



MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

**Max Planck Institute  
for Social Anthropology**

**Department 'Resilience and  
Transformation in Eurasia'**

**Resilience and  
Transformation in  
Eurasia, 1999–2014**

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology  
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1999–2014**

Edited by Jennifer Cash

Halle/Saale  
2014



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## Preface

Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia is one of the three departments which make up the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (MPI) in Halle/Saale. This Report provides a comprehensive outline of the Department's current activities. The main components (Parts I, II, and IV) are culled from the Institute's biennial Report for 2012–2013. Part III looks ahead to the new research initiatives of 2014.

Chris Hann's Introduction (Part I) gives a general outline of the Department's 'philosophy of anthropology', with particular reference to the concept of Eurasia. In Part II, the Heads of the Department's five Research Groups outline the scope and activities of their Group. This is augmented in each case with a select bibliography that lists the most relevant publications of past and present group members, including works still in preparation. Readers are encouraged to peruse the more extensive bibliographies in the biennial Reports and on the individual web pages of Institute members.

In Part III, Chris Hann, Christoph Brumann, and Mikołaj Szoltysek outline the major research projects to begin in 2014. Hann's project *Realising Eurasia: Moral Economy and Civilisational Pluralism in the Twenty-First Century* (REALEURASIA) is financed by an Advanced Grant from the European Research Council. It is planned that the initiatives of Brumann on *Buddhist Temple Economies in Urban Asia* and of Szoltysek on *Patriarchy and Familism in Time and Space* will be augmented through external funding in due course.

Part IV is the first report of the International Max Planck Research School launched in 2012 to investigate *The ANthropology, ARChaeology and HIStory of Eurasia* (ANARCHIE). It has been prepared by Daria Sambuk, the School's long-term coordinator.

Finally, the Appendices provide listings of all the Research Groups and individual projects undertaken in the Department since its establishment, together with workshops and conferences, the major departmental book series, and the annual Goody Lecture. Further details concerning all Departmental and Institute activities can be found at: [www.eth.mpg.de](http://www.eth.mpg.de).

My task in compiling this publication was a pleasant one. The texts from the biennial Report had been honed previously by Bettina Mann and the Report's Editorial Board. Anke Meyer and Berit Westwood in the Departmental office facilitated the collection of old and new materials; Kristin Magnucki designed the cover and the maps overleaf and on page 58; Jutta Turner was responsible for the more conventional representation of Eurasia on page 63; and Konstanze Eckert undertook the work of formatting the bibliographies and the lay-out.

*Jennifer Cash*

Halle/Saale, February 2014



## **Part I**

# **Introduction**



**Highlights (2012–2013)****• May 2012**

The 2012 Goody Lecture was given by Peter Burke: *A Case of Cultural Hybridity: The European Renaissance*.

**• June 2012**

Chris Hann and David Wengrow presented the foundations of their cooperation in the analysis of civilisation(s) at a conference in London organised jointly by University College London and the Max Planck Society (*Research Collaboration in the European Union*). This was followed by an interdisciplinary conference in Halle, convened by Hann and Johann P. Arnason.

**• September 2012**

A Research Group was launched in economic anthropology, *Industry and Inequality in Eurasia*, led by Hann, Catherine Alexander, and Jonathan Parry.

**• October 2012**

A new International Max Planck Research School ANARCHIE (ANthropology, ARChaeology and HIsTory of Eurasia) was inaugurated in partnership with archaeologists and historians of the Martin Luther University.

**• April 2013**

An international workshop, *The Transformation of Public Markets in Contemporary Vietnam*, was organised in Hanoi by the Minerva Research Group led by Kirsten Endres, in cooperation with the Institute of Anthropology of the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences.

**• June 2013**

Gonçalo Santos and Stevan Harrell convened a large international conference, *Is Chinese Patriarchy over? The decline and transformation of a system of social support*.

**• July 2013**

The 2013 Goody Lecture was delivered by Martha Mundy: *The Solace of the Past in the Unspeakable Present: the historical anthropology of the 'Near East'*.

**• October 2013**

Christoph Brumann was elected as a member of the Academia Europaea.

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## **Hierarchies of Knowledge and the Gold Standard for Anthropology in Eurasia**

*Chris Hann*

The primary purpose of this publication is to report on the years 2012–2013 for the April 2014 meeting of the Institute’s Advisory Board. However, the expanded character of the forthcoming meeting provides an opportunity to look back and reflect on the long-term programme since our establishment in 1999. The first Focus Group, “Property Relations” completed its work in 2005. Our second such Group “Religion, Identity, Postsocialism” published a final report in 2010. Progress reports on four current Groups, plus Kirsten Endres’s Minerva Group, which enjoys a special status, are presented below. In this introduction, I shall outline the framework which holds these Groups together. I begin with the name of the Department.

Resilience and transformation form a pair: in our approach to social change, the one presupposes the other. Our very first Focus Groups provided graphic illustrations of this interdependence. The collapse of Soviet socialism in the years 1989–1993 was undoubtedly a rupture, one that brought sudden changes to the lives of hundreds of millions of people. We explored these transformations in fields largely neglected by other scholars. Agricultural collectivisation was a hallmark of most socialist states (not all), and the process of its reversal through privatisation was in many ways exemplary of the chaotic conditions of the first postsocialist decade. Yet within collective farms, which had been for the most part coercively imposed, with little regard to local specificities, anthropologists have long been aware of the persistence of the older values and habits of rural communities. Comparable continuities are evident in the realm of religion, which we began to investigate with a new programme in 2003. Repression in the name of scientific atheism was nowhere completely successful. The patterns we observe in the postsocialist decades are by no means a straightforward revival of the presocialist religious communities. They are the product of successive ruptures and multiple strands of continuity. All of these projects on postsocialist property relations and religion have been based on intensive field research and contributed to the social science analysis of our moment in world history.

Memories of socialism continue to shape the lives of many of the people we study. Younger generations have no direct memories; but we have found that socialist ideas and practices have a resilience of their own, albeit different from that of other faith communities. Our interest in transformation was never confined to the former USSR and its allies in Eastern Europe. From the beginning we have also had projects in China, where momentous changes have taken place in a framework which remains at least nominally socialist and indebted to a European revolutionary tradition. We have recently initiated new projects in states which have never embraced any form of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in South Asia and elsewhere. This expansion of

scope is a natural development of our fundamental commitment to comparison. It also reflects the obvious fact that the term ‘postsocialist’ (which we never promoted as a theoretical tool) is of dwindling relevance as the decades pass.

Logically, comparisons can be extended worldwide and across all historical periods. However, in practice we have largely confined our work so far to recent centuries and to Eurasia. This last term is sometimes still a source of confusion so let me clarify its usage in this Department, which has not changed over the years. Eurasia is the Old World, the landmass between the North Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, including the southern shore of the Mediterranean and the large islands of Britain and Japan. The evolution of civilisations across this landmass since the urban revolutions of the late Bronze Age exhibits a substantial degree of unity. We thus reject the idea that Europe warrants the designation *continent*, an equivalent of Asia. Europe has been a remarkably productive region of the world over many centuries, but so too has China; given the extraordinary diversity of Asia, it seems appropriate to break it down into smaller units for comparative purposes. This is important because so much theory in the social sciences has been based on the experiences of Europe in recent centuries. Contemporary postcolonial theories derive largely from the expansion of North Atlantic power to all parts of the globe. In this sense, these theories represent the resilience of the scholarship of Western European exceptionalism rather than a shift of paradigm. However, imperial expansion also took place in somewhat different time frames contiguously, within the Eurasian landmass. Tracing these other variants of empire is central to the research programme of Dittmar Schorkowitz, who reports below on his comparisons of ‘ethnic minority management’ policies in the Russian and Chinese Empires and elsewhere. Together with the International Max Planck Research School ANARCHIE, also introduced below, the Focus Group led by Schorkowitz, “Historical Anthropology”, demonstrates our commitment to rebuilding close links with historians, historical sociologists and archaeologists – links which atrophied in the twentieth century, when many socio-cultural anthropologists came to define their discipline too narrowly with reference to the methodology of fieldwork.

Some of the most influential traditions in anthropology have been shaped decisively by the centuries of Western expansion overseas. Ethnographers concentrated on ‘peoples without history’, i.e. societies lacking any written records of their past. When anthropologists in the second half of the twentieth century again began to pay more attention to societies in Eurasia possessing their own textual traditions, they had to adapt their theories and methods. Foreign researchers still tended to seek out ‘the other’ in remote places (and there was no shortage of aboriginal, non-literate peoples in Eurasia), but they could hardly ignore the ‘local’ traditions of scholarship, including work of obvious pertinence to anthropological endeavours. It would be myopic to pretend that these scholarly relations can become perfectly egalitarian, or that the dominance of English as a lingua franca now provides for a ‘level playing field’ across Eurasia. But it is both scientifically fruitful and ethically imperative

to open up more conversations with scholarly communities in the countries where we carry out research, regardless of whether these communities identify with a discipline called ‘anthropology’. Sometimes in the frame of formal agreements but more often in very informal ways, such as inviting key partners to sojourn in Halle, our aim is to contribute to the emergence of more cosmopolitan anthropological communities throughout Eurasia. In this way, Eurasia provides us with more than an alternative lens through which to understand world history. It pushes us to adopt a critical perspective on the history of anthropology, and to work hard to overcome the problem of “hierarchies of knowledge”, to borrow a phrase used by Michał Buchowski in criticising some Western anthropological writing about Eastern Europe.

Of course, agendas and research conditions may be very different. In some countries, scholars encounter restrictions in publishing their work. In these cases, too, we seek to improve collegial relations. Differences should be respected, on the basis of maximal transparency of communication. In the past, encounters between socio-cultural anthropology and Western social thought have been fruitful. For example, I have found it useful to draw on the Central Europeans Karl Polanyi and Friedrich Hayek in analysing the dilemmas of global capitalism. But it is possible that new intellectual encounters will be more productive in the future. If such dialogues are to continue to serve a useful purpose, their results must be communicable to scholars at home in other textual traditions. If the Anglophone literature on Eurasian post-socialism becomes mired in the quicksand of postcoloniality jargon, this cannot be healthy for the development of the anthropological field.

### **Five Hallmarks**

Collegiality and clear communication at every stage of the research process are thus prerequisites. Whether our interlocutors are subsistence-oriented farmers, factory workers, or urbane intellectuals, competence in local languages is the indispensable key to understanding other views of the world. The reinvigoration of historical research will not displace fieldwork as a hallmark of our projects. Many will involve combinations of ethnographic and archival data. We intend to do more than we have managed in the past to make raw data available for the benefit of wider communities.

If field research is one enduring feature of our work, a hallmark of equal significance from the very beginning has been comparison. Instead of the blunt contrasting of ‘the other’ with ‘us’ (which for far too long meant an arrogant ‘us, enlightened Western Europeans’), directing attention to Eurasia obliges us to rediscover comparison, rather than contrast, as the prime epistemological foundation of a mature, cosmopolitan anthropology. Comparison begins with the understanding (or translation) of other societies; the enquiry is not left at this level, but must proceed to systematic investigation at multiple levels of analysis.

One such level is the civilisational. If we are interested in the larger patterns of human history, whether in Eurasia or anywhere else in the world, we need concepts

to facilitate macro-analysis. This level faded from view with the emphasis on ethnographic research in the last century. The troubled past of the concept of civilisation is well known. Imperial powers have all too often invoked notions of a ‘civilising mission’ to justify their oppression of subject peoples. For this reason, we have proceeded very cautiously over the past several years. Following a workshop in 2010 and a larger meeting in Halle in 2012, both organised with the leading sociological exponent of civilisational analysis, Johann Arnason, we have established a solid foundation on which to build. This is the Maussian view of civilisation as a “family of societies”. Like Arnason, we are particularly interested in inter-civilisational encounters, both past and present. We focus on a wide range of variables through which differences are expressed and less powerful groups are kept under control.

One dimension to be addressed in our analyses of civilisational encounters is the rhetorical invocation of civilisation to legitimate domination. More generally, we explore ideologies and their origins and underpinnings in diverse domains, from



*In March-April 2013, Chris Hann visited two of his PhD students during their fieldwork in remote parts of China. Together with Ildikó Bellér-Hann, he also spent several weeks at their long-term field site in eastern Xinjiang. He is pictured here (centre, in blue shirt) crossing the bridge to Vietnam at Lao Cai, on his way to participate in a Hanoi Workshop organised jointly by Kirsten Endres and her partners at the Institute of Ethnology of the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences (see her report below). This border crossing is used primarily by petty traders, whose strategies and moral economy are investigated in Endres' individual research project. The Chinese text on the large poster reads: Strengthen the Border, Solidify Defence, Safeguard Security, Good Neighbourly Relations and Friendship, Advance Development. (Photo: K. Endres, 2013)*

secular political doctrines to religious symbols and myths of origin. The concept of ideology is to be understood broadly. It is not restricted to the state power, or to such well-known ideologies as socialism and (neoliberal) capitalism. We have devoted a lot of attention to these two very influential ideologies and we continue to do so in the new “Industry and Inequality in Eurasia” Research Group, which is introduced below. The term ideology can, however, be applied in other contexts, for example to the religious ideologies which we investigated between 2003 and 2010. Christoph Brumann is currently examining UNESCO’s cultural heritage ideology. In my own continuing work in rural Eastern Europe I have shown how a diffuse ideology of private property in land has an elective affinity with nationalist ideology; this combination proved highly resilient and re-emerged strongly following the demise of socialist collectivisation.

Ideologies depend for their efficacy not only on the actors who adopt and transmit them but also on their institutions. This is the final cornerstone of the edifice I wish to present in this brief introduction. Institutional research in anthropology can take many forms. In the “Economy and Ritual” Research Group, which completed its work in 2012, Stephen Gudeman and I, together with our six postdocs, investigated the institutions of the domestic domain in the context of ritual. In doing so, we opened up large fields of economic activity which remain largely invisible to mainstream economists. The domestic domain is also central to our work on social support in East Asia. By contrast, Dittmar Schorkowitz and his Group draw on archival data to reconstruct the functioning of institutions at quite different levels, such as the agencies through which the Chinese state controlled the non-Chinese populations it encountered in the course of imperial expansion. Kirsten Endres and her Minerva Group researchers illuminate the inchoate institutions of the informal economy and its imperfect regulation by the Vietnamese state in the era of socialist market economy. Christoph Brumann does fieldwork on cultural heritage at the highest institutional levels of UNESCO, but he and his students also document the implementation of these policies, and occasional resistance to them, ‘on the ground’, where the focus shifts to the local institutions.

### **Conclusion: the gold standard**

The Department is committed to a dynamic research programme based on innovative themes and implemented in changing regional clusters throughout Eurasia. It has extended its coverage in space to include regions outside the former Soviet bloc, both single-party states which continue to espouse socialism and others that were never socialist. It has also expanded its coverage in time. Historical anthropology, along with economic anthropology, will remain central to our work in years to come. Our interests in the past and present of Eurasia reflect our passionate interest in its future. Anthropology as we practise the discipline is the very opposite of an *Orchideenfach*, the antiquarian pursuit of the exotic. In my own recent work I have

suggested that Eurasia stands today at a crossroads. It needs to choose between the socio-economic models of Karl Polanyi and Friedrich Hayek. The vision of the former has the stronger grounding in the history of Eurasia. The institutions of a Eurasia united politically and monetarily would necessarily be very different from those we observe in Beijing and Brussels today. Anthropologists can help to prepare the ground for an historic unification, as the prelude to forging a genuine world society. The focus on Eurasia as an unusually ambitious variant of 'area studies' will then realise its universal significance.

*Fieldwork, comparison, civilisation, ideology, institution:* the features I have outlined above (with the exception of civilisation, which still needs to be brought in from the cold) are the familiar gold standard of social anthropology. This standard has been contested in recent decades. Critical scrutiny of past ethnographic writing and the exposure of political and other forms of bias in many classical works have been salutary; but it is now time to move forward and to re-engage both with the world that is out there today and with the big questions of world history.

This is an apt moment in history to play with monetary metaphors. The gold standard that regulated global finance until 1931 disguised the entrenched domination of the West, notably Britain. Attempts to maintain this standard in the 1920s had highly regressive consequences for income distribution. The analogy to today's global crisis is obvious: policies of deflation and 'austerity' are again lowering real wages and employment in many parts of Europe. Unstinting loyalty to the euro may not be the best way forward.

By a further analogy, it is healthy if anthropologists continue to question their received standard and strive to reach agreement on a disciplinary core that does not entrench the old hierarchies of knowledge. Dialogue and debate are essential. In our case, communication takes place within the Department at our weekly seminar. Group leaders devise their projects independently. We tolerate a lot of theoretical diversity at the level of individual projects. On the basis of this internal pluralism within a social anthropological frame, we seek to join conversations with other strands of anthropology, irrespective of their labels, and with an array of adjacent disciplines. Ultimately, we reflect on how our own scholarly traditions fit into the civilisational pluralism of Eurasia and into world history. We think that this stance is the best way to expand knowledge in the anthropological field. If we can accomplish this within Eurasia, we shall be better placed to pursue more symmetrical forms of knowledge production for the whole of humanity.

## **Part II**

# **Current Research Groups**





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## **Kinship and Social Support in China and Vietnam**

*Head of Focus Group: Chris Hann*

*Senior researchers: Meixuan Chen, Xiaoqian Liu (from 2014), Minh Nguyen, Gonçalo Santos, Roberta Zavoretti*

*Associates: Ildikó Bellér-Hann, Markus Schlecker, Xiujie Wu*

*Doctoral students: Saheira Haliel, Sarah Schefold, Ruijing Wang*

### **Introduction**

This Group was launched in 2006. The themes were selected to fit in with the expertise available at the time in the Project Group “Legal Pluralism” and also to build on the experience gathered in the EU Project entitled “Kinship and Social Security in Europe”, coordinated by Dr. Patrick Heady, which ran between 2004 and 2007. The application of these approaches to the largest socialist states of East Asia entailed the recruitment of new researchers for both China and Vietnam, primarily at the postdoctoral level. Individual projects have been both rural and urban, located in both central and peripheral locations, engaging with both ethnic minorities and majority groups. While the evolving political economy of ‘reform socialism’ provides the basic context for this Focus Group, our projects dig deep into beliefs, practices, and realms of contemporary social history where economic models are insufficient for understanding.

### **Socialism, Markets, and Social Support**

Since the radical reform of their economic mechanisms more than a generation ago, China and Vietnam have recorded remarkable rates of growth. Urbanisation and industrialisation have proceeded apace. Although much decision-taking power has been decentralised to enterprise managers, state officials retain control in key sectors such as energy and banking. Privatisation has not been pushed through as comprehensively as in countries of the former Soviet bloc and agricultural land remains overwhelmingly in the hands of those who cultivate it. Blanket diagnoses of ‘accumulation through dispossession’ are therefore misplaced.

The Head of this Group has been fascinated by the affinities to the ‘market socialism’ pursued in the Soviet bloc by Hungary after the reforms of 1968. These experiments, like the somewhat different mechanisms institutionalised in socialist Yugoslavia, were ended abruptly around 1990 as the entire region was integrated into neoliberal capitalism. Although both China and Vietnam have been drawn into global flows of people and capital, the fact that a great deal of economic as well as political power is still exercised by the Communist Party suggests that they represent something other than another variety of capitalism. It can also be argued that these

states continue to represent the most significant *alternative* to democratic market capitalism. Their performance since the introduction of the reforms compares favourably with that of rivals, such as India. Even if growth rates have slowed significantly of late, they have defied the predictions of Western experts for decades. It is only a matter of time before China overtakes the USA as the world's largest economy. Performance is also impressive in terms of living standards: indicators for education, health, and longevity all tell essentially the same positive story.

Yet this success is not unsullied. It has been accompanied by severe challenges as hundreds of millions of villagers find new jobs and ways of living in the urban sector. Minh Nguyen has investigated these processes in the case of the Vietnamese capital, Hanoi. She and her colleagues working in China have documented many new forms of social inequality within both urban and rural sectors, as well as a widening gulf between them. This is consistent with the critique of those who allege that the original socialist transformatory vision of Mao Tse Tung and Ho Chi Minh has long given way to corrupt oligarchic rule. For many Western observers, these countries exhibit an endemic lack of transparency which can only be overcome through political democratisation.

This is the context in which the Group investigates social support. Rapid economic growth has been accompanied by institutional changes in many domains, including the domestic. The first decades of socialism had already transformed a great deal. Both in the countryside through cooperatives, brigades, and later the people's communes, and in the cities through the work-unit, collectives took over many of the responsibilities previously assumed by family and kin. The Maoist state took symbolic charge of social support when it issued its famous "five guarantees": food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and funerals. This commitment has little salience in today's market socialist society, because the prime responsibility is clearly back where it had been previously: with kin. But which kin exactly? Do daughters nowadays have the same rights and duties as sons? How do changing economic conditions affect intergenerational flows of goods and services and the inheritance of property?

