on which the Hungarian economy has become very dependent in recent years. However, even before the impact of the Corona pandemic in Spring 2020, plans to expand the site were suspended due to market uncertainties.

[3] https://www.eth.mpg.de/4976871/V4_Thrift_in_Anthropology_2018_WS_Pilsen.pdf

CONFERENCE: Social and Cultural Consequences of Voluntary and Forced Migration in Europe

Conveners: Michał Buchowski and Kamila Grześkowiak
Venue: Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland, 1–2 April 2019

Frances Pine (London) at the final round of discussion. (Photo: Kamila Grześkowiak)

This conference was sponsored by the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Adam Mickiewicz University. The organizers have provided the following report:

> *The conference addressed a highly pertinent issue of the contemporary world, important also for Central and Eastern European societies. No wonder that it attracted well over forty applications, out of which less than half could be accommodated in the conference programme. While Poles and Hungarians were the most numerous contingents, other participants came from Georgia, Russia, Finland, Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, the UK and Israel. Topics included the effects of migration on family structure and kin relations (e.g. impact on children's education), linguistic practices of migrants (and of asylum seekers and their translation problems in courtrooms), the integration of highly skilled professionals on the one hand and unskilled Roma on the other, representations of "the West" as a motivation for migration, and the impulses behind volunteers' assistance to migrants, despite the anti-migrant rhetoric of governments. Anthropological perspectives generated insight at the level of the household, e.g. in decisions*

Michał Buchowski with Chris Hann. (Photo: Kamila Grześkowiak)

concerning care and endemic migration; at the macro level, migrants were sometimes perceived as the equivalent of “failed citizens,” the victims of globalization. Continuity and change in the ritual practices of transnational families were scrutinized, as was the erosion of emotional relations, particularly with the so-called euro-orphans (i.e. children left behind by their parents, who often experience stigmatization). Other subjects explored included alienation and nostalgia for pre-migration forms of sociality and life; parenting practices; the bureaucratic practices of the authorities and officials’ linguistic hegemony; vicious circles of poverty; local educational institutions unable to harness the experiences of returning pupils; postsocialist aspirations to be cosmopolitan, framed in terms of crypto-colonialism and self-provincialization; class differentiation in migration encounters; stereotypical nomadisation of migrant Roma, accentuating their discrimination and systemic segregation while prompting scholars to undertake an “action research;” religious relations between hosts and immigrants; forms and motivations of refugee solidarity; the politicisation of migration and refugees’ treatment in “reception centres;” and gender and age differentiation in all of these contexts. The rich ethnographic materials presented were elucidated with the help of a range of conceptual instruments, old and new. This combination of empirical data and conceptual armature generated lively and insightful discussion through two full days.[4]

[4] For further detail (call for papers and programme) see: https://www.eth.mpg.de/4638411/Visegrad_Network

WORKSHOP: Migration and the Generational Experience

Convener: Zdeněk Uherek
Venue: Order of Malta Grand Priory of Bohemia Building, Prague, Czech Republic, 24–25 September 2019

The workshop was held in the beautiful rooms of the Grand Priory of Bohemia Building of the Order of Malta in central Prague. (Photo: Veronika Beransk)

This workshop was organized with the support of the Institute of Sociological Studies of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University and the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. The convener has provided the following summary of the event:

> *The agenda was set out by Zdeněk Uherek, who showed several possibilities for approaching the topic. His contribution was followed by examples of ethnographic research from various settings, including Poland, the Czech Republic, Russia, Singapore, Ukraine, the Philippines and India. Thematically, the authors focused mainly on generational differences in utilizing new communication technologies, different approaches to religiosity, quality of employment, and social care. Also discussed were the different experiences of migrating parents and children, questions of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and diasporas. Most of the contributions were based on data from qualitative surveys, but several contributions also worked with larger data sets. From a methodological point of view, an interesting consideration was that the conclusions based on quantitative and qualitative data did not necessarily complement each other but could be contradictory.*

Most of the contributions focused on the generational experience of migrants, but a few addressed non-migrants’ perceptions of particular immigrant groups. In his remarks at the end of the meeting, Chris Hann drew on his familiarity with Hungarian and Polish migration experiences as well as the attitudes of the Hungarian and Polish populations towards migrants. He emphasized that attitudes need to be placed in the context of the structural economic situation of the Visegrád states, which continues to differ greatly from that of most Western European states. The meeting took place in a friendly and creative atmosphere. Zdeněk Uherek proposed to publish contributions in a thematic issue of the journal Cargo. Journal for Social and Cultural Anthropology.[5]

Two V4 Net workshops are scheduled for 2020:

3–5 September 2020
Locating Religion and Nonreligion in Eastern / Central Europe
Warsaw, Poland (Convener: Agnieszka Halemba and colleagues)

15–16 October 2020
Nation-Building and the Dynamics of Silences, Memory and Forgettings
Prague, Czech Republic (Convener: Elena Soler)

Internal workshop of V4 Net, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, (Guesthouse seminar room), December 2018. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

[5] For further detail (call for papers and programme) see:
https://www.eth.mpg.de/4638411/Visegrad_Network

Appendix: associated doctoral projects in the *neue Bundesländer*

A distinctive feature of this network is the comparative attention paid to the *neue Bundesländer* of Germany. The doctoral projects of Katerina Ivanova: *From Trabi to E-Mobility: Industrial Labour and Social Transformation in Eastern Germany* and Elisabeth Köditz: *Freedom, Self-Determination, and Community in East Germany after 1989* in Zwickau and Gera respectively were launched in 2018. The former is a co-tutelle with the Commenius University in Bratislava, where Ivanova obtained her Masters (for some early results see Ivanova 2019[Misc]). The latter is a cooperation with Professor Ursula Rao of the University of Leipzig, who is joining the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in April 2020 as one of two new Directors. In both projects, as in many of the locations studied in V4 projects, grasping the socialist background is indispensable when it comes to explaining such contemporary phenomena as support for populist politicians, migration rates, and the consequences of deindustrialization.

Of course, the German case has its distinctive features. The inhabitants of Zwickau and Gera have many reasons to see themselves as members of a "we-group" that unites all Germans. Yet that identity and solidarity are undermined by new forces of fragmentation, discriminatory working conditions, and deeper issues of *recognition* (the principal frame for the analysis of Elisabeth Köditz) within the federal state.

An article about these two doctoral projects (prepared while the students were still in the field) was recently published in a special issue of *Max Planck Research* devoted to the theme of freedom.[6]

Coda

Congratulations to Michal Šípoš, whose 2019 paper '"We are all brothers here": the making of a life by Chechen refugees in Poland' has been formally recognized by the publisher Wiley as a top downloaded paper in *Population, Space and Place.*

[6] Goddar, Jeannette. 2019. Freedom Foisted. *Max Planck Research* 2019 (3): 34–41. https://bc.pressmatrix.com/de/profiles/99f9c77d7a2c/editions/d7c991b09b41aaab5415/pages/page/18

V

MAX PLANCK – CAMBRIDGE CENTRE FOR ETHICS, ECONOMY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In Free School Lane, Cambridge, between the Department of Social Anthropology and Corpus Christi College, before the launch of Max-Cam on 6 March 2018: from left, Susan Bayly (Advisory Board Member), Patrick McKearney (Postdoctoral Researcher), Chris Hann (Co-Director), Patrice Ladwig (Senior Research Fellow, Göttingen), Joel Robbbins (Co-Director), Johannes Lenhard (Postdoctoral Researcher and Centre Coordinator), James Laidlaw (Co-Director), Peter van der Veer (Co-Director), Sarah Grant (Secretary), Stephen Gudeman (Advisory Board Member), Samuel Williams (Research Fellow, Halle), Anna-Riikka Kauppinen (Postdoctoral Researcher), Rachel Smith (Postdoctoral Researcher). (Photo: AlicetheCamera, 2018)

Introduction to Max-Cam

Chris Hann

When the young Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg called for fossil fuel divestment at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2020, she was promptly rebuked by another guest, Steven Mnuchin. Without explicitly supporting President Trump’s scepticism concerning climate change, the US Treasury Secretary suggested that Greta should sign up for a degree course in economics, in order to understand the implications for the economy, in particular for jobs, of the policies she and her fellow-campaigners were advocating.

Of course, not every economist would endorse the comments of Mnuchin (either in style or in substance). But the consistent message that has emerged from Davos over the years is that many of the biggest issues facing humanity and its planet in the 21st century depend on how to reconcile the economic with the ethical.[1] If traditional models of growth are no longer viable, what do we put in their place? How can advanced countries with low birth rates, mostly found in the northern hemisphere, expect poor countries with high birth rates in the “global south” to forego the standards of living to which the wealthy “north” has been accustomed? What if polarization increases *within* both north and south, between countries and within them, as a result of financialization and other global trends? Does socialist critique deserve to be taken seriously once again, as a basis for new forms of secular solidarity (or mutuality)? Or does the key lie in returning to perennial philosophical questions of how to become a good person (self-cultivation)?

To explore such questions, I decided to seek new partners – at the Göttingen Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in the person of Peter van der Veer, head of the Department of Religious Diversity, and at the Cambridge department where I had been a lecturer in the 1980s, where in recent years James Laidlaw and Joel Robbins have pioneered new approaches in the anthropology of ethics. We had some fun in putting together an application to the highest levels of our respective institutions. Here are some excerpts from the document we submitted:

[1] This is certainly true of the public health crisis caused by the coronavirus, which at the time of writing looks likely to have more far-reaching implications for capitalist economic organization than decades of financial turbulence. The agonizing choices made by medical staff when allocating patients to scarce ventilators represent one aspect of the ethics-economics interface. Some economists have suggested that political reactions to the pandemic, such as lockdowns and the disruption of commerce by the closing of borders, risk highly deleterious effects on well-being, and even on mortality figures. Others have tried to quantify the beneficial effects of the industrial shutdown and the dramatic decline in air and road transportation. One might hope that, in the wake of this crisis, comparative analysis of the performance of different welfare systems globally will eventually lead to real progress in the direction of universal health care; and perhaps (to be really optimistic) to radically different understandings of economics and the embeddedness of economy. Of course, it is also possible that the rush to promote economic recovery after this pandemic will serve to accentuate the deeper contradictions of our era, the Anthropocene.

The prime goal of the Max-Cam Centre is to break new ground intellectually, with particular reference to the discipline of socio-cultural anthropology. However, the Centre is aiming for a wide reach […] outside this discipline, and indeed outside academe, in the interests of a better understanding of – and better responses to – rapid social change in our globalized world.

The Max-Cam Centre research programme is framed by the assumption that human communities everywhere are obliged to rethink their ethical foundations as the principle of the market (commoditization) spreads ever more comprehensively into social life, including the most intimate life-worlds […] What we are proposing is not applied anthropology in any conventional sense, but we are certain that the results will be of interest to anyone concerned with global social change. Much can be learned from diverse regimes of ethical self-cultivation, and the forms of ritual practice they employ, for strengthening the governance of markets and firms. It is increasingly recognized that the conduct of economic actors – whether traders, financiers, advisors, consultants, or regulators – can be modified by the inculcation of virtuous dispositions, and that this needs to be intensified to promote more robust and responsible economic agencies.

Our proposal was positively reviewed but implementation was delayed while the financing was put together. The Centre, with responsibilities shared between four directors at three locations, was formally established in the summer of 2017. Max-Cam is funded jointly by the Max Planck Society and Cambridge (we are indebted to the Isaac Newton Trust for supplementing the university contribution) to the tune of £2 million. Our Advisory Board brings international experts together with close colleagues from our own institutions. Appropriately for a Centre in which research into ritual plays a significant role, it was given a formal inauguration at a ceremony in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge on 6 March 2018.[2]

Advisory Board Members

Susan Bayly (Cambridge), Marie-Claire Foblets (MPI, Halle), Stephen Gudeman (Minnesota), Tanya Luhrmann (Stanford), Ayelet Shachar (MPI, Göttingen), Birgit Meyer (Utrecht), Gillian Tett (Financial Times)

[2] The following account, including excerpts from the formal speeches, is derived from the article published a week later at the Cambridge University website:
https://www.cam.ac.uk/news/max-planck-cambridge-centre-launched

At this launch Professor Martin Stratmann, President of the Max Planck Society, outlined the Society’s programme of international partnerships and stressed the topicality of our research agenda. Professor James Laidlaw, Head of the Department of Social Anthropology, declared the Centre to be:

> “[…] the most ambitious and important of a number of initiatives the newly restored Department is embarking upon. It is an attempt […] to show that ethical values and practice are just as pervasive in economic life as they are in religion, or the family […] Morality is as crucial to explaining when people behave badly as it is to explaining when they behave well; as crucial to understanding how they cope with adversity as it is to understanding the ambitions they pursue. This is especially important when those hopes and ambitions are radically different from our own: when people’s values seem to us to be perverse, shallow, distorted, or plain incomprehensible.”

In my own remarks I expressed the hope that the new Centre might contribute to a renewal of cross-disciplinary research in the “moral sciences,” a distinguished Cambridge tradition dating back to 1848 that brought philosophers, lawyers and historians into conversations with political economists and the pioneers of the social sciences. The broad spectrum of the moral sciences was impossible to sustain in the face of disciplinary specialization, but it remains attractive to anthropologists. In particular, economic anthropologists may feel at home here, in a broad church which the mainstream economists chose to leave more than a century ago.

I also felt compelled to address the contemporary conjuncture:

> “When we prepared the proposal over two years ago, few observers anywhere imagined that citizens of the UK would vote in a referendum to leave the European Union [...] In this uncertain climate, we would be very happy if the launch of our modest Centre can be a catalyst for further collaboration between the Max Planck Society and this great University.”

This view was endorsed by Professor Stephen J. Toope, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who concluded his speech as follows:

> “The more incomprehensible the world about us seems, the more we need to employ our anthropological imagination to appreciate its depth and diversity. This new joint venture with the Max Planck Society helps us do just that.”

President Martin Stratmann (left) and Vice-Chancellor Stephen J. Toope at the Max-Cam launch ceremony. (Photo: AlicetheCamera, 2018)

Max-Cam in Cambridge

Four of the Centre's principal postdoctoral researchers are based at the Department of Social Anthropology in Cambridge.[3]

- Anna-Riikka Kauppinen's project explores the social networks between West African capitalist enterprises and Charismatic churches in Accra and Lagos, tracing the movement of capital, people, ritual and advice across two distinct institutional structures and modes of financial accountability.

- The research of Johannes Lenhard (who doubles as Max-Cam Coordinator) focuses on the ethics behind the investment decisions of venture capitalists in Europe and the United States.

- Patrick McKearney's research in South India (Kerala) investigates the effects of divergent patterns of kinship care across religion, caste, and class on the life courses of adults with intellectual disabilities.

- Rachel E. Smith's project examines ethical and socio-economic questions surrounding *kava* (a plant with soporific and relaxant properties) in Vanuatu; *kava* markets are rooted in vernacular ideas about wealth and abundance, physical and spiritual well-being, but also risk and uncertainty.

[3] Max-Cam researchers are encouraged to spend time at the partner institutions. In addition, a mobility scheme launched in 2019 enables other postdocs and doctoral students not directly involved in Max-Cam to spend up to two months in one of the other locations.

Chris Hann speaking at the launch of Max-Cam in the Maudslay gallery of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. (Photo: AlicetheCamera, 2018)

In an associated project, funded by the British Academy, Susan MacDougall is investigating the ways that states attempt to influence and profit from their citizens’ mundane efforts to live ethically, with particular reference to the Arabic-speaking Middle East.

Coordinator Johannes Lenhard has been responsible for a lively programme of events, most of them interdisciplinary in character, open to the university public, and well-attended. He has been supported by two part-time secretaries: Sarah Grant had all the qualities we needed to get the Centre up and running, but then departed to commence doctoral research in psychology at King’s College, London. Connie Tang took over in October 2018. Over a dozen events were organized in 2018–2019. These included a number of book talks, e.g. by Caitlin Zaloom (New York University) on the subject of education-related debt and Anna Alexandrova (Philosophy, Cambridge) on the science of well-being. Economist Diane Coyle (Politics and International Studies, Cambridge) has been a very stimulating interlocutor for us on more than one occasion (notably in discussions of what exactly economists should be attempting to capture in their national statistics).

For me personally, two events stood out. One was a workshop in May 2018, in which Cambridge historian Tim Rogan gave an eloquent presentation of his recent book identifying a distinctive British tradition in approaches to moral economy.[4] The other was the visit of distinguished economic historian Deirdre McCloskey (University of Chicago) in October 2018. Our guest offered a spirited defence of classical

[4] I had recently reviewed the work in question, *The moral economists. R. H. Tawney, Karl Polanyi, E. P. Thompson, and the critique of capitalism*. Princeton University Press, 2017.
See https://www.soziopolis.de/lesen/buecher/artikel/the-invention-of-another-tradition/

liberalism, based on her well-received publications over many years.[5] I drew her wrath when I suggested that neoliberalism had not done much to improve the lot of the communities with which I work in provincial Hungary. Unfortunately, Deirdre McCloskey understood me to be somehow condoning the "fascist" tendencies that were becoming increasingly evident in that country and elsewhere.[6]

In addition to the Cambridge programme, Max-Cam researchers have been active in organizing panels and presenting papers at various international meetings, among them: the *American Anthropological Association* (2018), the *Association of Social Anthropologists* (2018), and the *German Anthropological Association* (2019).

