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Property Relations
The Halle Focus Group, 2000-2005

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Preface

Property is a matter of practical concern to us all, both as individuals and as members of families and larger collectivities. Its theory and empirical investigation are inherently interdisciplinary. Complementing the analyses of economists, lawyers, psychologists and others, social anthropologists draw on a broad comparative perspective and apply fieldwork methods to illuminate contemporary issues. This booklet provides a summary of the aims, activities and results of the Focus Group 'Property Relations' at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (MPISA). The group began work in early 2000, shortly after the institute's founding. It is a pleasure to be able to record the completion of 4 PhD dissertations and to report on 16 additional projects, which varied in length between 6 months and 5 years. Although this Focus Group will cease to exist as such at the end of 2005, some members are continuing at the institute.[1] Others are following up at their new institutions the research on which they report here. Several are active in the rural property research network coordinated by Thomas Sikor in Berlin.[2]

Why this topic? I proposed it to the Max Planck Gesellschaft (MPG) when it approached me in 1996-97 to consider my appointment as one of the founding directors of a new anthropological research institute. The location was not yet decided. All that was known for certain was that the new institute would be somewhere in the former German Democratic Republic. It was to be one of the last components of the MPG's contribution to scientific renewal following German unification. Property seemed an appropriate theme for this setting, and it suited me personally because it was the subject of a book I was editing at the time (*Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1998). It was obvious that more research in this field was urgently needed, particularly in those parts of the postsocialist world where, for various reasons, little anthropological work had been done previously.

Our aims were multiple. In addition to showing specialists in other disciplines what anthropologists could contribute to the study of property, we wanted to show colleagues in anthropology that the study of 'system change' following the collapse of socialism could make valuable

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[1] Patrick Heady is coordinator of a large EU funded project, 'Kinship and Social Security'. Lale Yalçın-Heckmann has now established her own research group at MPISA, 'Caucasian Boundaries: Citizenship from Below'. Deema Kaneff is working with Frances Pine and two PhD students on a project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, 'Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Bulgaria and Poland: An Anthropological Study'. Gordon Milligan continues to work on his dissertation, alongside his duties in the institute's IT department.

[2] For information about this network, which is funded by the German Research Council (DFG), see http://www.agrar.hu-berlin.de/wisola/ipw/plr/

contributions to the discipline. We wanted to promote conversations about theories and methods with colleagues in the countries where we worked, especially because anthropology was not everywhere securely established. Finally, we intended our research to be of practical significance: fieldwork would lead to better understandings of the problems which have accompanied attempts to transform property relations, and perhaps even to new ideas for solutions.

It was specified in the original proposal that postsocialist Eurasia (broadly understood and therefore including China) would be at the centre of these projects, but I also wanted to include some projects in other regions for comparative purposes. Thomas Widlok and Wolde Gossa Tadesse answered this need and made important contributions to the overall programme.

When positions and scholarships were advertised at the end of 1999 it was especially gratifying, given past neglect of the region by Western anthropologists, to receive a strong set of applications proposing projects in Siberia. With the help of additional funding from the MPG it was possible to set up a distinct research cluster called the Siberia *Projektgruppe*. Its members engaged in a variety of comparative enquiries across this region while simultaneously working within the larger Focus Group and playing a full role in the property-related activities. This project group was so successful that, with further financial support from the MPG, we were able to follow it up by establishing Siberian Studies as a long-term inter-departmental centre. In 2003, Joachim Otto Habeck was recruited from Cambridge University to become its coordinator.

We owe much to many guests over the five years and have developed numerous cooperative links, both inside and outside the institute. In particular we have maintained close links with another project group at MPISA. This is the group working on legal pluralism, led by Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, which is blazing the trail for our third department. We have shamelessly appropriated their theoretical models and learned much from their empirical research. In July 2003 we co-convened an international conference, 'Changing Properties of Property'. A selection of the papers will appear shortly: F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann and M. Wiber (eds.), *Changing Properties of Property* (Berghahn Books, forthcoming).