It is common to use the language of economics when answering these questions, e.g. when we say that parents 'invest' in their offspring by supporting their educational expenses as well as through nurture more generally. The market principle can apply directly nowadays, e.g. when those who can afford to do so pay cash for care services, whether in the home or in an institution. However, the majority of actions pertinent to social support, as we understand the term, cannot be reduced to a commercial, profit-maximising logic, nor to a logic of evolutionary fitness. More complex accounts are needed.

From the beginning, this Group has thus looked to expand its comparisons beyond socialist East Asia and to engage with theoretical issues concerning basic concepts such as support, care, and the self or person. The zigzag path from traditional agrarian society through Maoism to reform socialism contrasts markedly with the gradualist expansion of state capacities in most parts of Europe, and also with the

patterns of capitalist countries in East Asia such as Japan and South Korea. The individualisation noted by recent scholars (notably Yunxiang Yan) suggests that China's current trajectory has come to resemble that pioneered elsewhere. Yet many factors remain distinctive. In spite of the wealth now generated by Chinese industry, wages and consumption remain relatively low (much of the surplus continues to flow into the purchase of Western debt). China is only just beginning to develop health and pension entitlements comparable to those pioneered in Europe in the nineteenth century. The age structure of the population has changed dramatically as a result of the one-child policy. Finally, restrictions on charitable organisations and the absence of religious freedoms are factors with significant implications for the provision of support.

A first conference to explore these issues theoretically and comparatively was convened in Halle in 2008 by two postdoctoral researchers of the first cohort, Friederike Fleischer and Markus Schlecker. A selection of the papers was published in 2013 by Palgrave under the title *Ethnographies of Social Support*. Markus Schlecker theorises the concept of "support encounter" in his introduction to the volume and deploys it in his own empirical chapter with reference to memories of the Vietnamese wars and notions of sacrifice. Friederike Fleischer draws on her data from Guangzhou to show how new spaces are opening up in Chinese civil society, in which especially young people seek to realise new visions of society while concomitantly transforming themselves into 'modern' citizens. In both countries, overlapping and at times contradictory ideologies of personhood and sociality turn the social sector into a complicated arena for the negotiation of personal aspirations, social expectations, and kin obligations.





*New life in town, happier with grandson? Shihezi, Xinjiang. (Photo: S. Haliel, 2013)*

### **Is Chinese Patriarchy Over?**

One key synthesising concept in the anthropological literature on China is that of patriarchy. It is a term which has also been deployed in socialist ideology and policy making. To overcome the distortions of ‘feudal patriarchal society’ was central to the goals of the Chinese Communist Party, which signalled its intentions in the Marriage Law of 1950. Yet in spite of the legislation and the creation of new institutions, gender and generational relations proved stubbornly resistant to socialist transformation. As in other socialist countries, participation in the labour force did not mean that women were freed from bearing a disproportionate share of domestic labour, including care work, but it did mean the implementation of policies (for example, in terms of provision of childcare support) aimed at allowing women to cope more easily with the dual burden of employment and family life. The end of Maoism threatened to reinforce existing inequalities, as well as to bring about the restoration of certain older patterns. For example, it was widely predicted that confirming the rural household as the key unit of production and consumption would strengthen patriarchal bias; and a bias in favour of sons has been vividly and notoriously demonstrated since the introduction of strict birth control policies in both rural and urban sectors. At the same time, the increased spatial and economic

mobility of the reform period has given the younger generations a higher degree of autonomy. Joint family arrangements remain common, but the middle generation often has more say than the senior generation in family matters. Gender relations were also significantly transformed, as women seem to have improved their earning power, but the evidence in this respect remains mixed. When it comes to educational investments, the previous work of this Focus Group has shown that discrimination against daughters has declined; in poor rural communities, parents want both sons and daughters to escape from the land, and tend to see daughters as the more reliable providers of long-term parental care, and especially emotional support (see the summary of Helena Obendiek's doctoral project in Gansu Province, in the MPI Report for 2010–2011).

In order to explore recent empirical trends further and to reassess the theoretical utility of the concept of patriarchy, an international workshop was convened by Gonçalo Santos in June 2013 together with Stevan Harrell (University of Washington) entitled: *Is Chinese Patriarchy over? The decline and transformation of a system of social support*. Fifteen pre-circulated papers were intensively debated over three days. Participants included sociologists and historians, who helped to place the ethnographic evidence of the anthropologists (including past and present members of the MPI) in wider spatial and temporal frames. The invited discussants included distinguished specialists in other regions of Eurasia, who opened up new, sometimes surprising avenues of comparison (e.g. with the Mediterranean). The workshop was launched by a keynote lecture by Rubie Watson (Harvard University), who reviewed the ways in which the concept of patriarchy has been employed among Chinese reformers and social scientists for generations.

The starting point of the workshop – as outlined by its organisers – was the idea that social scientists ever since Engels have characterised China as a 'patriarchal society', in the sense that power is exercised by senior males over women and younger generations through control of productive property, and through an officially sponsored ideology of filial obedience and devotion. The title of the workshop, *Is Chinese Patriarchy over?*, was intended as a provocation as much as an invitation to think about the dramatic changes that have occurred in family and gender relations in the last five to six decades. As expected, most papers presented at the conference pointed in the direction of a reconfiguration rather than a collapse of patriarchal structures. And yet, while most paper-givers agreed that present-day patriarchal formations are very different from those associated with the period before the Communist era, there were no clear-cut agreements over the general direction of this historical transformation, in part because there were significant theoretical differences in the usage of the concept of 'patriarchy', in part because the transformation in question displays great diversity along axes such as urban/rural, Northern/Southern, and coastal/interior. To illustrate this diversity, the papers presented at the conference focused on themes as different as premarital sexuality and pregnancy, patterns of post-marital residence, intergenerational power relations within the family, son

preference and birth planning, strategies of educational investment, management of family earnings, childbirth and motherhood, childcare practices, deviant regimes of sex and gender, and models of masculinity. The final session of the workshop saw a radical questioning of the value of patriarchy for comparative anthropological analysis, but most if not all participants agreed that it continued to provide an illuminating lens through which to look at contemporary Chinese society. Stevan Harrell and Gonçalo Santos are currently compiling a selection of the papers for an edited volume, which they intend to introduce with the outline of a new theoretical approach to family and gender relations in China and elsewhere.

**Workshop: *Beyond the Global Care Chain Approach. Boundaries, institutions, and ethics of care* (10 – 12 July, 2014)**

This Workshop will be convened by Minh Nguyen and Roberta Zavoretti at the Max Planck Institute. The aim is to subject key concepts of the Focus Group, notably ‘care’, to theoretical critique in the light of ethnographic studies covering many other parts of the world, complementing the work that Group members will present concerning China and Vietnam. The call for papers, posted in June 2013, specified the following provisional themes:

- Boundaries – the ways in which care practices push, and/or reproduce common analytical boundaries such as private/public, individual/society, gender/sexuality;
- Institutions – the changing relationship between the market, the state and the ‘third sector’ including non-governmental and religious institutions, and its implications for care practices and relations;
- Health and body – how care practices produce, challenge, and/or subvert conceptions of health/body and the relationship between human body and society;
- Technologies of care – technologies for the production of subjectivities, including those of nurturing and disciplining, that are part of care;
- Ethics of care – power relations underlying the politics of care needs and inequalities in care provision, moral issues in the often unequal relations of care, and the division of caring burdens in the household and society.

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## Historical Anthropology

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## Ethnic Minorities and the State in Eurasia

In 2012 and 2013, this Focus Group continued its project “Ethnic Minorities and the State in Eurasia”, which explores the forms, practices, and structures of interdependencies, dominance, and resistance in various parts of Southeast Asia, China, and Russia. This multi-sited approach provides ample opportunities for comparing different forms of colonialism (continental, internal, and overseas) in time and space, including cross-epochal legacies as well as synchronous interferences and influence. For a better understanding of contemporary state-minority dynamics it is important to know how the shifting formats of colonialism resulted in differing modes of integration and to what extent these variables depend on factors of *longue durée* in society, nature, and history. Notwithstanding the huge diversity of forms and transformation processes involved, there is consistency and common ground in the group in that all projects are positioned within the framework of or related to imperial formations (either large ones as in the case of China and Russia or in miniature as in the case of Laos), of multi-national states or multi-cultural societies.

## Research Results and Achievements

Imperial formations in Eurasia have developed lasting strategies to integrate cultural diversity resulting from the immense variety of ethnic minorities they have absorbed in the course of their expansion. While in pre-modern empires (Byzantine, Mongol, Muscovy, Ottoman, Mughal) ‘difference’ was still the prevalent mode of integration, this pattern changed radically with the ‘well-ordered’ state and the final stages of continental colonialism when ‘belonging’ and ‘sameness’ became the dominant mode leading to ideologies of nostrification, homogenisation, and unification. Since then, some empires (Ottoman, Habsburg) have transformed into nation-states, while some large (Russia, China) and smaller formations (Laos) are still struggling to find ‘unity in diversity’.

Though integration strategies vary in time according to their historical background, their ends remain almost the same as the obvious timeless challenge: to maintain cross-epochal cohesiveness in a multi-national state *and* to guarantee certain rights of national self-determination. In the case of Russia, the urge to have 18th-century enlightened scholars from Western Europe take stock of the empire’s riches, peoples,

and languages led to an assiduous counting and classification paving the way for a *mission civilisatrice* and the modern nationalities question.

In Ming-Qing China, on the other hand, a surprisingly lesser interest in defining ethnic groups (other than Han) can be observed. Here we can see a robust tradition of clustering them under ethnocentric stereotypes instead (Fan, Meng, Hui, etc.) and the belief that Confucianism is instrumental to promote the ‘barbarians’ from a lower ‘raw’ to a higher ‘cooked’ status. Both empires, however, invented and developed, independently of one another, central institutions needed even today to structure ethnic-cultural diversity, to govern the civilisational frontier, and to implement various strategies of integration for the sake of imperial cohesion.

Quintessentially for continental colonialism and in contrast to corresponding agencies of overseas colonial powers, these institutions were never officially called or recognised as ‘colonial offices’. This also holds true for Southeast Asia where traces of French overseas and pre-modern internal colonialism still play an influential role today. What these formations (Russia, China, Laos) do have in common is a shift from ‘indirect’ to ‘direct’ rule, in the latter case stimulated by French colonialism. Territorial contiguity of both the Russian and Chinese empires with their Central and Inner Asian peripheries can thus hardly be used as a counter-argument against classifying their rule as colonial and contrasting their continental formations with overseas variations.

### **Why Some Institutions Do Not Die**

Colonial continuities as petrified in institutional structures, cross-epochal habitus, and transformed ideologies are key issues in a comparative research project on governmental agencies in Qing China and Russia by Chia Ning, Heuschert-Laage, and Schorkowitz. Focussing on the role of the *Lifanyuan* (Court for the Regulations of the Frontier) colonial administration, Heuschert-Laage, in her source-based research project, explores Mongolia-related Qing integration strategies and analyses the impact of these processes on Mongolian societies. Having once been a powerful player in Eurasia, the Mongols underwent many changes and were, by the end of the Qing Dynasty (1912), in a state reminiscent of that of colonised peoples in other parts of the world. To explain the changing modes of their integration into an administrative system with the emperor at the top, Heuschert-Laage investigates the political techniques of patronage with their formalised language and expressions of courtesy. She shows that the Qing, by re-interpreting the obligations of gift exchange, transformed the network of personal relationships with Mongolian leaders into a system with clearly defined rules to the effect that, during the late Qing, the façade of a patronage-clientele relationship was maintained in order to legitimise increasingly unequal power relations. Whereas techniques of patronage were developed long before the Qing came to power, it was the *Lifanyuan* which now monitored and modified its performance: the emphasis in gift exchange shifted

from recording what was *received* to recording what was *given*, thus stressing the kindness and generosity of the emperor and relegating the Mongols to a subordinate role at the Inner Asian frontier.

Similar shifts towards inequalities in power relations and direct rule are documented in the changing concepts of territory, especially when land rights and the use of nomadic pastures became challenged by in-migrating Chinese farmers, and with regard to the legal sphere, in which controversies over jurisdictional competence played an important role in re-defining Manchu-Mongolian relationships (see her *MPI Working Paper No. 138*). What becomes evident from this analysis is, first, the change from a multi-jurisdictional legal order towards greater coherence and consistency. Like the changing formats in gift exchange and patronage, this drift towards incorporating the Mongols into the Qing Chinese legal system corresponds to the general trend towards formalisation and assimilation in other parts of Mongolian and Inner Asian cultures. Secondly, the formation of the *Lifanyuan* was contested along jurisdictional and administrative lines and its functions were permanently re-interpreted through the interplay between coloniser and colonised, centre and periphery – a feature attested for many colonial institutions.

The positioning of the *Lifanyuan* within this empire-wide perspective is instrumental for a better assessment of its general role in Qing colonial governance and particularly its engagement with non-Chinese groups in Inner Asia. Guided by her source-based research Chia Ning gives a precise description of the *Lifanyuan's* differentiated procedures of indirect rule, employing various 'social systems' to govern different 'social entities', thus preserving ethnic identities, traditions, and local political orientations for a long time (see her *MPI Working Paper No. 139*). Since its establishment in 1636, the *Lifanyuan* functioned as an institutional pillar in Qing empire-building even when indirect rule in the operative social systems was later converted into forms of direct governance and decision-making processes were increasingly centralised.

Complementary to the analysis on *Lifanyuan's* involvement in Mongolian affairs, Chia Ning's research not only corroborates the idea of changing colonial formats but also enlarges our analytical framework by including the *Libu* (Board of Rites) into a comparison of institutions in charge of Qing colonial affairs. Taking the ethnic-culturally diverse population of the Qing Empire and its Ming predecessor as a starting point, she examines three different types: 1. the *Lifanyuan*, introduced by the Qing, for Inner Asia; 2. the *Libu* in its Ming-Qing forms; and 3. the Six Boards for China proper. *Lifanyuan* and *Libu* responsibilities overlapped in some regions (Amdo, Qinghai) and with regard to particular patronage-clientele activities (pilgrimage, court rituals, tribute), the processing of imperial examinations, and the supervision of Buddhist and Muslim affairs, leading to forms of close cooperation in colonial management.

Both agencies, however, represent but two formations in a series of institutions dealing with the legacy of ethnic diversity in imperial China. Relieved of its respon-

sibilities in foreign affairs, the *Lifanyuan* continued to exist as *Lifan bu* (a revised name of the *Lifanyuan* since 1906) until 1912 and was soon re-established initially as the Board (1914) and later Commission (1928) of “Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs”, which is still active in Taiwan today and has a parallel ‘twin’ agency in the People’s Republic of China (“State Nationality Affairs Commission”), founded in 1949. It is because of this continuity and the thick structure of China’s internal colonialism that trends of integration, from ‘difference’ to ‘sameness’ (see Schlee, *MPI Working Paper No. 143*), and rule, from ‘indirect’ to ‘direct’, can be brought into continental perspectives when compared with and contrasted to similar developments in Russia, which is the focus of Schorkowitz’s research. Here the *longue durée* picture looks similar, though the evolution of political institutions is quite different. While there was a “Department of Asian Affairs” (1797) and the “Asian Department” (1819, being the de facto colonial office) as a prominent part of Russia’s foreign office supplemented by a number of indigenous self-governments and steppe dumas (indigenous self-administration), institutional centralisation took shape rather late with Stalin’s “People’s Commissariat of Nationalities”. The urge for ethnic-cultural integration surfaced in Russia especially during caesura-like ruptures (1917, 1989-91) mirroring the oscillation in imperial cohesiveness often described as ‘dynastic’ or ‘administrative cycles’. It remains atop the agenda even today as the “Presidential Council for Intra-National Relationships” shows, founded in May 2012 by a presidential *ukase* (decree) with the aim of forming a ‘single political nation’. Results from these three projects have been presented at international conferences in Beijing, Bonn, Halle, and Paris, at the German Anthropological Association’s convention in Mainz, and have also been published in prominent Chinese and Japanese series.

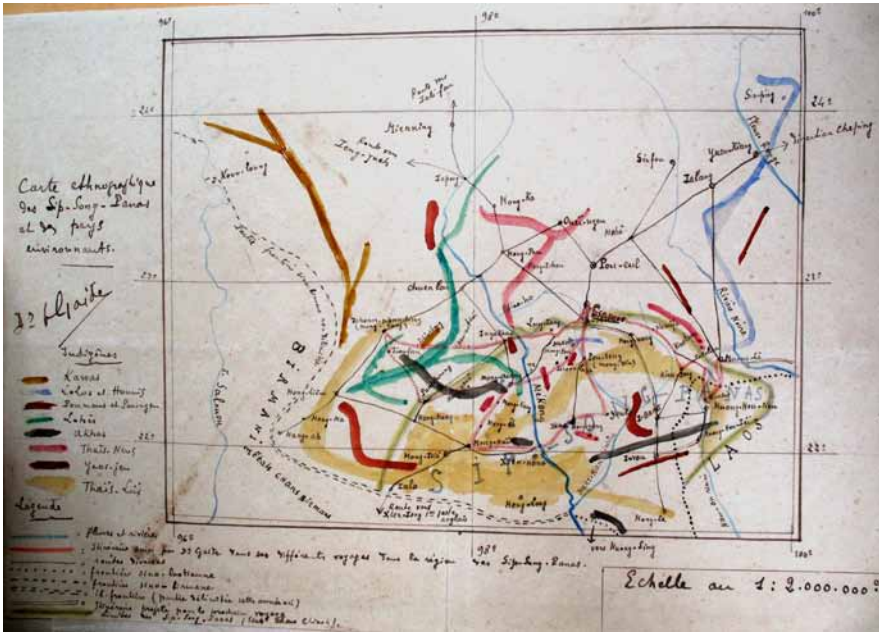
### **Laos and Vietnam: multi-ethnic empires in miniature**

Both Laos and Vietnam, prime examples of ethnic-cultural diversity, can be portrayed as excellent laboratories for the exploration of colonial transformations of political and sociocultural configurations, and the making of a frontier between upland and lowland societies. Tappe in his recent research shows that before French colonial intervention in Southeast Asia, Lao and Vietnamese rulers were content with mere indirect control over upland people, mainly to guarantee the flow of goods from the mountain forests. While in pre-colonial times, Lao rulers maintained tributary and marriage relations with certain groups, the Vietnamese offered titles and ranks to co-opted upland elites. Some groups, such as the Tai Deng, however, constantly moved and mixed and thus created the kaleidoscopic appearance of this specific upland context which challenged the French colonial gaze at the turn of the twentieth century.

While developing integration strategies of its own, the French colonial administration adopted lowland ‘imperial’ strategies such as the co-optation of local elites, thereby reinforcing interethnic hierarchies and socio-political tensions. Under French



colonialism, ethnic minorities emerged as a distinct social category, namely as upland societies outside the dominant Lao and Vietnamese cultural mainstream. As an internal frontier in French Indochina, the upland regions dividing Laos and Vietnam entered a new stage of political and economic integration. By taking this perspective ‘from above’ and yet critically engaging with James Scott’s upland-lowland opposition, Tappe emphasises the internal dynamics and frictions of the frontier and uncovers new aspects of historical upland life-worlds. He argues that this ethnically heterogeneous region must be considered not as a periphery, but as a zone of contact and exchange, of mutual interpenetration of different cultures, and of mimetic appropriations similar to the Inner Asian frontier.



*Ethnographic map, Lao-Chinese-Burmese frontier. (EFEO Paris, 1899)*

Postcolonial nation-building in Laos was characterised by tensions between Buddhist cultural hegemony and the project of creating a single national identity, thus facing an analogous challenge of maintaining cohesiveness as large imperial formations do. This cross-epochal legacy of Buddhism as a mediator of interethnic relations has been in the focus of Ladwig’s research on Buddhification strategies and practices in the two Lao provinces of Attapeu and Salavan. Though exchange and intermarriage with surrounding animist Mon-Khmer groups signify the porosity of religious boundaries, hegemonic relations between ethnic Lao and upland

minorities have been a constant feature. Buddhist principalities in pre-modern Laos were eager to integrate these groups not only for economic (slavery) and military (forced recruitment) reasons, but also because Theravada Buddhism was considered to be a superior civilisational force.

In order to engage with forms of internal colonialism prior to the French intervention of 1893, Ladwig has analysed Buddhist historiography, local chronicles, and oral histories where Mon-Khmer groups are classified as forest people living in a state of savagery without any form of writing or state-building, performing buffalo sacrifices, and not knowing the teachings of the Buddha. The sources also emphasise, however, the integrative potential of Buddhist polities using conversion which, as in the case of Cheng villages, started as early as the seventeenth century, granting the group a status as 'temple serfs', and has continued into the present through the state's policy of linking Buddhist temples to the new idea of a 'civilised modernity'. Buddhification as a strategy of integrating ethnic-cultural diversity thus shows a great continuity not only from the pre-colonial to the colonial period, but also through the era of the postsocialist nation-state.