Max-Cam in Halle

The Max-Cam office in Halle is shared by Samuel Williams and Deborah Jones, both of whom joined us at the beginning of 2018. Sam's project builds on his Princeton PhD and takes him back to the Grand Bazaar and other nearby sites for the exchange of goods and services in Istanbul, where he is particularly interested in socio-cultural and ethical dimensions of the market for gold. His work also compares moral concerns over trade across a longer historical *durée*, and he has collaborated with an historian to prepare critical editions of Ottoman texts produced for the 1873 World's Fair, including one of the earliest indigenously produced ethnological surveys of economic life across the Balkans and Middle East. In the longer term, he is working on a reappraisal of the celebrated ethnographies of markets conducted by Clifford Geertz more than half a century ago, and the theoretical challenge the Geertzian approach poses to mainstream economics.

While simultaneously completing a book manuscript about language, land, and violence in Ukraine that updates and expands upon her doctoral work at the University of Michigan, Deborah Jones has embarked on a new project on "ghostwriters." Early papers suggest that the proliferation of ghostwritten texts in the academic and business world is symptomatic of the displacement of both writers and their clients from traditional workplaces, as well as technological conditions of the new economy, which require job-seekers to be searchable online. However, Deborah also finds that ghostwriters engage in personally meaningful labour, for example when one evangelical Christian assists another in the formulation and dissemination of the latter's experience of the divine. At the first Max-Cam conference (see below), Deborah explored the high degree of satisfaction many ghostwriters reported finding in their work, and the implications of this seemingly counter-intuitive result for the anthropology of work.

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[5] McCloskey, Deirdre. 2019. *Why liberalism works: how true liberal values produce a freer, more equal, prosperous world for all*. Yale University Press.

[6] See my discussion in the Introduction to this report. Unfortunately this misunderstanding is rather common. However, it was not difficult to clarify genuine points of disagreement with Professor McCloskey later that evening during dinner.

CONFERENCE: Work, Ethics, Freedom

Conveners: Chris Hann and Johannes Lenhard

In addition to the Cambridge activities, during the life of the Centre each of the participating institutions will organize an international conference. The first Max-Cam conference was organized by Chris Hann and Johannes Lenhard in December 2019 in Halle. It highlighted enduring themes in economic anthropology and probed how these might be deepened and reassessed through incorporation of new approaches to ethics. New forms of work bring new ethical and emotional challenges. The combination of ever more sophisticated digital technologies and resurgent neoliberal ideology has undermined long-established premises of business efficiency and workplace relations. Why should firms persist in traditional form when outsourcing has become so simple? Is the exploited individual worker likely to experience less alienation when s/he has considerable autonomy in controlling the rhythm of the activity, for example by working at home? Or are we likely to see the pendulum swing back to insourcing, because most forms of work are, in one way or another, deeply *social* (and, besides, firms can reduce their costs by exploiting the loyalties of their staff)?

As for freedom, it was pointed out that, even within western traditions, the word covered a multitude of meanings: negative or positive, republican, or aristocratic, libertarian or participatory (the last being the stance of Karl Polanyi). The private freedoms of individuals have expanded massively in most parts of the world in recent generations, e.g. in the postsocialist city of Halle (as documented in the research of Sylvia Terpe in her contribution to the REALEURASIA project). Yet the substantive constraints facing local businessmen, above all those of the state bureaucracy, often seem overwhelming.

Seven papers were presented by Max-Cam researchers and the remainder by other MPI researchers and international guests. The keynote was given by Wolfgang Streeck (Cologne, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies). In a lecture that ranged widely across the social sciences, the macro-sociologist Streeck provided a series of vignettes that explored the tensions between general sets of rules governing social order and their localizations in hugely diverse particulars. Needless to say, this was a vision of social science that was well received by his mainly anthropological audience.

The next day, the presentations began with Susan MacDougall's exploration of middle-class families in Jordan, which revisited classical themes of patriarchy in the family with a focus on the ethical self-cultivation of their female members. This was followed by Akanksha Awal (Oxford), who presented results of her research into the ways in which educated young women in India are resisting hierarchical expectations when they work as teachers, and breaking traditional constraints by opting for workplaces such as call centres that offer better opportunities for pleasurable sociality and adventure. Patrick McKearney (Max-Cam) analyzed how the efforts of care workers to enable the seriously disabled to exercise their own agency called into question Euro-American notions of personhood. The first morning concluded with two papers exploring contemporary China: while Jiazhi Fengjiang (London) outlined the political implications of grass-roots philanthropy, Gonçalo Santos and his co-authors (Hong Kong) documented increasing concern with "work-life balance" in two very different occupational communities: highly qualified IT engineers and taxi-drivers.

In the afternoon, Olivia Angé (Brussels) took us to provincial Argentina to demonstrate how the artisanal production of miniatures for an annual religious festival illuminates the wider context of "salvage capitalism" (Tsing), while our own Samuel Williams gave insights into his long-term research in Istanbul. Ivan Rajković (ex-REALEURASIA, now based in Vienna) showed with reference to a car plant established in socialist Yugoslavia how, in the particular conditions of self-management, a demand for greater efficiency in the form of commoditization could come "from below." (His materials could also be interpreted as support for Thorstein Veblen's famous notion of the human "instinct for workmanship.") To close the first day, Sylvia Terpe (Halle) drew on classical concepts of Max Weber in developing a typology based on the tensions between commitment to a strong work ethic and to ideas of freedom and a healthy work-life balance (see Terpe 2017[TH]; 2017a[Misc]).

The second day of paper presentations opened with a session exploring new forms of work, notably those linked to the "gig economy." Emotions and gut feelings figure prominently in the research of Johannes Lenhard, who described his recent encounters with venture capitalists in Europe and the USA, most of whose investments support start-ups based on technological innovation. In the same session, Deborah Jones (Max-Cam) presented results from her "ghostwriting" project (see above) and Ilana Gershon (Indiana) elaborated on the implications of digital technologies for the social relations of work in the light of economic theories of the firm and neoliberalism.

Anna-Riikka Kauppinen and Rachel Smith are Cambridge-based postdoctoral researchers who have been revisiting the sites of their doctoral fieldwork for their Max-Cam work. Anna-Riikka introduced the concept of "intimate audit" in her discussion of the work ethic of young professionals in the Ghanaian media industry. One of Rachel Smith's key concepts was the Maussian notion of *prestation*, familiar to generations of readers of *The Gift*, and scrutinized by Smith with the help of

archival records of collective work on the islands of Vanuatu in the colonial era. Smith’s work documents how evolved forms of cooperation are being undermined as temporary labour migration to New Zealand reduces work to its commodity form.

The final session of papers was opened by Magdalena Dąbkowska (Berlin), who gave examples of how the outsourcing of white-collar jobs by a major global bank is attracting young mobile elites to the German capital. Labour lawyer Ruth Duke (Glasgow) outlined the challenges facing lawyers and social scientists in developing adequate social protection for workers whose rights are increasingly undermined by new forms of work. The final round of discussion was initiated by Gerd Spittler (Bayreuth), a representative of Germany’s distinguished tradition in the anthropology of work, and Stephen Gudeman (Minnesota), a member of the Advisory Board of Max-Cam. We were also indebted to Max-Cam co-directors James Laidlaw and Peter van der Veer and additional discussants who joined us from Australia (Chris Gregory), Singapore (Jennifer Cash), the UK (Miriam Glucksmann and Mark Harvey), and the USA (Kate Miller).

We intend to proceed to a publication in due course, probably in our Berghahn series “Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy.”

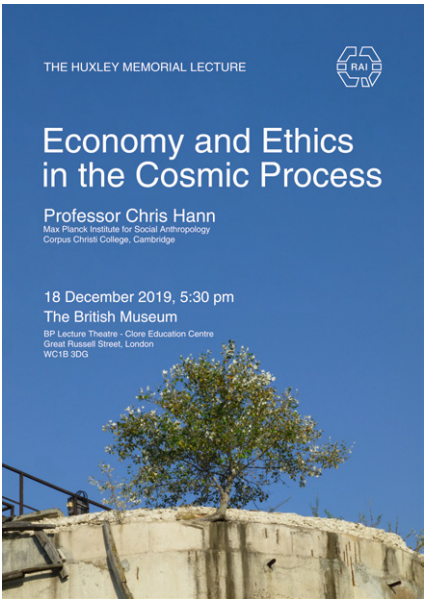
Participants in the Max-Cam Conference “Work, Ethics, Freedom,” Halle, December 2019. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

Looking Ahead

The next Max-Cam conference will be convened by Peter van der Veer and his post-doctoral researchers Patrice Ladwig and Scott MacLochlainn in Göttingen with the title *Ritual, Anti-Ritual, and the Efficacy of Reform* (13–15 October 2020). A final conference will take place in Cambridge towards the end of 2021.

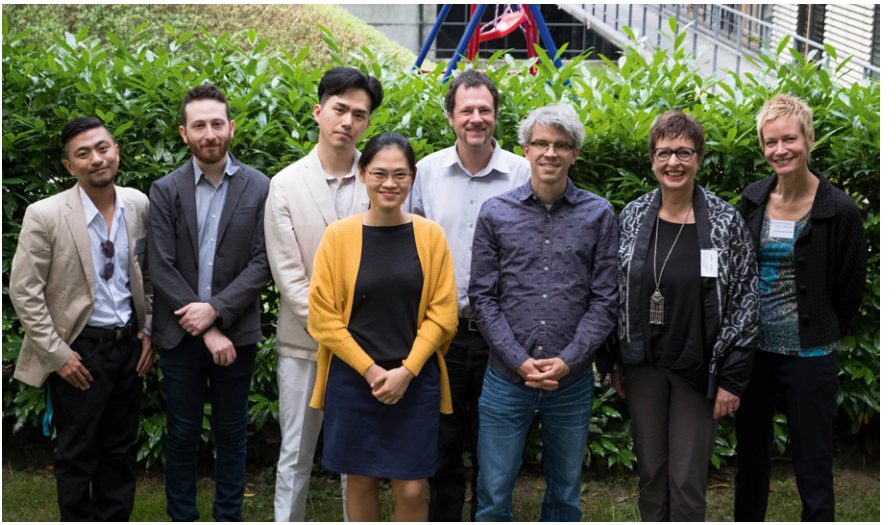
It is hoped to make this Centre a hub for further initiatives beyond the life-span of the initial projects.

Full information about all Max-Cam events, as well as a range of podcasts (in which Halle-based researchers have played a major role), Twitter feed and a newsletter, can be found at the homepage: http://maxcam.socanth.cam.ac.uk/



VI

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA



Group members and invited guests at a pre-fieldwork workshop held on 15 June 2018: (from left) Floramante S.J. Ponce, Michael Degani, Bada Choi, Thi Phuong Thao Vu, Guido Sprenger, Oliver Tappe, Kirsten Endres, Christina Schwenkel (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2018)

Electric Statemaking in the Greater Mekong Subregion

Kirsten W. Endres

Head of Group: Kirsten W. Endres
Research Fellow: Bada Choi
Doctoral students: Thi Phuong Thao Vu, Floramante S.J. Ponce

Group Objectives and Organization

Electricity has played an important role in realizing the promise of modernity since the late nineteenth century. With the emergence of the modern and modernising nation-state, electricity infrastructural development became part and parcel of state formation and state building projects. These “electric statemaking” processes are ongoing in many parts of the world. They include the appropriation of resources from peripheral regions and the consolidation of territorial control through development projects. They also involve new configurations of social relations, identity politics, political institutions, and power and inequality. Electricity grids are thus not only intricately intertwined with the goals of governmental modernity, but also with the making of subjects and subjectivities.

Established in 2017 (and introduced in a provisional way in the previous report), this research group investigates currents of power and electricity in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), encompassing Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, and China’s Yunnan and Guanxi provinces. The group currently consists of Kirsten Endres as head of the group, two PhD students (Thi Phuong Thao Vu and Floramante S. J. Ponce) and, since September 2018, Bada Choi as postdoctoral researcher. Individual projects concentrate on Vietnam (Endres, Vu), Laos (Ponce) and Yunnan / China (Choi). By looking at the interrelationship between the development of energy systems and the complex operation of modern states and state power, the group seeks to shed light on how the expansion of electric power lines in the region has been shaping perceptions of government and governance. We also explore the role of electric infrastructure development in the construction of particular (gendered, neo-liberal, moral, political) subjects and subjectivities and ask how energy development projects serve to reshape, challenge or reproduce existing uneven social relations among different groups of people. Moreover, by paying attention to the political dynamics surrounding renewable energy development, we investigate how an energy transition might reconstitute particular forms of governmentality (and / or subjectivity, and economy) built upon current energy regimes.

'Electric statemaking' fieldwork sites, 2017–2021.

Electrification and Power Consumption

Electrification has played a key role in the global spread of modern lifestyles since the late nineteenth century, albeit with uneven results across regions. The evolution of electric power systems in Western societies and their introduction into the domestic sphere roughly coincided with the heyday of European colonial expansion and rule. It was during this time that electricity – along with other emblems of Western civilization and colonial superiority – penetrated into colonized territories, including what was then called Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos). Back then, however, the comforts of modern electric life were not for everyone to enjoy. Familiarity with electric appliances and their functions was primarily associated with the cultural sophistication of elite colonial urbanites. This changed after independ-

ence and universal access to electric power supply was (eventually) recognized as a precondition for economic development and an improved quality of life for all. As this research group posits, however, electricity grids are not only fundamental to the goals of governmental modernity and development agendas, but also to practices of statecraft as such.

In the fast-developing economies of the Greater Mekong Subregion, substantial effort has been dedicated to universal electrification. Vietnam’s recent national electrification program, for example, has been very successful in achieving its goals. After the economic reforms of 1986, access to electricity increased from 14 % in 1993 to 61 % in 1997 and over 99 % by 2014, effectively connecting all households to the national power grid. Laos has made similarly rapid progress, with rates of household electrification rising from approximately 15 % in 1995 to 87 % by 2015. Moreover, the Lao government has pursued its ambition to turn the country into “the battery of Asia” through exporting hydro-electricity to consumer markets in neighbouring countries. China is certainly the biggest player in the region, and among the world’s largest producers and consumers of electricity. Since 2015, the government has been trying to reduce dependency on fossil fuels, in particular coal, and instead to build a clean, low-carbon, safe, and efficient energy system (“ecological civilization”). As a result, while China is still the world’s largest greenhouse gas emitter, it is also investing more than any other country in the world in renewable energy, including hydropower, wind energy and solar energy. For the last five years, Chinese investments under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) have dominated recent infrastructure projects in the GMS, including hydropower dams, transmission lines, railways, and roads.

Population growth, economic development, industrialization, and urbanization have been key drivers of energy demand in the GMS. This is particularly true for Thailand, Vietnam and Yunnan/China, where electrification rates and power consumption are highest. In some areas of rural Laos, however, 24/7 electricity supply is still a novelty. Ponce’s research in a hydropower resettlement village in Bokeo province shows that the introduction of electricity and electric appliance ownership significantly transformed people’s social relations, consumption patterns, and views on rural and modern life. The availability of electricity enabled new businesses to flourish in the resettled communities, such as an ice factory, an ice cream shop, a furniture factory, printing shops, and various retail stores selling electronic devices. However, Ponce identifies huge differences in how people have appropriated electric appliances in their everyday lives, depending on their level of affluence. Whereas those from traditionally well-to-do families could generally capitalize on the 24/7 electricity supply, others lost their previous sources of income in the relocation process and struggle to cope with the transformations brought about by their resettlement and grid connection. Those who fail to pay their monthly electricity bills are disconnected, which forces them to return to using oil or kerosene lamps, or to illegally reconnect to the grid.

Vietnam Electricity workers remove an old transformer to make way for one of higher capacity. (Photo: Thi Phuong Thao Vu, 2019)

Accelerating economic growth has led to increased power consumption in Vietnam in the past two decades. Domestic appliance ownership has also increased. Until the late 1980s, the proper use of all things electric was underpinned by discourses of civilizational achievement. With the onset of the *Đổi mới* economic reforms, however, Vietnamese urbanites grew ever more accustomed to living their lives electrically. Today, some of the most common electric appliances seem almost like natural extensions of their bodies and minds. In urban centres, Vietnamese households are equipped with an ever-growing number of electric appliances to cook and store food efficiently, provide physical comfort and relief from climate conditions, allow for flexible work schedules and connect people in unprecedented ways. But electricity access and consumption has not increased equally in urban and rural areas. In a rural commune in Thai Binh province, some 150 kilometres from the capital Hanoi, Thi Phuong Thao Vu found that rural households possess fewer appliances than their urban counterparts, not only because they can hardly afford to pay high electricity bills, but also because the supply voltage is often too low or unstable to operate high-energy devices (e.g. air conditioners in the summer).

Renewable energy appliances may help users reduce their electricity bills as well as their carbon footprints. Approximately 85 million solar water heating systems have been installed across China. Besides enabling residents to economize on electricity, these appliances offer a window through which to explore changing everyday practices. Choi's project focuses on the ways resettled villagers use and interact with solar water heaters installed on the roofs of their modern residential buildings in Kunming city, Yunnan province. Here, the everyday use of solar water heaters has improved users' perceptions and practices of personal hygiene. The new technology has played a role in shaping users' identities as "modern" citizens as well as subjective relationships with the state.

Electric Statemaking and Subject/ivity Formation

Although the provision and maintenance of essential infrastructure is still seen in many parts of the world as a central task of the state, private sector participation and public-private partnerships in infrastructure development have become widespread in the era of neoliberalism. This is true for the Greater Mekong Subregion, where hydropower development has emerged as a high-priority sector in national and regional development plans. But the development of hydropower is globally controversial due to the hazardous effects of large dams on riverine ecosystems and human populations. The most obvious effect is the large-scale displacement of people whose livelihoods are transformed by the new dams. Ponce’s research reveals that despite obtaining 24/7 electricity supply together with other new infrastructures and new ways to make a living, the majority of villagers were dissatisfied with the management of the relocation process. Many claimed that the promised compensatory measures had not been properly implemented – such as transportation assistance from old settlements to the resettlement village, safe and better housing, food support and free electricity for three years, and compensation for the loss of agricultural land. Some complained that district government and company staff favoured relatives and close friends, which caused irritation and jealousy in the resettlement. Moreover, the majority of Ponce’s informants indicated that they had been happier in their old settlements because they had enjoyed many sources of both income and food there. As a result of their disillusionment, they felt they had a bleak future in the resettlement; some were considering returning to older settlements or migrating elsewhere.