The principal collective volumes to emerge from the "Property Relations" Focus Group are, in chronological order of publication:

C. M. Hann (ed.), *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia* (London: Routledge, 2002). German translation: *Postsozialismus: Transformationsprozesse in Eurasien aus ethnologischer Perspektive* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2002).

Erich Kasten (ed.), *People and the Land* (Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia, vol. 1) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2002).

Chris Hann and the "Property Relations" Group, *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2003).

Hannes Grandits and Patrick Heady (eds.), *Distinct Inheritances: Property, Family and Community in a Changing Europe* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2003).

Erich Kasten (ed.), *Properties of Culture/Culture as Property* (Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia, vol. 2) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2004).

Deema Kaneff (ed.), *Owning Culture*, special issue of *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology*, no. 44 (2004).

Thomas Widlok and Wolde Gossa Tadesse (eds.), *Property and Equality*, vol. 1: *Ritualization, Sharing, Egalitarianism* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005).

Thomas Widlok and Wolde Gossa Tadesse (eds.), *Property and Equality*, vol. 2: *Encapsulation, Commercialization, Discrimination* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005).

Erich Kasten (ed.), *Rebuilding Identities* (Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia, vol. 3) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2005).

John Eidson (ed.), *Rural East Germany since 1945: Agricultural Policy, Local Agency and Social Change* (in preparation).

The relevant publications of individual researchers are listed at the end of this booklet, together with a full record of the main workshops and panels. These lists are preceded by individual reports from each of my colleagues in this adventure. I offer warm thanks to everyone, and especially to those who have helped me by commenting on the overview which follows, though the responsibility for this final version remains mine alone. Special thanks to Anke Brüning, on whose organizational skills this Focus Group has been dependent throughout.

Chris Hann Halle, June 2005

I Overview

Main Theme: Property, Neoliberalism and Rural Privatization

Chris Hann

No research group with the word *property* in its title can ignore the complicated history of this concept in various disciplines and 'national' intellectual traditions. But we are a team of anthropologists, and our primary interests lie elsewhere. Each of us has been forced to deal in the field with specific local understandings of relations pertaining to property, ownership, and possession. While historians of law have drawn attention to important differences even within the West – notably the divide between 'continental' and Anglo-Saxon 'common law' traditions – anthropologists can open up still wider ranges of comparison. For us, the concepts and practices of Chinese villagers and Siberian herders are fully as interesting as those of any Western intellectual tradition. The interaction between local models and higher levels of legal and ideological regulation is at the centre of our enquiries. It needs also to be remembered that the practices and folk concepts of many groups in contemporary Western societies diverge from the assumptions of their theoreticians in the academy, in government, and in law.

Having said this, it would be myopic not to recognize that a good deal of the reality with which we have engaged in these projects over the last five years has been decisively shaped by particular strands in Euro-American traditions of theorizing property. The precepts of 'neoliberalism' (certainly a vulgar, barely recognizable descendant of classical liberal thought) have been widely disseminated by international agencies. The prime impetus has come from economics, where it is typically argued that unambiguous property rights and maximal alienability of property objects conduce, by means of the 'invisible hand' of the market, to efficiency and economic growth. Allied ideological currents of neoliberalism insist on other virtues of private property independent of its role in providing economic incentives: it is not only a buffer against the shocks which accompany markets but also a guarantor of liberty and justice. These ideas gained strength as Keynesianism faded in the late twentieth century. Politicians such as Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher spread the new gospel to wider publics; the British privatizations of the 1980s under Thatcher are among the best examples of neoliberalism in action.

This, then, was the intellectual and political context in the West when the Soviet Union and its dependent states made their remarkable revolutions in 1989–91. Property ideology had played a significant role in the socialist movement since its origins in the nineteenth century. The

principles of collective and state ownership had been implemented to various degrees and in highly differentiated ways in the countries of 'actually existing socialism'. Inefficient property institutions were certainly among the prime causes of the collapse. Privatization and the expansion of markets were high priorities for postsocialist powerholders; governments were obliged to implement such measures, often against the wishes of the population, or face external sanctions such as reductions in US aid.