Both Ladwig and Tappe have applied diverse approaches and methods of historically informed anthropology making extensive use of archival research (Paris, Aix-en-Provence, Vientiane) combined with multi-sited fieldwork in village societies of their regions. This emphasis on archival sources entails methodological challenges, since official documents generally represent discourses of domination that often only allow for indirect assessments of the colonised (see their *MPI Working Paper No. 141*). Research results of both projects have been presented at international conferences in Lisbon, Chicago, Madison, Halle, Göttingen, Berlin, Paris, Kyoto, at the EASA biennial conference in Nanterre, and the German Anthropological Association's convention in Mainz.

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**Economic Anthropology**

*Heads of Focus Group: Catherine Alexander, Chris Hann, and Jonathan Parry*

*Senior researchers: Michael Hoffmann, Eeva Kesküla, Dimitra Kofti, Dina Makram-Ebeid, Andrew Sanchez, Tommaso Trevisani*  
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**Industry and Inequality in Eurasia**

This Group was launched in September 2012 as a continuation of the Department's long-term research in economic anthropology. Its organisation is similar to that of an earlier Group, "Economy and Ritual", with the core team consisting of six postdoctoral researchers who will coordinate their individual field projects over a period of three years. The main aim of this new group is to look at the ways in which different dimensions of social inequality, such as class, gender, power, and status or caste, intersect in a variety of industrial settings, state-owned as well as private. We explore how the relative salience of these dimensions is changing under altered conditions, and the implications of these shifts for general theories about the transformations associated with industrialisation. The ethnographic work will investigate the impact of industry on local lives in contexts very different from the early history of industrialisation in Europe. The overall aim is to interrogate the analytical models of Western social theory in both its bourgeois and its Marxist-Leninist variants. In view of the contemporary significance of industrial work in those parts of the world traditionally studied by anthropologists, the topic has received surprisingly little attention. It has not had a substantial impact on debates in economic anthropology. This Group sets out to make good these deficits.

**The Anthropology of Industry**

From the beginning, anthropological studies of industry have shared a great deal with sociological approaches. In some countries the distinction makes no sense at all. Anthropologists have frequently drawn on sociological theory, while sociologists have applied ethnographic methods when researching the shop floor and have also investigated kin and household relations outside the factory which shape work within it. Both anthropologists and sociologists have been much influenced by Marxist analysis of alienation and deskilling. Anthropological work on industry dates back to the colonial era, notably in the Zambian Copperbelt, and anthropologists were prominent pioneers of notions of informal economy in the 1970s. Since then, profound changes in global economies have led anthropologists to explore

far-reaching deindustrialisation in some regions and dynamic expansion of industry in many others.

The privatisation and restructuring processes which are characteristic of the ‘neoliberal’ decades have led to new ways of working and labour organisation, as well as reduced rights in return for labour. In the decades which followed the Second World War, employment in large-scale (and especially public sector) industry often conferred multiple benefits, for example, to housing, education, healthcare and pensions; such jobs were generally very secure. Nowadays, accelerated global flows of capital, new management styles and regulative technologies are paring back the permanent skilled workforce everywhere, reducing benefits and increasing the use of casual labour. In short, the classical Western model of “industrial citizenship” (T.H. Marshall) has a declining purchase on contemporary realities.

There are many permutations of the shift to less secure employment, among them: outright redundancy, re-classing some jobs as short-term contracts, outsourcing work so that the same worker does the same work for a different employer under different conditions, or reducing pay so that additional, often informal work is needed for a living wage. We are interested in how these global patterns are experienced by workers and the ramifying effects on households and communities. How do such changes affect social relations and hierarchies within and beyond the factory and how do local practices, in turn, affect who has access to work and how work is performed? What are the consequences of the distinction between those with relatively secure, salaried employment and those reliant on precarious contracts or informal work servicing the industrial complex?

This is the broad political and economic background shaping the comparative work of this Group. Whereas the Economy and Ritual Group concentrated on the domestic domain, we start with industrial workplaces, shop floors, aging machinery, redundant workers, devalued skills, ruined buildings, and new work regimes. From these places we track connections to households and neighbourhoods. The ethnographic range is considerable: Eastern Europe (Bulgaria and Estonia) is brought into conversation with the Middle East (Egypt), Central Asia (Kazakhstan), South Asia (India and Nepal), and China. Whereas industrial ethnographies from Western Europe frequently chronicle industrial decay and capital flight as cheaper labour is sought elsewhere in the world, most of our sites deal with the other side of the coin. This geographic reach allows us to explore the flows of capital, labour and new managerial expertise between regions outside Western Europe, thus moving beyond an East-West divide that has diminishing salience.

## **Themes**

In order to generate comparisons of how inequality is playing out in industrial settings across our fieldsites, we have selected six related themes on which to focus:

### **1. *Vocabularies of Class:***

How are relations of power conceptualised and articulated by people working in modern industrial environments? Does the common experience of work shape a class, or are such groups fragmented by other characteristics such as contract type, gender, age, skill level, political affiliation, ethnicity, caste, or religion? Moves to private ownership are often accompanied by changes to the ethnic composition and stratification of skilled, manual, and managerial work, and to the values attached to these different kinds of work. The management stratum is often staffed, or at least led, by foreigners who have not worked their way up from the shop floor but arrive with a predetermined model of management methods. Where a younger generation of workers no longer has the promise of work as a right, the factors that shape work, the struggle to obtain and retain control over work, take on a new salience. The power disparity between those who control labour and those who are supplicants for work has been heightened. This theme engages directly with our overarching aim to analyse the purchase that class analyses, based on early European experiences, have in different contemporary ethnographic contexts.

### **2. *Debt and Ownership:***

How do debt, ownership, and property relations mediate other forms of inequality? Factory shop floor studies afford the chance to document workers' experiences of and responses to changing property regimes, particularly the move to private, often international ownership of previously state-owned and managed factories. We ask who stands to gain from restructuring, where and how resistance or accommodation of new power disparities occur, and whether alternative forms of ownership, such as workers' cooperatives are mooted. Work contracts reveal further dependencies beyond the distinction between salaried and casual work. Varieties of debt peonage or bondage can disempower and bind workers to employers. In a context of dispossession from secure work, we will explore the mechanics of supplementing or providing income and whether those in need turn to family, neighbours, unions, loan sharks, or employers for credit, and if so, on what terms this is supplied. Such relationships of indebtedness, whether understood as mutual help, gift exchange, temporary or lifetime loans, reveal the networks of support and dependency across workplaces and communities. This theme thus offers understandings of unequal access to property, work, and the means of livelihood.

### **3. *Relatedness and Genealogy:***

What can family genealogies and questions of relatedness tell us about the reproduction of labour and inequalities in capitalist industrial regimes? Workplaces, household and neighbourhood economies are also being reshaped as a consequence of labour force contraction and reduced job security. Longitudinal studies reveal patterns within and between families of upward and downward mobility, migration, changes in lifestyle aspiration. Access to work underpins everything else. Age and



education level are further significant factors, which operate differently depending on the type of work and the context. Often, children may have more formal education qualifications than their parents, but their work prospects are poor because heritable positions, together with the overall numbers of workers, have been reduced, or experience is privileged over knowledge of new technologies. We examine gendered reconfigurations within households, from relatively equal work in terms of status, security and pay, to divisions between who has permanent work and who short-term work in the same plant, to household economies dependent on informal sector work. Such data will help us address the familiar question of the extent to which downward pressure on factory wages and a reduced work force is effectively subsidised by informal, precarious labour and seasonal patterns of work inside and outside the factory. This theme speaks to changes in patterns of inequality across and within generations and households.

#### **4. Risk, Environment, and Health:**

What are the relationships between bodily, environmental, and financial risk in heavy industry? Foreign capital, along with new ways of working, has streamed into heavy industry plants, mines, and large-scale infrastructure projects with the aim of maximising shareholder return. Typical ways of doing this are: restructuring the workforce, rebuilding plants, and reinventing ways and rhythms of work, all of which have a profound effect on the experience and sociality of work. The introduction of health and safety regulations brings new (self-) monitoring devices to the shop floor or mine. These are often undercut by speeded-up production lines,



*Ethnic Russian miners in eastern Estonia: the structural position of Russians in society, and of mining in the economy, have both changed greatly since Estonian independence. (Photo: E. Keskküla, 2012)*

which can be physically devastating, reduced times and spaces for encounters between workers or simply for rest. The cost of environmental regulation compliance is also high. Toxic pollution not only affects workers within a plant or mine but is often a determining factor in local social geographies, with management tending to live in upwind, cleaner areas and workers in contaminated, downwind land. This theme opens up a spatialised reading of inequality.

### **5. *Technology and Skill:***

How do skilling/deskilling, the production process and machinery generate relationships and hierarchies among workers? Once the vanguard of socialist industry, the high social and moral status of miners and heavy industry workers has been diminished in favour of white collar work as well as service and management professions. In the former Soviet Union, the industrial workforce was predominantly Slav. This has changed in the newly independent states, where Russians now have a diminished social status and citizenship rights. These new labour hierarchies have been taking shape slowly, as many older or former workers still hold skilled/artisanal labour in high esteem. New machines may put people out of work and demand new skills, making old skills superfluous. Equally, the ability to coax antiquated machinery into performing is highly valued. This theme emphasises the relationship between workers and machines in determining control on the shop floor.

### **6. *Political Struggles:***

What types of conflict do working people engage in and what forms do the struggles assume? Local political conditions can be decisive in reformulating social hierarchies, access to work, and working conditions. Thus the Arab Spring, the Nepalese Maoist party, and trade unions can contribute to challenging power hierarchies and how job allocations and redundancies are determined. The institutions through which resistance is organised are particularly important in light of the rise of informal and precarious contract labour, where unionisation is often weak or forbidden. We question whether 'resistance' is a useful analytical term for understanding encounters between different classes, and groups within classes, where incompatible hierarchies, based on different status variables, co-exist and produce subtly different forms of power.

## Planning Ahead

Group members will complete their major field research for this project by early summer 2014. They will present some of their results at an international workshop scheduled for May 6-9, 2015. The focus of the meeting will be on the evolving distinction between *salariat* and *precariat*. Among the central questions we aim to address at this workshop are:

- The kinds of relationships, or alternatively the lack of meaningful relationships that secure and casual workers have with each other in terms, for example, of kinship, marriage ties, and daily interactions: Do they live in the same neighbourhoods or households, and work in the same groups? How are they differentiated (if they are) in terms of lifestyle, consumption patterns, educational attainment, and aspirations?
- What are the differences in the work conditions and terms of employment, and in the life-chances of these workers and their children? How materially different are their households? Are there marked differences in terms of education levels, in the incidence of ill health, in life expectancy, and in other markers of ‘well-being’? What are the prospects for mobility?
- How does the differentiation between these different ‘fragments’ of the manual labour force map onto other kinds of differentiation, such as gender, ethnic, religious, or (in the case of South Asia) caste identity? Is the distinction between local ‘sons-of-the-soil’ and migrant-incomers congruent with that between the two types of workers?
- What are the political ramifications of overlaps between ‘company’ and ‘contract’ labour on the one hand and other identity markers such as locality, region, ethnicity or religion? Do these types of worker have different political orientations? What can we say of their degree of unionisation? Do the two kinds of worker share the same picture of the social hierarchy and of class inequalities? How do they conceive the main divisions within society – as a sharp dichotomy or as a ladder-like hierarchy?
- Is it more appropriate to think of a range of positions along the continuum from ‘secure’ to ‘precarious’ employment? If so, what are the sociological implications in terms of the way in which workers think about themselves and their relationships with others?
- Finally, are the differences between the two (or more) types of workforce so marked that they should be seen as belonging to distinct social classes? Do they regard themselves as separate classes; do they *see* themselves as having conflicting interests, and are their interests *in fact* opposed?

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## **Urban Anthropology**

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## **The Global Political Economy of Cultural Heritage**

The focus of this Group, launched in 2011, is the popular UNESCO World Heritage Convention. The Group combines multi-sited field research of the central World Heritage institutions with ethnographic studies of selected World Heritage sites in urban Eurasia, thus striving to understand both ends of this “global system of common difference” (Wilk). It explores how, through the increasingly widespread idiom of heritage, reference to the past underwrites and sometimes subverts present-day political and economic agendas.

### **Shifting to a New Gear: North-South tensions in a global arena**

Brumann has completed his fieldwork in the UNESCO arena, observing a fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in 2012 and adding further interviews with key actors. The first articles have been submitted to leading journals; further ones and a monograph are underway. Observation of the 2012 and (online) 2013 Committee sessions suggests that what was seen as an uncertain development in the previous report is a more momentous shift. Much of prior World Heritage debate was about how to make the notoriously Eurocentric World Heritage List more (regionally) balanced, credible, and representative. Now, however, the shared right of all nation-states to have their candidates listed is paramount, whatever the consequences for the list.

More obviously than previously realised, this is the product of the disaffection of states from the Global South with the World Heritage institutions, mainly ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) but also IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) and the convention secretariat, the World Heritage Center. It is now commonplace for these bodies to be overruled at the annual sessions of the World Heritage Committee (the central decision-making organ, consisting of 21 elected treaty states out of a total of 190). Lobbying and the exchange of favours among the states on and off the Committee prevail. The shift came at a moment when a particularly large number of strong non- and peri-European states (BRICS and G20 members and other regional leaders) were on the Committee, but incoming Northern members Japan and Germany have not challenged it and have focussed on shepherding their own candidate sites through the process. As a result, the Committee has become essentially toothless, unable to reject candidates with negative



evaluations or to take tough decisions on already inscribed sites. The tension as such is old but the blunt way of pushing aside the experts is new.

This is not just impatience with a slow and unpredictable process, obstructing high hopes for heritage-related tourism development, but a reaction to lingering Eurocentrism. ICOMOS has no qualms about approving yet another Baroque palace for listing but can be less enthusiastic about some non-European candidates. In spite of the efforts of the 1994 “Global Strategy” to broaden heritage conceptions, ICOMOS and IUCN are still perceived by many non-European delegates as Northern ‘clubs’. And indeed, ICOMOS representatives are still disproportionately Euro-American, and advisory bodies care little for the impression left when, for example, they all choose white Anglo-Saxons as speakers in a pre-session orientation meeting.

Transparency has done little to stop the new trend. The 2012 Committee session in St. Petersburg was the first to be web-streamed and fully accessible to the press. Yet the poorly concealed exchange of favours continues unabated, and delegates seem to be even more exposed to monitoring by their home ministries and site communities now, with some even on a text-message ‘remote control’. The restraining effect of transparency expected by reformers has yet to materialise.

The recent turn toward national self-serving is explicable through a commons paradigm: in the consensus-oriented environment of UNESCO, the strong interest of a single nation-state usually wins the day. The long-term consequences in the form of an inflated list, overburdened administration, and diminished threat potential against conservation infringements are borne by all. Yet these costs pale compared to the immediate national benefits of an additional listing, a free hand for development projects, or the diplomatic returns for supporting a fellow state in need. Also, the success of the convention is premised on growth: new listings keep the states interested and make for happy news that the condition of the listed sites does not always provide.

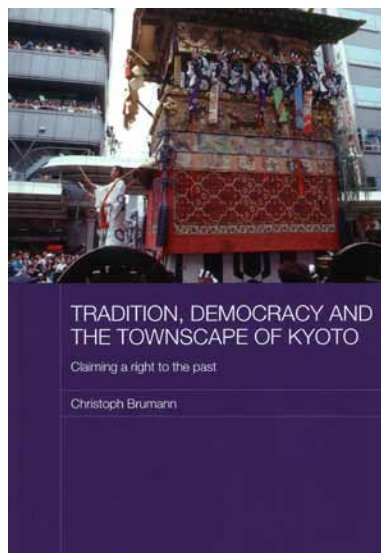
The new course comes at a cost, however: the 2012 session saw a memorable standoff when the Islamist insurgents then in control of the northern half of Mali started to demolish Sufi tombs and mosque entrances in Timbuktu. They justified this by the Committee’s having placed them on the List of World Heritage in Danger a few days earlier, objecting that the sites were nothing but violations of sharia principles and none of UNESCO’s business. One might have expected a fundamental debate here, yet the news caught the Committee in the midst of its most eagerly anticipated business, the examination of new inscriptions. It was striking how, once its procedural machinery was rolling, the Committee had trouble even acknowledging a frontal attack on its authority and moral premises. It took three days to draft an official condemnation.

This is because the World Heritage Convention has a principal-agent problem: all of the agents empowered by its mechanisms are either weak – the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS lack funding and, like IUCN, can give recommendations only – or are more committed to their national interests. The convention as the principal

continues to grow as a global presence, as indirectly acknowledged even by the Timbuktu challenge, yet it thus has nobody to stand up for it. In the past, this was mitigated by the Committee states sending their heritage experts who, while certainly fulfilling their own national agendas, were firmly committed to the World Heritage idea. Now, however, delegations are led by career diplomats with unrelated professional backgrounds and frequent transfers, who serve their own career prospects best by closely following the order of their immediate principal (i.e. nation-state). They have larger political concerns in mind, moreover, such as restraining inter-state conflicts over contested sites. Therefore, and in contrast to the usual predictions of the globalisation literature, the transnational players (ICOMOS, IUCN, World Heritage Centre) have been losing ground while nation-state interests have been significantly strengthened. Much more so than before, however, these nation-states are now encountering each other as equals.

### **World Heritage on the Ground**

The second component of this Group consists of field studies of urban World Heritage sites in Eurasia, all of them former capitals and hubs of empire that are icons for the respective nations and major destinations for cultural tourism. Their built heritage ranges from palaces, mosques, and temples to city walls, bazaars, and town houses. It is spread out rather than concentrated, thus complicating the task of conservation. The selected field sites – Istanbul, Turkey; Melaka, Malaysia (2012/13); and Xi'an, China (2013/14) – thus resemble Kyoto, the book-length study of which by Brumann (2012) serves as a methodological touchstone.



Despite the great difference in size, Istanbul and Melaka have been undergoing a similar transformation through a host of large-scale building projects. In Melaka, World Heritage and the boost it gives to (mostly inner-Asian) tourism and second-home construction for Singaporeans has been the main driver of this trend. By contrast, in Istanbul, heritage is just one force among many and tends to be overshadowed by modernist global city ambitions. Economic considerations dominate in dealing with heritage; the political value of Melaka's heritage for a multicultural Malaysian nation and the benefits of restoring old synagogues for the AKP – Turkey's ruling Islamic party – are less central. The political leadership and specialised bureaucracies are rather closed and autocratic in both cities, responding to clientelism rather than civil society initiatives (but see below).

In Istanbul, world-famous monuments such as Ayasofia or Topkapı Palace are in good shape while many of the historic town houses that also enjoy World Heritage status are disintegrating or being replaced by luxury residential developments. Controversial projects such as the Metro Bridge over the Golden Horn are pushed through and World Heritage Committee concerns shrugged off. In their shadow, however, a baffling array of uncoordinated restoration work by public and private actors is ongoing and iconic sites continue to be symbolically disputed (e.g. should Ayasofia again be used as a mosque?). The Malaysian authorities tend to follow World Heritage demands and conservation orthodoxy more closely for the protected core. Around it, however, high-rise development continues apace, pushing the historic port city ever further back from the coastline. Still, private entrepreneurial initiatives with ambitious conservation agendas are not being blocked, and reference to the past is normal even for large investors, as shown by the colonial-style shopping plaza located at Melaka's fanciest condominium complex or the façade of the planned mall in Gezi Park, evoking a 19th-century army barracks on that site.

De Giosa established good contacts with the Chetti community, descendants of the first Indian immigrants, who served as colonial middlemen. In Chetti self-assertion against later Indian migrants, rituals and other forms of heritage play a major role. Marquart chose the redevelopment of Taksim Square as one of her case studies, not expecting it to become the trigger for the 'Turkish Spring'. Her ethnographic observations of the unfolding of a national political drama will add a significant dimension to her study of how local citizens respond to appropriations driven by the political elite and investment capital.

*World Heritage on the Ground: ethnographic perspectives* was also the topic of an MPI workshop convened by Brumann and David Berliner (Free University of Brussels) in autumn 2012. In the first conference of this kind, 13 anthropologists with long-term field experience at World Heritage sites explored the parallels. African and Asian locations predominated, and in addition to historic cities, archaeological sites and cultural landscapes were also considered. The key role of national rather than transnational actors was confirmed. While local empowerment does occur, non-local elite personnel and institutions are more likely to assume control,

and the profits from increased tourism often almost completely bypass locals. The emergence of ‘heritage victims’, those who end up overlooked, dispossessed, and evicted, is by no means rare. A book publication of the revised papers is in progress.