Choi’s research participants in Kunming had also had to relocate, but for a different reason. Their village became the site of a massive urban development project, and villagers had to move to newly-built apartment blocks equipped with communal solar water heating systems on the roof. While the relocation as such was perceived as a necessary sacrifice for national development objectives, the water heaters enabled the state to re-establish a positive relationship with its citizens. Given the difficulty of obtaining hot water in the past, solar water heaters gave residents an intimate feeling of being re/embraced and taken care of by the Chinese state. People also felt that the everyday use of solar water heaters contributed to raising their overall “quality” (*suzhi*), which is seen as a prerequisite to the ultimate goals of modernization and development. People felt that the cleaner they became through 24/7 availability of hot water (which enabled them to take a shower anytime they wanted to and to wash their bodies as long as they wanted to), the more civilized they were, a belief rooted in the idea that personal hygiene mirrors *suzhi*.

The Vietnamese state – that proclaims to be “of the people, by the people and for the people” – has likewise instrumentalized electricity to well maintain its relationship with the population. Vu’s preliminary findings show that electric power works both at the everyday level to improve rural living standards and at the ideational level to maintain the desire for state care. Whereas the state is almost uniformly given

credit for the positive effects of electrification, the state-owned electricity corporation EVN and its workers are blamed for any power sector inadequacies. "Electric statemaking" is thus an important tool of Vietnamese statecraft to maintain its legitimacy and its positive relationship with citizens. However, in the context of market economic reforms and the development of a domestic private sector, the state's claim to act "for the people" is being challenged by privatization and reductions in tariff subsidies. The public resentment evoked by the 2019 power tariff increase showed that legitimacy depended on the provision of basic necessities – including electricity – at affordable prices. Another effect of raising power tariffs is that electricity is now increasingly regarded as a commodity that has to conform to certain quality standards to justify the price being charged. Consuming and paying for electricity thus raises people's awareness of consumer rights, including the right to complain and demand better quality service. This emergent customer subjectivity potentially transforms relationships with the utility company, which in turn may translate into new ways of relating to the state.

Activities and Prospects

The research group kicked off with a workshop entitled *Untangling the Grid: Toward an "Anthropology Electric" in the Greater Mekong Subregion* during which group members presented their research proposals and received comments and practical advice from experts in the field. Ponce's and Vu's long-term doctoral field studies in Laos and Vietnam, Choi's 6-month research in Kunming (China) and Endres's research in the *Archives Nationales D'Outre-Mer* in Aix-en-Provence (France) and the *National Archives Centre Nr. 1* in Hanoi (Vietnam) took place in 2018/19. We are currently in the process of analysing and writing up our ethnographic and archival data and expect to begin presenting our results at conferences and workshops in the near future. The group conference *Flows of Power and Electricity in the Greater Mekong Subregion: Promises and Prospects*, originally planned for May 2020, has to be postponed due to the Covid19-crisis. Group members also plan to present their results in different panels at the EASA meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, in July 2020 and the 4S (Society for Social Studies of Science) Meeting in Prague, Czech Republic, in August 2020.

The group aims to contribute to the anthropological study of infrastructure development. It focuses in particular on the statemaking processes through which power is enacted, political subjection is achieved, and forms of governance are legitimized. We do so by showing how electricity infrastructures, services and devices are important sites of encounter and negotiations that affect and are affected by understandings and experiences of the state in everyday lives, thereby having a profound impact on people's identities and practices as citizens.

VII

REALISING EURASIA: CIVILIZATION AND MORAL ECONOMY IN THE 21st CENTURY (EUROPEAN RESEARCH COUNCIL ADVANCED GRANT – REALEURASIA)

Participants at the REALEURASIA conference "Moral Economies: Work, Values and Economic Ethics," Leucorea, Wittenberg, 6–9 December, 2017. (Photo MPI for Social Anthropology)

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7-2007-2013) (Grant agreement No. 340854).

5+ Years of REALEURASIA

Chris Hann (PI) and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann (Coordinator)

Postdoctoral Researchers: Matthijs Krul, Ivan Rajković, Beata Świtek, Sylvia Terpe

Doctoral Students: Anne-Erita Berta, Sudeshna Chaki, Ceren Deniz, Lizhou Hao, Laura Hornig, Luca Szücs, Daria Tereshina

The PI prepared a “background statement” for the website soon after the launch of this project in July 2014. Here are some excerpts from that statement:

> Our word for economy dates back to the Ancient Greeks, when it referred to good management of an estate or household. The Aristotelian take emphasized self-sufficiency as opposed to markets. Economic phenomena were subordinate to the political, the economy was embedded in the society. According to Polanyi (1944), this only changed with the emergence of market society in Great Britain in the 19th century, when the old political economy was replaced by a neoclassical synthesis, including an emphasis on marginal utility. A sympathetic reconstruction of Polanyi’s substantivism requires extending the concept of embeddedness to all “forms of integration,” including modern economies dominated by markets. No matter how global and apparently anonymous, these are always shaped by political, social and cultural constraints and mediated by human agency. It is necessary to contextualize the “market principle” (similarly “the profit motive” and Max Weber’s notion of “instrumental rationality”) in order to investigate how universal dispositions play out among real actors in different conjunctures. The best scholars of the German Historical School such as Weber and Karl Bücher in effect reconciled formalist and substantivist approaches in exactly this way.
>
> […] The importance of the socio-cultural context for family businesses is exemplified in the studies of Marcus (1992) and Yanagisako (2002) for dynastic families in the US and more modest scales of entrepreneurship in Italy respectively. Anthropologists have paid close attention to discourses of “family values” and their relationship to household practices. They have deconstructed the concepts of family and household and questioned their utility for comparative analysis. It is sometimes suggested that terms such as entrepreneurship and “family firm” are Orientalist concepts that obscure inequalities and actual household dynamics (see Creed 2000 for an overview).

Few anthropologists have examined the importance of religion for life-style (*Lebensführung*) and for the organization of contemporary family businesses. Many studies of modernization have shown the inadequacy of Western secularization assumptions. We know that many successful businessmen even within the modern West are attracted to meditative and devotional practices, some of which transcend any particular civilizational tradition. These themes figure in Business School curricula and a new specialization "business anthropology" is already on the horizon. But we still know rather little about how religious beliefs, moral values and practices shape values in general, or how they affect the "performance" of work in family-controlled businesses and the domestic economy in particular.

REALEURASIA will draw together the political, the economic and the religious in a civilizational frame. This was the frame of Max Weber himself, though he did not theorize the concept of civilization and relied on such vague terms as *Weltkultur* (Arnason 2003). Yet his French contemporaries Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss (2006) embraced the concept before the First World War, as an essential instrument for characterizing "families of societies" and moving beyond the level of particular bounded cases. This tradition had a limited take-up in North American cultural anthropology. However, it died out almost completely in the second half of the 20th century.

The links between religion and economy have been the object of countless studies, in non-orthodox branches of economics as well as in anthropology. It has become a commonplace that a common faith can provide a basis for the trust which is essential to successful commercial practices. In principle, any creed can play this role; indeed, secular badges of identity such as the old school tie can function equally well. But the question remains: do the major world religions identified by Weber differ as he thought they did with regard to "this-worldly" economic activity? One hundred years after he developed his sociology of religion, in the wake of his earlier celebrated study of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, can the development of capitalism in the Eurasia of the early 21st century be illuminated by a return to the Weberian *Fragestellung*?

Recent neo-Weberians in economic anthropology such as Michael Billig (2000) have paid relatively little attention to the religious dimension, whilst those renewing the paradigm with regard to the world religions tend to overlook the economic aspects (e.g. Gellner 2002). One of Weber's key concepts was the *Wirtschaftsethik* (Weber 1988 [1920–21]). Focusing not on specific theological teachings but rather on the "practical impulses for action," the job of the historical sociolo-

gist was to explore the differences between the world-religions, while noting internal variation and the fact that different economic ethics need not necessarily result in different forms of economic organization. REALEURASIA researchers will explore how differences in dogma and organization affect morals, lifestyle and behaviour a century after Weber’s ruminations in the light of the large literatures he has generated in the meantime, especially in Germany.

Recognition of the centrality of religion and the “moral background” (Abend 2014) to political legitimation and economic embeddedness potentially opens up vast fields of scholarship. Many associate the concept of “moral economy” with Polanyi; some even suppose it to be the coinage of Weber. The misattribution is excusable, but paternity rights must of course be assigned to the historian E.P. Thompson (see Thompson 1991 for this metaphor and a full account). Thompson was interested in tacit social understandings that could not be expressed in economic statistics and calculations but depended rather on “social norms and obligations,” expressed in ideas such as that of “reasonable price.” James Scott (1976) and others showed that this concept, originally put forward to explain the behaviour of urban crowds on the eve of the industrial revolution, can be readily deployed in very different settings and grafted on to the substantivist tradition in economic anthropology.

It is no accident that we owe the concept of moral economy to a remarkable historian of that Protestant island which was prominent in undermining the long-term integument of the moral economy across Eurasia and continues to have a difficult relation to the adjacent European “continent.” Thompson commented wistfully on the irresistible spread of his concept, commending the adaptation of Scott. He would not be surprised by its growing popularity in an epoch of capitalist crisis among radical political economists for whom capitalism is intrinsically immoral, but also among anti-positivist historians of science, anthropologists who stress the values of the domestic domain, and theologians and philosophers who insist that the market, too, depends on a foundation of shared moral convictions (what Polanyi in an early, unpublished manuscript theorized as *Sittlichkeit*; see Polanyi 1920–22). While liberal philosophers continue to stress the paradoxical claim, central to their tradition, that the selfish action of individuals can, through the market mechanism, be conducive to the collective good, many recent applications of the concept of moral economy have looked at activities outside the market altogether (Fassin and Eideliman 2012).

Didier Fassin seeks to stabilize the concept by emphasizing moral subjectivities in the context of a new "anthropology of morality" (Fassin 2012). This is part of a wider current which emphasizes actor-focused enquiries into the use of moral terms in "ordinary ethics" (Lambek 2010). The researchers of REALEURASIA will link this emerging literature more directly back to everyday economics than has been the case so far. At the same time, they will place research into the "human economy" (Hart, Laville and Cattani 2010) in a civilizational frame which will link the "work ethic" to distinctive values as well as social relations (Heintz 2006). The *Wirtschaftsethik* is expressed in "thick" moral concepts (Abend 2011), which bind persons not only to their families and employers but to wider communities of citizens and even to anonymous remote publics in other countries. The boundaries of the moral economy are thus broad, but in each case study it will be carefully disaggregated (e.g. by investigating the differences between casual labourers, perhaps employed on a seasonal basis, and employees with more permanent contracts who have been associated with a family business over decades or even generations). We expect to demonstrate that global pressures to rationalise production and distribution have not been accompanied by equivalent convergences in the subjective experience of economic and human social relations, both inside and outside the workplace.

Why the focus on Eurasia? One major source of inspiration, in addition to all the scholars already mentioned, is Jack Goody, who has published a rich body of work initially concerned to contrast Eurasian systems of property devolution and kinship with those he observed as an ethnographer in sub-Saharan Africa, and later to analyze "alternating leadership" between east and west within Eurasia (Goody 2010). It is consistent with Goody's critique of centuries of Eurocentric scholarship that he prefers to define social anthropology as comparative sociology. He is more interested in a sociological historicizing of the emergence of the modern world than in postulating cognitive, cultural or ontological differences between human populations. However, some aspects of Goody's approach to the civilizations of Eurasia will be considered critically by the REALEURASIA team. In particular, we shall ask whether his emphasis upon "merchant cultures" in the diffusion of goods, ideas and technologies underestimates the political regulation of economic life and the normative level of control exercised through religion-ideology-morality.

Our project is constructed in such a way as to emphasize the plurality of civilizational traditions in Eurasia over several millennia. We shall pay close attention to the ways in which each of these traditions

constructs and valorizes its own heritage, in opposition to the norms of a globalized “market society.” But the deepest hypothesis of the project is nonetheless one which posits commonalities: in their different ways and styles, each one of these civilizations was founded on moral principles opposed to an ethic of short-term market maximization, of organizing society in terms of “commodities all the way down” (Fraser 2014). That is why, if the relentless rise (or, better, “race to the bottom”) of global neoliberalism is to be averted, we can do no better than look to the civilizations of Eurasia to find ways to keep “the market” in its place.

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Realeurasia, Realdonaldtrump, Realoverheating

Author: Chris Hann

June 6, 2017

The finale of Thomas Hylland Eriksen's "Overheating" project on 1st June 2017 coincided with the announcement in Washington that the US President was withdrawing his country from the Paris climate agreement, to which the previous US administration had signed up in 2015. The rest of the world looks on bewildered and appalled. The prompt joint reaffirmation of the accords by Brussels and Beijing is especially noteworthy; this axis contradicts the geopolitical common sense of recent generations, but it is consistent with the longue durée of Eurasian history.

Image: Trevor Nickolls: Warmun Mandala © Trevor Nickolls/BONO 8 [logo of the Overheating project, permission for use granted by Thomas Hylland Eriksen]

Activities and Staff Changes, 2017–2019

It was clear coming into this reporting period that we would apply for an extension. Apart from the maternity leave of Sylvia Terpe, delays in the completion of the doctoral dissertations caused by the need to process quantitative data were the main grounds. An extension of one year was approved by the European Research Council in 2018. This means that we shall submit our final report in the Summer of 2020. In order to ensure that we meet this target, the contract of Coordinator Lale Yalçın-Heckmann was adjusted to 100 % with effect from July 2019. In addition to her organizational tasks, first publications arising from her own field research in Anatolia have now appeared (Yalçın-Heckmann 2019[Chap]). Similarly, the PI has continued his field research in the Hungarian town of Kiskunhalas. Early results have been published in a range of outlets (e.g. Hann 2017b[Art], 2019a[Chap]). Other publications of the PI directly pertinent to REALEURASIA are discussed in more detail below.

Three dissertations were successfully defended in 2019, those of Anne-Erita Berta (working in Denmark), Laura Hornig (Myanmar) and Daria Tereshina (Russian

Federation). All three studies are scheduled to appear as monographs in our LIT Verlag series in 2020. Further defences are expected to follow in 2020.

Matthijs Krul left us in 2017, having completed his analysis of the conceptual foundations of the evolutionist-institutionalist approach of Nobel prizewinning economist Douglass C. North. He was replaced by anthropologist Ivan Rajković, trained primarily at the University of Manchester, who joined us from a postdoc in London. During his stint with us between 2017 and 2019, Ivan continued to work on the monograph arising out of his Manchester dissertation, a study of socio-economic adaptations over several decades at the Zastava car plant in Kragujevac, Serbia. The interest of this particular postsocialist case derives partly from the unique nature of self-management in Yugoslav socialism and partly from the authoritarian government of today’s Serbia as it waits to be considered eligible to join the EU. Ivan’s work has focused on the political subjectivities of the workforce and on perceptions of “the West” after Italian managers began to introduce major changes in the organization of labour at this plant.

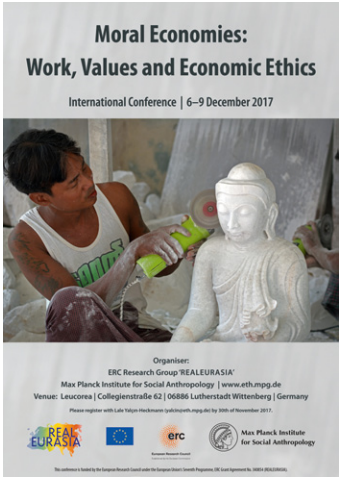
During this period, Sylvia Terpe completed her data collection with small businesses in Halle and made significant progress with the analysis (in addition to published theoretical papers (Terpe 2018[TH]), this will provide the basis of her Habilitation in sociology at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg). Sylvia played the leading role in coordinating the data collected by all other researchers for submission to the GESIS databank in Cologne at the end of the project. In addition, in collaboration with Lotta Björglund Larsen, she is preparing a special issue on the subject of *Redistribution and Reciprocity in Taxation* (to be submitted to the journal *Anthropological Theory* in spring 2020).

We were also able to integrate a Japan specialist, Beata Świtek, for the year 2018. During this period Beata continued analysis of the data she had gathered as a postdoc with our “Buddhist Temple Economies” research group (see pp. 27). Focusing on economic aspects of religious organization in Tokyo, it was not difficult to identify synergies with our other case studies across the landmass.

All of these postdoctoral researchers have played a valuable supporting role in the supervision and mentoring of the doctoral students in REALEURASIA.