More than a decade later it is clear that many early hopes have been disappointed. The fervour with which a few countries pursued 'shock therapy' was hardly more conducive to efficiency than the discredited socialist dogmas. Far from accelerating growth and guaranteeing security to citizens, the new distribution of property has become widely associated with dislocation, increased criminality, and pervasive mistrust, both towards 'the system' and in everyday interpersonal relations (see Torsello's report, below, for more on the concept of trust).

The reasons for this failure are not hard to find. Just as the intellectual landscape in the West in 1989 was no *tabula rasa*, so the societies and economies of the former socialist countries were endowed with distinctive, complex legacies. Blueprints for property transformation depend for their success on an appropriate institutional context. But as socialists themselves had discovered earlier, few social institutions (understood here broadly, to include not only markets and various forms of bureaucracy but also everyday practices, informal networks, dispositions to cooperate, etc) can be altered overnight by radical acts of 'social engineering'. As a result, the consequences of property reforms, documented in the individual reports below, deviated almost everywhere from official expectations and academic predictions.

Property in Anthropology

One task for the anthropologist is, then, to investigate and explain with reference to local conditions, including local concepts governing the ownership and transmission of resources, why the apparently universal precepts of neoliberalism have proved to be so difficult to export. In setting about this empirical research, anthropologists can draw on a long history of theoretical engagement with property. A limitation affecting a good deal of the theorizing in other disciplines is that examples are taken only from societies with highly developed, market-dominated economies. Modern social anthropology defines itself as the comparative investigation of all human societies. Whether or not the researcher applies some form of evolutionist approach (unusual among contemporary social anthropologists), it is assumed that our contemporary property dilemmas can be illuminated by study of how the institutions of property work in other places and in other periods of history.

In the case of this Focus Group, the lines between 'us' and 'them' (people in other places or epochs) have often been as fuzzy as the property relations under investigation. The case studies have included reindeer herders in remote regions of Siberia, but also vegetable growers and traders in Azerbaijan and former collective farms in eastern Germany and other countries of eastern and central Europe which have recently joined the European Union. Far from being restricted to marginal or 'exotic' groups, our examples cover a wide range of rural populations. Given the size of these populations, we feel entitled to claim that our studies illuminate many significant aspects of postsocialist transformation in general.

Socialist property ideology was itself strongly influenced by early anthropological research. Whereas Lewis Henry Morgan and his nineteenth-century contemporaries, many of them trained in law, used the term *property* unproblematically, many later anthropologists have had reservations about its Western heritage (see Widlok, below). While recognizing such tensions, Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Melanie Wiber argue that property can be defined analytically without the danger of ethnocentricity:

> Property in the most general sense concerns the ways in which the relations between society's members with respect to valuables are given meaning, form, and significance. Property in this analytical sense is not one specific type of right or relation such as ownership but a cover term encompassing a wide variety of different arrangements, in different societies, and across different historical periods.[3]

The von Benda-Beckmanns go on to propose a 'layered' model of property. In the categorical dimension, a cultural-ideological layer can be distinguished from the layer of legal regulation. The third layer is that of concrete social relationships, and the fourth comprises 'property practices', which feed back into each of the preceding three layers of the model. The von Benda-Beckmanns emphasize not only the multifunctionality of property systems but also their plural character. The principles enunciated at the second layer through specific laws may not correspond to ideals acknowledged at layer one. Notions such as 'communal property' are meaningless, or at any rate ambiguous, until they are embedded in specific contexts with reference to all four layers.[4] There may also be discrepancies internal to one and the same layer – for example,

[3] F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann and M. Wiber, 'Introduction', in F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann and M. Wiber (eds.), *Changing Properties of Property* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, forthcoming).

[4] See F. and K. von Benda-Beckmann, 'Struggles over Communal Property Rights and Law in Minangkabau, West Sumatra', *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers* 64, 2004.

when the teachings of a recently adopted religion diverge from the justifications offered for a long-established customary practice.