*Metro construction in a World Heritage district in Istanbul. (Photo: V. Marquart, 2012)*

A more narrowly focused MPI workshop, *Inside the UNESCO Heritage Conventions: ethnographic and historical approaches*, will be convened by Brumann and Aurélie Éliisa Gfeller (The Graduate Institute, Geneva) in January 2014. It will assemble the small group of anthropologists, folklorists, archaeologists, geographers, and historians who have conducted in-depth research on the decision-making processes of the two UNESCO conventions on World Heritage and intangible cultural heritage.

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## **Traders, Markets, and the State in Vietnam (Minerva Group)**

*Head of Group: Kirsten W. Endres*

*Senior researcher: Christine Bonnin*

*External staff: Caroline Grillot*

*Doctoral students: Lisa Barthelmes, Esther Horat*

### **Group Objectives and Organisation**

Established in 2011, this Research Group investigates local markets and other sites of small retail trade in the seemingly paradoxical context of Vietnam's continuing socialist orientation, on the one hand, and contemporary neoliberal economic and social transformations, on the other. The Group currently consists of Kirsten Endres as Head of the Group, two PhD students (Lisa Barthelmes and Esther Horat), and, since April 2013, Caroline Grillot as postdoctoral researcher (replacing Christine Bonnin, who took up new assignments in January 2013). Besides holding regular informal meetings, the Group organises and participates in workshops and conference panels in order to place its findings in broader comparative contexts and to contribute to theoretical conceptualisations of the relationship between neoliberal reforms, economic restructuring, and changing state-society dynamics. In order to provide a visual illustration of the different research sites, three short movies were produced in cooperation with a Vietnam-based film production company.

### **Market Development Policies in Vietnam Today**

Public markets have, in different times and places, commonly been sites of intense policing and regulation. Along with their growth, complex contestations emerged over important issues such as the institutionalisation and control of marketplaces, the levying of taxes, the use of public space, as well as, more generally, over changes in production and exchange relations. Vietnam is no exception in this regard. Neoliberal restructuring processes have affected Vietnamese small-scale traders in various ways. The transformation of urban public markets into trade centres and shopping malls is one salient case in point: large plots of state-owned real estate in the inner city of Hanoi are handed over to private investment companies for development, in the process of which thousands of small traders are 'dispossessed' of their means of economic survival in the marketplace. In spite of these larger processes that have so far become most evident in urban settings, large sections of Vietnam's population continue to rely on small-scale trade and market vending activities in order to sustain their livelihoods.

The ‘appropriate’ development of traditional marketplaces has been on the Vietnamese government’s agenda since the early 2000s. New policies were issued in the areas of distribution network planning, general public market regulations and management issues, and the privatisation of market construction, renovation, and upgrading. In the capital of Hanoi, in particular, a number of long-standing public retail markets have been demolished and rebuilt as multi-story trade centres by private sector contractors. As a result, many small-scale market vendors, after years of struggling for economic survival in temporary markets awaiting relocation, now suffer the consequences of higher monthly fees, inadequate spatial conditions, and the loss of customers. In addition, since the mid-1990s, other ‘disorderly’ forms of commercial activity, such as street vending and hawking, have repeatedly been banned in government efforts to bring order to city streets and discipline citizens into becoming ‘modern’ urban subjects.

Yet the state’s modernising mission represents only one side of the coin. Equally important in explaining the elimination of traditional public markets is the current climate of wealth accumulation in Vietnam that takes place at the higher levels of an unholy confluence between clientelistic mechanisms of political power and capitalist opportunities to profit – opportunities that serve the interests of a powerful politico-economic elite by absorbing its overaccumulated capital. Consequently, the government’s attempts at civilising the marketplace have brought about significant changes in the distribution of social and economic entitlements.

These issues were discussed in detail at an international workshop organised in cooperation with the Institute of Anthropology at the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences (VASS) in Hanoi in April 2012. The workshop attracted wide interest and deepened the group’s collaborative ties with Vietnamese experts and research institutions.

### **Rule by Uncertainty and Avenues of Negotiation**

Many of the rules and standards imposed by recent political economy changes run counter to the moral norms that govern the social, spatial, and temporal organisation of ‘traditional’ economic activity and therefore meet with various forms of resentment and resistance by those affected. In addition, rather than providing a consistent legal basis for their economic activity, the maze of rules and regulations relevant to Vietnamese small-scale traders does little in the way of reducing uncertainty. On the contrary, regulatory uncertainty (as well as coercion) has evolved as an efficient means by which the Vietnamese state exercises power over its citizens. Unlike in India or the Philippines, restrictions on the formation of associations persist and effectively block possible avenues for Vietnamese citizens to pursue and safeguard their interests. Vietnamese small-scale traders (particularly mobile street vendors) therefore engage in subtle everyday strategies of avoidance and compliance in order



to subvert, contest, and negotiate the enforcement of top-down planning policies and legal provisions that undermine their livelihood opportunities.

One way of negotiating the imposition of legal restrictions is through petty bribery. Whereas, generally speaking, Vietnamese citizens feel exasperated by the degree to which corruption in its manifold forms and manifestations has come to permeate their daily lives, small-scale traders commonly justify their own resorting to such practices by declaring them an essential means of economic survival. The tropes, analogies, and metaphors used in accounts of corruption not only frame and shape their (self-)perception and experience, but also transmit social commentary and political criticism. Kinh (ethnic majority) traders at the northwestern border between Vietnam and China, for example, rhetorically cast their petty bribe arrangements with officials as benevolent acts of providing access to economic opportunity for which they offer a token of appreciation – the bribe – in return. The metaphorical justification of the bribe as a means of economic survival, on the one hand, and as an act of the state official's compassionate complicity, on the other, reflects small-scale traders' moral claims upon the state to their right of making a substantial living and transforms this type of corruption into a legitimate practice.

### **Informality, Moral Economy, and Household-Based Trade**

In Vietnam, more than forty percent of non-agricultural household businesses engage in trade-related economic activities. With formal business registration as the main criterion of distinction between the formal and informal sectors of the economy, three-fourths of these households are categorised as belonging to the informal sector. Whereas this classification certainly applies to mobile street traders and to vendors in temporary, unlicensed markets, the boundary between the formal and the informal already starts to blur when it comes to formally registered vendors in public markets managed by local authorities. Many licensed traders engage in 'informal' vending activities, for example by merchandising goods obtained through informal/illegal channels (i.e. smuggled or imported 'duty-free' across the border, or purchased from unregistered traders or producers), by employing 'informal' stall helpers, or by 'informally' subletting their vending space to other users. In Vietnam's largely local, relationship-based economy, informality in fact constitutes a particular mode of social interaction and economic exchange and should, therefore, be treated analytically as an aspect of the moral economy rather than as a sector separate from the formal.

Vietnamese economic organisation remains deeply entrenched in prevailing social norms and values regarding filial obligations and family cohesion. In rural areas, the importance of the household as an economic unit becomes particularly apparent. In non-agricultural villages – i.e. villages that specialise in manufacturing and trading – family enterprises are the most common type of economic organisation. Some of these villages have been very successful: Ninh Hiep, for example, emerged as a dynamic regional trading community since the early 2000s that channels Chinese

textiles from the Vietnam-China border to various locations throughout Vietnam. Family enterprises are the most common type of economic organisation in this village, with each household specialising in a specific phase in the production and supply chain, i.e. importing fabric or ready-to-wear clothing from China, cutting and sewing garments, and selling textile products at the local market. While traditional gender roles continue to perpetuate male dominance and female subordination, it is the women who are perceived as both the main breadwinners and managers of the family economy. The prevailing preference for village endogamy and a low level of out-migration accounts for a steady growth in the number of household-based trading enterprises, as young couples usually set up their own business after marriage. Unlike in Hanoi, where the replacement of old-style markets by shopping malls has diminished spaces for traditional forms of vending, the recent construction of two new market buildings by private investors provides Ninh Hiep cloth traders with additional vending space that suits their economic needs and enhances the economic strength and reputation of the village as a major textile hub in Vietnam.

Yet most villages in the densely populated Red River Delta still depend, for better or worse, on agricultural production for the bulk of their income. Migration (temporary/seasonal) to urban areas has therefore become a common household strategy for economic advancement. Whereas, for example, female street vendors are often looked down upon as second-class citizens in the capital of Hanoi, their remittances back to their home villages contribute significantly to enhancing their household's economic situation at the village level. Although they retain strong links with their rural-based families, many street vendors who spend the bulk of their time in the city also find it difficult to adapt to the tight social environment and set role expectations associated with Vietnamese village life upon their (temporary) return. The interrelation between the street vendors' experience of migration and their sense of belonging and personal identity is one of the issues that shall be explored in greater depth during the subsequent phases of the project.

### **Cross-Border Trade, Mutual Perceptions, and Notions of Entrepreneurial Success**

Vietnam's love/hate relationship with China has been a persistent theme throughout Vietnamese history. After the brief but violent border war in 1979, official border crossings were shut down and trade came to a halt until the normalisation of bilateral relations in the late 1980s. Since then, the border gradually transformed from a line of demarcation between two hostile neighbours into a vital economic resource and thriving nexus of social and cultural interaction. On either side of the frontier, internal migrants moved (back) to the border area in order to seize the economic opportunities at hand. Along with the forging of new cross-border trading relationships, mutual images and perceptions evolved from the interstices of wider societal/political discourses and the localised, everyday experience of, and interaction with,

the neighbourly Other. Despite the fact that bilateral trade relations between China and Vietnam are clearly dominated by Chinese imports, cross-border economic ties are characterised by a high degree of mutual dependency, and small-scale traders on both sides are acutely aware of the fact that it is the very existence of the border that enables them to make a relatively decent living in this region. Yet whether Chinese or Vietnamese, the rules of the game are to a great extent determined by the side of the border on which the economic exchange takes place, and the degree to which traders conform to business practices that differ from their own plays a decisive role in determining Vietnamese and Chinese traders' attitudes towards each other. Their mutual perceptions are thus informed as much by cultural prejudice and political tensions that shape public sentiment as they are conditioned by economic opportunity, individual self-interest, and face-to-face commercial transactions with suppliers, intermediaries, and customers from across the border.

Vietnamese ethnic-majority small-traders would certainly not deny that one needs to work hard in order to be successful in the market. The ways in which they conceptually frame their economic success, however, reveal that discipline, rational calculation, and personal skills are very much downplayed in personal accounts. Instead, a person's propensity for trade and the wealth generated by it are narratively constructed as part of a person's fate decreed by heaven, and a trader's success in business is referred to as *lộc* – a key concept that relates to good luck, fate-fortune, prosperity, and divine benevolence. *Lộc* may be secured by moral virtue, enhanced by ritual practice, reciprocated in ritual exchange, distributed among kin, and transferred to future generations. It is thus in constant circulation: from 'heaven' to humans, from humans to deities and ancestors, and from deities and ancestors back to humans. Further research into the complex web of interlinkages between the economic sphere and the metaphysical assumptions that govern and guide Vietnamese perceptions of the self and the world is expected to contribute valuable insights to our understanding of local economic practices, the moral implications of wealth, and ideas about human agency.

## **Outlook**

In the coming phase of the Research Group, a number of publications will be prepared. Besides individual articles in peer reviewed journals, the Group aims to produce a special issue of the Vietnamese journal of anthropology *Dân Tộc Học*, in collaboration with the Hanoi Institute of Anthropology. The EuroSEAS panel *Traders and Peddlers in Southeast Asia Today: confronting risk, enhancing luck* (Lisbon, July 2013) laid the groundwork for an edited volume on small-scale trade and traders in Southeast Asia. The Anthropological Atelier *Risks, Ruptures, and Uncertainties: dealing with crisis in Asia's emerging economies*, jointly organised with the Institute for Cultural and Social Anthropology in Vienna in December 2013, also intends to prepare a collective publication.

The expected results of this Research Group will contribute to a fuller understanding of complex market-society-state dynamics that inform, and are formed by, the social contexts in which the everyday economic practices of Vietnamese small-scale traders and market vendors are embedded. We anticipate that our findings will set the stage for further investigations that take up a broader historical and conceptual approach in order to situate the particularities of the Vietnamese experience within the wider trajectories of resilience and (postsocialist) transformation in Eurasia.



*Cloth trader in Ninh Hiep. (Photo: K. Endres, 2013)*

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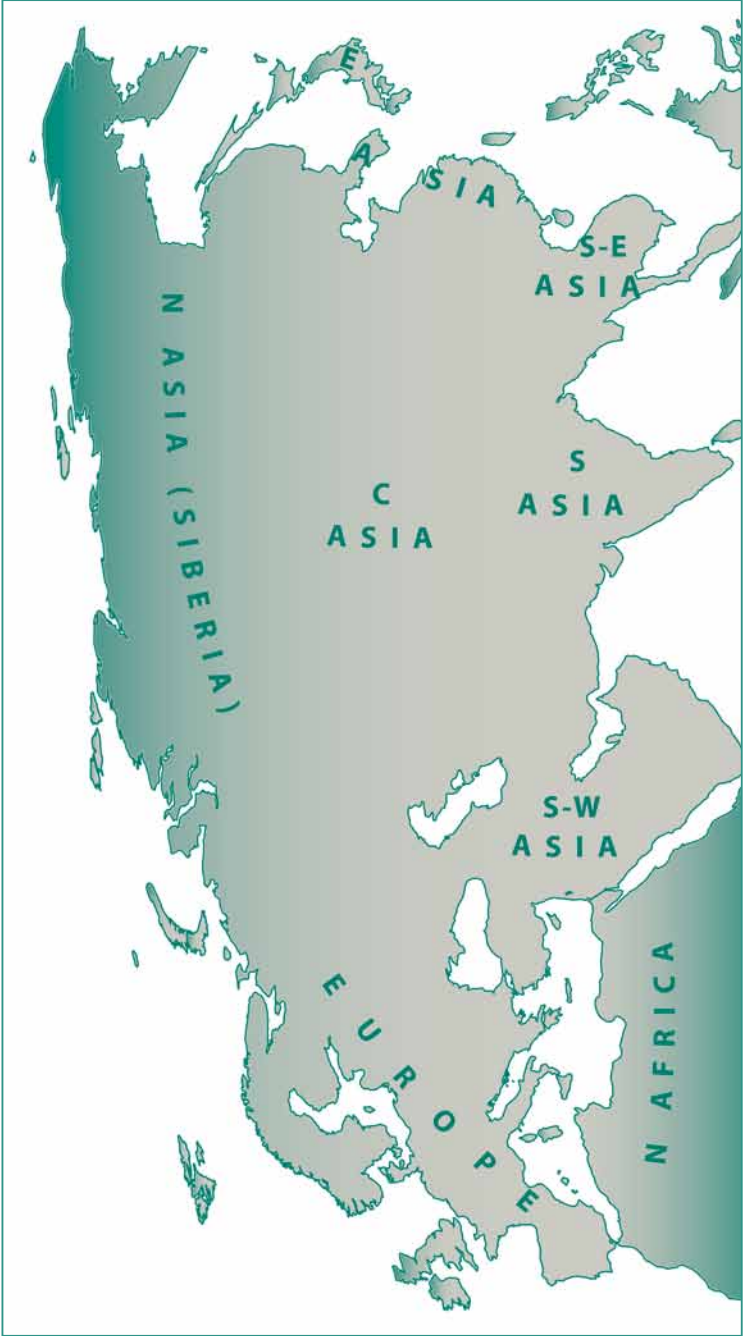
In preparation. Privatization and Gendered Market Dynamics in a Traditional Trade Community in Northern Vietnam (in Vietnamese; see Barthelmes, above).



## **Part III**

# **New Research Projects**





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**Realising Eurasia:  
Moral Economy and Civilisational Pluralism in the Twenty-First Century**

*Chris Hann*

*This project (acronym REALEURASIA) was approved for funding in August 2013 by the European Research Council in the Seventh Framework Programme (Advanced Grant). It will commence formally on July 1, 2014. The ERC funding (2.2 million euros over five years) will be supplemented by smaller allocations from the MPI to support complementary projects. The outline which follows is abbreviated from the original grant application. Further information will be posted on the homepage of the MPI following the appointment of the researchers in summer 2014, and regularly updated thereafter.*

**Introduction**

As I noted in Part I of this report, the interests of the Department have always ranged beyond the postsocialist transformations on which our research concentrated during the first decade. These wider horizons have been brought within reach during the last five years thanks to the formation of new Focus Groups in Historical Anthropology, Economic Anthropology, and Urban Anthropology, the progress of which has been outlined in Part II. My ERC grant is a very significant fillip to this ongoing expansion of the Department's agenda. REALEURASIA will involve new research, carried out primarily by doctoral students, in at least five locations distinguished by their civilisational traditions, including some of the largest and most powerful states of the world today. It will combine detailed ethnographic investigations of family businesses with attention to the embeddedness of economy in religion, polity, and society as they have evolved together in the *longue durée* of the Eurasian past. In all of these domains, we can be sure that the balance of pluralism and commonalities we uncover will be rich in implications for policymakers as well as for scholars inside and outside socio-cultural anthropology. Specifically, at a moment in world history when the dominance of the North Atlantic (and within it particularly that of the Anglo-sphere) is palpably waning, the results of REALEURASIA will contribute to urgent debates about the future orientation of Europe within Eurasia.

The project is primarily rooted in the theories and methods of economic anthropology, but it also sets out to renew links to historical sociology and adjacent fields. The key unit of analysis is "civilisation" in the spirit of Marcel Mauss (as recently revived by Nathan Schlanger and others). Potentially applicable anywhere on the planet, in this project the concept of civilisation will be operationalised primarily with reference to religion in the familiar heartlands of Asia and Europe. Rejecting the notion of continental difference, the project emphasises connections and the ultimate unity of the Eurasian landmass in recent millennia. Close attention will be

paid to classical contributions by the great but Eurocentric sociologist, Max Weber. How is the civilisational tradition invoked to legitimate power? How does its *Wirtschaftsethik* (economic ethic) modify calculative rationality in family businesses and more diffusely throughout society? This return to a Weberian agenda will be accomplished via the integration of Weber's notion of "economic ethic" into a broad concept of moral economy. This move opens up new perspectives on the specific sources of resilience of the civilisations (i.e. world religions) under investigation. The project will analyse their differences, but also tease out what they share, and thus what distinguishes Eurasia as a whole.

### **Civilisation**

It is generally acknowledged that individuals are motivated by socially formed values and not solely by instrumental considerations of personal advantage. But how are these values formed? Do the civilisational traditions of pre-industrial Eurasia continue to shape political processes and economic behaviour in the twenty-first century? The very concept of civilisation remains a provocation to many anthropologists. Uncertainty concerning the possibility of a plural usage was inherent from the coining of the term in 18th-century France. Civilisation was often equated with *Hochkultur*, thus excluding the great majority of humankind. Yet for Edward Tylor in Victorian Britain, civilisation was a synonym for culture. Even when the words used were different, a notion of civilisation was implicit in German ethnological approaches, later sustained in North American anthropology with terms such as "culture area" (Alfred Kroeber) and "great tradition" (Robert Redfield). However, none of these terms have figured significantly in Anglophone anthropology in recent decades. Influential studies such as those of Samuel Huntington, and even the celebrated contributions of Norbert Elias, have not found favour with anthropologists.

In historical sociology, civilisational analysis in the early twenty-first century has been closely linked to scholarship on the Axial Age and that of the 'multiple modernities' theorists. Alongside the late Shmuel Eisenstadt, the outstanding figure in this field is Johann P. Arnason, a historical sociologist who is highly critical of Huntington for the 'closed' nature of his postulated civilisations. Arnason prefers, in the manner of Mauss, to emphasise "civilisational encounters". At the same time, he tends to follow Weber and Elias in emphasising the uniqueness of Europe. By contrast, Jack Goody, drawing inspiration from archaeologist Gordon Childe, has been among the most vigorous critics of grand narratives such as the 'breakthrough to modernity' or the 'rise of the West'. Though Goody does not theorise civilisation and emphasises mercantile and technological connectivity rather than ethical-religious traditions, the REALEURASIA project leans heavily on the case he has made in numerous publications (e.g. *The Eurasian Miracle*, 2010) for long-term "alternation" between East and West. The latter obtained a decisive advantage only in the last two centuries (largely due to the contingency that fossil fuels were readily available to

facilitate the early phases of the industrial revolution in northwest Europe). It may now be on the point of handing the leading role back to China.

### **Economy and Value**

Our word for economy dates back to the Ancient Greeks, for whom it referred to good management of an estate or household. Following a curious trajectory, it has come to refer primarily to exchanges dominated by the principles of the market. In launching the foundational debate of economic anthropology, Karl Polanyi distinguished between economy in the sense of economising, i.e. making choices to allocate scarce goods between competing ends, and the broader, substantive sense of providing for human needs. The former can be elaborated as a universalist theory of rational utility maximisation, while the latter requires a search for general patterns in the mutual embedding of economy and society in the often untidy course of history. A sympathetic reconstruction of Polanyi's substantivism requires extending the concept of embeddedness to all "forms of integration", *including* contemporary economies dominated by markets. No matter how global in scope and impersonal in form, even financialisation takes place within political and social constraints, mediated by localised human agency.