CONFERENCE: Moral Economies: Work, Values and Economic Ethics

Conveners. Chris Hann and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann
Venue: Leucorea, Wittenberg, 6–9 December 2017



Two major conferences took place in the present reporting period. We met in Wittenberg, birthplace of the Protestant Reformation, at the end of 2017, when this small town in Saxony Anhalt was coming to the end of its 500th anniversary celebrations. Our programme was opened by a keynote by Hans Joas, who gave a preview of his latest book, which includes a rigorous critique of Eurocentric secularization theory coupled with a sparkling reinterpretation of Max Weber's key concept of disenchantment. Joas proposed that sacrality is alive and well everywhere, provided we are prepared to look for it outside familiar frameworks of religious faith.[1] Weberian themes were taken up again during the first morning of the conference by a panel of distinguished German sociologists in a session coordinated by Sylvia Terpe.[2]

The rest of the meeting was a productive mixture of more focused empirical studies presented by REALEURASIA researchers and a similar number of international scholars. Max Weber continued to figure prominently, not only for his thesis concerning the Protestant ethic and capitalism, but also for his conceptualization of value spheres (the focus of Sylvia Terpe's theoretical work). Seven papers were given by the REALEURASIA doctoral students. Sudeshna Chaki, Ceren Deniz and Luca Szücs addressed the dynamics of family businesses with reference to kinship, in the context of state economic policies designed to promote marketization. The influence of religious (moral) ideals played a more significant role in the presentations by Lizhou Hao and Laura Hornig. While Daria Tereshina showed how some Russian Orthodox priests are shifting away from their Church's traditional antipathy toward market capitalism, Anne-Erita Berta outlined the historical impact

[1] Joas, Hans. 2017. *Die Macht des Heiligen. Eine Alternative Geschichte von der Entzauberung.* Berlin: Suhrkamp. (translations into French and English are already well advanced).

[2] See Terpe's blogpost published shortly afterwards, "Weber in Wittenberg: a critical debate on his concepts": https://www.eth.mpg.de/4647912/blog_2017_12_20_01

Hans Joas in debate following his keynote lecture, Leucorea, Wittenberg, 6 December 2017. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)

Panel Session, 7 December: Max Weber and Alternative Understandings of Morals and Values in Modernity; from left, Klaus Kraemer, Georg Neugebauer, Frank Adloff, Hans Joas, Sylvia Terpe (Chair). (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2017)

of Lutheran Protestantism on Danish society, in which successful entrepreneurs nowadays endorse massive state redistribution and are more concerned that their children should inherit values of fairness and frugality, rather than wealth.

The papers given by external participants were diverse. Several deployed the concept of moral economy, from autonomous militarized districts in Myanmar (Johannes Steinmüller) to agribusiness in Israel (Matan Kaminer) and Cuba’s dual currency system (Conny Russo). This concept will be at the core of the volume that Lale Yalçın-Heckmann is currently preparing for publication (see below).

Davos, Double Movements and the Devaluation of the World

Authors: Chris Hann and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

February 7, 2019

The last major Workshop of the "Realising Eurasia" project was titled "Social Relations of the Capitalocene". The goal was to enable team members to present the results of their empirical studies in wider contexts: spatial, temporal and theoretical. Timed to coincide with the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, participants explored the evident failure of dominant growth models in the interlinked dimensions of political economy and ecology, along with many other trends (mostly troubling) in the contemporary world.

Photo: Snowless in Davos. (Credit: Archiv SLF)

CONFERENCE: Social Relations of the Capitalocene: Work, Value(s) and Personhood Below the Commanding Heights

Conveners: Chris Hann and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann
Venue: Halle, 23–25 January 2019

Most of our researchers took advantage of another opportunity to present their results in comparative frameworks at the meeting we organized in Halle in January, 2019. Again, the timing was no coincidence. "Social Relations of the Capitalocene" was a provocative title intended to open up the micro analyses of REALEURASIA researchers to the macro issues broached annually at Davos, Switzerland, by the preening elites of the World Economic Forum. In his opening keynote, Polanyi biographer Gareth Dale (London) argued that capitalism "eats time and erases nature," with the help of works by Thomas Mann and Walter Benjamin. Mark Harvey, in closing the meeting two days later, was less confident than Dale in generalizing about "capitalism." Drawing empirical data from recent developments in China and Brazil, in Harvey's conception of "sociogenesis" there were no general laws, but rather the Polanyian institutionalization of markets in varying socio-cultural settings and resource environments. In the third keynote, Ayşe Buğra also drew heavily on Polanyi: specifically, his notions of "embeddedness" and the "double movement" (taking as her prime example the "polarizing populism" of political Islam in contemporary Turkey).

The first regular session broke new ground for our Eurasia-focused department: all three papers were devoted to the Americas! Andrew Ofstehage's explained how US farmers expand their Agribusiness in Brazil – in ways that make their home farms in the mid-West of the US seem peasant-like in their intimacy, since (at least until recently) the family-land bond was still strong. Questions of identity and alienation came up again later in the meeting in factory studies (by Alejandra Jiménez, who

Members of the REALEURASIA team at the end of the project’s last major conference: (from left) Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, Sudeshna Chaki, Daria Tershina, Ivan Rajković, Ceren Deniz, Laura Hornig, Anne-Erita Berta, Sylvia Terpe and Chris Hann. (Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology, 2019)

examined a Volkswagen company town in Mexico, and our own Ivan Rajković). Moral dimensions of welfare provision in China and of the consumption of “fair trade” products in the United States were investigated by Tom Cliff and Laurel Zwissler respectively. Courtney Lewis and Leilah Vevaina showed how factors of ethnicity, scale and institutional (legal) form were decisive in determining economic outcomes for Eastern Band Cherokee Indians in North Carolina (Lewis) and Parsis in Mumbai (Vevaina). In addition to these external guests and REALEURASIA members, the discussions were enriched throughout by the contributions of other members of the department and numerous longstanding friends of this project, some of whom served as formal discussants.[3]

As we finalize this report in April 2020, the concepts of Anthropocene and Capitalocene figure prominently in early efforts to assess the impact of the coronavirus. Gareth Dale, our first keynote speaker at this conference, applied his perspective one year later in a co-authored analysis of “covid capitalism”:

[3] For more detail see
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/conference_capitalocene_and_social_relations_19
For videos of the three keynotes, see
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/de/media/conference_videos_capitalocene

> The coronavirus crisis is a crisis of capitalism in its causation and through its effects. A microscopic pathogen is exposing the pathologies of the larger social system. In this sense it is not a "natural" crisis but a crisis wrought by nature thoroughly inflected by capitalism.[4]

Will Covid-19 mark a genuine turning point? At least in the short-term, it seems inevitable that the requirements of capital will intensify social inequality, the exploitation of labour, and the devastation of the environment by agribusiness. The prospects for democratic, supra-national political understanding have not improved: the global crisis has made it abundantly clear that the nation-state remains "the only game in town."

Panels Organized by REALEURASIA in the Present Reporting Period

Chris Hann: *Empires, Exchange and Civilizational Connectivity in Eurasia* (Panel at the Fifth European Congress on World and Global History, Budapest, 31 August – 3 September 2017)

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann: *On Social Action and Belonging(s) between Economy and Religion* (Panel at the German Anthropological Association – Biannual Conference, *Belonging: Affective, Moral and Political Practices in an Interconnected World*, Berlin, 4–7 October 2017)

Chris Hann and Thomas Hylland Eriksen (University of Oslo): *Forms of Integration: Redistribution and (Market) Exchange (*Roundtable at EASA Conference, *Staying, Moving, Settling*, Stockholm, 13–17 August 2018)

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann and Detelina Tocheva (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris): *Urban Economies which Make You Stay* (Panel at EASA Conference, *Staying, Moving, Settling*, Stockholm, 13–17 August 2018)

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann and Kurtuluş Cengiz (Ankara University): *New Studies on Anatolian Cities: Changes in Economy, Production and Religion since the 1980s* (Panel at the *Turkologentag* 2018, Bamberg, 19–21 September 2018)

Chris Hann and Lotta Björklund Larsen (University of Stockholm): *Ambivalent Solidarities and Fiscal Reciprocities* (Panel at the Inter-Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, *World Solidarities*, Poznań, 27–31 August 2019)

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[4] Tithi Bhattacharya and Gareth Dale: Covid capitalism. General tendencies, possible "leaps" (23 April 2020): https://spectrejournal.com/covid-capitalism/

Hayek versus Polanyi in Montréal: Global Society as Markets, All the Way Across?

Author: Chris Hann

June 21, 2017

The Workshop “Geographies of Markets”, hosted over three days in mid-June 2017 by the Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy at Concordia University, Montréal, gave scholars from a wide range of countries and disciplines an opportunity to assess the continued relevance of the Polanyian critique of “market society”. Even if this critique lacks the formal rigor of neoclassical economics, even if Polanyi’s concept of market exchange fails to capture the institutional intricacies of contemporary markets, and even if the man himself was very much a European intellectual of his age, his approach still appears to provide the best scientific foundation on which to build global political and normative alternatives to neoliberal hegemony. Today, however, his geographic binary between East

Photo: Panorama of downtown Montréal from Mont Royal (Mark Harvey, June 2017).

Results I: Moral Economy

As the project draws to a close, it is time to present some of our results, even if still in provisional form. Work on the concept of Eurasia was the responsibility of the PI and engaged his attention in the first years of the project. His 2016 article in *Current Anthropology* is the principal outcome. Thanks in part to the journal’s critical forum, it has been widely cited. It is particularly gratifying to report that a Chinese translation was published in 2019 in the prestigious journal China Scholarship, accompanied by a lengthy rejoinder by distinguished US historian of China Kenneth Pomeranz.[5]

Work on the concept of moral economy has continued throughout the duration of the project. The PI had published on the topic in the past, always a little critical of over-simplified adaptations of the work of E. P. Thompson and James Scott. In the course of this project, given the extraordinary proliferation of “the moral economy of” titles in recent years across the social sciences and the humanities, he carried out a critical genealogy which showed how, in some influential recent usage, the term was losing all connection to (material) economy.[6] Another problem has been the tendency to romanticize value-based communities and resistance to power holders. Most societies, certainly socialist and postsocialist ones, defy “clumpish” classifications (to use a Thompsonian word). Instead the PI proposes, following Etzioni, to focus on the moral dimension of economic organization, and how different social groups position themselves with respect to core values. In his definitive statement

[5] A concept of Eurasia. *China Scholarship zhongguo xueshu* 中国学术 14 (2): 5–36 (2019). The PI is greatly indebted to Wu Xiujie, formerly a Research Fellow in the department, for enabling this translation.

[6] Since completing his review of the concept, the PI has found further telling criticism of the idea of (the) moral economy in the work of Raymond Williams: see *The country and the city*, London: Chatto and Windus (1973: 51–3).

on the subject (Hann 2018b[TH]) he drew on his own research in Hungary and other ethnographic studies in that country to show the salience of work as a key to the moral dimension, from the preindustrial peasantry to the "work-based society" of populist Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. Only when this moral dimension of economy is grasped can we understand why workfare, generally treated as a repressive, punitive measure by social scientists, proved to be surprisingly popular with the objects of these disciplinary measures. For the PI, it is more than a quibble to insist that we should not reify "the moral economy of workfare." Instead, against the "moral background" (Abend), we should investigate concretely the strategies and agency of different social groups in the neoliberal conjuncture.

Discussions about the concept, and all the messy realities that scholars of various theoretical persuasions have attempted to squeeze into it, were prominent at our 2017 Wittenberg conference. The REALEURASIA coordinator has taken up the challenge of preparing an edited volume in the wake of this meeting. It will focus on how and to what degree moral economy can be ethnographically explored and substantiated. The contributions, mostly the work of REALEURASIA core researchers, engage with both the PI's recent interventions (in particular Hann 2018b[TH]) and with the recent work of James Carrier. The chapters by Anne-Erita Berta, Sudeshna Chaki, Ceren Deniz, Laura Hornig and Daria Tereshina take the perspective of the owners and managers of family firms, showing how understandings of socially responsible personhood (including considerations of care and mutual obligations towards kin and community) lend economic action its moral legitimation. The contribution by Ivan Rajković explores the moral dimension in the context of industrial relations in a Serbian car factory from an explicitly Polanyian perspective. Detelina Tocheva investigates how mutuality surrounding unpaid labour has been changing in the organization of house building in postsocialist rural Bulgaria. The volume begins with Lale Yalçın-Heckmann's introduction to the significance and framework for "moral economy at work" and ends with an "Afterword" by James Carrier.

The Puzzle of Eurocentrism

Author: Matthijs Krul

August 11, 2017

The occasion of Jack Goody's recent passing was a major event not just within the confines of anthropology, but also for the field of comparative world history. He was, or is, probably as much known for the great intellectual efforts he spent during his career on combating the Eurocentric worldview in the study of world history in the *longue durée* as he is for his more anthropologically oriented studies of literacy and the LoDagaa in northern Ghana. Goody played an important part in the rise of a consciously anti-Eurocentric tradition in the former field. A number of his books, such as *The East in the West* (1996), *Capitalism and Modernity: The Great Debate* (2004), *The Theft of History* (2006), and *The Eurasian Miracle* (2010), were themselves major events in the development of this tradition.

Results II: Civilization

Although most of the work undertaken in the frame of REALEURASIA has been based on field research and thus “presentist,” the project has a significant historical component. Another key term is the concept of civilization, long considered problematic in anthropological scholarship. The PI is convinced that it can be used productively in a revived historical anthropology that would reach out to various other disciplines, including archaeology, economic history and historical sociology. The strongest commitment to historical work in the framework of REALEURASIA was that of Matthijs Krul, who successfully completed his critical analysis of the institutionalist approach of Douglass North during his Research Fellowship in Halle (Krul 2018). Together with Chris Hann, Krul participated in a meeting in London and Cambridge in July 2017 at which the contributions of Jack Goody were discussed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives.[7] Although Matthijs Krul formally left the REALEURASIA project shortly after this, he returned to Halle to present his book in June 2018. His critique of Eurocentrism from the perspective of an economic historian chimed in well with the aspiration of this project to develop the Eurasian perspective. The PI contributed to this in a number of papers (e.g. Hann 2017bTH, 2017c^{Art}) in which he outlined the deficiencies of the Weberian perspective on the emergence of “modernity.”

As noted in the Preface to this report, the department no longer has a sub-group in the field of historical anthropology. The PI has continued to follow and (to the extent that his abilities and schedules permit) to contribute to historical debates concerning macro periodization and what might loosely be called “philosophy of history.” These efforts have borne fruit in two publications in 2018. The first was the collection *Anthropology and Civilizational Analysis*, edited by historical sociologist Johann P. Arnason and the PI (State University of New York Press). This volume derived from a conference convened by Arnason and the PI of this project in 2012. It represents a pioneering attempt to link the fields of civilizational analysis, particularly the impulses given by Marcel Mauss and later French scholars, to anthropological approaches to the Eurasian past.

The second contribution was a Special Issue (Vol. 28, No. 4, 2018) of the journal *Comparativ* under the PI’s editorship, titled *Realising Eurasia. Empire and Connectivity during Three Millennia* (Hann 2018a^{Art}, 2018c^{Art}). As the title indicates, this collection of papers was more directly related to REALEURASIA. It derived from the above-mentioned Panel, convened by the PI at the Fifth European Congress on World and Global History in Budapest in 2017. Hann took this opportunity to elaborate his synthetic perspective on Eurasian history, in which both Jack Goody and Karl Polanyi figure prominently. The other authors represented various disci-

[7] The conference “Eurocentrism: Retrospect and Prospects” was convened jointly by the University of Notre Dame (London Global Gateway) and St John’s College, Cambridge, 2–4 July 2017.

plines (anthropology, area studies, history and political sociology) and engaged more closely with empirical data. Burkhard Schnepel showed that maritime connectivity across the Indian Ocean World complemented the terrestrial connectivity of the Silk Routes. While Krishan Kumar explored civilizational histories on a vast canvas in the wake of Alexander the Great, Marie Favereau focused on the contributions of the Mongol Empire in its Golden Age, and Ildikó Bellér-Hann analysed the micro connectivities of the elites of a specific central Eurasian oasis in the era before this region was fully incorporated into the Chinese polity. The issue was completed by Jack Goldstone, who examined the recent rise of China from a long-term historical perspective that had echoes of Jack Goody's model of "alternating leadership" between East and West.

In further papers (in particular Hann 2017a[TH]) the PI has clarified his use of the concept of civilization. As laid out from the beginning, in this project Eurasia is conceived as containing many diverse civilizational traditions. The ones that interested us were those that can be approached in terms of religion or world view, from Protestantism in the far West to Confucianism in the East. Our results to date have not enabled us to specify causal links between the ideas and values expressed in religious and ethical systems to economic performance at the level of small (family) businesses. We did, however, collect abundant evidence to suggest that rational decisions in the realm of profit- or utility-maximizing are very often influenced by evolved belief systems, sometimes to the point where associated practices and rituals have a major impact on economic organization (particularly at certain times of the year).

But this civilizational diversity should not blind us to a bedrock of Eurasian commonalities between east and west, following the rise of more intensive forms of plough agriculture and the urban revolution of the Bronze Age. This is the argument of Goody, following V. Gordon Childe. The scale of polity enabled by these economic transformations created new possibilities for conceptualizing both the cosmos and human political communities. At various points in the life of this project, Chris Hann has taken part in discussions pertaining to theories of an "Axial Age." It was not to be expected that REALEURASIA would make an original contribution to these debates.[8] We can, however, safely conclude that the materialist perspective of Goody and Childe is not *sufficient* to explain the dynamics of Eurasian history; and whether or not we defend some notion of a "moral revolution" at some point in the distant past, it might be worth adding systems of belief and systems of subordination to the correlations explored by Goody between domestic institutions, ownership, production, exchange, and consumption.

[8] This subject will undoubtedly come up again in December 2020 at the final conference of the Graduate School ANARCHIE, when Joel Robbins (Cambridge) and Alan Strathern (Oxford) will revisit the nature of the binary immanent/transcendent.

Commodification from below: reforming the national ‘work ethic’ in Serbia

Author: Ivan Rajković

April 23, 2018

“Work must be our main ideology, the foundation of our faith, our investment in everyone’s future” proclaimed Serbian president. How can we understand the popularity of state campaigns advocating the change of ‘national work ethic’? Are these yet another example of state moralisation of austerity measures? Looking at the status of work in Kragujevac, an industrial town in Serbia, I argue that such campaigns resonate with longstanding

Photo: Protest of Zastava Cars workers who were made redundant (2012).