Applying this model to our cases brings out the complexity of both the socialist property system and its replacement. It is unhelpful to conceive of the former as a 'property vacuum', because socialist forms of public ownership seldom approximated open access. But there is a kernel of truth in the many jokes told about socialist property's being constantly susceptible to private appropriation: the system had built-in inefficiencies and was often perceived to be inefficient by local people themselves. This led to a variety of reforms, some of which anticipated postsocialist changes (see Hann, below).

Current property regulation in many of these countries is still far from stable. The passing of privatization legislation and its formal implementation have frequently failed to achieve the goals set. In retrospect it seems obvious that a change at the categorical layer of the property system can bring about the desired changes in relationships and practices only if other conditions are fulfilled. In reality, the obstacles were formidable; they ranged from 'technical' glitches, such as protracted delays in the issuing of ownership documents (see Cartwright, below), to deep-seated obstacles to the creation of markets, the precise nature of which varied from sector to sector. The results have been predictably disappointing, both in terms of economic efficiency and in terms of satisfying social expectations, even in those countries where property reform has been most thoroughly implemented. Some property practices, as well as social relationships and moral ideals concerning the proper patterns of distribution and transmission of property objects, therefore continue to fly in the face of the new legal codes. Our studies confirmed what might have been expected from anthropological theory: namely, that intimate connections between property, kinship, and the political economies of local communities persist under modern conditions. Kinship and inheritance played prominent roles in the ethnographic studies (e.g. Brandtstädter, Heady, Kaneff, Leutloff-Grandits, Milligan, Ventsel, Yalçın-Heckmann, Ziker) and also provided the topic for a successful conference and book (see Grandits and Heady, below).[5]

Accounts which emphasize complexity, multifunctionality, and pluralism will never be popular with those who prefer simple, predictive models, based usually on economic aspects alone. But anthropologists argue that the economic factors cannot be assessed in isolation from the wider social context in which they are embedded, and this applies par excellence to property. Simple models are seductive but dangerous, as both socialist and postsocialist states have shown us; they lend themselves to ideological misuse.

[5] The continuing fertility of this theme is demonstrated by the fact that it has also formed the basis of two major, externally funded research projects (see note 1).

Land, Agriculture, Rurality

Land holds a special position in the history of theorizing about property. Contrary to neoliberal precepts, few human societies, if any, treat land as just another commodity on the marketplace. In most of our projects, we investigated aspects of the break-up of socialist organizations in the countryside. We examined not only agriculture but also rural settings in which other forms of land use were more significant: herding, hunting, forestry, vineyards, vegetable gardens, and even new golf courses in China (see Brandtstädter, below). Some researchers paid close attention to other property objects; for example, Carolin Leutloff-Grandits focused primarily on houses in her Croatian case study. In all cases, land was investigated in the context of other factors of production and of prevailing political conditions; in some cases, land was perceived as 'territory' and it was contested by rival national groups (see Leutloff-Grandits, Yalçın-Heckmann, below).

Even in places where people had initially supported privatization policies, we found enormous disillusionment. Rural people have generally paid a high price for the postsocialist transition: subsidies have been withdrawn, jobs lost, coordinating institutions destroyed, and social security provisions weakened or withdrawn completely. Land markets have either not developed at all or have functioned very imperfectly. In some settings, such as Siberian communities, researchers found that postsocialist reforms intended to encourage more individuation in property holding had, in practice, reinforced older social norms of sharing and cooperation as strategies to cope with dislocation (see Ventsel, Ziker, below). On the other hand, such norms are unlikely to suffice to ensure the maintenance of collective investments once the institutions previously responsible for maintaining public infrastructure have been destroyed (see Gray, King, below).

In short, delineating new parcels of private property by splitting up collective and state farms did not in practice create the conditions for viable family farms. Giving individuals title to land did not, contrary to neoliberal expectations, lead them to increase investment and productivity. Decollectivization was frequently presented as a return to an older system of private ownership, but the consequences of socialism were such that there could be no question of a simple return: the patterns which emerged were substantially new. Yet plenty of evidence suggests that postsocialist property outcomes have been strongly influenced by long-term continuities at the first of the von Benda-Beckmanns' 'layers', the layer of culture and ideology. For example, in many parts of Siberia, local knowledge of the land and its spirits did not disappear under socialism; today under postsocialist conditions such knowledge continues to regulate access to land (see Ventsel, below).