The theoretical debates launched by Polanyi have acquired a renewed topicality in recent decades, particularly since the global financial turbulence that began in 2008. The academic focus has tended to shift away from studies of exchange to consumption and 'value'. Relatively little attention has been paid to work and to the ways in which values (including religious values) impact on the workplace and the *Lebensführung*. Family-controlled businesses and the domestic economy are important arenas in which economic anthropologists can investigate the civilisational diversity of "market cultures" (Robert Hefner), in order to go beyond slogans such as 'Asian values'. Indeed, the question of value is arguably at the very core of the embeddedness of every human economy. Economic sociologist Jens Beckert has recently renewed the Durkheimian approach that posits value as ultimately congruent with religiosity and with society itself as a *moral* system.

### **Moral Economy**

Building on his earlier thesis postulating the centrality of the "Protestant ethic" to the emergence of the "spirit of capitalism", Max Weber formulated some of his most celebrated comparative texts on the eve of the First World War. REALEURASIA researchers will explore how perceived differences in dogma and what Weber called "practical impulses for action" affect lifestyle and behaviour a century after those pioneering explorations, in the light of the large literatures they have generated in the meantime. We propose to interrogate the Weberian debates with particular reference to recent literature on moral economy. E. P. Thompson, the historian who launched

this concept some five decades ago in the context of a Marxist critique of dominant narratives of British history, used it to denote “social norms and obligations”, such as the notion of reasonable price, which turns up in so many societies. James Scott and others have showed that the concept of moral economy, developed by Thompson to explain the behaviour of urban crowds on the eve of the industrial revolution, can be deployed in very different settings and grafted on to the substantivist tradition in economic anthropology. For example, disruption of the established value order has been widely diagnosed in analyses of postsocialist societies and of neoliberalism generally. I have put forward the concept of “moral dispossession” to complement more familiar notions of ‘material dispossession’ and ‘cultural dispossession’. I have insisted in earlier projects at the MPI (notably that on *Property Relations* between 1999 and 2005) that markets have their place *within* the moral economy and warned against romanticisation of the concept.

We should not be surprised by the extraordinary popularity of ‘moral economy’ in an epoch of capitalist crisis, which nowadays extends to theologians philosophising about the foundations of shared moral convictions and historians of science who use the concept to signal the affective dimensions of learned associations and laboratories. Karl Polanyi himself, in an early unpublished manuscript, used the term *Sittlichkeit* to address similar issues. Recently, Didier Fassin has sought to stabilise the concept by emphasising Foucauldian subjectivities within the frame of a new “anthropology of morality”. The researchers of REALEURASIA will link this emerging literature on morality and ‘everyday ethics’ both to civilisational traditions and to contemporary neoliberal human economies. It is assumed that the economic ethic is expressed in “thick” moral concepts (Gabriel Abend), which bind persons not only to their families and employers but to wider communities of citizens and potentially even to anonymous remote publics in other countries. The boundaries of the moral economy are thus broad. REALEURASIA researchers will disaggregate by investigating the differences between the treatment of kin and non-kin; where appropriate, they will also address other significant cleavages, such as that between secure *salariat* and vulnerable *precariat* (see p. 36).

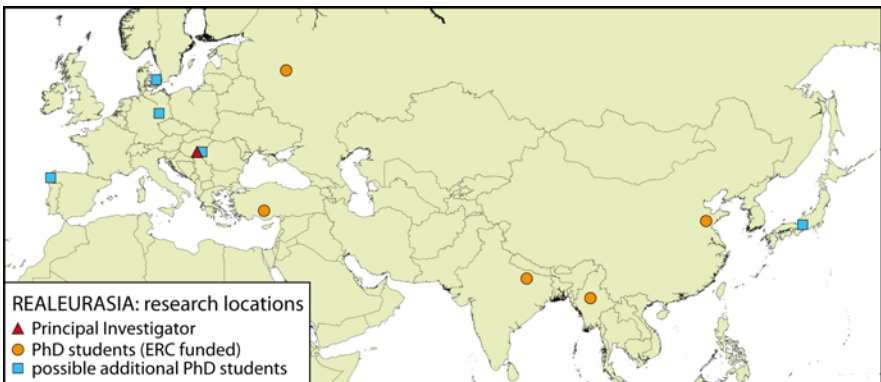
## **Politics**

The complex of religion and values (morals) is central to political legitimation as well as to economic embeddedness. REALEURASIA will investigate the entanglements of all three domains in the formation of Eurasian *society*. The doctoral students will begin their fieldwork in a major centre of the civilisation in order to familiarise themselves with the contemporary significance of religious ideals for political legitimation and the mechanisms of their dissemination. In the aftermath of diverse attempts in the twentieth century to break with earlier modes of legitimation and place power exclusively on secular, rational foundations, it is striking nowadays to observe a return to earlier civilisational idioms in new rhetoric ostensibly

focused on the national. Again, there is no better place to start to theorise these transformations than with Max Weber's distinctions between the "traditional" and the "rational-legal". Brittle rationalisation seems everywhere insufficient. Thus the socialist state in China propagates the cult of Confucius and plays with old notions of a 'harmonious society'. After repressing all forms of religion for generations, the postsocialist Russian state has cultivated intimate ties to the Russian Orthodox Church. In both India and Turkey, new forms of rapprochement have emerged, quite contrary to the secular impulse behind their 20th-century constitutions. In the case of Burma, it has become evident that both power-holders and opposition appeal to the Buddhist heritage to promote a sense of national identity. In each of these countries some citizens will feel excluded from the civilisational appeal, but they too can hardly avoid its effects.

### Methods, Schedule, Locations

It is planned to complete the appointment of team members in the first half of 2014. The new researchers will liaise closely with existing MPI Focus Groups in Economic Anthropology, Historical Anthropology, and Urban Anthropology, as well as the International Max Planck Research School ANARCHIE. Some PhD students (depending on the extent of their prior education in anthropology) will participate in courses organised jointly by the MPI and the Martin Luther University. All team members will receive additional methods and ethics training at the MPI. They will work together in the first half of 2015 in devising the main questionnaire instrument to be applied in the field.



*The locations already identified on the basis of their significance for the respective religion/ civilisation, which will serve as the sites for initial fieldwork of 1-2 months are Qufu in China, Mandalay in Burma, Banaras in India, Konya in Turkey, and Sergii Posad in Russia. (base map: ESRI® Data)*

The agenda of REALEURASIA can be readily extended to include Western Christianity in the comparisons. I therefore plan to resume my long-term field research in Hungary, where I hope to supervise a PhD project involving field research in the southern city of Szeged. Subject to the availability of MPI funding, additional European projects will include field research in Protestant northern Europe and in the Catholic Iberian Peninsula. Finally, again subject to the funds being available, it is hoped to recruit a doctoral student to work on Shinto ideals and practices.

The cities which will serve as the principal locations for a further 12-month ethnographic investigation of the moral economy will be identified definitively with the help of local partners and preliminary visits. It is anticipated that they will fall within the range of 200 000 to 400 000 inhabitants, and that, regardless of their industrial and pre-industrial histories, family-controlled businesses will constitute a significant sector of the urban economy. Data collection at this principal field site will begin with a profiling of local and regional economic structures, including property relations and the presence of foreign capital, and a complementary profiling of religious associations. In most if not all cases there will be multiple associations for small businessmen. It is expected that most of the businesses surveyed will rely heavily on the labour of family members, but participant observation and informal interviewing will draw in temporary and permanent staff, both white collar and blue collar, who are not family members. The core survey will be applied to family businesses with a total staff below 50. Popular attitudes to larger enterprises not under family control will be noted and opportunities will be sought to visit such workplaces to gather supplementary qualitative data. The qualitative data are crucial, since even the longest and most sophisticated questionnaires are inadequate for the grasping of thick moral concepts. Data will also be gathered in the domestic economies of households which do not pursue any significant business activity.

Qualitative data will be centred on the following ten topic-complexes:

- **Charity** – its definition in relation to traditional ideals of alms and modern philanthropy.
- **Corruption** – changing definitions over time, justifications for applying differential standards.
- **Credit and debt** – attitudes to money, sources of loans, legitimacy of interest.
- **Gender** – men and women as producers, traders, and consumers; and as owners of movable and immovable property, in light of traditional teachings.
- **Labour** – its definition in terms of ‘productive’ activities and livelihoods; and in terms of ‘human nature’. Contemporary labour markets; formal vs. informal; invisible work at home.
- **Market(s)** – limits of markets and commodity logic.
- **Mutuality** – who helps whom, with and without calculation, inside and outside the domestic group?

- **Property** – private/personal versus communal property; inheritance, other modes of transmission.
- **Taxation** – justifications in terms of the collectivity; public goods and redistribution.
- **Thrift** – the merits of frugality or the ascetic lifestyle, notions of self-sufficiency.

After return to Halle, all data (including qualitative data recorded in diaries, supplemented by visual media) will be digitised and analysed. Researchers will have the opportunity to revisit their field sites for up to two months to fill any gaps in their data in the summer of 2017. The final data will be made available to future researchers (subject to ethical considerations), either at the MPI or at the GESIS archive in Cologne.

Throughout the five years of the project, REALEURASIA will be coordinated on a half-time basis by Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, a specialist in Turkey and the Caucasus who has been closely associated with the Department since its establishment. It is intended that the expertise of the project's two postdoctoral researchers will complement that of Hann and Yalçın-Heckmann. One of these positions is earmarked for a sociologist who is thoroughly familiar with the Weberian paradigm and contemporary debates over multiple modernities. The other will be filled by an anthropologist or economic sociologist specialising in theories of embeddedness and/or value theory.

### **Summary and Conclusions: once more Eurasia**

REALEURASIA will demonstrate why contemporary theorists of globalisation need to take account not merely of local and regional differences, nor those of national 'varieties of capitalism', but of resilient civilisational traditions. To assess how far the major civilisations of Eurasia differ in their economic ethic, the concept of moral economy will be stretched from the domestic group to the landmass. REALEURASIA will thereby illuminate the prospects for the institutionalisation of a long-term unity. The postulated combination of unity and civilisational pluralism leads to a new perspective on the current political and economic problems of Europe. It should interest policy makers currently preoccupied with sustaining 'unity in diversity' at the level of the European Union, a level which from the perspective of REALEURASIA appears parochial.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> My arguments in this final section owe much to recent debates in Germany and France concerning the future of the euro and 'the European project'. I am especially indebted to the critical political economy of Wolfgang Streeck (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne), even if my conclusions are diametrically opposed to his. Whereas Streeck calls for a rejuvenation of the nation-state in order to 'buy time' in the struggle to sustain democracy in the face of neoliberal capitalism, I argue that it is high time to look beyond Europe and negotiate an epochal compromise with the other macro-regions of Eurasia. See Chris Hann, Levels of Parochialism. *Comparativ* 23 (4-5): 122-35 (2013); After the Euro, the Avra. *Soundings* 56 (Spring 2014).



Emphasising the connections and commonalities of Eurasia exposes one to a variety of charges. Other social scientists and historians suspect me of ‘Europe bashing’. Any relativising of unique accomplishments, for example by suggesting that Europe might be more fruitfully analysed historically as Western Eurasia, is seen in some quarters as a heresy. Another charge is ‘America bashing’, since the implicit ‘other’ of a Eurasia united by the dual legacies of millennia of agrarian economy and its ‘world-religions’ is the precocious hegemon of the twentieth century. The Obama presidency has made little progress in its efforts to curtail exploding social inequalities and to embed capitalist markets in moral economies comparable to those which evolved over millennia in the Old World. True, the *Gini* measure of inequality indicates that most states of Eurasia, including those which used to form part of the Soviet bloc, have come to resemble the US (the Scandinavian countries are the major remaining bastion of relative egalitarianism). But in spite of their rising *Gini* coefficients in the era of neoliberalism, the successor states to the great Asian civilisations of China and India have not abandoned the inclusive ideals of their past – even in India, the preamble to the Constitution proclaims a commitment to socialism!

Although it is not my purpose to ‘bash’ Europe or the US, I do indeed wish to destabilise some of the basic assumptions and geographical imaginaries of Western social science. Europeans have lived through momentous transformations in recent decades, including the end of Keynesian consensus and then of the Cold War, with its dominant East-West optic. The compass has been reset to emphasise a North-South cleavage. For Europeans, this now refers in the first instance to the Mediterranean casualties of the crisis of ‘Euroland’ (Wolfgang Streeck). On a larger scale, reference is increasingly made to ‘the Global South’. This optic is roughly and uncomfortably congruent with the classical binary of anthropology, the discipline which specialises in the ‘other’ and the ‘uncivilised’. Alas, this old stereotype lives on and seems to require fresh bashing with every generation.

The reactions of fellow anthropologists to my Eurasianism vary from polite tolerance of my eccentricities (e.g. my penchant for the concept of civilisation, which is of course open to debate) to emphatic rejection on the grounds that these constellations in Europe and Asia have nothing to do with the traditional subject matter of socio-cultural anthropologists. The majority, at least in the Anglo-sphere (which maintains a peculiar hegemony thanks in part to the simplicity and versatility of the English language), has difficulty in addressing an historical Eurasia. Their vision of the discipline has been grounded in contrast: they emphasise the *otherness* of Amazonia, of Central Africa, of Melanesia, so different from all the high cultures of the Old World. Due to the dominance of the ethnographic method, even those who have carried out field research in some region of Eurasia have seldom taken much trouble to contextualise it in time or space. This combination of ‘otherness’ and fieldwork has been so central to the discipline in the North Atlantic regions that it cannot be questioned.

I do not reject such approaches. As outlined in Part I above, we too at the MPI attach great weight to long-term field research using local languages. REALEURASIA will be no exception in this respect. Substantively, anthropologists must continue “provincialising Europe” (Dipesh Chakrabarty), by drawing attention to radically different ways of understanding and ordering the world. But as we do so, we need also to historicise the discourses, practices and power relations of the last few centuries, to take a long-term perspective on the genesis of the complex Western liberalism that lies behind global neoliberalism, in order to understand how the east and west sides of the North Atlantic, a relatively small sea, came to exercise global dominance. The key to this understanding lies in the factors which enabled multiple civilisations in Eurasia to set off on new paths in the wake of Neolithic and urban revolutions, paths that could not be followed elsewhere in the world.

A final frequent criticism is that to focus on Eurasia is still somehow parochial. From the point of view of a truly comparative social anthropology, to privilege Eurasia is little better than the present bias toward Europe and/or the North Atlantic, because in the economically globalised world of the twenty-first century it can make no sense to delimit any geographical entity, not even one of this scale. Moreover, since Eurasia was never politically unified in the past, why even speculate about such a unity today? My argument is that it has become urgent to recognise common heritage and civilisational pluralism in Eurasia precisely *because* of accelerating globalisation and the ever more urgent need to consider the planet as a whole. These civilisations can dig deep into their connected pasts in order to negotiate new forms of partnership, moral economy, and governance, above all ways of taming ‘the markets’ for the benefit of people everywhere and their environments. The future not only of the ‘welfare state’ but of human *society* in its most elemental sense is currently threatened by the neoliberal ‘race to the bottom’, a race which the resurgent powers of South and East Eurasia are well placed to win. Both the euro and the larger project of the European Union have failed abjectly. Brussels has not even been able to facilitate the integration of the postsocialist states of Eastern Europe, whose inhabitants had looked admiringly for so long to the West, but who nowadays are likely to cast their democratic votes for extreme nationalists – if they bother to vote at all. The disastrous denouement of Marxist-Leninist socialism has intensified the need for Europeans – all Europeans – not merely to reconstruct democratic institutions within their pseudo-continent, but to strive for a historically grounded accord with the other resilient civilisations of the landmass, as the essential prelude to the realisation of new institutions to secure global human flourishing.

## Buddhist Temple Economies in Urban Asia

*Christoph Brumann*

*This new group will explore the institutional survival of selected Buddhist monasteries in their wider social, economic, and political context, including both the Theravada and Mahayana schools. Contrary to the philosophical bent in Buddhist studies that often is as otherworldly as its object of study, this group aims to achieve a thoroughly economic and social anthropology of religious institutions. Further information will be posted on the homepage of the MPI following the appointment of the researchers (two postdocs and two doctoral students) in October 2014.*

Continuing my interest in urban anthropology, this new research group will focus on Buddhist temple economies in urban Asia. No other ‘world religion’ gives monasticism such a central role as Buddhism where the *sangha* (community of monks and, where recognised, nuns) counts among the foundational ‘three jewels’ together with the Buddha and his teachings (*dhamma*). Against the dominant textual approach in Buddhist studies that privileges the canonical scriptures, anthropological contributions such as those by Melford Spiro, Michael Carrithers, or Stanley Tambiah have often focused on the articulation of Buddhist high religion with laypeople’s ritual needs and their more local, communal, and instrumental cults. There are some partial exceptions, such as Jane Bunnag’s study of Thai monasticism, but there is still a dearth of ethnographic analyses of how individual Buddhist monasteries and temples as economic, social, and political institutions manage to sustain themselves and the *sangha* through time. This neglect of the economic dimension on the one hand mirrors Buddhist ideals of world renunciation where monks own little property and money matters are often delegated to lay believers. On the other hand, this lack is due to the dogmatic and soteriological bias of Buddhist studies which supports the construction of a ‘pure’, philosophical, and individualist Buddhism where economic matters and adaptations to lay demands are secondary concerns, if not signs of degeneration.

Adherents themselves often share this view: Buddhist priests in Japan, for example, are overwhelmingly convinced that their specific variety of family-run temples specialising in commercial cemeteries, funerals, and memorial services – to the detriment of individual meditation, study, or teaching – is inferior to the true Buddhism of an unspecified but usually remote past. This denigration of economic aspects reached a peak in Max Weber’s view that Buddhism, while obliging the laity to sustain the monks through alms-giving, does not provide it with guidelines for the rational conduct of everyday life. Since salvation outside the *sangha* is not considered possible, a spiritual foundation for a capitalist ethos could not coalesce autochthonously in Buddhist societies.

Historical studies have begun to question this position, however. Not only did the precise extent of world renunciation and individual property vary considerably even in early monastic history, Buddhist temples have also become rich and powerful institutions in a wide range of places and historical times, provoking the corresponding criticism and prosecution. “Managing monks” (the title of Jonathan Silk’s historical study) in the most mundane matters is a central concern where they number into the hundreds or even thousands, but so it is also for single-priest temples in Japan losing their parishioners to demographic decline and alternative service providers. Closer inspection may reveal that historically, the Buddhist temple has not been less of an economic vanguard and a firm before its time than the Christian monastery is often made to be, and that for instance the widespread Theravada practice of spending formative educational years in a temple instils a habitual disposition towards a disciplined conduct of life that is very much compatible with capitalist careers after leaving.

A primary focus will therefore be on temple economies in the strict sense, charting the flow of money, goods, and services between monks, lay believers, and the secular institutions of modern states. Precisely because world renunciation is a central ideal, the dogmatic justification of such flows, their presentation as gifts and donations rather than as commodities and paid services, their instrumental deployment by laypeople and political actors, and their moral assessment both by monks and the laity all need to be charted too. Where Buddhist societies have also experienced socialism, monks and the lay community have had to reconcile two competing soteriologies with a similar official disdain for private possessions. The educational and welfare functions of Buddhist temples too have economic effects, and the judicial framework, starting with the taxation of temple property and services, often plays a decisive role. Such a focus on temple economies will not exclude but rather encourage a close look at how the temple is socially and politically embedded in wider networks and structures. I aim for a comprehensive analysis of Buddhist temples ‘on the ground’ as informed by their social, economic, and political context, rather than up in the sky.

This research agenda will be pursued in Asian cities, thus distinguishing itself from the majority of ethnographic studies that have concentrated on the countryside. The urban anthropological interest provides the connection to previous activities of my Focus Group discussed earlier in this Report. I intend to build on the contacts established in my prior field studies in Kyoto, the capital of Japanese Buddhism. This is not only a pragmatic choice: the historical Buddha appealed especially to urban middle classes; and temples are meant to provide refuge from the world, resulting in the frequent placement of the most important ones and denominational headquarters in cities. Urban temples thus face an environment in which the general challenges of modernisation, secularisation, consumerism, and globalisation are most acute and where lower levels of social integration mean that temple survival depends much more on believers’ conscious and individual choices than on inherited conventions and obligations. In Theravada Buddhism, temples also play an active role in

socialising country boys to urban life.