Outreach: the REALEURASIA Blog

The historical and contemporary dimensions of REALEURASIA have been regularly drawn together in a form of public anthropology, the REALEURASIA Blog, which has also served as an unofficial chronicle of the project. Screenshots have been inserted throughout this section of the report for illustrative purposes. All members of this project have contributed in one form or another, usually with reference to their own field materials, but sometimes engaging with other topical issues. In the years 2017–2019 a total of 37 contributions were posted, including many by our doctoral students. The PI has deliberately set a polemical example by exploring not only the transformations he has observed during ongoing field research in Hungary, but also the similarities to what has been going in Britain in the aftermath of the Brexit referendum (see Introduction, pp. 5–6). The style and policies of President Trump have provided a crass demonstration of how the New World continues to differ from Old Eurasia. The contrast is not yet evident in geopolitical alliances, yet the behaviour of the US suggests that it can only be a matter of time before lingering loyalties to a transatlantic alliance will be abandoned. Of course, no one can be sure of the outcome. It cannot be excluded that the US and China, currently great rivals, will eventually make common cause, such that western Eurasia (Europe) will be isolated and economically unable to compete with hyper-marketization led by the dual hegemons in Washington and Beijing.

Into the Home Straight of REALEURASIA

Author: Chris Hann

April 24, 2019

Spring 2019 has seen the successful defences of the first doctoral dissertations of the Realising Eurasia project, one located in Europe (Anne-Erita Berta, far left) and one in Asia (Laura Hornig, near left). It also brought the reassuring news that the ERC has extended the project by one year, allowing us to complete our programme by Summer 2020. This post reflects on where Eurasia might be by then.

Conclusion

By the end of 2019, REALEURASIA has already generated three doctoral dissertations, a Special Issue, a book, and over a dozen peer reviewed articles by the PI, the coordinator, and the postdoctoral researchers. The quantitative data generated will be made available to other scholars following deposit at GESIS. Many more publications are in the pipeline for 2020–2021.

The implementation of this project did not proceed smoothly in all respects. The selection of cities of "medium size" to facilitate comparisons across contemporary Eurasia proved to be even more difficult than we had reckoned with. Similar problems arose when analyzing postsocialist family businesses lacking any history of generational succession alongside cases where inheritance was central to the reproduction of the social structure. To operationalize the "work ethic" in the sense of Max Weber was a challenge for us all.

In spite of these and other difficulties, the PI confidently expects to be able to report to the ERC in 2020 that the outcomes of REALEURASIA have gone well beyond the sum of the parts. Conceptually, we have worked out new approaches to all three of the terms that figure in the title of the project: Eurasia, civilization, and moral economy. We have shed much empirical light on a significant sector of the contemporary global economy, highlighting the difficulties pertaining to succession. We have shown how, in several cases, economic behaviour is still shaped by values and practices pertaining to religious traditions. We could not systematically test – let alone rehabilitate – Max Weber's famous argument concerning the links between a Protestant ethic and the genesis of modern capitalism. Several REALEURASIA researchers, the PI included, nonetheless continued to find the Weberian toolkit productive. The greatest problem with the greatest German sociologist is his Eurocentrism: Goody provides a necessary corrective here. But neither Goody nor Polanyi help us effectively to integrate belief systems (religion, ethics, morality) into the story of human evolution, whether in the framework of Eurasia or globally. At the interface between the (political) economic and the (religious) ethical, much more research and much more interdisciplinary cross-fertilization are needed.

easa
European Association of Social Anthropologists
Association Européenne des Anthropologues Sociaux

EASA at Stockholm: Tensions in Public Anthropology

Autor: Chris Hann

22 August 2018

The 2018 conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists was an opportunity for members of the "Realising Eurasia" project to disseminate their research. It also prompted one participant to reflect on continuing regional imbalance within the discipline and on ambivalences when it comes to engaging with contemporary issues of public concern.

Image: Official logo of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (https://www.easaonline.org/).

VIII
INTERNATIONAL MAX PLANCK RESEARCH SCHOOL FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF EURASIA (ANARCHIE)

Principal Faculty and students (4th cohort) during the Summer School held at Potsdam in July 2018. (Photo: Sascha Roth)

7+ Years of ANARCHIE

Chris Hann (Sprecher) and Sascha Roth (Coordinator),
with François Bertemes and Andreas Pečar (Vize-Sprecher)

Background

International Max Planck Research Schools (IMPRS) come in many shapes and sizes. All the participating institutions of ANARCHIE are located in close proximity of each other in Halle. This has facilitated frequent contact and high levels of collegiality, both within the successive cohorts of doctoral students and within the Principal Faculty, nearly all of whom are affiliated to the Faculty of Philosophy (1) at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. The great majority of ANARCHIE students obtain their degrees here. Students hail from all over the world. They have been recruited through open advertisement.

During its first decade, the department headed by Chris Hann needed to focus on its research agenda. Openings for doctoral students were advertised from time to time, but they were confined to specific focus groups, in which the students worked on projects closely aligned with those of their supervisor and associated postdoctoral researchers. During this initial period the department had no permanent staff eligible to supervise students apart from the Director. Even after the appointment of Lale Yalçın-Heckmann to a Minerva W2 position in 2003, it was hardly possible for us to expand our range and student numbers significantly.

The situation changed towards the end of the 2000s with a number of senior appointments. Christoph Brumann and Dittmar Schorkowitz were followed by Kirsten Endres (who joined us as a Senior Research Fellow but was quickly elevated to a Minerva position similar to that held earlier by Yalçın-Heckmann). By this time the instrument of the IMPRS was well established within the Max Planck Society. We seized the opportunity by inviting our university colleagues in history, archaeology and anthropology to join forces in an application. Thanks in particular to the commitment of François Bertemes (archaeology) and Michael G. Müller (history), a strong team was assembled. Given the difficult financial situation of the university in the relatively deprived *Bundesland* of Saxony-Anhalt, it was not at all straightforward to meet the IMPRS partner criteria stipulated by the Max Planck Society. Thanks to the tenacity of my colleagues and the support and good will shown by successive Deans and (Pro-)Rectors, plus of course the enthusiastic approval of the referees commissioned by the Max Planck Society, we were able to admit our first cohort of a dozen students in 2012 (four in each of the three disciplines).

Structure and Organization

Little has changed structurally since the beginnings described above. In terms of personnel, François Bertemes has remained a pillar of this graduate school throughout. Michael Müller retired from his chair in East European history in 2016, when he was replaced as *Sprecher* for the historians by Andreas Pečar (Michael has nonetheless remained one of the school's most active members to the present day). The Principal Faculty has replenished itself at various points by welcoming newcomers. In the present reporting period we have been delighted to recruit Felix Blocher (Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology, Halle), Dietlind Hüchtker (Professor of Eastern European History, Halle, and Senior Researcher Fellow, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Leipzig), Yvonne Kleinmann (Professor of Eastern European History, Halle) and Burkhard Schnepel (Professor of Social Anthropology, Halle). The obligations of the Principal Faculty are highly flexible. All senior members contribute to the teaching programme in a cohort's first year, irrespective of whether or not they are acting as main supervisor for one of the student members. Students have at least one additional supervisor in another discipline; their committee may also include an external adviser; if this is the case, that person is not eligible to serve as external examiner of the final dissertation (in accordance with German custom, the first *Gutachten* is written by the student's main supervisor).

Organizational tasks are undertaken by the coordinator, who works closely with the three *Sprecher*. This post was initially held by Daria Sambuk (2012–2016). When Dasha went on maternity leave in 2014, she was replaced temporarily by archaeologist Konstanze Eckert; in 2016 Dasha took up a position at the chair of Eastern European history (Yvonne Kleinmann) at the Institute of History; she was replaced as coordinator in September 2016 by anthropologist Sascha Roth, one of ANARCHIE's first graduates.

Teaching in the first year is oriented towards cross-fertilization between the three disciplines and facilitating understanding on different approaches, methods, and theories. In two weekly seminars students are familiarized gradually with all three disciplines. Although many key concepts – culture, civilization, tradition – crosscut established disciplinary boundaries, their definitions, meanings and usages are heterogeneous. Looking beyond the boundaries of one's own discipline by engaging in conversations with others in a structured framework is a central aspect of the training. Sessions led by Principal Faculty are supplemented by guest lectures, often on topics suggested by the student body and related to their individual projects. The Winter School marks the middle of the first year, at which point students are expected to present their individual projects. These workshops in Wittenberg or Berlin were frequently joined by external scholars and served to facilitate intense academic exchange between junior and senior scholars.

Winter School (4th cohort), Berlin 2018. (Photo: Daniel Sieber)

A similar format, but this time primarily organized by the doctoral students themselves, characterizes the Summer School that concludes the first year. The location, the external guests, and the thematic focus and structure of the event are the responsibility of the students (with support from the coordinator and the Principal Faculty). The Summer Schools have been organized in pleasant surroundings in Naumburg, Erfurt, Weimar and most recently Potsdam (2018).

There follows a full year devoted to data collection, during which each student stays in regular communication with his/her supervisor(s) and provides reports, including detail concerning unanticipated challenges and ensuing modifications of

Principal Faculty and students (4th cohort) visited the Sans Souci palace during the Summer School held at Potsdam in July 2018. (Photo: Sascha Roth)

the research plan. At the beginning of the third year, in the framework of an Autumn School in Halle, students report on their progress, usually presenting the draft of a chapter together with an indication of where this draft fits into the larger project. In the time that remains, students work primarily with their supervisor(s) on the preparation of the dissertation. A two-day academic writing workshop, especially tailored for PhD students in their writing-up stage, is organized by the coordinator for each cohort.

Autumn School (4th cohort), Halle, 2019. (Photo: Moritz Bloch)

ANARCHIE was able initially to guarantee only three years of funding, but we were usually able to offer extensions when necessary; we were pleased to be able to increase the funding commitment to four years (subject to satisfactory progress) in time for the admission of the fourth cohort in Autumn 2017.

In addition to covering all the costs of data collection, financial support is available to support participation at conferences and publication of the final dissertation.

To encourage the inter-disciplinary conversations, each of our four cohorts has had an overarching theme:

1. Collective identifications
2. Religion and ritual
3. Economic and demographic drivers of social change
4. Representing domination

Wolfgang Reinhard in conversation with the audience following his lecture, 13 November 2019. (Photo: Moritz Bloch)

Like all other openings in the department, the opportunities to join this graduate school are advertised internationally. Students apply with a research proposal, often prepared on the basis of earlier work at masters level. Those whose projects resonate most strongly with the interests of a member of the Principal Faculty enjoy an obvious advantage when it comes to interviews and final selection decisions. Some projects are significantly reworked in creative exchanges with advisers. But we have not hesitated to take on students we consider to be excellent, even when the project proposed by the applicant does not closely match the expertise of the main supervisor. In this way ANARCHIE has always been an adventurous undertaking, in comparison with the more focused projects of the department’s first decade. Recruiting individually excellent students from competitive fields of applicants and then giving them the freedom to realize their potential in their own ways has been the key to our cooperation from the beginning. Without ever descending into unproductive anarchy, each cohort has encouraged its participants to synergize beyond their specialized, localized projects, in order to grasp the bigger picture of social change in human societies.[1]

[1] Our ambition might be compared with the spirit in which Jürgen Renn, a director at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin, sets out from the “anthropological gamut” to explore a range of knowledge economies, culminating in the reductionist “academic capitalism” of the Anthropocene: *The evolution of knowledge. Rethinking science for the Anthropocene* (Princeton University Press, 2020).

Current Projects: Fourth Cohort, "Representing Domination"

Pablo Ampuero Ruiz – anthropology, supervisor: Chris Hann
"They Must Be Represented": (Re)Creating Social Hierarchies Amongst Migrant Workers in Southern China

Milana Čergić – anthropology, cotutelle supervisors: Kirsten Endres (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) and Boris Pétric (École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris)
Hipermarketi: Understanding Social and Economic Transformations through the Prism of the Retail Sector in Post-Socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ruben Davtyan – archaeology, supervisor: Felix Blocher
Impacts of the Near East and the Eurasian Nomads in the South Caucasus and the Representation of Local Elites during the Middle Iron Age

Anu Krishna – anthropology, supervisor: Burkhard Schnepel
"Alleppey Green": Maritime Cardamom Trade and Conjunctures in the Cardamom Hills of India

Lisa Kröger – history, supervisor: Stefan Pfeiffer
Antigonid Domination over Greek City-States

Shilla Lee – anthropology, supervisor: Christoph Brumann
Local Revitalization Projects in Rural Japan: The Case of Tamba Sasayama and its Traditional Tamba Pottery

Sofia Lopatina – history, supervisor: Dietlind Hüchtker
Practices of Everyday Life and Youth Cultures in Soviet Leningrad (1960–1972)

Adrià Moreno Gil – archaeology, supervisor: François Bertemes
The Borders of Power and the Power of Borders: Towards a Definition of Political Border in Prehistoric Societies

Julius Roch – archaeology, supervisor: Helga Bumke
Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Repräsentation, Perzeption und Integration der römischen Autorität im kollektiven Selbstverständnis der Städte Kleinasiens. Fallstudie Milet – eine numismatische Perspektive

Frank Rochow – history, supervisor: Yvonne Kleinmann
Architecture and Rule: Conceptions of the State and Military Presence in the Habsburg Province Galicia-Lodomeria, 1849–1859

Nikola Stefanovski – archaeology, supervisor: François Bertemes
Warrior Equipment: A Tool for Acquiring, Maintaining and Displaying Status and Domination

Adrian Wesołowski – history, cotutelle supervisors: Andreas Pečar (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) and Maciej Ptaszyński (University of Warsaw)
The Origins of Philanthropic Celebrity, 1750–1850

“Alleppey Green” in the Cardamom Hills of India. (Photo: Anu Krishna)

Defences, 2017–2019

Daniela Ana – anthropology, supervisor: Chris Hann
“Produced and Bottled in Moldova”: Winemaking in Flexible Capitalism
(defended in July 2019)

Simon Bellmann – history, supervisor: Stefan Pfeiffer
Politische Theologie im frühen Judentum am Beispiel der Estherbücher
(defended in February 2019)

Miriam Franchina – history, supervisor: Andreas Pečar
Writing an Impartial History in the Republic of Letters: Paul Rapin Thoyras and his Histoire d’Angleterre (1724-27) (defended in January 2017)

Tim Felix Grünewald – archaeology, supervisor: François Bertemes
Rituale im Kontext jung- und spätneolithischer Grabenwerke im westlichen Mitteleuropa und Südskandinavien (defended in May 2019)

Jan-Henrik Hartung – archaeology, supervisor: Helga Bumke
Innenräume griechischer Tempel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit (700–325 v. Chr.) (defended in May 2019)

Elisa Kohl-Garrity – anthropology, supervisor: Dittmar Schorkowitz
The Weight of Respect: Khündlekh Yos – Frames of Reference, Governmental Agendas and Ethical Formations in Modern Mongolia (defended in November 2019)

Annabell Körner – anthropology, supervisor: Lale Yalçın-Heckmann
"Child in Every Family!" – Family Planning, Infertility and Assisted Reproduction in Tbilisi, Georgia (defended in December 2019)

Anja Lochner-Rechta – archaeology, supervisor: François Bertemes
Symbolmacht - Symbolkraft. Der keltische Early Style und seine kultisch-rituelle und identitätsstiftende Bedeutung am Beispiel des `Zweiblatt-Motivs`
(defended in May 2019)

Juana Maria Olives Pons – archaeology, supervisor: François Bertemes
*Social Norms as a Strategy of Regulation of Reproduction among Hunter-Fisher-Gatherer Societie*s (defended in October 2019)

Giuseppe Tateo – anthropology, supervisor: Christoph Brumann
Under the Sign of the Cross: The Politics of Re-Consecration in Postsocialist Bucharest (defended in July 2018)

Hendrik Tieke – history, supervisor: Georg Fertig
Methodenprobleme der Sozialgeschichte: Deutschland 1870–1933 – eine Gesellschaft sozialer Klassen? (defended in January 2019)

Juliane Tomesch – archaeology, supervisor: Helga Bumke
Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Elementen in der Sepulkralkultur Roms und Italiens vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr. (defended in July 2019)

Hoài Trần – anthropology, supervisor: Kirsten Endres
"Doing Culture" for a "Living Cultural Heritage": Politics, Performances, and Representations of the "Space of Gong Culture" in the Central Highlands of Vietnam
(defended in July 2019)

Conclusion

For formal reasons it was not possible for this IMPRS to apply in the usual way for a second six-year period. We were grateful for the allocation of top-up funding that allowed us to admit our fourth cohort and will enable us to organize a final conference in December 2020.

By the time ANARCHIE is formally wound up in 2021 we shall be able to look back on almost a decade of productive cooperation with our university colleagues. To the best of our knowledge, this graduate school is unique in Europe. By the end of 2019, nineteen dissertations had been successfully defended. More will follow in 2020–2021. These are gratifying accomplishments. The fact that we have recruited many students from outside Germany who would not otherwise have come to this country is another significant plus.

Of course, one should not exaggerate. It is all very well to applaud interdisciplinarity but (as we knew from the beginning) almost all doctorates are still awarded in specific disciplines; the same applies to the ensuing careers. But if the exposure to different perspectives and methods in a young scholar’s *Ausbildung* leaves some residual mark on all our alumni, then our efforts will feel worthwhile.