Creeping capitalism: This village street in south-central Russia is nowadays lined by privately owned lorries and tractors, but hardly any public investment has been made in the transport infrastructure. (Photo: Patrick Heady, 2002).

Culture is sometimes invoked as the ultimate causal variable – for example, to explain why the performance of one group of reindeer herders is better than that of another. Local people themselves may put forward such ideas, but it is always important to probe deeper by paying careful attention to environments and historical factors (see Stammler, below). As in all comparative research, careful consideration must be given to selecting appropriate units of analysis. Sometimes it may be appropriate to compare countries: for example, we might compare the path followed by German socialists with that followed in the same decades in Bulgaria. The Focus Group had two ethnographic case studies in each of these countries, and the researchers were able to pinpoint significant regional differences. No notion of national culture can explain why developments in the Rhodope Mountains do not resemble those on the Danubian Plain or why Vorpommern should diverge from the Leipziger Südraum; instead, one must pay close attention to local and regional geographical and historical differences (see Kaneff and Cellarius 2002 on Bulgaria, and Eidson and Milligan 2003 on the German Democratic Republic).

Rural property outcomes cannot, therefore, be explained on the basis of 'cultures', imagined as blocks of people all sharing the same essential characteristics (mentalities). The researchers were, however, able to confirm a broad difference between the eastern European countries and

most parts of the former USSR. The former experienced strong populist movements and land reform measures in the first half of the twentieth century. Decollectivization there was commonly associated with historical justice. In some countries the re-establishment of peasant political parties was accompanied by a revival of their classic slogans, such as 'Land to the tiller!' (e.g. in Hungary). Elsewhere, decollectivization was viewed with more suspicion, especially when it was imposed suddenly, without consultation with rural constituencies (e.g. in Bulgaria; see Kaneff, below). When former owners (or, more accurately, their children and grandchildren) were given back property, it turned out that the vast majority did not know what to do with their new asset and were grateful if a large-scale successor to the socialist cooperative could be found to farm the land for them. The macro-economic climate has been unfavourable to agriculture, making land more a liability than an asset.

Gradually, however, new structures of family farming seem to be taking shape in most countries of central and eastern Europe. The major problems are experienced in countries such as Azerbaijan which still lack effective incentives to stimulate people to farm the newly privatized land (see Yalçın-Heckmann, below). In many parts of Russia, villagers have shown little interest in becoming legal owners of land, let alone genuine entrepreneurs. Shares have been distributed, but a 'collectivist' consciousness seems to inhibit individual initiative, and those who withdraw their shares from the new cooperative are susceptible to negative comments in their community (see Gray, Heady, Miller, below).

We may begin to account for such patterns if we recall that in the generations before mass collectivization in the 1930s, collectivist institutions (the *obshchina* or *mir*) were much stronger in Russia than in other parts of eastern Europe. Careful recourse to history in this way seems preferable to the short-cut alternative of attributing such differences to an all-inclusive 'culture'. Our group debated whether E. P. Thompson's concept of 'moral economy' might be a more useful term in accounting for widespread antipathy and resistance towards private ownership and entrepreneurial farming. We also explored whether, in some places, despite the effects of industrialization and modernization, the 'great transformation' (Karl Polanyi's term) had yet to take place. (These issues are further discussed in Hann et al., *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question*.)

The promotion of neoliberal models of property and markets seems particularly inappropriate in a sector which in recent years has been increasingly exempted from such models in the advanced industrial countries. The policies of the European Union have gradually been shifting away from a concern with the efficiency of producing agricultural commodities towards issues of healthy nutrition and landscape conservation. If the West has come to recognize the need for a wider socio-

political perspective on rural development, it would seem questionable to impose the liberal market ideologies of an earlier epoch on postsocialist states. Yet in practice this is what has happened. The speed of the reconfiguration in the postsocialist cases makes them a unique experiment, but in fact similar processes have been occurring throughout the 'developing world' in recent decades. Many postsocialist villagers have experienced a sharp drop in living standards. They interpret the new political slogans cynically and see themselves as the losers in postsocialist transformation.