The project will integrate at least five field studies in different Asian countries. Two will be dedicated to Theravada and two to Mahayana, thus covering both major traditions of Buddhism but countering the emphasis on Theravada in previous anthropological work. Each team will consist of a senior (postdoc) and a junior researcher. The selection of countries and the inclusion of nunneries will be based on the qualifications and genders of candidates, but projects based in China, Nepal, Ladakh (India), Myanmar, and Laos will be particularly welcome. I myself will return to Kyoto to research temples there. In all these studies, the focus will be on the entire social and economic network of selected temples. This does not bind us to an exclusive temple perspective, and while living in the temple or even ordaining as a monk (which is possible in Theravada) is an option for at least part of the fieldwork, this remains subject to specific ethnographic conditions. An application for third-party funding is planned with Patrice Ladwig who was until recently a member of the Historical Anthropology Focus Group (pp. 22–30). Ladwig conducted his doctoral fieldwork on Buddhism in Laos, ordained as a monk for this purpose, and contributes in-depth knowledge of Buddhist studies.

The new group continues a departmental interest in the *longue durée* effects of civilisations in Eurasia. It complements REALEURASIA (pp. 59–67), which explores the articulation of world religions with family business ethics, including a case-study of Buddhism in Burma. Continuing synergies are also expected with the Historical Anthropology Group. Finally, major Buddhist temples are also often heritage sites with all the economic ramifications this entails, so that concerns from my previous Group, “The Global Political Economy of Cultural Heritage”, may come up again.

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**Patriarchy and Familism in Time and Space:  
The Comparative Study of Co-Residence across Eurasia**

*Mikolaj Szoltysek*

*Mikolaj Szoltysek came to Halle in 2013 from the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research in Rostock, where he was Deputy Head of the Laboratory for Historical Demography in the Department of Joshua Goldstein. He is currently working closely with Georg Fertig, Professor of Economic History at the Martin Luther University in Halle, and will formally join our Department in October 2014. In these pages he outlines the research priorities for which he intends to seek external funding following the defence of his postgraduate dissertation. Further information will be posted on the homepage of the MPI in due course.*

My recently completed Habilitation project *Rethinking East Central Europe: family systems and co-residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* explores the structure of co-resident domestic groups and living arrangements in diverse regions of 18th-century Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. In this study I applied quantitative methodologies from demography and sociology to historical data, but the conceptualisation of the major themes was shaped by classic social anthropological approaches to domestic group organisation and kinship. Following the publication of this study, I plan to extend my analysis of the historical embeddedness of domestic group organisation to other regions of Eurasia.

For millennia, the most fundamental aspects of kinship, socialisation, and economic cooperation have taken place within the household. Through interdisciplinary approaches to households and household membership in Eurasia, my new project will interrogate regional variations in living arrangements from Portugal to China. Is it possible to brand major areas of Eurasia as having a particular type of household system? Are these patterns the result of differences in economic, demographic, and environmental variation, or do they have a deeper and more persistent 'cultural' basis? Was there a familial 'borderline' separating Eastern Europe from Western Europe, and/or Europe from Asia?

Geographic variation in family systems in historical and modern times has long been recognised, but its exact spatial contours and the origins and causes of different family systems remain the subject of contentious debate. John Hajnal contrasted the "joint household formation system" of the major Eurasian societies with a northwest European system based on small nuclear families, whereas Jack Goody has played down the notion of radical differences between the family histories of Europe and Asia. Important similarities between Europe and Asia in human motivation and family-population behaviour have been revealed by the volumes in the MIT Press series *Eurasia Project in Population and Family History*, while Steven Ruggles has refuted both European and North American exceptionalism with regard to nuclear

family residence. Despite these contributions, the lack of adequate comparable data has made it impossible to look comprehensively and with high resolution at the diversity of Eurasian family forms across different communities, regions, and societies, as well as over time.

To remedy this shortcoming, my research will focus on the investigation of several crucial aspects of Eurasian family systems, notably marital behaviour, household and family formation, the life course, domestic group structure, the residential situation of the elderly, and household organisation of labour and care ('social support'). The innovative *Index of Patriarchy* developed by myself and Siegfried Gruber at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research will be used to capture basic contours of power relations within domestic groups in different regions of Europe and Asia. The index is a composite measure which allows for precise representation of the degree of patriarchal bias across various societal and familial settings according to four major dimensions of patriarchy:

- domination of men over women;
- domination of the older generation over the younger generation;
- the extent of patrilocality;
- the numerical balance between the sexes.

The index will be applied to the huge collection of micro-level data from the Mosaic project (see below) that covers individuals and households in societies spanning from Portugal to China and India, and covering almost five hundred years of Eurasian history. The data can be disaggregated by localities and groups distinguished by socio-economic status or traits such as ethnicity or language. It is anticipated that the patterning of the many elements of power relations and agency contained in the Index will generate new ways of accounting for both the geographies and the histories of family organisation across the landmass.

Following the major thread of historical-sociological and anthropological research into family patterns, I plan within the framework of this project to carry out a more specific sub-project involving a comparative analysis of European and Asian 'joint-family' systems. Despite the lack of clear terminological clarification, the term 'joint-family' (or 'extended family') has been evoked to denote the experience of living in multiple-family domestic groups in societies widely dispersed across historic Eurasia including 15<sup>th</sup>-century Tuscany; early modern France and Italy; Finland, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and Latvia; and the Balkans. Moreover, until quite recently, the joint-family system is reputed to have been the norm in the world's most populous agricultural societies, China and India.

Numerous scholars have drawn attention to the broad similarities in living arrangements and commonalities in the interrelationships and contexts of the joint-family (co-residence of two or more nuclear families, patrilineal reckoning of kinship, virilocal household formation, marginal position of females, and a family and kin

based approach to welfare provision). Arthur Wolf and Susan Hanley advanced a provocative hypothesis that differences in family organisation between Western and Eastern Europe might have an East Asian parallel in the differences between China and Japan.

With the help of an international network of scholars, I plan to test this hypothesis through the comparative analysis of family, kinship, and demographic differentials of joint-family societies in Eastern Europe (Russia, Finnish Karelia, Latvia, Belarus, Eastern Ukraine, the Balkans) and various settings in Asia (primarily in China and India). By applying plural methodologies, the project will highlight sameness and difference between these societies concerning the individual life course, the developmental cycle of the domestic group, female autonomy, the living arrangements of the elderly, and the social support provided by the family. Reassessing the nature of joint-family systems will ultimately lead to a wider discussion of the geography of joint-family forms and their social, economic, cultural, and environmental underpinnings. This will in turn facilitate the formulation of new theorems regarding family organisation in relation to multiple dimensions of resilience and transformation across Eurasia.

A further large-scale project, for which external funding will be sought in due course, will consist of analysing the mechanisms which link the ownership and control of valuables to power and the reproduction of society. In agrarian societies the house and the land were always central to these processes. The existing literature on strategies of heirship and gendered inequalities is uneven. Much remains to be done, even for some regions of Europe. One major challenge is to investigate the new modes of property transmission which emerged when the everyday lives of rural people throughout much of Eastern Europe were transformed following their emancipation from serfdom in the nineteenth century. The still larger challenge is to understand how new forms of property and changes in transmission are related to changes in kinship and domestic organisation as agriculture loses its dominant role in the overall economy, both in Europe and in Asia. I shall attempt a comparative analysis of the processes involved and, in a further step, link my results to contemporary social science debates concerning the continued (and perhaps growing) importance of inherited wealth in the determination of individual life chances.

These research plans build primarily on the Mosaic project ([www.censusmosaic.org](http://www.censusmosaic.org)) developed between 2009 and 2012 at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research in Rostock by Joshua Goldstein, myself, and Siegfried Gruber. This project has already made accessible microdata for almost 3 million individuals, from Portugal to Russia, between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. The new work will expand the comparative analysis into the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Siberia, as well as into South and East Asia. This will be achieved through the utilisation of the historical and contemporary microdata now available for numerous Asian countries (Armenia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kyrgyz Republic, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and



Vietnam) through the University of Minnesota's Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International. Particular attention will be paid to the surviving historical materials from the Russian Empire Census of 1897 (especially for Asian parts of the empire), along with the so-called Polar Census of 1926. I will also make particular use of the China Multi-Generational Panel Datasets Series spanning from 1749 to 1909 that are available through the University of Michigan's Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

## **Part IV**

# **International Max Planck Research School**



## **Anthropology, Archaeology and History of Eurasia (IMPRS ANARCHIE)**

*Daria Sambuk*

### **Introduction**

The International Max Planck Research School for the Anthropology, Archaeology and History of Eurasia (IMPRS ANARCHIE) was launched in 2012 as a cooperative project of the “Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia” Department of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology and three institutes of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg: the Institute of History, the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, and the Institute for Art History and European Archaeology. In addition, two graduate schools of the university contribute to the recruitment and funding of ANARCHIE students: “Society and Culture in Motion” and “Enlightenment – Religion – Knowledge”.

ANARCHIE is governed by a Principal Faculty consisting of senior staff in the participating disciplines, who also supervise the doctoral projects. The Faculty is headed by three Speakers, and overall responsibility lies in the hands of Chris Hann, who also represents the field of anthropology. In setting up the school, Hann worked very closely with Michael G. Müller, who has recently been replaced as the representative for history by Andreas Pečar. François Bertemes plays the leading role for archaeology. The ANARCHIE coordinator is Daria Sambuk.

IMPRS ANARCHIE is designed for three cohorts of twelve PhD students, each involving all three disciplines. The first cohort was recruited in 2012; the others will follow in 2014 and 2015. Each cohort works around a core theme: “collective identifications” for the first, “religion and ritual” for the second, and “economic and demographic drivers of social change” for the third. Each of these themes can be addressed in the broadest possible time span, from the Neolithic to the present day, across the entire Eurasian landmass.

The ultimate aim of ANARCHIE is to renew interdisciplinary contact between anthropology, archaeology, and history. Jointly taught courses in the first two semesters lay the theoretical and methodological foundations of the programme. Winter and summer schools offer platforms to discuss the projects with the local scientific community and with internationally renowned experts.



## Research Agenda

The impulse behind ANARCHIE was born out of the awareness that contacts between these three fields of study have weakened in the course of the professionalisation of the academy. It might be argued (and still is in some places) that archaeology and anthropology are both latecomers, ‘subsidiary’ to the classical discipline of history. In modern universities they are often to be found outside the humanities, the traditional home of *Clio*. Anthropology has successfully reinvented itself to escape from its longstanding association with the *Naturvölker*. Both in terms of empirical range and theoretical innovation, the discipline has been dynamic in the postcolonial era. Arguably, however, the changes have been greater in archaeology, above all as a result of a rapprochement with the natural sciences and ever more sophisticated methods. The disciplines have been going their separate ways for a long time, such that nowadays, even when archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians ask similar questions, they lack the training and knowledge that would permit them to consider the perspectives of their erstwhile colleagues.

Although ANARCHIE does not support projects devoted exclusively to disciplinary history, the curriculum does provide coverage of the main trends. Dialogue between the disciplines has been encouraged from the very beginning of the programme, together with an awareness of the big questions underpinning all three. The introductory courses into methods and theoretical concepts explicitly open up comparative and interdisciplinary approaches. Although every PhD student has a clear disciplinary affiliation (a requirement of the Martin Luther University, which does not award joint degrees), each project is expected to draw significantly on at least one of the other two disciplines; this is reflected in the composition of each student’s Advisory Committee.

Using the vocabulary of *multiple temporalities*, IMPRS questions established modes of periodisation. With the notion of *multiple geographies*, it explores the construction of historical regions, as well as states and ethnicities. Ultimately, ANARCHIE postulates the Eurasian landmass from Japan to the British Isles as a unity, thus pushing against Eurocentric scholarship, which has long insisted on a ‘continental’ divide between Europe and Asia. We emphasise interaction and the movement of people, ideas, goods, and technologies. It follows that some of the theories devised to analyse contemporary capitalist globalisation may be relevant (albeit on smaller scales) to phenomena of the pre-industrial era. In recent and contemporary scholarship, historians such as Jürgen Osterhammel, archaeologists such as Andrew Sherratt, and anthropologists such as Jack Goody have gone against the grain of disciplinary specialisation. ANARCHIE students are encouraged to respect and follow such trails.

## Interdisciplinary Cooperation

Interdisciplinary dialogue is fostered by focusing on multivalent contested concepts such as ‘culture’, ‘society’, ‘civilisation’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘class’, ‘network’, ‘identification’, and ‘state’. Can we agree on common definitions and operationalise them?

In conceptualising their projects, students are encouraged from the outset to consider insights from the other disciplines. That no social, cultural, or economic phenomena can be understood and made plausible without historical grounding, has become evident to the MPI anthropologists, who have learned that written historical sources can also be approached with anthropological questions and techniques that often originate in anthropologically inspired historical research. From archaeologists, they may acquire greater awareness of the built environment and the constructed character of space.

As for archaeologists, whose research is unthinkable without a materially based concept of culture, they have much to learn from anthropological warnings of the pitfalls of assuming tight connections between material traces and ethnicity. Archaeologists, who cannot rely on written sources, may instead, if the proper caveats are entered, make constructive use of recent anthropological research to draw parallels or *analogies* with the modes of communication or production techniques of the non-literate, non-industrial groups they study. Both archaeologists and historians can profit from fresh developments in network analysis and debates over the performative aspects of social action, fields very actively developed in anthropology. For historians, one benefit of close cooperation with anthropologists is the refinement of methods of oral history; here again there can be reciprocal benefits for anthropologists, as several ANARCHIE anthropologists are combining oral history research with archival work.

Synergies between the individual projects have already been numerous, leading to unlikely but fruitful further questions. Does the construction of the past and its instrumentalisation in the course of identity formation follow a similar logic in Early Modern England and contemporary Mongolia? Did the transfer of goods and technologies affect the local societies of the Bronze Age Aegean and medieval Central Europe in basically similar ways? Can a detailed study of local networks in a German town in the late Wilhelmine era reveal mechanisms that might help to reconstruct social relations as among the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans?



## Current PhD Projects

The first cohort of PhD students, those who started their work in Halle in October 2012, is conducting research which falls in one way or another under the umbrella topic of collective identifications. The group consists of twelve internationally recruited young researchers, four from each discipline. Their projects focus on various regions across Eurasia: the Aegean, Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and China. The chronological framework of the first cohort stretches from the Bronze Age to the present. The anthropological projects typically pay close attention to uses made of the past in the present, and to how different versions of the past are promoted by different actors.

*Morphing “Chineseness”: the negotiation between history and modernity in Xi’an* (Leah Cheung Ah Li, anthropology – Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Graduate School “Society and Culture in Motion”)

This research project investigates the process of heritage making in Xi’an, the most ancient city in China, which is currently experiencing intensive industrial and urban development. Leah Cheung analyses how historical and archaeological sites are used to represent Chinese ‘history’ in order to construct a common Chinese identity.

*Oral Traditions and Moral Citizens: historical anthropology of Kyrgyz oral poetry performances* (Mustafa Coşkun, anthropology – Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

Mustafa Coşkun’s research aims at a comparative analysis of oral poetry in Soviet and post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, where oral poetry performances have long been embedded into the moral and political language and constitute a prominent aspect of the social life of the population. Since oral poetry performances have become a fertile ground for the circulation of moral vocabulary and expression of socio-political commentary, their study will lead to new insights into both socialist and postsocialist modernisation projects.

*Acculturation in Thracia and Moesia Inferior from the 1st to the 4th century CE. The role of the settlers of the eastern Roman provinces as a cultural medium* (Daniel Delchev, archaeology – Institute for the Study of the Ancient World)

On the basis of archaeological evidence, epigraphic, numismatic, and written sources, Daniel Delchev studies the eastern Balkans as a bridge for cultural exchange between eastern and western parts of Eurasia. The aim of the project is to analyse the role of settlers as a cultural medium: their origins, and their impact on material culture and society as a whole.

*The Judicious Historian: performing an impartial history of England in the early Enlightenment* (Miriam Franchina, history – Institute of History, Graduate School “Enlightenment – Religion – Knowledge”)

By examining the oeuvre and reconstructing the social environment of the historian Paul Rapin Thoyras, a French Huguenot émigré, Miriam Franchina seeks to shed light on the European identity discourse of the early eighteenth century. Thoyras’ bestseller, *The History of England*, reflects the emerging interest for the national past as a key to understanding the present and to creating a new identity based on the potentialities of human reason.

*European Stoneware. Innovation and transfer of technology during the medieval and post-medieval period* (Nadine Holesch, archaeology – Institute for Art History and European Archaeology)

This project analyses changes in European pottery, one of the most important materials in human daily life, across time and space. Nadine Holesch focuses her research on the diffusion of technology. The reconstruction of potters’ lives and working conditions allows her to draw conclusions about contacts between different regions and the nature of the relevant collectivities.

*Forms of Respect and Disregard in Mongolian Culture* (Elisa Kohl-Garrity, anthropology – Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

Elisa Kohl-Garrity’s project tackles Mongolian notions of respect, which are very important for an understanding of history as moral authority. The study looks into the changing formats and framing of respect in various historiographical projects, which will be analysed in their specific socio-economic contexts.

*Communication Networks of the Southern Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Minoan Era* (Tobias Neuser, archaeology – Institute for Art History and European Archaeology)

In order to analyse the functioning of Aegean and east Mediterranean communication networks, Tobias Neuser focuses on storage and consumption vessels imported to the island of Tavşan Adası, where he has been excavating alongside François Bertemes. A study of the archaeological remains of these vessels permits original conclusions concerning trade and colonisation.

*The Architecture of Tavşan Adası in Its Aegean Context* (Michael Rechta, archaeology – Institute for Art History and European Archaeology)

Like his colleague Tobias Neuser, Michael Rechta is dealing with Tavşan Adası, formerly a peninsula and now an island off the Turkish coast. Approaching the mechanisms of regional exchange via architecture, he aims to shed new light on communication within the network, and also on the social and economic structure of the island in the Middle and Late Middle/ Early Late phases of the Bronze Age.





*Between Luxury and Cruelty: Etruscan otherness in Greek and Roman literature* (Karoline Rolle, history – Institute for the Study of the Ancient World)

Karoline Rolle examines Greek and Roman descriptions of the Etruscans. By scrutinising the topoi, stereotypes, and arguments used in the writings, the project uncovers the self-perceptions of the Greeks and the Romans, and the ways in which they constructed and fostered their collective identities.

*The Making of House, Home, and Family in Socialist and Postsocialist Azerbaijan* (Sascha Roth, anthropology – Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Graduate School “Society and Culture in Motion”)

Sascha Roth sets out to compare socialist and postsocialist notions and practices of family, marriage, and appropriate housing in Azerbaijan’s capital, Baku. The ways in which families negotiate their values, norms, and relations and how they cope with transformation and discontinuities are crucial for understanding contemporary Azerbaijani society.

*The Cross and the Hammer: the reception of social thought in the Catholic Church in the first half of the 20th century* (Jakub Štofanič, history – Institute of History)

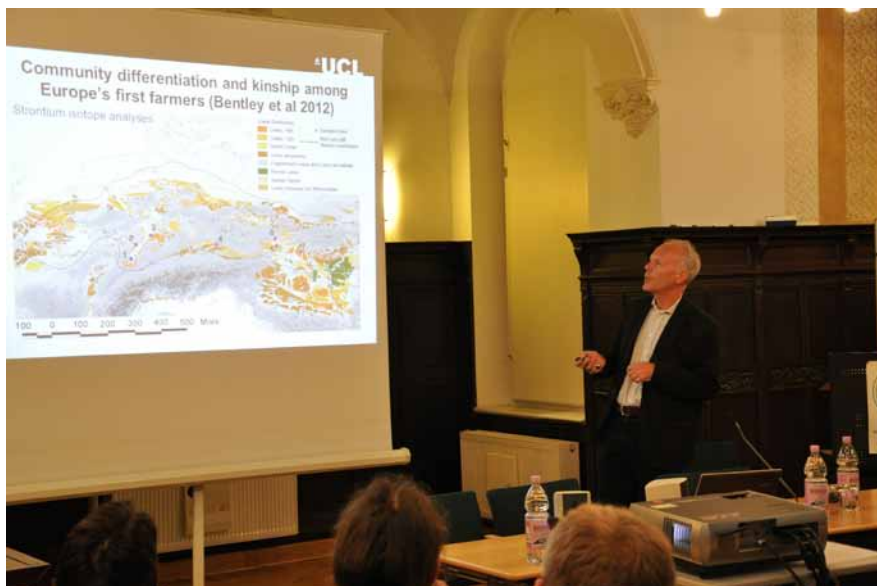
The social programme developed by the Catholic Church and wider Catholic communities in response to new challenges such as industrialisation, urbanisation, the formation of a working class, and migration patterns is the subject of Jakub Štofanič’s dissertation. Focusing particularly on Belgium and Czechoslovakia, he examines the socio-political circumstances promoting and hindering the growth of this diffuse movement.