Some of the grander hopes behind this initiative have not been fulfilled. In the context of the general shift from IMPRS of limited scale to larger Max Planck Schools, it might seem obvious that scholars in Halle should join forces with their counterparts in Leipzig and Jena to inaugurate such a School and transgress the boundaries of our disciplines in even more innovative ways. We have always been conscious of the need to look beyond our faculty and seek dialogue with many others, from natural scientists to theologians. In the present scientific conjuncture, the extraordinary progress made in paleo-genetics can only be harnessed for the study of human history if the latest breakthroughs in the laboratory are integrated into the knowledge that has been accumulated in quite different ways in archaeology, history, historical linguistics, and so forth. Social anthropology has its place in this division of scientific labour, e.g. in suggesting alternative interpretations of how earlier human communities organized kinship, managed migration, or coped with a new virus or natural disaster. The Max Planck Institutes in all three locations in *Mitteldeutschland* are currently in phases of transition, and one can only hope that new forms of collaboration will be consolidated in years to come. As the following contributions by François Bertemes and Andreas Pečar confirm, the will on the part of our university colleagues in Halle to continue working together is strong.

François Bertemes: A Perspective from Archaeology

François Bertemes is Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg (Institute for Art History and Archaeology in Europe)

At the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, members of the archaeological disciplines of the Faculty of Philosophy look back with wistful satisfaction on the last 8 years of joint teaching and interdisciplinary scientific exchange within the framework of the International Max Planck Research School ANARCHIE. For us, this school has been an important symbol of the close cooperation between our four archaeological chairs. Such cooperation is by no means usual within the German archaeological community. The latest outcome is our joint bachelor degree "Archaeologies," which will be open for enrolment for the first time in the winter term 2020–2021. The interdisciplinary perspective fostered by regular contacts with historians and social anthropologists has been a real benefit for our Faculty members as well as for our student. Here I speak not only for myself, representing Prehistoric Archaeology and functioning throughout as *Sprecher*, but also for Helga Bumke and Aylin Tanriöver from Classical Archaeology, Hans-Georg Stephan from Medieval and Modern Archaeology and Felix Blocher from Oriental Archaeology.

ANARCHIE offered all participants the opportunity to look beyond their own theoretical and methodological horizons, which have often been too narrow. Interaction between archaeologists and anthropologists has been unusual in the German academic landscape. We have supported the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology since its establishment two decades ago, and continue to regard it as a unique "selling point" for the various archaeologies that exist in Halle. Even if the present cooperation must regrettably be drawn to a close, we would like to imagine new possibilities opening up in future years. One possibility would be a Max Planck Research School that would also draw in suitable partners from other Max Planck Institutes in Jena and Leipzig, perhaps under a title such as "Bioarchaeology and Societies."

Thanks to numerous research projects abroad, our archaeological chairs are internationally well positioned and networked. But ANARCHIE has helped significantly in our efforts to accelerate this internationalization, through conferences and in our teaching. Our students in ANARCHIE have included citizens of Spain, the Republic of Northern Macedonia, Armenia and Bulgaria. The topics addressed

have been multifaceted, covering a wide range even within the particular thematic cohorts. Chronologically, they have ranged from hunter and gatherer societies of the Middle and Late Palaeolithic to modern times. The regional focuses have extended from the Iberian Peninsula through the Mediterranean to the Levant and Asia Minor in the south, to southern Scandinavia in the north and to Armenia in the east. The doctoral theses successfully defended to date have all been imbued with the spirit of this graduate school: they demonstrate interdisciplinary thinking, strong theoretical components and innovative methodologies. Above all, however, they show that although the three disciplines assembled in the IMPRS have each gone their own way for a long time, in the end they belong together, since they pose the same fundamental questions about human societies.

Let me close by mentioning that ANARCHIE has also promoted the exchange of scientific collaborators: when historian Daria Sambuk went on maternity leave in 2014, her position as coordinator was initially taken over by Konstanze Eckert, an archaeology graduate of the Martin Luther University; later, Konstanze became a doctoral student of mine in prehistory, and after Daria took up her new appointment at the Institute of History, the coordinator’s baton was passed on to anthropologist Sascha Roth.

Bronze helmet, 5th century BC (type: Illyrian IIIA1b). Archaeological site: Gorna Porta, Ohrid – Republic of N. Maceodnia. Stefanovski, Tutkovski ©

Nikola Stefanovski is a doctoral student in archaeology, supervised by François Bertemes. His thesis is provisionally titled: *Warrior Equipment: A Tool for Acquiring, Maintaining, and Displaying Status and Domination*. He writes: “Apart from being tools of war, ancient weapons were also heraldic devices. During burial rituals they were manipulated and representations of warriors were created, imagining an identity in death which did not always correspond to a biographical reality of the deceased. One of the aims of this research is to understand the way in which warriorhood was constructed, communicated, and how the status of this social group was (re)negotiated and legitimized.”

Andreas Pečar: A Perspective from History

Andreas Pečar holds the Chair in Early Modern History at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg (Institute for History)

Since its launch in 2012 the International Max Planck Research School ANARCHIE has had a great impact on the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, and particularly on the Faculty of Philosophy. This graduate school has widened our horizons, across both national and disciplinary boundaries. For the historians within the faculty, collaboration with the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology has been extremely fruitful. Altogether eight historians have been involved in the teaching and supervising of the doctoral students: Christian Mileta, Angela Pabst and Stefan Pfeiffer as ancient historians, Andreas Pečar as an historian of the Early Modern era, Georg Fertig as specialist for economic history, Dietlind Hüchtker, Yvonne Kleinmann and Michael Müller as specialists in Eastern European history, and Patrick Wagner as contemporary historian have each participated in at least one of the four cohorts. (Only the medieval centuries have been missing, but of course they have been represented in archaeology.)

The background and expertise of ANARCHIE students in history have varied greatly. Dissertations have spanned a range from ancient times to the present day, drawing on theories and methods from a number of adjacent fields as well as canonical approaches within history. Topics have included demography, religion, the representation of monarchy, the class structure of small towns, youth culture, architecture, philanthropy, and the persona of an historian. For all of these projects this graduate school has provided exceptional opportunities for comparison. Eurasia (although it does not represent a cultural entity) has proved useful as an overall geographical framework for interdisciplinary analysis.

IX

GOODY LECTURES

Goody Lecture, 11 May 2017

On Cultural Revolutions: Observations on Myth and History in Turkey

Nur Yalman (Harvard University)

On Cultural Revolutions:

observations on myth and history in Turkey

Nur Yalman | Department of Anthropology | Harvard University | Prof. em.

Sir Jack Goody spent the last years of his singularly creative career concerned with the turbulent relations between the West and the East. At this time when populists in Western countries complain loudly of the pains of "globalization" deriving from China and India, and others, the relations with one of the most important countries of the "East", Turkey, become critical. After having been intimately involved with Europe as a quintessential "Oriental" power for many long centuries, Turkey experienced a profound "cultural revolution" in the 1920's in the direction of secularism and an "imagined" Western vocation. Now the tide appears to be turning back towards an "imagined" Ottoman past. What are the major issues? How much is myth and where is history? Are the values of liberal democracy, human rights and civil liberties compatible with the "Orient"? Are these liberties "universal values" or are they fragile plants that can only survive in some "European" climes? How does the US "War on Terror" and the "Clash of Civilizations" affect the issue? *Speaker's Abstract*

Goody Lecture | 11 May 2017 | 18:00 – 20:00 | Main Seminar Room

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Department 'Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia'
Advokatenweg 36 | 06114 Halle | www.eth.mpg.de

Max Planck Institute
for Social Anthropology

Goody Lecture, 28 June 2018

Accumulating Family Values

Sylvia J. Yanagisako
(Stanford University)

Max Planck Institute
for Social Anthropology

Goody Lecture 28 June 2018

Accumulating Family Values

Sylvia Yanagisako

Edward Clark Crossett
Professor of Humanistic
Studies and Professor
of Anthropology,
Stanford University

This lecture builds on Jack Goody’s work to demonstrate the centrality of kinship in the current political economy of the U.S. and Europe. Since 1980 the ownership of capital in the U.S. and Europe has become increasingly concentrated, and if current trends continue wealth inequality will soon become as pronounced as it was in the nineteenth century. Thomas Piketty’s book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* shows that in the U.S. and other wealthy capitalist nations inheritance has been a key force behind the concentration of wealth and growth in inequality. Piketty, however, does not delve into the affective, legal and political structures that enable the conversion of profits into inheritance and inheritance into capital, thus missing an opportunity to understand how kinship, economy, and politics work in tandem in these societies. In this lecture I examine inheritance in the U.S. and Italy as a culturally valorized and legally-sanctioned conversion process through which intimate bonds and sentiments of family naturalize capital accumulation and social inequality. *(Speaker’s Abstract)*

Goody Lecture | 28 June 2018 | 18:00–19:30 | Main Seminar Room

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Department ‘Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia’
Advokatenweg 36 | 06114 Halle (Saale) | www.eth.mpg.de

Goody Lecture, 13 June 2019

Class and Power in a Stateless Society: Revisiting Jack Goody's Ethnography of the LoDagaa

Carola Lentz (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

Class and Power in a Stateless Society:

revisiting Jack Goody's ethnography of the LoDagaa (Ghana)

Carola Lentz | Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

Based on fieldwork in Northern Ghana in the 1950s, Jack Goody made a lasting contribution to anthropology with his portrayals of the people he referred to as the LoDagaa. He modelled them as a classical example of an acephalous society, marked by the absence of ethnic boundaries and political power. I have carried out research among the Dagara and Dagaba, as they call themselves, since the 1980s, focussing on their radical social and political transformation in the course of the twentieth century.

The lecture explores the making of chieftaincy and ethnicity as well as the emergence of a middle class in what in Goody's work was portrayed as a society without social stratification. The lecture will also discuss the extent to which differences in ethnographic accounts reflect the anthropologists' distinct theoretical approaches. *Speaker's Abstract*

Goody Lecture | 13 June 2019 | 18:00 – 20:00 | Main Seminar Room

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Department 'Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia'
Advokatenweg 36 | 06114 Halle | www.eth.mpg.de

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

X
PUBLICATIONS

Departmental Book Series:

Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia (LIT)

Series editors: Christoph Brumann, Kirsten W. Endres, Chris Hann, Burkhard Schnepel, Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

Sha, Heila. 2017. *Care and ageing in North-West China*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 34. Münster; Berlin: LIT.

Tocheva, Detelina. 2017. *Intimate divisions: street-level orthodoxy in post-Soviet Russia*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 35. Münster; Berlin: LIT.

Sárközi, Ildikó Gyöngyvér. 2018. *From the mists of martyrdom: Sibe ancestors and heroes on the altar of Chinese nation-building*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 36. Berlin; Zürich: LIT.

Cheung Ah Li, Leah. 2019. *Where the past meets the future: the politics of heritage in Xi'an*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 37. Berlin; Zürich: LIT.

Wang, Ruijing. 2019. *Kinship, cosmology and support: toward a holistic approach of childcare in the Akha community of south-western China*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 38. Berlin; Zürich: LIT.

Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy (Berghahn Books)

Series editors: Stephen Gudeman, Chris Hann

Sikor, Thomas, Stefan Dorondel, Johannes Stahl and Phuc Xuan To (eds.). 2017. *When things become property: land reform, authority, and value in postsocialist Europe and Asia*. Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy 3. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Hann, Chris and Jonathan Parry (eds.). 2018. *Industrial labor on the margins of capitalism: precarity, class, and the neoliberal subject*. Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy 4. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Endres, Kirsten W. 2019. *Market frictions: trade and urbanization at the Vietnam-China border*. Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy 5. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Publications

This list also includes publications based on research done while at the MPI although the researchers are no longer with the Institute. Publications by doctoral students of the IMPRS for the Anthropology, Archaeology and History of Eurasia are listed separately (see pages 134–135).

Books

Abrahms-Kavunenko, Saskia. 2019. *Enlightenment and the gasping city: Mongolian Buddhism at a time of environmental disarray*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

Bruckermann, Charlotte. 2019. *Claiming homes: confronting domicide in rural China*. 1. ed. Dislocations 26. Oxford; New York: Berghahn.

Endres, Kirsten W. 2019. *Market frictions: trade and urbanization at the Vietnam-China border*. Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy 5. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Hann, Chris. 2019. *Repatriating Polanyi: market society in the Visegrád states*. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press.

Hoffmann, Michael Peter. 2018. *The partial revolution: labour, social movements and the invisible hand of Mao in western Nepal*. Dislocations 21. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Horat, Esther. 2017. *Trading in uncertainty: entrepreneurship, morality and trust in a Vietnamese textile-handling village*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Krul, Matthijs. 2018. *The new institutionalist economic history of Douglass C. North: a critical interpretation*. Palgrave Studies in the History of Economic Thought. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-94084-7.

McBrien, Julie. 2017. *From belonging to belief: modern secularisms and the construction of religion in Kyrgyzstan*. Central Eurasia in Context. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Mikuš, Marek. 2018. *Frontiers of civil society: government and hegemony in Serbia*. Dislocations 22. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Nguyen, Minh T. N. 2019. *Waste and wealth: an ethnography of labor, value, and morality in a Vietnamese recycling economy*. Issues of Globalization: Case Studies in Contemporary Anthropology. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Parry, Jonathan. 2019. *Classes of labour: work and life in a central Indian steel town*. New Delhi: Social Science Press.

Pelkmans, Mathijs. 2017. *Fragile conviction: changing ideological landscapes in urban Kyrgyzstan*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

Schlegel, Simon. 2019. *Making ethnicity in southern Bessarabia: tracing the histories of an ambiguous concept in a contested land*. Eurasian Studies Library 14. Leiden; Boston: Brill. DOI: 10.1163/9789004408029.

Schorkowitz, Dittmar. 2018. *"... Daß die Inorodcy niemand rettet und das Heil bei ihnen selbst liegt ...": Quellen und Beiträge zur historischen Ethnologie von Burjaten und Kalmücken*. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 90. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Sha, Heila. 2017. *Care and ageing in North-West China*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 34. Münster; Berlin: LIT.

Szombati, Kristóf. 2018. *The revolt of the provinces: anti-gypsyism and rightwing-politics in Hungary*. Dislocations 23. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Tocheva, Detelina. 2017. *Intimate divisions: street-level orthodoxy in post-Soviet Russia*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 35. Münster; Berlin: LIT.

Wang, Ruijing. 2019. *Kinship, cosmology and support: toward a holistic approach of childcare in the Akha community of south-western China*. Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia: HSAE 38. Berlin; Zürich: LIT.

Weiss, Hadas. 2019. *We have never been middle-class*. London; Brooklyn: Verso.

Zavoretti, Roberta. 2017. *Rural origins, city lives: class and place in contemporary China*. Seattle; London: University of Washington Press.

Edited Volumes and Special Issues

Bellér-Hann, Ildikó, Birgit N. Schlyter, and Jun Sugawara (eds.). 2017. *Kashgar revisited: Uyghur studies in memory of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring*. Brill's Inner Asian Library 34. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Cash, Jennifer R. (ed.). 2018. see Vasile, Monica, Jennifer R. Cash, and Patrick Heady (eds.). 2018.

Endres, Kirsten W. and Ann Marie Leshkowich (eds.). 2018. *Traders in motion: identities and contestations in the Vietnamese marketplace*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

Hann, Chris (ed.). 2018. *Realising Eurasia: empire and connectivity during three millennia*. Comparativ 28(4).

Hann, Chris and Jonathan Parry (eds.). 2018. *Industrial labor on the margins of capitalism: precarity, class, and the neoliberal subject*. 1. ed. Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy 4. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Arnason, Johann P. and **Chris Hann** (eds.). 2018. *Anthropology and civilizational analysis: Eurasian explorations*. SUNY Series: Pangaea II; Global/Local Studies. Albany: SUNY Press.

Heady, Patrick and **Mikołaj Szołtysek** (eds.). 2017. *Special Issue: Murdock and Goody revisited: (pre)history and evolution of family systems, part I*. Cross-Cultural Research 51(2).

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Kalb, Don and Massimiliano Mollona (eds.). 2018. *Worldwide mobilizations: class struggles and urban commoning*. Dislocations 24. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Köllner, Tobias (ed.). 2019. *Orthodox religion and politics in contemporary Eastern Europe: on multiple secularisms and entanglements*. Routledge Religion, Society and Government in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet States. London; New York: Routledge.

Nguyen, Minh T. N., Roberta Zavoretti, and Joan Tronto (eds.). 2017. *Beyond the global care chain: boundaries, institutions and ethics of care*. Ethics and Social Welfare 11(3).

Parry, Jonathan (ed.). 2018. see Hann, Chris and Jonathan Parry (eds.). 2018.

Santos, Gonçalo and Stevan Harrell (eds.). 2017. *Transforming patriarchy: Chinese families in the twenty-first century*. Seattle; London: University of Washington Press.

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Vasile, Monica, Jennifer R. Cash, and Patrick Heady (eds.). 2018. *Contemporary godparenthood in Central and Eastern Europe*. Journal of Family History 43(1).

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Chapters in Edited Volumes

Abrahms-Kavunenko, Saskia. 2019. Mongolian Buddhism in the democratic period. In: John Barton (ed.). *Oxford Research Encyclopedias: Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.618.

Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. 2017. La movilidad de la tradición: localismo e identidad entre los uigures de Xinjiang. In: Soledad Jiménez Tovar (ed.). *Pertenencias múltiples, identidades cruzadas: nuevas perspectivas sobre Asia Central*. 1. ed. México: El Colegio de México, pp. 177–208.

—. 2018a. Laz. In: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas , and Everett Rowson (eds.). *The encyclopaedia of Islam*. 3. ed. Leiden: Brill, pp. 145–147.

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—. 2019a. Islam, legitimation and identity: Uyghur historical narratives from Eastern Xinjiang. In: Yohanan Friedmann (ed.). *Muslim minorities in modern times*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, pp. 38–68.