Comparisons between living standards in rural and urban sectors are tricky to make, however, if only because so many families are active in both. Clearly there have been 'winners' and 'losers' in both sectors. Yet the evidence seems to indicate that in many countries the general position of the rural population has deteriorated the more sharply. (This applies also to rural China, though in the initial phase of the post-Mao reforms, peasants were the chief beneficiaries; it is least applicable in the former GDR, the only part of the ex-socialist world in which lost transfer payments were compensated for by a generous new set of subsidies, namely, those of the EU.) Rural conditions in the later decades of socialism bore little resemblance to stereotypical views of collectivization as merely a brutal mechanism to extract surplus from the countryside in order to finance industrialization. Socialist powerholders in Moscow did more to support their rural population, in diffuse educational and cultural ways as well as economically, than seems to be the case today.

Some of the Focus Group's projects (e.g. Brandtstädter's) documented new forms of diversity in the rural sector and a diminution of the significance of agriculture. Others emphasized the revival of older patterns of subsistence economy and even the re-emergence of 'peasantry' (see Cartwright 2001; Kaneff and Leonard 2002). 'Dualist' structures have persisted in many countries, where a more or less technologically sophisticated agribusiness replaces the socialist farms, while the majority of the rural population is forced into heightened dependence on small vegetable plots. Contemporary postsocialist villagers are not to be mistaken for the pre-revolutionary peasants studied by Alexander Chayanov, Teodor Shanin, and others. But one lesson to come out of these projects is an echo of the analyses of these classical authors: the economic behaviour of those who live in the countryside, whether or not they reproduce themselves through farming as they did in the past, can be adequately understood only if we pay attention to the distinctive features of the rural sector and embed it in its wider context.

This brings us to an important theoretical point. It is not our aim to challenge the principles of rational-choice theory, but methodologies based upon the rationality of individual decision taking neglect at least two important dimensions: the power relations of the wider political

economy and the norms of the locally constituted moral economy concerning both interpersonal relations and relations governing the various objects of property. The main weakness of neoliberal blueprints is their failure to take account of distinctive patterns of social relations, both regionally and sectorally. We know that, even in long-established market economies, attitudes of 'stewardship' towards the land can generate economic behaviour which deviates sharply from simple models based on profit maximizing. Such models are even less pertinent in the post-socialist countries, given their very different social relations and the impossibility of speedily replicating the institutional environment of a developed, market-dominated economy.

Conclusion

Perusal of the reports and publication lists which make up the remainder of this booklet will show that members of this Focus Group engaged with a remarkably broad range of topics in the course of their projects: from conceptual work on property, culture, and development to analyses of the practices of reindeer herding, the dynamics of artistic ensembles, and the operations of new forestry cooperatives. The end of Soviet socialism posed many challenges, to which some practitioners of the 'harder' social sciences believed they had ready answers. All of our projects have drawn attention to the complex multifunctionality of property relations in the real world. It is not helpful to legislate changes in the property system on the basis of idealized models of economic efficiency which ignore real-world complexity. The 'layered' model of the von Benda-Beckmanns offers a way to characterize the pluralism inherent in property systems, to recognize conflict and also the significance of the non-economic functions of property. Property in this perspective cannot be confined to the realms of law and economics; rather, fieldwork investigations must address both the wider political economy and the moral economy in its local constitution.

The collapse of socialisms led to an unprecedented transformation of property systems. Our results break new ground in the obvious sense that they provide first-hand documentation of the way large numbers of people have been dislodged from a development trajectory that most had grown up to accept unquestioningly. More general and theoretical implications are also evident throughout the reports. Our studies suggest that attempts to rapidly expand principles of private ownership and commoditization – to impose 'capitalism by design' – demonstrate the same hubris as that shown earlier by socialist planners when they imposed collectivization 'overnight'. In some respects the more recent rupture seems greater. At any rate, hundreds of millions of people have been obliged to rebuild their lives under conditions in which, along with the norms of property, basic norms of solidarity and morality have been

undermined or shattered. The outcome is widespread mistrust, a sense of discrimination, a consciousness of loss – and irritation when this is dismissed by others as 'socialist nostalgia'. It is especially interesting to note such sentiments among those who, in some 'objective' sense, appear to be 'winners', or material beneficiaries of transformation (e.g. in the former GDR).