*Social Agents in Small Towns: the town of Delitzsch before the Nazis came to power* (Hendrik Tieke, history – Institute of History)

Hendrik Tieke sets out to reconstruct local social agents in a small town in Saxony in order to reveal their everyday networks, alliances, and factions. A detailed examination of documents pertaining to associations, schools, marriages, etc. will enable a more subtle and accurate picture of German society in this period than is possible by focusing solely on political cleavages.

## Activities

The launch of the Graduate School in October 2012 was marked by a distinguished lecture delivered by Stephen Shennan, Director of the Institute of Archaeology at University College London. In his talk titled “Patterns of Long-Term Change in the European Neolithic” Shennan addressed the fluctuation of populations and their impact on social, economic, and cultural patterns, raising questions that can only adequately be addressed via a unified archaeological-anthropological approach.



*Stephen Shennan at the opening lecture of IMPRS ANARCHIE in October 2012. (Photo: A. Pippel, 2012)*

The ANARCHIE winter school in Wittenberg in February 2013 featured keynote lectures by Louis D. Nebelsick (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw), Debora Gerstenberger (Free University of Berlin), and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann (University of Pardubice). Unlike this winter school, the summer school in Naumburg in July was organised primarily by ANARCHIE students themselves, who set up the programme, selected the external speakers, and coordinated their own presentations in the light of the entire programme as it evolved in the course of the year. Under the title “Identities in (Ex)Change: Interdisciplinary Approaches and Challenges”, the School was divided into three sections corresponding to central interests of this cohort: continuity within change; ritual and exchange; and social (f)actors of change. Alexander Etkind (University of Cambridge/European University Institute, Florence), Bruce Grant (New York University), and Roberto Risch (Autonomous University of Barcelona) delivered keynote lectures and greatly enriched the discussions.



*ANARCHIE summer school in Naumburg, July 2013. (Photo: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, 2013)*

### **Inaugural teaching Faculty, 2012–2013**

**François Bertemes** (Institute for Art History and European Archaeology, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Christoph Brumann** (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle), **Helga Bumke** (Institute for Art History and European Archaeology, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Kirsten Endres** (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle), **Georg Fertig** (Institute for History, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Chris Hann** (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle), **Christian Mileta** (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Michael G. Müller** (Institute for History, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Andreas Pečar** (Institute for History, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Dittmar Schorkowitz** (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle), **Hans-Georg Stephan** (Institute for Art History and European Archaeology, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), **Lale Yalçın-Heckmann** (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle).

# **Appendices**



## APPENDIX I: PROJECTS

- Individual Project (senior/postdoctoral)
- + Individual Project (external staff)
- \* Individual Project (PhD)
- ❖ Associated Project

### Property Relations (1999-2005)

#### *Academic Leadership: Chris Hann*

*The final report of this Focus Group can be read and downloaded from the MPI Homepage:*

*<http://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/de/research/d2/completed/property/index.html>*

- Brandtstädter, Susanne: Local Property Strategies and New Moral Economies in Southeastern China
  - Cellarius, Barbara: Seeing the Forests for the Trees in Postsocialist Bulgaria
  - Eidson, John: Changing Property Relations in Rural East Germany – A Case Study in Sachsen
  - Hann, Chris: The New Property System in Tázlár, Hungary
  - Heady, Patrick: Property and Kinship in Rural Russia – and Elsewhere
  - Kaneff, Deema: Comparing Rural Property Relations in Bulgaria and Ukraine
  - \* Leutloff, Carolin: Claiming Ownership in Post-War Croatia: The Dynamics of Property Relations and Ethnic Conflict in the Knin Region
  - Milligan, Gordon: Changing Property Relations in Rural East Germany – The Present Past in West Pomerania
  - Tadesse, Wolde Gossa: Contentious Property: Tradition, the Modern State, and Churches in Southwest Ethiopia
  - \* Torsello, Davide: Trust, Property and Social Change in a Southern Slovakian Village
  - Widlok, Thomas: Property Dilemmas in Non-Western and Non-Eastern Case Studies
  - Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale: Individualists by Force? Property Reforms and Rural Economy in Postsocialist Azerbaijan
- 
- ❖ Cartwright, Andrew: State Law and Everyday Property Relations in Romania
  - ❖ Gambold Miller, Liesl L.: Continuity and Change in Rural Russia
  - ❖ Grandits, Hannes: Inheritance and Kinship in Europe (with Patrick Heady)

## **Siberian Project Group**

***Coordinator: Erich Kasten***

*(this sub-group functioned within the Property Relations Focus Group but also addressed other topics. Its work provided foundations for the Siberian Studies Centre of the MPI, founded in 2003. See also Erich Kasten [ed.], Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia, 3 Vols, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2002-2005)*

- Gray, Patty A.: Decollectivisation in Rural Russia: A Perspective from the Far North
- Kasten, Erich: Reindeer Herding Communities in Kamchatka: Economic Transformation and Socio-Cultural Continuities
- King, Alexander: The Symbolic Power of Deer and Landscape in the Kamchatka Periphery
- Ssorin-Chaikov, Nikolai: Private Farms and “Primordial Clans” among Evenki of the Lower Yenisei River Basin
- \* Stammler, Florian: Post-Soviet Herders Meet the Market: Reindeer Nomadism in Yamal, Western Siberia
- \* Ventsel, Aimar: Kinship, Property Relations, and Informal Networks in the Tundra of the Republic of Sakha (Eastern Siberia)
- Ziker, John P.: Property, Hunting, and Food Sharing in the Taimyr Autonomous Region (North-Central Siberia)

## **Political, Economic, and Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Bulgaria and Poland: An anthropological study (2003–2006)**

***Academic Leadership: Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine***

*(funded by the Volkswagen Foundation; a report was submitted to the Foundation on completion of the project. Further information can be found in Deema Kaneff and Frances Pine [eds.], Global Connections and Emerging Inequalities in Europe: perspectives on poverty and transnational migration, London: Anthem 2011; see especially the framing chapters of the editors.)*

- \* Bogdanova, Zlatina: Exclusion and Inclusion in Postsocialist Bulgaria: The Significance of Changing Kinship Networks
- Kaneff, Deema: The Role of Urban Kinship Networks in Bulgaria
- \* Pilichowska, Anastazja: Exclusion and Inclusion in Postsocialist Poland: The Significance of Changing Kinship Networks
- Pine, Frances: Political, Economic, and Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Poland

## **Caucasian Boundaries and Citizenship from Below (2004–2009)**

### ***Minerva Group, Academic Leadership: Lale Yalçın-Heckmann***

*(a final report by this group was included in the MPI Report for 2008–2009. See also the special double issue of Citizenship Studies [Vol. 15, Nos. 3–4, June 2011], edited by Yalçın-Heckmann and Julia Eckert; see in particular Part II, “Claiming Social Citizenship”)*

- \* Aivazishvili, Nino: Staatsbürgerschaft gestern und heute: Das Beispiel der georgischstämmigen Ingiloer in Aserbajdschan
- \* Baghdasaryan, Milena: Social Implications of Armenian Citizenship for Refugees from Azerbaijan
- \* Mataradze, Teona: Citizenship and Labour Migration in Georgia
- Mühlfried, Florian: Being a State and States of Being in Highland Georgia
- Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale: Rural Property and Economy in Postsocialist Azerbaijan
- ❖ Özgen, Neşe: Changes in Property and Citizenship Regimes in the Marches between Georgia, Turkey, and Armenia over the Last Century and a Half

## **Religion, Identity, Postsocialism (2003–2010)**

### ***Academic Leadership: Chris Hann***

*The final report of this Focus Group can be read and downloaded from the MPI Homepage:*

*<http://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/de/research/d2/completed/religion-morality/index.html>*

## **I Religion and Civil Society (2003–2006)**

### **Central Asia**

- \* Hilgers, Irene: Religious Identities in the Ferghana Valley
- Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina: Local Islam in Postsocialist Khorezm (Uzbekistan)
- \* McBrien, Julie: Muslim Life in a Kyrgyz-Uzbek Town
- Pelkmans, Mathijs: Religious Frontiers after Socialism: Missionary Encounters and the Dynamics of Conversion in Kyrgyzstan
- Rasanayagam, Johan: Becoming Muslim in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan: An Anthropology of Moral Reasoning
- ❖ \*Jessa, Paweł: The Cult of Saints in Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan
- ❖ Khizrieva, Galina: Modern Murids: Islamic Revival in the North Caucasus
- ❖ \*Stephan, Manja: Moral Education, Islam and Being Muslim in Tajikistan



### **East-Central Europe**

- \* Buzalka, Juraj: Nation, Religion, and Tolerance in Eastern Europe
- \* Foszto, László: Charismatic Christianity among the Roma in Romania
- Heintz, Monica: Moral Education in Romania and the Republic of Moldova
- \* Naumescu, Vlad: Modes of Religiosity in Eastern Christianity: Religious Processes and Social Change in Ukraine
  
- ❖ Mahieu, Stéphanie: Re-Orientalizing the Church: Charity and Morality in the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church
- ❖ Richardson, Tanya: Living Cosmopolitanism? Religious Revival and Local Identity in Odessa

## **II Religion and Morality (2006-2009)**

### **Eastern Germany**

- Becci, Irene: Religion at Prison Release in Eastern Germany
- Huber, Birgit: Catholics in Eastern Germany: A Case Study in the Anthropology of Moralities
- Peperkamp, Esther: Business and God in Saxony: Life Histories and Moral Narratives of Christian Entrepreneurs
- Rajtar, Małgorzata: 'Heaven on Earth': Conversion and Morality in Eastern Germany

### **European Russia**

- \* Köllner, Tobias: Entrepreneurship, Religion, and Morality in Contemporary Russia
- Komáromi, Tünde: Religious and Secular Concepts of Evil in Contemporary Russia
- \* Ladykowska, Agata: 'Orthodox Atheist' – Religion, Morality, and Education in Postsocialist Russia
- Tocheva, Detelina: Community and Economy in Parish Life
- Zigon, Jarrett: Religion, Identity, Postsocialism: Cultivating Responsible Persons in the Drug Rehabilitation Programme of a Russian Orthodox Church in St. Petersburg

### **South-East Asia**

- \* Binder, Friedrich: Urban Spirit Mediums and the Construction of Moralities in Modern Taiwan
- Lauser, Andrea: Ancestor Worship and Pilgrimage in Late Socialist Vietnam
- \* Roszko, Edyta: Spirited Dialogues: Contestations of Religious Landscapes in Central Vietnam's Littoral Society
  
- ❖ Vargyas, Gábor: Resettled Ancestors: Religious Change among the Bru (Vietnam)

## **The Catholic Church and Religious Pluralism in Lithuania and Poland (2007–2010)**

### ***Academic Leadership: Ingo Schröder and Kinga Sekerdej***

*(funded by the Volkswagen Foundation; a report was submitted to the Foundation on completion of the project. Further information can be found in the final report of the Focus Group “Religion, Identity, Postsocialism” [see above]).*

- \* Pasięka, Agnieszka: ‘Seven Ways to God’: The Dynamics of Religious Pluralism in Rural Southern Poland
- \* Pranaitytė, Lina: Meaning and Experience in Symbolic and Material Exchange Practices: The Church, the Priest, the Living, and the Dead in a Lithuanian Rural Catholic Community
- Schröder, Ingo W.: Catholic Hegemony, Common Sense, and Secularism in Urban Lithuania
- Sekerdej, Kinga: Religious Pluralism in Poland: *contradictio in adiecto*? Internal Diversity in the Roman Catholic Church

## **Kinship and Social Support in China and Vietnam (2006–2016)**

### ***Academic Leadership: Chris Hann***

*(for further information about this Focus Group, see pp. 11–21 of this report and earlier biennial reports of the MPI)*

- Chen, Meixuan: Social Support, Migration, and the Return of “Wandering Sons and Daughters” in Northeast Guangdong Province, South China
- Eli, Ayxem: Peasants Stagger, but Do not Fall: Social and Economic Investment for Securing Support in a Uyghur Village
- Endres, Kirsten (2009–2011): Cultivating *Quan He*: Social relations, Support Networks and Sentiments in the Vietnamese Marketplace
- Fleischer, Friederike: Soup, Love, and a ‘Helping Hand’: Social Support in Guangzhou
- \* Haliel, Saheira: Networks of Support in the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps
- Hann, Chris: Feudalism, Socialism, and the Present Mixed Economy in Rural Eastern Xinjiang (with Ildikó Bellér-Hann)
- Liu, Xiaoqian: The Elderly and the State in Contemporary China
- Nguyen, Minh: Care and Migration in Northern Vietnam: Migrant Family Strategies, Gender Relations, and Intergenerational Exchanges

- \* Obendiek, Helena: 'Changing Fate' – Educational Mobility and Social Support in Rural Gansu
- \* Pawan, Sawut: Class Stratification and After: Family, Kin Networks and Community among Uyghur Villagers during Maoism
- Santos, Gonçalo: Charitable Giving and Technologies of Virtue in Rural South China
- \* Schefold, Sarah: Unemployment and Social Support in East Germany and Northern China
- Schlecker, Markus: Dead Bodies, Welfare, and Socialist Modernity in Rural Vietnam
- Steinmüller, Johannes: Brothers, Friends, Masters, and Teachers: Social Support and Fictive Kinship in Central China.
- \* Wang, Ruijing: Social Support and Childcare on the Chinese Periphery: The Case of the Akha of Southwestern China
- Xiujie, Wu: In Search of Social Support beyond Kinship: Fairness and Civility in Rural North China
- Zavoretti, Roberta: A Matter of Reproduction? Marriage and Mobility in Post-Mao Urban China
  
- ❖ Bellér-Hann, Ildikó : Feudalism, Socialism, and the Present Mixed Economy in Rural Eastern Xinjiang (with Chris Hann)

## **Historical Anthropology (from 2009)**

### ***Academic Leadership: Dittmar Schorkowitz***

*(for further information about this Focus Group, see pp. 22–30 of this report and the biennial reports of the MPI for 2008–2009 and 2010–2011)*

- \* Kohl-Garrity, Elisa: Forms of Respect and Disregard in Mongolian Culture (AN-ARCHIE doctoral student)
- Ladwig, Patrice: Buddhist Statecraft and the Politics of Ethnicity in Laos: Buddhification and Interethnic Relations in Historical and Anthropological Perspective
- \* Schlegel, Simon: How to Maintain Ethnic Boundaries: Past and Present Mechanisms of Ethnic Distinction in Southwestern Ukraine
- Schorkowitz, Dittmar: Dealing with Nationalities in Eurasia: How Russian and Chinese Agencies Managed Ethnic Diversity in the Late 19th and early 20th Centuries
- Tappe, Oliver: Reconfigurations of the Past in an Ambiguous Present: Memory Discourses, Social Change, and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Houaphan, Lao PDR
- \* Zhang, Fan: Manjusri's Gift: The Establishment of Qing Imperial Order in Tibet, 1652–1793

- + Heuschert-Laage, Dorothea: The Role of Lifanyuan's Colonial Administration for the Mongols
- + Ning, Chia: Developments of Different Qing Agencies and Common Features and Contrasts of Lifanyuan and Libu

## **Economic Anthropology (from 2009)**

### **I Economy and Ritual (2009–2012)**

*Academic Leadership: Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann*

*(for further information about this Group, see the biennial reports of the MPI for 2008-2009 and 2010-2011)*

- Cash, Jennifer: Wine and Saints: Economy and Ritual in Moldova
- Light, Nathan: Exchange Relations, Kinship Organisation and Cultural Reproduction: Kyrgyz Rituals during and after the Soviet Union
- Monova, Miladina: New Forms of Capitalism? House Economy, Ritual Activities, and Market Practices in a Macedonian Town
- Tocheva, Detelina: Shifts in Economy and Ritual in a Village in the Rhodope Mountains, Bulgaria
- Vasile, Monica: Forest Economy and Godparenthood in the Carpathian Mountains
- Vidacs, Bea: From Reciprocity to Market Economy: A Hungarian Village Thirty Years On

### **II Industry and Inequality in Eurasia (2012–2015)**

*Academic Leadership: Catherine Alexander, Chris Hann and Jonathan Parry*

*(for further information about this Group, see pp. 31–40 of this report)*

- Hoffmann, Michael: Ethnicity, Class and Industrial Labour in Post-Conflict Nepal
- Kesküla, Eeva: Changing Life and Work of the Post-Soviet Working Class of Kazakhstan and Estonia
- Kofti, Dimitra: Work, Spatial Relationships, and Privatisation in a Bulgarian Steel Town
- Makram-Ebeid, Dina: Work, Property, and Class in Revolutionary Egypt
- Sanchez, Andrew: Scrap Value: Power, Exchange and Enterprise in the Indian Metal Trade
- Trevisani, Tommaso: Work, Class, and Community in Contemporary Kazakhstan: Changing Regimes of Industrial Labour in a Former Soviet Steel Town

- ❖ Fang, I-Chieh: Migration, Work, and Life Course: Migrant Workers in Post-Mao China
- ❖ Strümpell, Christian: Ethnicity, Class, and the State in an Eastern Indian Steel Town

## **Urban Anthropology (from 2011)**

### **The Global Political Economy of Culture Heritage (2011–2015)**

#### ***Academic Leadership: Christoph Brumann***

*(for further information about this Focus Group, see pp. 41–47 of this report and the MPI report for 2010-2011)*

- Brumann, Christoph: The Best We Share: Inside the UNESCO World Heritage Arena
- \* Cheung Ah Li, Leah: Morphing “Chineseness”: The Negotiation between History and Modernity in Xi’an (ANARCHIE doctoral student)
- \* De Giosa, Pierpaolo: Heritage below the Winds: The Social Life of the Cityscape and UNESCO World Heritage in Melaka
- \* Marquart, Vivienne: Fragments of History: The Remaking of Heritage in the Urban Transformation of Istanbul
- ❖ \*Istasse, Manon: Living in a World Heritage Site: Ethnography of the Fez Medina (Morocco)

## **Traders, Markets and the State in Vietnam (from 2011)**

#### ***Minerva Group, Academic Leadership: Kirsten Endres***

*(for further information about this Group, see pp. 48–55 of this report and the MPI report for 2010-2011)*

- \* Barthelmes, Lisa: Peasants or Peddlers? Mobile Street Vendors in Hanoi, Vietnam
- Bonnin, Christine: New Markets in Upland Culture: State Development Directions and Ethnic Minority Traders in the Northern Borderlands of Vietnam
- Endres, Kirsten: Small Trade, State Regulation, and Social Exchanges at the Vietnam-China Border
- \* Horat, Esther: Market Transformation and Trade Dynamics in Northern Vietnam: The Case of Ninh Hiep
- + Grillot, Caroline: Differences in Perceptions of Business Ethics between Chinese and Vietnamese Trading Partners (Móng Cái City, Vietnam)

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**International Max Planck Research School:  
ANthropology, ARCHaeology and History of Eurasia (ANARCHIE)  
(from 2012)**

*Academic Leadership: François Bertemes, Chris Hann and Andreas Pečar*

*(for further information about this Research School and individual projects, see pp. 77–84 of this report)*

**Anthropology**

- \* Cheung Ah Li, Leah: Morphing “Chineseness”: The Negotiation between History and Modernity in Xi’an (affiliated to “Urban Anthropology”)
- \* Coşkun, Mustafa: Oral Traditions and Moral Citizens: Historical Anthropology of Kyrgyz Oral Poetry Performances
- \* Kohl-Garrity, Elisa: Forms of Respect and Disregard in Mongolian Culture (affiliated to “Historical Anthropology”)
- \* Roth, Sascha: The Making of House, Home, and Family in Socialist and Post-socialist Azerbaijan

**Archaeology**

- \* Delchev, Daniel: Acculturation in Thracia and Moesia Inferior from the 1st to the 4th century CE: The Role of the Settlers of the Eastern Roman Provinces as a Cultural Medium
- \* Holesch, Nadine: European Stoneware: Innovation and Transfer of Technology during the Medieval and Post-Medieval Period
- \* Neuser, Tobias: Communication Networks of the Southern Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Minoan Era
- \* Rechta, Michael: The Architecture of Tavşan Adası in its Aegean Context

**History**

- \* Franchina, Miriam: The Judicious Historian: Performing an Impartial History of England in the Early Enlightenment
- \* Rolle, Karoline: Between Luxury and Cruelty: Etruscan Otherness in Greek and Roman Literature
- \* Štofanič, Jakub: The Cross and the Hammer: The Reception of Social Thought in the Catholic Church in the First Half of the 20th Century
- \* Tieke, Hendrik: Social Agents in Small Towns: The Town of Delitzsch before the Nazis Came to Power

## APPENDIX II: WORKSHOPS AND CONFERENCES

*This list records the major events organised by the Department between 2000 and 2015. The location is the MPI in Halle, unless noted otherwise. Not included are purely internal workshops (including methods training and writing-up meetings), events organised jointly with other units of the MPI (e.g. the inaugural lecture series “Four Traditions in Anthropology”, 2002, and numerous meetings of the EU funded project, Kinship and Social Security in Europe (2004-2007), or conference panels.*