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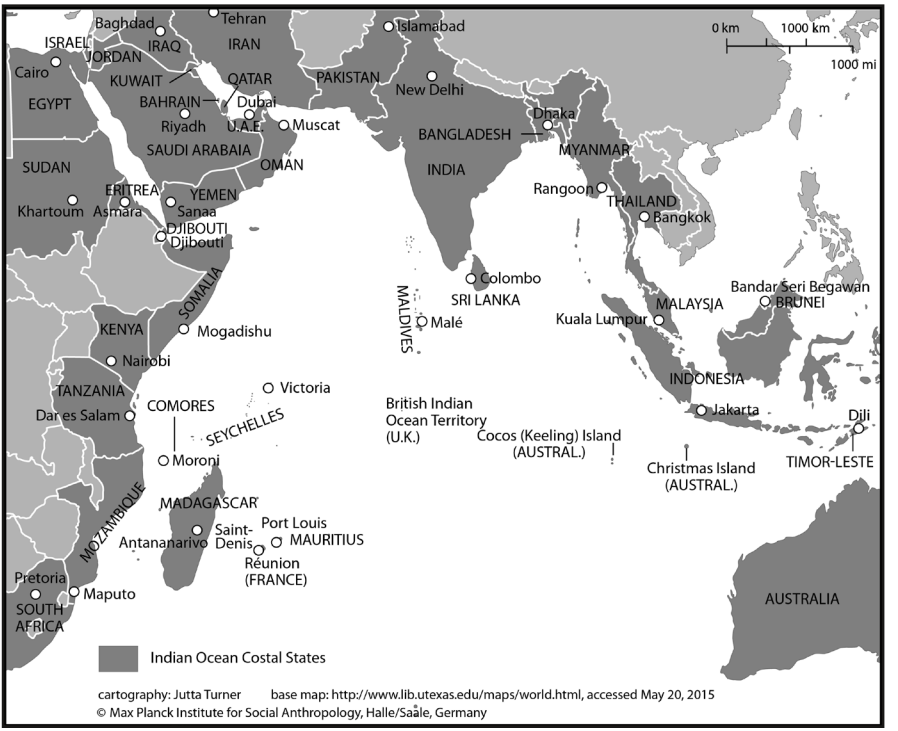
MAX PLANCK FELLOW GROUP ‘CONNECTIVITY IN MOTION: PORT CITIES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN’ (FINAL REPORT, 2017–2020)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MADAGASCAR
MOZAMBIQUE
Port Louis
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Denis
MAURITIUS
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cartography: Jutta Turner
base map: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/world.html, accessed May 20, 2015
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Connectivity in Motion: Port Cities of the Indian Ocean

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General

The Max Planck Fellow programme entitled "Connectivity in Motion: Port Cities of the Indian Ocean," which started in November 2013, officially ended in April 2020, though some final activities are being financed until October 2020. Since the last report on the programme's activities in 2017, its initial aims have been pursued with unrelenting energy, transcending the disciplinary boundaries between social anthropology and history. In this final report I would like to recall briefly the intellectual aims and the challenges they have given rise to, and to assess them both conclusively and retrospectively.

Intellectual Aims

As is conveyed by the programme's title, there were two complementary and interdependent sides to our endeavours. The programme's subtitle, "Port Cities of the Indian Ocean," suggests an empirical focus on the Indian Ocean world. Hence, the programme was devised as a contribution to what in Germany is still a much-neglected academic field, "Indian Ocean Studies," more specifically by taking port cities as the entry and exit points for our investigations.

As far as the framing of our overall research agenda and of the programme's various individual projects is concerned, we have aimed to contribute to the study of the *whole* of the Indian Ocean world and to do so throughout its *entire* history. This extensive spatial and temporal framing was, of course, ambitious. However, our view was that, whatever the specific regional, historical and thematic specializations of our more concrete research activities were, there needed to be general background knowledge and awareness of the whole Indian Ocean world and of the history of this "oldest" ocean (i.e. oldest in terms of human movement) on the planet. The subject matter becomes even more ambitious in that, for us, the "Indian Ocean," or rather the worlds this ocean consists of, at times and under certain thematic perspectives may extend as far as, for example, Nanjing in the early fifteenth century or Amsterdam in the seventeenth.

Clearly no such programme can be conducted successfully unless its methodological and theoretical concerns are well formulated and clearly guide (as well as limit) the pursuit of academic interests. This brings me to the programme's main title, "Connectivity in Motion," which expresses how we wished to approach and study the programme's empirical dimensions. While the term "connectivity" immediately and justifiably leads one to assume that this programme was concerned with trans-

maritime networks, the addition of the words "in motion" is crucial. This "trademark" of our programme, namely the concept of "connectivity in motion," indicated a dynamic approach that is less concerned with the analysis of structures and systems than with the examination of processes of networking and of exchanges across the ocean. As such the programme was meant as a contribution to the emerging field of "mobility studies." Rather than produce conventional ethnographies of places and /or historiographies of certain periods, it has looked at the mobility of people, animals, material objects and immaterial phenomena (such as cultural institutions, religions, languages, political ideas, imagined pasts, etc.) across and beyond the Indian Ocean world. Moreover, it has sought to trace the transformations which all these "things" – material or immaterial – have experienced passively and have themselves actively brought forth in the socio-cultural, politico-economic, religious and technological milieus of the departure and arrival points of these various journeys.

It is against the background of this spatio-temporal and methodological framing of our research agenda that the various, more concrete and limited research projects within the programme have been conducted. Hence, in line with the well-known social anthropological image, formulated by Eriksen,[1] of "small places, large issues," we have sought to compare and thematically connect our more mundane findings at small places and make them reverberate with each other so as to stimulate theoretical advances, as well as suggest answers to "large issues" such as "globalization," "unfree labour," "colonial rule" and "postcolonial predicaments." Similarly, historically we also sought to contribute to the study of these and other wide-reaching or "larger" issues, such as "world history" not as an alternative to the detection of micro-histories but exactly because we did so.

Intellectual Challenges

During its lifetime the programme managed to critically reflect on and refine its initial concepts, perspectives, approaches and theoretical insights. This gave rise to several intellectual challenges – always positive and creative ones – which I would like to address briefly in this section.

To start with, there is, of course, the task of studying an ocean, and not the more conventional terrestrial kind of space. We were by no means the first to use an aquatic framing for a particular research area: in the last ten years oceanic studies have experienced a clear boost. Almost all seas and oceans of the globe have now become subject to serious and painstaking research. The Indian Ocean is no exception here: globally, "Indian Ocean Studies" has seen a vast increase in conferences, publications and academic "chairs." In this respect, Halle took a leading role within German academia.

[1] Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 1995. *Small places, large issues: an introduction to social and cultural anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Now, studying water rather than apparently well-delimited territories immediately urges one to look at the subject matter in ways that are different from when one stays on firm ground. To qualify as "Oceanic Studies" or conduct a "new thalassology" (Horden and Purcell), it is not enough to study a place or a region which simply happens to be at or near the sea. To study the bleak situation of people living in the slums of Mumbai, for example, is not to undertake "Indian Ocean Studies." Only if the past and present-day economic, political, cultural and social maritime exchanges that led to the establishment of Bombay (to give it its colonial name) on seven small and swampy islands in the seventeenth century and their impact on making this erstwhile trading post into one of the most important mega-cities of today are addressed can one speak of such an enquiry as being maritime and, in this case, part of "Indian Ocean Studies". In this context, scholars have urged us to reverse the usual angle of perspective: "Rather than look out at the oceans from the land, as so many earlier books have done, a history of an ocean has to reverse this angle and look from the sea to the land, and most obviously to the coast. There has to be attention to land areas bordering the ocean, that is the littoral. A history of the ocean has to be amphibious, moving easily between land and sea."[2]

That said, concrete "amphibious studies" also need to base themselves on and start their investigations from firm ground, even if this firm ground is only provided by the planks of a ship. As pointed out above, in this context we considered port cities as places that are "good to study." In doing so, it was acknowledged that they constitute a special type of city, a fact which, astonishingly enough, is not always acknowledged in urban anthropology. Let me address just three of these special features of port cities. First, port cities are Janus-faced, with one face looking out onto the sea, while the other gazes towards its *Umland* and even hinterland. Both perspectives, but mainly, of course, the first, were included in our investigations. The second speciality becomes apparent when one looks at the internal dimensions of port city life. Here it transpired remarkably often that – probably due to their travel histories – when compared with their land-locked counterparts, port cities have a noticeably multi-ethnic, poly-religious, dynamic and sometimes even cosmopolitan outlook. (Might this be the reason why, in many areas of the world, territorial rulers were and are suspicious of port cities and their inhabitants, preferring to establish or have their seats of power elsewhere, i.e. inland? National capitals, to give some examples, are Delhi and not Bombay, Nairobi and not Mombasa, Berlin and not Hamburg, Washington and not New York.)

As for the third specific characteristic of port cities, it soon transpired that if one wishes to understand a given port city's external and internal dimensions, one cannot help taking due note of its port or, better, trans-port functions. Here the concept of the "hub" was found useful. Hubs were understood and studied as active knots in a network of transportation systems, as significant nodes and actors of convergence,

[2] Pearson, Michael N. 2003. *The Indian Ocean*. London: Routledge, p. 5.

entanglement and divergence in the global streams of human beings, animals, finances, ideas and pieces of knowledge. However, we understood hubs as more than simply knots or nodes in networks and networking; being highly connected, they attracted new and more frequent links, largely on the basis of already having links. Hubs, furthermore, are also charged with an extraordinary energy that affects their own inner lives and that also, and most importantly, changes those beings and things that partake in this inner life. Hubs have agency and dynamic vitality with regard to more than just putting things and beings in motion and making them circulate and flow. Hubs are also significantly effective when it comes to transforming the meaning, functions, usages, forms and values of all things and beings that pass through them and that invariably stay for a while *within* them. More often than not these changes add value, some of which remains in the hub and thus allows it to profit from being a hub.

At one crucial point our attention was directed from port cities to islands. In this context the programme acknowledged and studied the important role of small islands in furthering "connectivity in motion" across the Indian Ocean. Certainly, these small islands also had ports and even port cities, but it is not without significance for an understanding of the strategic role of maritime hubs that very often these were built on small islands, even when the mainland was not far off. Thus, one simply studied Mombasa or Bombay or Singapore as port cities without acknowledging the fact that these hubs were *small island* hubs that were not located on the East African, South Asian or Malaysian mainlands. In respect of this dimension of our research agenda, the programme contributed in innovative ways to the emerging field of so-called "Island Studies" or "nissology", and thus also to social anthropological philosophical questions of insularity and what it is that make islands so important for human activity and imagination.

I return at this point to the relevance of "Mobility Studies." To be explicit, the notion of mobility in "Mobility Studies" covers more than just migration, more than just travelling, etc. It looks at movements in an all-encompassing way, considering all the things that move or are being moved, animate and inanimate, and the specific ways of moving, as well as the means and technologies of transport. In this context, Mobility Studies also seeks to understand mobility in more abstract terms. In this context, terms like "circulation" and "flow" have become quite popular items of academic jargon. Now, while the "connectivity-in-motion" programme emphasized movement and mobility across the southern waters of the Indian Ocean, in line with the tenets just indicated, it nevertheless grew sceptical and critical of terms and perspectives that suggest that everything always flows. Instead, we wished to rein in the over-exalted celebrations of mobility, circulation and flow that have entered the humanities, social sciences and discipline of history during the last couple of decades. Even in a publication which may well count as one of the triggers of "mobility studies", James Clifford rightly pointed out that, when studying "traveling cultures," as he

called them, one always studies also the dialectics between traveling and dwelling.[3] In other words, there are always people who do not move and who must (or wish to) remain where they are. In fact, it may even be essential for those who move that some people do not and cannot move. In an argument "against flows," Noel Salazar writes: "The fashionable imagery of flows is badly chosen if we want to describe how people, objects and ideas move around the world. Global forces are evidently not neutral but always subject to economic privileges and political agendas."[4] In a similar vein, James Ferguson argues that "the 'global' does not 'flow', thereby connecting and watering contiguous space; it hops instead, efficiently connecting the enclaved points in the network while excluding (with equal efficiency) the spaces that lie between the points."[5]

Overemphasizing mobility, circulation and flow may therefore entail the danger of ignoring those places and times where and when people, things and ideas do *not* move, where and when there are encumbrances and stagnation. It will fail to address the politics and power structures of (im)mobility. Furthermore, and equally importantly, such a view will fail to identify the crucial points in space and time where and when things start to move again. What is required in this context is an identification of the "jumping off points" in history and space. What are the specific incentives, vital forces and agents that make people, things or ideas hop (or prevent them from doing so)? How far does a leap reach? What, where and when is "*der springende Punkt*?" What is needed, in a nutshell, is a "*punctum saliens*" perspective on (im-)mobilities.

Finally, the programme developed a point of view which was not only "against flow," but also "against space."[6] Following things on their travels across the sea quite naturally puts routes, rather than space, at the forefront of attention and analysis. This emphasis on routes is not only applicable as far as maritime itineraries are concerned, but also when one follows things, whether animate or inanimate, on their journeys into the hinterland. Here again it is not the space of the hinterland that acquires significance, but the rivers and paths that are used by human or animal carriers, the roads and railways, and the airports that connect a port with its hinterland or with other ports. This perspective on routes rather than space is crucial when it comes to seeking answers to Pearson's rhetorical question of how far the ocean reaches out onto the land.

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[3] Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

[4] Salazar, Noel B. 2010. *Envisioning Eden. Mobilizing imaginaries in tourism and beyond*. Oxford: Berghahn, p. 338.

[5] Ferguson, James. 2006. *Global shadows. Africa in the neoliberal world order*. Durham: Duke University Press, p. 47.

[6] See Ingold, Tim. 2009. Against space: place, movement, knowledge. In: Peter Wynn Kirby (ed.). *Boundless worlds. An anthropological approach to movement*. Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 29–44.

In summary, over the years the programme's research agenda came to focus on the hubs of maritime exchanges and on the routes that connected these hubs, leading us to focus on motions through space and time that jumped rather than flowed.

Empirical Foci

All these challenges emerged and were encountered in studying concrete empirical cases, both contemporary and historical. The various empirical studies that were conducted within the framework of the programme over the years – always in the "small place/large issues" spirit – were the Comoro Islands, Mauritius, the Gulf of Khambat (western India) and Penang (Malaysia). More empirical cases were added to the programme's output and intellectual vitality by international scholars who were invited as visiting scholars for a significant period or as contributors to the various conferences organized by the fellowship programme. These additional areas of concern included Madagascar, Zanzibar, the Red Sea, Oman, Cochin, Sri Lanka, the Malay Archipelago, the South China Sea and Shanghai. Among the scholars who were particularly important visitors and contributors Gwyn Campbell, Edward A. Alpers, Timothy Brook, Tansen Sen, Steven Serels and Iain Walker deserve special mention.

Themes and Conferences

Thematically, the main venues for the programme's various empirical contributions took the form of international conferences held in Halle, Montreal, Muscat and Berlin. These academic conventions identified and addressed issues of particular importance and heuristic value for the programme. Apart from the conferences conducted in the years 2014 ("Port Cities"), 2015 ("Small Islands") and 2016 ("Travelling Diseases"), already mentioned in my last report, I planned and organized the following conferences during the years covered by the present report:

1. "Travelling Pasts: The Politics of Cultural Heritage in the Indian Ocean World." Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, May 2017.
2. "Ports and Transports: Evolution and Revolution(s) in the Indian Ocean World." Muscat, Oman, German University of Technology (with Prof. Michael Jansen), March 2019.
3. "Cargoes: The Materiality of Connectivity in Motion in the Indian Ocean World." Berlin: Harnack House, October 2019.

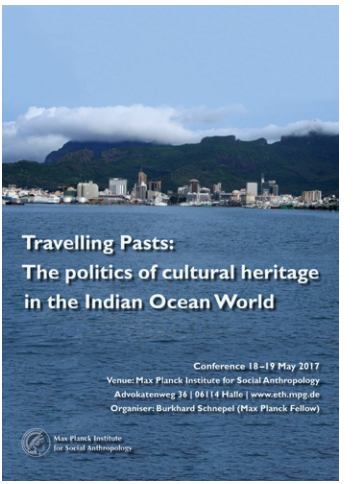
All conferences were enriched by internationally renowned experts in the field of Indian Ocean Studies, hailing mainly from the disciplines of social anthropology, history, archaeology and geography, and with regional expertise in many parts of the Indian Ocean world. However, these established scholars were also accompanied by

younger scholars at both pre- and postdoctoral levels, including doctoral students from Halle, so that a good mix was reached in these conferences not only in terms of disciplines and areas (as well as gender), but of academic seniority or juniority. A volume arising from the "Small Island" conference of October 2015 with the title *Connectivity in Motion: Island Hubs in the Indian Ocean World* was edited by Edward A. Alpers (UCLA) and myself and appeared with Palgrave in January 2018. In connection with the "Travelling Pasts" conference, a volume edited by Tansen Sen (New York/Shanghai) and myself entitled *Travelling Pasts: The Politics of Cultural Heritage in the Indian Ocean World* was published with Palgrave in 2019.

In relation to the proceedings of the Cargo conference of October 2019, I am currently in the process of editing another volume, this time in co-operation with Julia Verne of Bonn, that is due to come out with Ohio University Press by the end of 2020. As far as the Muscat conference is concerned, the local organizers have published several contributions, including my own, online.