We do not claim to have developed a new theory of property. Rather, our emphasis on complexity and the need for flexibility in property policies is consistent with the results of a large body of anthropological work on property systems in other parts of the world. Even if the criterion of economic efficiency is given absolute priority (as the von Benda-Beckmanns point out, property rules also have many other functions), flexibility with respect to local conditions and to different kinds of property objects is likely to yield better results than a blanket insistence on one form of private property. For example, private ownership and management may be less appropriate than some form of cooperative in the forestry sector (see Cellarius, below).

Although anthropological work critiquing the simplistic dichotomy of 'collective versus individual' dates back to the later colonial period, the recent fad for neoliberal solutions gives it renewed urgency. There are, fortunately, signs that agencies such as the World Bank are backing away from 'fundamentalist' privatisation and paying more heed to practical problems of implementation, such as the issuing of titles. But the neoliberal assumption remains that, if only the institutional conditions are fulfilled (including well functioning markets in all sectors and the 'rule of law'), then creating private owners is *the* way to stimulate investment and productivity, and thereby promote development. This version of the argument is irrefutable, since any deviant behaviour can be attributed to imperfections in the institutional environment. Nonetheless, some of our projects cast doubt on neoliberal tenets concerning the superiority of private ownership. They suggest the need for a more radical re-evaluation of the function of property relations in the constitution of human communities. We hope that the work of our Focus Group, alongside that of our colleagues in the Legal Pluralism group, will contribute to such a reappraisal

These conclusions are relevant not only to the property objects we have examined in the rural sphere but also to many other domains in which property rights are asserted. For example, some of the debates concerning cultural property (see Kasten, King and Tadesse, below; Kasten 2004a) echo recent discussions of the desirability of promoting 'open access' to the results of scientific research, a principle for which the MPG has been an energetic campaigner. But what if the attractive principle of the 'open reservoir' of ideas in practice makes it easier for indigenous scientific knowledge to be appropriated by, for example, transnational pharmaceutical companies, which exclude the carriers of

this knowledge from a share in the profits? Open access may enable more powerful outsiders to appropriate the creations of others – for example, by dominating the market for tourist art and depriving local people of important sources of income. On the other hand, restrictive cultural heritage legislation can block the access of native artists to the international art market and thereby hamper their professional careers. Some anthropologists are cooperating with lawyers and, with UNESCO support, developing ways of extending copyright protection to the collective owners of 'folklore'. Others, however, fear that attempts to codify protection will only generate further social tensions within the communities. Our discussions of these issues did not always result in a consensus, because in many domains of property it is extremely difficult to determine which policies will lead to optimal outcomes for the citizens involved.

A great deal more is known today about the functioning of property in human societies than was known in the nineteenth century, when the early Marxists drew on European imaginings of primitive communism to support their programme for the hypothetical communist society of the future. The realities turned out to be more complicated. Humans are capable of highly egalitarian social arrangements, but we also know that systems of sharing and openness do not come about 'naturally' – they depend on specific social institutions and on sanctions such as ostracism and ridicule in the peer group (see Widlok and Tadesse 2005a, 2005b). All the property systems documented by anthropologists also leave some space for the claims of persons and sub-groups of the collectivity. In short, neither private property nor open access can be a *Zauberwort:* we are always likely to be dealing in practice with a complex mixture of property forms. For the postsocialist countryside, as for the 'folklore' of indigenous groups and for scientific knowledge in the age of the internet, the fundamental task is the same: to connect an appropriate mix of legal forms to complementary social institutions in order to make possible the effective implementation of this property mix.