- Workshop: Cultural Persistence and Globalisation, in Wittenberg at the LEU-COREA, in the framework of the World Armenian Congress, 6 September 2000  
Convenor: Ildikó Bellér-Hann
- Conference: Postsocialisms in the Russian North, 8–9 November 2000  
Convenor: Erich Kasten
- Conference: Actually Existing Post-Socialisms, 9–11 November 2000  
Convenor: Chris Hann
- Workshop: Minorities and Cross-Cutting Ties in Contemporary Anatolia, 21–22 December 2000  
Convenors: Chris Hann, Lale Yalçın-Heckmann
- Workshop: New Written Languages in the Post-Communist World, in Leipzig at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, 21 March 2001  
Convenors: Bernhard Comrie, Chris Hann
- Conference: Property and Equality, 25–27 June 2001  
Convenors: Thomas Widlok, Wolde Gossa Tadesse
- Conference: Family Organisation, Inheritance and Property Rights in Transition: Comparative Historical and Anthropological Perspectives in Eurasia, 5–8 December 2001  
Convenors: Chris Hann, Hannes Grandits
- Workshop: Changing Entitlements: Social Security, Land Ownership and Rural-Urban Differences, 28 February–1 March 2002  
Convenors: Susanne Brandstädter, Chris Hann
- Conference: Who Owns Siberian Ethnography, 7–9 March 2002  
Convenors: Patty Gray, Peter Schweitzer (University of Alaska Fairbanks), Nikolai Vakhtin (European University at St. Petersburg)

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- Workshop: Debating Cultural Relativism and Collective Identities, 30 May–1 June 2002  
Convenor: Chris Hann
  - Workshop: The Postsocialist Agrarian Question, in Tázlár, Hungary, 16–23 June 2002  
Convenor: Chris Hann
  - Conference: A World of Cultures: Culture as Property in Anthropological Perspective, 1–2 July 2002  
Convenors: Deema Kaneff, Erich Kasten
  - Conference: On the Margins of Religion, 15–17 May 2003  
Convenors: Chris Hann, João de Pina-Cabral (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon), Frances Pine (University of Cambridge)
  - Workshop: Greek-Catholics between East and West, 19 May 2003  
Convenor: Chris Hann
  - Workshop: Religion and Civil Society in Central Asia, 23–24 May 2003  
Convenor: Chris Hann
  - Workshop: Siberian Reindeer Herding: An Ethnographic Comparison Part I, 23–28 June 2003 and Part II, 9–16 July 2003  
Convenors: Florian Stammer, John Ziker
  - Conference: Socialist Era Anthropology in Eastern and Central Europe, 28–29 August 2003  
Convenors: Chris Hann, Mihály Sárkány (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Peter Skalník (University of Pardubice)
  - Workshop: Der ländliche Raum Ostdeutschlands vom Sozialismus zum Postsozialismus: Ein interdisziplinärer Workshop, 3–4 June 2004  
Convenors: John Eidson, Gordon Milligan
  - Workshop: The Chimera of *Rechtsstaatlichkeit*: Comparative Perspectives on Informality and Corruption, 5 October 2004  
Convenor: Chris Hann
  - Workshop: Emerging Citizenship and Contested Identities between the Dniester, Prut, and Danube Rivers, 10–11 March 2005  
Convenors: Monica Heintz, Deema Kaneff



- Conference: Religious Conversion after Socialism, 7–9 April 2005  
Convenors: Mathijs Pelkmans, László Fosztó, Irene Hilgers
- Internal Workshop: Civil Religion, in Krasicyń, Poland, 24–27 May 2005  
Convenor: Chris Hann
- Conference: Popular Religiosity after Socialism, in Poznań, Poland, 28–29 May 2005  
Convenors: Chris Hann and Aleksander Posern-Zieliński
- Conference: Post-Soviet Islam: An Anthropological Perspective, 29–30 June 2005  
Convenors: Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, Johan Rasanayagam
- Conference: Eastern Christianities in Anthropological Perspective, 23–25 September 2005  
Convenors: Chris Hann, Juraj Buzalka, Vlad Naumescu, Hermann Goltz
- Workshop: Rethinking Morality, 15–16 December 2005  
Convenors: Johan Rasanayagam, Monica Heintz
- Workshop: “Caucasus Paradigms” in Anthropology and Cultural History, 16–17 March 2006  
Convenors: Lale Yalçın Heckmann, Bruce Grant
- Workshop: Inequality: A Bulgaria-Poland Comparison, in Lublin, Poland, 11–12 April 2006  
Convenors: Deema Kaneff, Frances Pine
- Workshop: Doing Anthropology in Communist Times. The Case of Southeast Europe, 8–9 June 2006  
Convenors: Chris Hann, Vintilă Mihăilescu
- Workshop: Anthropological Approaches to ‘The Economy’ (The Great Transformation Today), 21–24 June 2006  
Convenors: Chris Hann, Keith Hart
- Workshop: Global Connections and Emerging Inequalities in Europe, 6–7 July 2006  
Convenors: Deema Kaneff, Frances Pine
- Workshop: Religious and Secular Sources of Moralities in Eastern Germany, 17 July 2006  
Convenors: Irene Becci, Birgit Huber, Esther Peperkamp, Małgorzata Rajtar

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- Workshop: Eastern Germany, 1 April 2008  
Convenor: Irene Becci
  - Workshop: Who Are the Modern Uyghurs?, 20 June 2008  
Convenor: Ildikó Bellér-Hann, Chris Hann,
  - Workshop: Who Cares ... and How? An Anthropological Inquiry into Support, 3–5 July 2008  
Convenors: Markus Schlecker, Friederike Fleischer
  - Workshop: Multiple Moralities in Contemporary Russia: Religion and Transnational Influences on Shaping Everyday Life, 17–19 September 2008  
Convenors: Jarrett Zigon, Detelina Tocheva, Tünde Komáromi
  - Workshop: Re-Thinking Citizenship, 12–14 November 2008  
Convenors: Julia Eckert, Lale Yalçın Heckmann
  - Workshop: Can Postsocialism Be a Useful Explanatory Category in the Study of Religion in Lithuania and Poland?, 28–29 February 2009, in Lipnica, Poland  
Convenors: Kinga Sekerdej, Agnieszka Pasieka
  - Workshop: Socialist Era Anthropology in the Caucasus and Central Asia, 23–24 April 2009  
Convenors: Florian Mühlfried, Sergey Sokolovskiy
  - Workshop: Socialism as Civilisation, 23 March 2010  
Convenor: Chris Hann
  - Conference: Religious Hegemony and Religious Diversity in Eastern Europe: Postsocialism via-à-vis the Longue Durée, 24–25 June 2010  
Convenors: Agnieszka Pasieka, Lina Pranaitytė, Ingo W. Schröder, Kinga Sekerdej
  - Workshop: The Rise of Anthropology ‘on the Margins of Europe’, 1945–1991, 9–10 March 2011  
Convenors: Aleksandar Bošković, Chris Hann
  - Workshop: Administrative and Colonial Practices in Qing Ruled China, 7–8 April 2011  
Convenors: Dittmar Schorkowitz, Sayana Namsaraeva
  - Workshop: Fieldwork between Folders: Theories of the Archive and the Historical Anthropology of Colonialism, 14 July 2011  
Convenors: Patrice Ladwig, Ricardo Roque

- Workshop: Contemporary Ritual Kinship, 22–23 September 2011  
Convenor: Stephen Gudeman and the “Economy and Ritual” Group
- Workshop: Pre-fieldwork Workshop: Approaching Research in the Marketplace, 31 May–1 June 2012  
Convenors: Kirsten Endres and the Research Group “Traders, Markets, and the State in Vietnam”
- Conference: Anthropology and Civilisational Analysis: Eurasian Explorations, 28–30 June 2012  
Convenors: Chris Hann and Johann P. Arnason
- Workshop: World Heritage on the Ground: Ethnographic Perspectives, 11–12 October 2012  
Convenors: Christoph Brumann, David Berliner
- Workshop: First Preliminary Workshop, 9–11 January 2013  
Convenors: Industry and Inequality Group
- Conference: Is Chinese Patriarchy Over? The Decline and Transformation of a System of Social Support, 26–29 June 2013  
Convenors: Stevan Harrell (University of Washington), Gonçalo Santos
- Workshop: Second Preliminary Workshop, 16–18 May 2013  
Convenors: Industry and Inequality Group
- Workshop: Frontier Frictions: Cultural Encounters, Exchange, and Emergence in Asian Uplands, 14–15 November 2013  
Convenor: Oliver Tappe
- Workshop: Anthropological Atelier: Risks, Ruptures, and Uncertainties: Dealing with Crisis in Asia’s Emerging Economies, in Vienna with the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 4–6 December 2013  
Coordinators: Kirsten W. Endres, Maria Six-Hohenbalken
- Workshop: Inside the UNESCO Heritage Conventions: Ethnographic and Historical Approaches, 23–24 January 2014  
Convenors: Christoph Brumann, Aurélie Éliisa Gfeller
- Workshop: MPI-LSE Roundtable on Inequality, Industry and Poverty, 25–26 June 2014  
Convenors: Jonathan Parry, Alpa Shah

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- Conference: Beyond the Global Care Chain: Boundaries, Institutions and Ethics of Care, 10–12 July 2014  
Convenors: Minh Nguyen and Roberta Zavoretti
  - Conference: Traders in Motion: Networks, Identities, and Contestations in the Vietnamese Marketplace, 24–25 September 2014  
Convenors: Kirsten W. Endres and the Research Group “Traders, Markets, and the State in Vietnam”
  - Conference: Regular and Precarious Labour in Modern Industrial Settings, 6–9 May 2015  
Convenors: Industry and Inequality Group

## APPENDIX III: PUBLICATION SERIES

### Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia

LIT- Verlag, Berlin-Münster-Wien-Zürich-London

Editors:

*Christoph Brumann, Kirsten Endres, Chris Hann, Thomas Hauschild, Burkhard Schnepel, Dittmar Schorkowitz, Lale Yalçın-Heckmann*

*This series, launched in 2003, will reach Volume 30 in 2014. It is open primarily to members of the MPI and the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, offering an effective vehicle to disseminate the results of new work rapidly and to a high standard. The series is edited by senior staff of the Department in conjunction with professorial staff at the University's Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology. All books can be ordered from: <http://www.litwebshop.de>.*

The following volumes have been published to date:

**vol.1**| Hann, Chris, and the “Property Relations” Group, 2003: The Postsocialist Agrarian Question. Property Relations and the Rural Condition

**vol.2**| Grandits, Hannes, and Patrick Heady (eds.), 2004: Distinct Inheritances. Property, Family and Community in a Changing Europe

**vol.3**| Torsello, David, 2004: Trust, Property and Social Change in a Southern Slovakian Village

**vol.4**| Pine, Frances, Deema Kaneff, and Haldis Haukanes (eds.), 2004: Memory, Politics and Religion. The Past Meets the Present in Europe

**vol.5**| Habeck, Joachim Otto, 2005: What it Means to be a Herdsman. The Practice and Image of Reindeer Husbandry among the Komi of Northern Russia

**vol.6**| Stammler, Florian, 2009: Reindeer Nomads Meet the Market. Culture, Property and Globalisation at the ‘End of the Land’ (2 editions)

**vol.7**| Ventsel, Aimar, 2006: Reindeer, *Rodina* and Reciprocity. Kinship and Property Relations in a Siberian Village

**vol.8**| Hann, Chris, Mihály Sárkány, and Peter Skalník (eds.), 2005: Studying Peoples in the People’s Democracies. Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe

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- vol.9|** Leutloff-Grandits, Caroline, 2006: Claiming Ownership in Postwar Croatia. The Dynamics of Property Relations and Ethnic Conflict in the Knin Region
- vol.10|** Hann, Chris, 2006: “Not the Horse We Wanted!” Postsocialism, Neoliberalism, and Eurasia
- vol.11|** Hann, Chris, and the “Civil Religion” Group, 2006: The Postsocialist Religious Question. Faith and Power in Central Asia and East-Central Europe
- vol.12|** Heintz, Monica, 2006: “Be European, Recycle Yourself!” The Changing Work Ethic in Romania
- vol.13|** Grant, Bruce, and Lale Yalçın-Heckmann (eds.), 2007: Caucasus Paradigms. Anthropologies, Histories and the Making of a World Area
- vol.14|** Buzalka, Juraj, 2007: Nation and Religion. The Politics of Commemoration in South-East Poland
- vol.15|** Naumescu, Vlad, 2008: Modes of Religiosity in Eastern Christianity. Religious Processes and Social Change in Ukraine
- vol.16|** Mahieu, Stéphanie, and Vlad Naumescu (eds.), 2008: Churches In-between. Greek Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Europe
- vol.17|** Mihăilescu, Vintilă, Ilia Iliev, and Slobodan Naumović (eds.), 2008: Studying Peoples in the People’s Democracies II. Socialist Era Anthropology in South-East Europe
- vol.18|** Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina, 2008: “Religion is not so strong here”. Muslim Religious Life in Khorezm after Socialism
- vol.19|** Light, Nathan, 2008: Intimate Heritage. Creating Uyghur Muqam Song in Xinjiang
- vol.20|** Schröder, Ingo W., and Asta Vonderau (eds.), 2009: Changing Economies and Changing Identities in Postsocialist Eastern Europe
- vol.21|** László, Fosztó, 2009: Ritual Revitalisation after Socialism: Community, Personhood, and Conversion among Roma in a Transylvanian Village
- vol.22|** Hilgers, Irene, 2009: Why Do Uzbeks have to be Muslims? Exploring religiosity in the Ferghana Valley

**vol.23**| Trevisani, Tommaso, 2010: Land and Power in Khorezm. Farmers, Communities, and the State in Uzbekistan's Decollectivisation

**vol.24**| Yalçın-Heckmann, Lale, 2010: The Return of Private Property. Rural Life after the Agrarian Reform in the Republic of Azerbaijan

**vol.25**| Mühlfried, Florian, and Sergey Sokolovskiy (eds.), 2011. Exploring the Edge of Empire: Soviet Era Anthropology in the Caucasus and Central Asia

**vol.26**| Cash, Jennifer R., 2011: Villages on Stage. Folklore and Nationalism in the Republic of Moldova

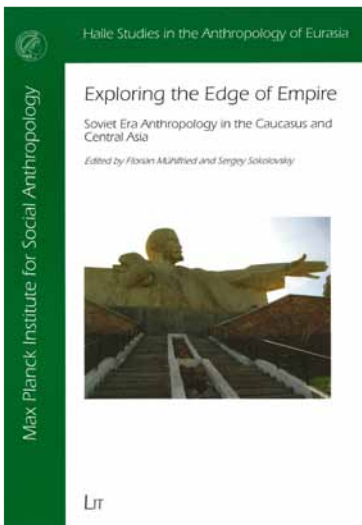
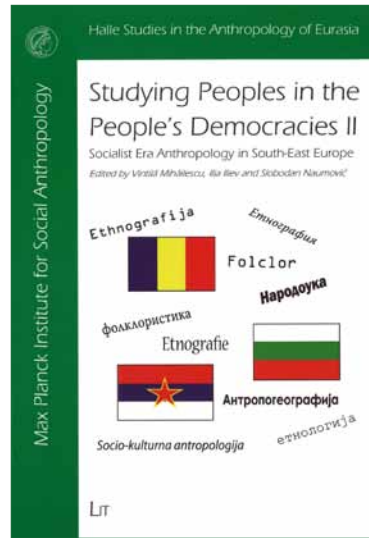
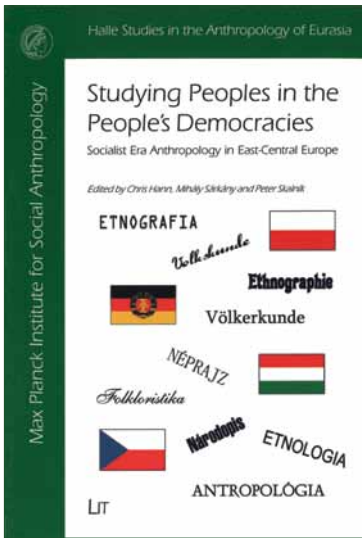
**vol.27**| Köllner, Tobias, 2012: Practising Without Belonging? Entrepreneurship, Morality, and Religion in Contemporary Russia

**vol.28**| Bethmann, Carla, 2013: "Clean, Friendly, Profitable?" Tourism and the Tourism Industry in Varna, Bulgaria

**vol.29**| Bošković, Aleksandar, and Chris Hann (eds.), 2013: The Anthropological Field on the Margins of Europe, 1945-1991

**vol.30**| Holzlehner, Tobias, 2014, forthcoming: Shadow Networks. Border Economies, Informal Markets and Organised Crime in the Russian Far East

*Right: A Series within a Series. The volumes depicted on the page opposite all derive from Workshops devoted to uncovering the history of the 'anthropological field' during the era of Marxism-Leninism in regions which have figured in our research projects in the postsocialist decades.*





## **Max Planck Studies in Anthropology and Economy**

### **Berghahn Books**

Editors:

*Stephen Gudeman, Chris Hann*

*Definitions of economy and society, and their proper relationship to each other, have been the perennial concerns of social philosophers. In the early decades of the twenty-first century these became and remain matters of urgent political debate. At the forefront of this series are the approaches to these connections by anthropologists, whose explorations of the local ideas and institutions underpinning social and economic relations illuminate large fields ignored in other disciplines.*

*All books can be ordered from: <http://www.berghahnbooks.com/?pg=orders>*

This new series reflects the Department's long-term commitment to economic anthropology. It has been established by Stephen Gudeman (University of Minnesota) and Chris Hann, who together led a group of six postdoctoral researchers at the MPI between 2009 and 2012 in a project titled "Economy and Ritual". The first two volumes in the series are authored by the members of this Research Group. It is anticipated that more contributions from later researchers and associates of the MPI will follow. The editors are also interested in receiving manuscripts from other economic anthropologists in the spirit of the Series description above. Proposals should be sent to both editors:

Stephen Gudeman ([gudeman@umn.edu](mailto:gudeman@umn.edu))

Chris Hann ([hann@eth.mpg.de](mailto:hann@eth.mpg.de))

### **Volume 1**

Economy and Ritual:

Studies of Postsocialist Transformations

Edited by Stephen Gudeman & Chris Hann

### **Volume 2**

Oikos and Market:

Explorations in Self-Sufficiency after Socialism

Edited by Stephen Gudeman & Chris Hann

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**APPENDIX IV: GOODY LECTURES****2011**Keith Hart: *Jack Goody's Vision of World History and Africa Today***2012**Peter Burke: *A Case of Cultural Hybridity: The European Renaissance***2013**Martha Mundy: *The Solace of the Past in the Unspeakable Present: The Historical Anthropology of the 'Near East'***2014**Francesca Bray: *Rice as Self: Eurasia and Beyond***2015**David Wengrow: *Social Scale and Social Inequality in World History*  
(to be confirmed)



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**Postscript**

As the Editor explains in her Preface, this publication is very much a team effort. During its preparation in the first months of 2014, I have been absent from Halle (in fact only my second winter absence since our establishment in 1999; the first was for fieldwork in Xinjiang in 2006–2007). But the idea to piggy-back on the general MPI Report, expanding its time frame both backwards to our origins and forwards into the future, came from me, as did the architecture of this publication. My colleagues are responsible for the text in their own sections, but I have interfered shamelessly from a distance in almost everything, from the composition of the bibliographies to the unusual cartographic rotation of the cover design. I thank everyone for their patience. In particular I thank Jennifer Cash, who has prolonged her Research Fellowship and helped us with a number of publication projects in the last two years, for assuming overall responsibility for coordination and bringing some order into my chaos.

As I write, Ukraine – a large and important country of Eurasia in which this Department has undertaken research almost continuously since 2000 – is teetering on the brink of ‘civil war’. Some Western commentators are recalling Samuel Huntington’s diagnosis two decades ago of a ‘civilisational fault line’ (*The Clash of Civilizations and the New World Order*, 1996). According to the American political scientist, only the country’s western regions can be classified with Europe and the liberal West, on the basis of political and ecclesiastical links in past centuries. The rest of the country cannot. Where does it belong instead? Whatever the short-term outcome of this political crisis in Ukraine, it is likely that the world will hear more in the years ahead of a ‘Eurasian Union’, centred in Moscow and promoted vigorously by postsocialist power-holders in the Kremlin. This is not our understanding of civilisation and it is certainly not our understanding of Eurasia. This Department will continue its work on the basis of a maximally inclusive concept of Eurasia. Our Eurasia cannot be set in opposition to Europe, any more than it can be opposed to China, or to any other macro-region, since it encompasses the entirety of the landmass.

*Chris Hann*

Nantes Institute for Advanced Study, February 2014