In order to convey something of the themes of the three conferences, the respective "Call for Papers / Thematic Outlines" are reproduced below in shortened versions:

"Travelling Pasts: The Politics of Cultural Heritage in the Indian Ocean World"



"Heritage," as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues, "produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past." This perspective nicely fits with one main aim of this conference, namely to bring historiographical studies on heritage into a fruitful dialogue with those studies that look at the (ab)uses of the past for contemporary life – in short, at the politics of heritage in contemporary societies. While heritage studies and conferences on heritage issues abound these days, justifiably reflecting the importance that heritage plays today, heritage in the Indian Ocean World is seldom addressed as such. Yet, looking at this macro-region will provide some specific insights. In the Indian Ocean world, with its long history of migrations and maritime exchanges, the pasts which people encounter, remember, imagine, glorify, celebrate, perform, politicize and commercialize (as in tourism), but sometimes also seek to forget and overcome, often have their origins and continuing roots elsewhere. These pasts, then, travelled not only through time but through space as well. They have travelled the seas and have (had) to be translated into, and adapted for, new geographical, socio-cultural, economic and political settings. On the one hand, then, the material and intangible manifestations of heritage which specific individuals, communities

and nations of the Indian Ocean world encounter in their daily lives or which they experience in special commemorative events are not their own; they explicitly belong to another neighbouring group, or they are colonial in origin, pointing to a past which one competes with, seeks to nostrify, or strives to forget. On the other hand, one's own cherished past, and material as well as ideational markers of it, do not stem from the place in which one lives now. In these cases, the past *is* not just a foreign country, to paraphrase a much-used saying, but it is *in* and has travelled *from* a foreign country.

"Cargoes: The Materiality of 'Connectivity in Motion' across the Indian Ocean"

While Appadurai emphasized more than three decades ago that things have a social life, others, especially adherents of the so-called Actor Network Theory, have not tired to argue in favour of the materiality of social life. No matter from which perspective one looks at the matter, it is obvious – especially in a maritime region such as the Indian Ocean that has been traversed for millennia now – that the history of human exchanges cannot be grasped fully without investigating the seminal role of cargoes and the materiality of connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean more deeply. It therefore seems time to "put things first." This thematic preference of material objects is less meant to question the deep entanglement of humans, ideas, and material objects (including living ones). We rather wish to unravel these interdependencies in thought-provoking and enlightening ways, this time by putting different approaches to materiality into the prime (though not sole) analytical and empirical focus of our presentations and discussions. While port cities, island hubs, or infections on the move were other such analytical foci on connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean in past conferences, this time our inquiries are guided by questions such as: What were/are the cargoes that were/are taken on board? From where to where? By whom? What translations did/do the functions, meaning and values of these cargoes undergo when moving from one place to another? How does the specific materiality of particular cargoes enable or constrain their mobility and exchange? And how did these things participate in, or were even imperative to, "connecting" and changing people travelling between, and dwelling in, different parts of the Indian Ocean world?

"Ports and Transports: Evolution and Revolution(s) in the Indian Ocean World," Muscat

This international symposium, jointly organized by RIO, Muscat, and ZIRS, Halle, focuses on the agents (ports) and means (trans-ports) of mobility across the Indian Ocean world. It is thus a contribution to the emergent field of mobility studies, with an empirical focus on the Indian Ocean world and on the maritime exchanges that have been going on there for more than five thousand years now. In doing so, three analytical, almost amphibious dimensions come into view: 1) the relation of land and sea trade and socio-cultural exchanges as seen from the land; 2) Indian Ocean exchanges of humans, animals as well as material and immaterial goods as seen from the sea; and 3) the infrastructure and inner life of maritime hubs. These three dimensions will be discussed in three panels with six contributions each. In a fourth panel special weight will be given to the enormous Corpus "Portugal in the Sea of Oman," with the first 17 volumes of transcribed and translated manuscripts fresh from the press and edited in Oman. This panel critically addresses the impact of European-induced colonialism in the Arabian Sea. A final panel, the fifth, extends this view of colonialism spatially, looking at other parts of the Indian Ocean world as well, and it will feature contributions that look at postcolonial nations and maritime exchanges today.

Conference participants, Muscat. (Photo: Michaela Jansen, 2019)

Individual Activities of Programme Members during 2017–2019

Burkhard Schnepel

Since the last report, I have continued my own empirical studies with two one-month periods of fieldwork in Oman in September–October 2017 and 2019, and a one-month field trip to Mauritius in February–March 2018. My visits to Oman were also designed to establish and deepen collaboration with the newly founded *Research Centre Indian Ocean* at the German University of Technology. Besides activities at the Centre itself, members of the Archaeology and Architecture Department of the University accompanied me on several field trips that were especially concerned with archaeological findings on the coasts of this ancient seafaring nation. During my field trip to Mauritius I completed my project on the politics of cultural heritage on this multi-ethnic and poly-religious island. Both research trips found their way into the activities mentioned above, as well as into some of the publications summarized below. Apart from organizing the conferences mentioned above, I took part in the congress organized by the European Network in Universal and Global History (ENIUGH) in Budapest in August 2018 and presented a paper in a panel organized by Chris Hann (Schnepel 2019b).

Programme-Relevant Publications

Edited Volumes

Schnepel, Burkhard and Edward A. Alpers (eds.). 2018. *Connectivity in motion: island hubs in the Indian Ocean world*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schnepel, Burkhard and Tansen Sen (eds.). 2019. *Travelling pasts: the politics of cultural heritage in the Indian Ocean world*. Leiden: Brill.

Schnepel, Burkhard and Julia Verne (eds.). forthcoming. *Cargoes: the materiality of connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

Schnepel, Burkhard. 2018a. Guests without a host: the Indian diaspora(s) in Mauritius. In: Elfriede Hermann and Antonie Fuhse (eds.). *India beyond India: dilemmas of belonging*. Göttingen: Göttinger Reihe zur Ethnologie, pp. 131–150.

—. 2018b. Introduction. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Edward A. Alpers (eds.). *Connectivity in motion: island hubs in the Indian Ocean world*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–31.

—. 2018c. The making of a hub society: Mauritius’ path from port of call to cyber island. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Edward A. Alpers (eds.). *Connectivity in motion: island hubs in the Indian Ocean world*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 231–259.

—. 2019a. Introduction. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Tansen Sen (eds.). *Travelling pasts: the politics of cultural heritage in the Indian Ocean world*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–18.

—. forthcoming. Cargoes: a thematic and methodological introduction. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Julia Verne (eds.). *Cargoes: the materiality of connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

—. forthcoming. Infections on the move: epidemic disease in Mauritius and beyond. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Julia Verne (eds.). *Cargoes: the materiality of connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Schnepel, Burkhard and Edward A. Alpers. 2018. Prologue. In: Burkhard Schnepel und Edward A. Alpers (eds.). *Connectivity in motion: island hubs in the Indian Ocean world*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. xvii–xxvi.

Journal Article

—. 2019b. Seaborne empires and hub societies: connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean world. *Comparativ* 28 (4): 71–92.

Mareike Pampus

As far as the doctoral project sponsored within this programme is concerned, Mareike Pampus, after her maternity leave, made significant progress in writing up her thesis, with submission expected by the end of 2020. Here is Mareike’s report in her own words:

> In 2017, I analysed the fieldwork data I had collected during the two previous years. I also created an outline and wrote the first drafts of the chapters for my doctoral thesis. The aim of my dissertation, titled “Manifestations of Maritime Connections: Penang in the Indian Ocean World,” is to provide a deeper understanding of how a port city – in this case, George Town, Penang, Malaysia – comes into being by focusing on ethno-histories and manifestations of maritime connections. At the same time, the study contributes to discussions of heritage-making and its recourse to the past and thus scrutinizes the processes *within* a port city that are caused by its interconnectedness. The empirical research results in an alternative narrative about performing, negotiat-

ing and expressing disparate identities in everyday life in a diverse port city. While previous studies emphasized the diaspora aspects of each of the many communities living in Penang, including Penang's *Peranakan*, my thesis argues that these strong locally rooted identities are primarily an outcome and manifestation of maritime connections and colonial encounters.

Teaching activities accompanied my writing. In February 2017, I was invited by Professor Schnepel's cooperation partner, Professor Tansen Sen, to be a guest lecturer at Baruch College, New York (USA). In a course on global history, I taught a seminar on "Ports, Foods, and Connectivities across the Indian Ocean." In the winter term of 2017/2018 I taught a BA course at the Seminar for Anthropology at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, entitled "Introduction to the Anthropology of Food" and consisting of fourteen sessions.

In 2017 to 2019, I presented papers at several international conferences and organized an inter-disciplinary panel in cooperation with historian Kathleen Burke. The opportunity to share some of my work with scholars from various backgrounds assisted me in improving my ideas and arguments. Thus, I developed and shaped my thesis chapters out of each presentation (especially chapters 3, 6, 7 and 8). Additionally, I turned the conference papers into my first two articles (see below). By October 2018, I had finished a draft manuscript of my doctoral thesis, which was followed by a period of maternity leave from November 2018 until July 2019. Since summer 2019, I have been reworking my dissertation manuscript with a view to submitting it in 2020.

Conference Presentations (Mareike Pampus)

- *From Cargo to Characteristic: Trade and Translation of Beads and Beadwork in Penang* (Conference: Cargoes: The Materiality of Connectivity in Motion Across the Indian Ocean. 3–5 October 2019, Berlin, Germany)
- *More than Colonial Leftover: Afternoon Tea and Other Mimetic Practices in Penang* (Conference: International Convention of Asian Scholars. 15–19 July 2019, Leiden, Netherlands). Panel organized in cooperation with historian Kathleen Burke, Toronto University. Panel title: "Transoceanic Food Connections: Historical and Anthropological Approaches."
- *Captains, Cooks and Curries: Maritime Connections in Penang's Nyonya Cuisine* (Conference: Shared Taste, 28–30 June 2018, Leiden, Netherlands)
- *Chicken Kapitan: The Manifestation of Connectivity in Nyonya Cooking* (AAS Conference: Panel: Food, Belonging and Identity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malaysia/Singapore. 22–25 March 2018, Washington, USA). Considered for

John A. Lent Prize, Association for Asian Studies (AAS), Malaysia / Singapore Studies Group (MSB).
- *Kapitan Cina: Middlemen in Colonial Ports* (Conference: Ports and Port Cities in Indian Ocean Connections, 21–23 August 2017, Shanghai, China).
- *Heritage Food: The Materialization of Connectivity in Nyonya Cooking* (Conference: Travelling Pasts: The Politics of Cultural Heritage in the Indian Ocean World, 17–19 May 2017, Halle, Germany).

Publications (Mareike Pampus)

Pampus, Mareike. 2019. Heritage food: the materialization of connectivity in Nyonya cooking. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Tansen Sen (eds.). *Travelling pasts: the politics of cultural heritage in the Indian Ocean world*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 195–218.

—. forthcoming. From cargo to 'inalienable possessions': beads and beadwork in Penang. In: Burkhard Schnepel and Julia Verne (eds.). *Cargoes: the materiality of connectivity in motion across the Indian Ocean*. Athens: Ohio University.

Programme-Relevant Activities outside the MPI

The Max Planck Fellowship programme is expressly designed to strengthen the links between the various Max Planck Institutes and their corresponding universities. As Professor at the Martin Luther University Halle Wittenberg, and co-founder and for many years head of the Institute for Social Anthropology there, as well as in respect of my functions as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (2010–2014) and member of the academic senate (2014), I have devoted a considerable amount of time to keeping the institutional links and communications between the two entities running smoothly, especially as far as the *Promotionsgeschehen* for Max Planck students has been concerned.

Scientifically, I have been able to use the possibilities offered by the Max Planck Fellow programme to establish "Indian Ocean Studies" in the university as well. This happened in both my Institute and the university's "Centre for Interdisciplinary Area Studies" (ZIRS), which I founded in 2008 and led until 2020. Here I should mention a major DFG-sponsored research project led by Iain Walker, earlier an active member of the Fellow Group on the Comoros, which among other publications led to the publication of his book *Islands in a Cosmopolitan Sea: A History of the Comoros* (London: Hurst, 2019). Other research projects were led by Katja Müller, Michael Hoffmann, Steven Serels and Hanne Schönig on India, Nepal, the Red Sea Area, and Oman. These projects were financed by the Thyssen Foundation, DFG, and DAAD. On top of this, Peter Kneitz received a prestigious "Global Fellowship" within the context of the Horizon 2020-Research Agenda of the European Com-

mission (Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions; MSCA) with a three-year project on Madagascar. I was also successful in nominating Gwyn Campbell for a Humboldt Prize in 2017. All this was made possible more or less directly through the work and good reputation of the fellowship programme.

One of the most time-consuming, but also most rewarding activities which arose more or less directly out of and contributed to the "Indian Ocean Studies" agenda of the Max Planck Fellowship programme was a successful application for and holding of three international summer schools on "The Indian Ocean World and Eurasian Connections." These summer schools, sponsored by the *Volkswagen Stiftung* and devised together with Tansen Sen of New York University's Shanghai Branch, took place in Halle in 2016 and 2017 (one week each) and in Shanghai in 2018 (two weeks). On each occasion 25 doctoral students working on doctoral theses on Indian Ocean topics attended. Some of these theses have since been submitted and successfully earned their authors their degrees.

In Halle itself two doctoral theses submitted by Boris Wille and Farhat Jahan on the Maldives and Bangladesh respectively were successfully defended in autumn 2019. Another thesis will be submitted in 2020 by Mareike Pampus, while that of Anu Krishna (who is a member of the ANARCHIE Graduate School, a joint programme of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology and the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) is expected to follow in 2021. Anu is supervised by me and is writing an ethnohistorical thesis on cardamom, one of the main cargoes of the Indian Ocean world. Finally, a Habilitation thesis engaging with Indian Ocean matters with a specific focus on heritage politics in India will be submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy by Katja Müller, my Research Assistant at the ZIRS, in May 2020.

Many thanks to everyone who made a very productive and exciting time as MPI Fellow possible.

Burkhard Schnepel, April 2020

Photo: Cornelia Schnepel

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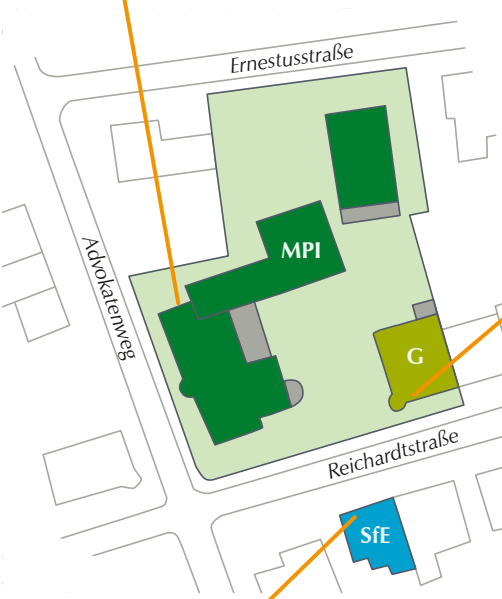
Location of the Institute

MPI – Max-Planck-Institut für ethnologische Forschung
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Advokatenweg 36
06114 Halle (Saale)
Germany



G – Guest House of the
MPI for Social Anthropology
Reichardtstraße 12

SfE – Seminar für Ethnologie
Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology
Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg
Reichardtstraße 11

ZIRS – Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Regionalstudien
Centre for Interdisciplinary Area Studies
Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg
Reichardtstraße 6

Photos: K. Magnucki / T. Meinicke

Doctoral dissertations defended (* = member of the IMPRS ANARCHIE)

2017

Miriam Franchina*: *Writing an Impartial History in the Republic of Letters: Paul Rapin Thoyras and his Histoire d'Angleterre (1724–27)*

2018

Giuseppe Tateo*: *Under the Sign of the Cross: The Politics of Re-Consecration in Postsocialist Bucharest*

Fan Zhang: *Warlord, Emperor and Manjusri: Qing's Cosmopolitics, Tibetan Subjectivity and Power Translation in the Late Eighteenth Century*

2019

Daniela Ana*: *"Produced and Bottled in Moldova": Winemaking in Flexible Capitalism*

Simon Bellmann*: *Politische Theologie im frühen Judentum am Beispiel der Estherbücher*

Anne-Erita Berta: *Entrepreneurs Against the Market: Morality, Hard Work, and Capitalism in Aarhusian Independent Businesses*

Tim Felix Grünewald*: *Rituale im Kontext jung- und spätneolithischer Grabenwerke im westlichen Mitteleuropa und Südskandinavien*

Jan-Henrik Hartung*: *Innenräume griechischer Tempel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit (700–325 v. Chr.)*

Laura Hornig: *On Money and Mettā: Economy and Morality in Urban Buddhist Myanmar*

Kristina Jonutytė: *Beyond Reciprocity: Giving and Belonging in the Post-Soviet Buddhist Revival in Ulan-Ude (Buryatia)*

Elisa Kohl-Garrity*: *The Weight of Respect: Khündlekh Yos – Frames of Reference, Governmental Agendas and Ethical Formations in Modern Mongolia*

Annabell Körner*: *"Child in Every Family!" – Family Planning, Infertility and Assisted Reproduction in Tbilisi, Georgia*

Anja Lochner-Rechta*: *Symbolmacht – Symbolkraft. Der keltische Early Style und seine kultisch-rituelle und identitätsstiftende Bedeutung am Beispiel des "Zweiblatt-Motivs"*

Juana Maria Olives Pons*: *Social Norms as a Strategy of Regulation of Reproduction among Hunter-Fisher-Gatherer Societies*

Daria Tereshina: *Managing Firms and Families: Small Businesses in the Russian Province at the Time of Flexible Accumulation*

Hendrik Tieke*: *Methodenprobleme der Sozialgeschichte: Deutschland 1870–1933 – eine Gesellschaft sozialer Klassen?*

Juliane Tomesch*: *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Elementen in der Sepulkralkultur Roms und Italiens vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr.*

Hoài Trần*: *"Doing Culture" for a "Living Cultural Heritage": Politics, Performances, and Representations of the "Space of Gong Culture" in the Central Highlands of Vietnam*

KEY TO MAP OVERLEAF:

● Fieldwork site (anthropology)

■ Archaeological and historical projects of the IMPRS ANARCHIE

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