Subsidiary Themes

- **Inheritance and Kinship in Europe**
- **Property and Equality**
- **Cultural Property**

"Inheritance and Kinship in Europe" – a conference and a book

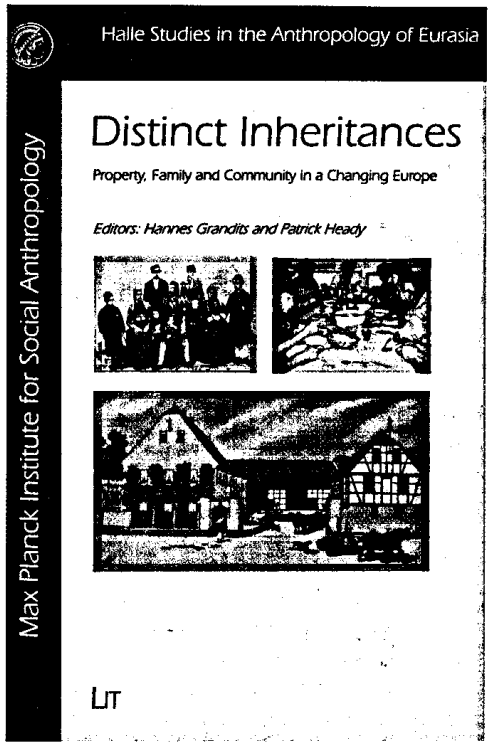
Hannes Grandits and Patrick Heady

While most projects of Focus Group members were concerned with the contemporary transformation of the postsocialist countryside, we also explored property issues within wider frameworks, both temporal and spatial. From the beginning of modern anthropology, questions of property have been seen as inseparable from those of kinship organization. Indeed, the three-way link between kinship, property, and political economy, first emphasized by Morgan, has been at the heart not only of much ethnography but also of the work of family and population historians. Among modern anthropologists, Jack Goody has taken a particularly prominent role in reintegrating these strands of work in a labour of synthesis that is somewhere between a critique and an affirmation of Morgan's path-breaking oeuvre.

It was therefore appropriate, for the first conference in MPISA's new building, to invite Goody himself, along with other distinguished anthropologists, historians, and demographers, to discuss these themes. The two of us edited the resulting book, *Distinct Inheritances: Property, Family and Community in a Changing Europe* (LIT Verlag, 2003). We chose to concentrate on Europe because the richness and antiquity of Europe's historical archives provide a unique opportunity for anthropologists and historians to develop a shared understanding of the interaction of economic, demographic, and social processes as they have unfolded over time.

The chapters in the book are grouped into three historical periods: the *longue durée* leading from antiquity through medieval developments to the eighteenth century and beyond; the transition to modernity, which saw the abolition of feudalism, the widespread development of capitalist employment, and an increased emphasis on individual property ownership; and finally the transitions into and out of socialism in eastern Europe. The chapters show how Europe's inheritance systems – variations on the themes of communal, partible, and impartible inheritance – have connected family forms with distinct economic and political regimes, including different forms of feudalism, village self-government, different phases of capitalism, and the ambiguities and complexities of 'actually existing socialism'. Several contributors highlight the intimate connections between developing property institutions and changes in religious ideology. In the final chapter of the volume, Jack Goody places Marxist-Leninist socialism in the context of his earlier work on property systems, the 'great divergence' between East and West, and the ultimate unity of Eurasia.

Although individual authors advance distinct theoretical positions, in the book as a whole we make no attempt to come down on either side of the long-running argument between culturalist and materialist interpretations of economic life. Its message is rather that inheritance practices operate on several different levels at once. In allocating rights to property, they simultaneously reflect family ambitions, define social groups and hierarchies, match population to resources, and express fundamental values. Taken together, the articles demonstrate why questions of kinship and property are once again taking centre stage in many areas of theoretical and applied research.



Contributors: Ulf Brunnbauer, Nevill Colclough, John Cole, John Eidson, Jack Goody, Hannes Grandits, Patrick Heady, Karl Kaser, Margareth Lanzinger, Robert Layton, Carolin Leutloff-Grandits, Hans Marks, Michael Mitterauer, Frances Pine, Andrejs Plakans, David Warren Sabean, Tatjana Thelen, Davide Torsello, Oane Visser, E. A. Wrigley

"Property and Equality": a conference and two ensuing volumes

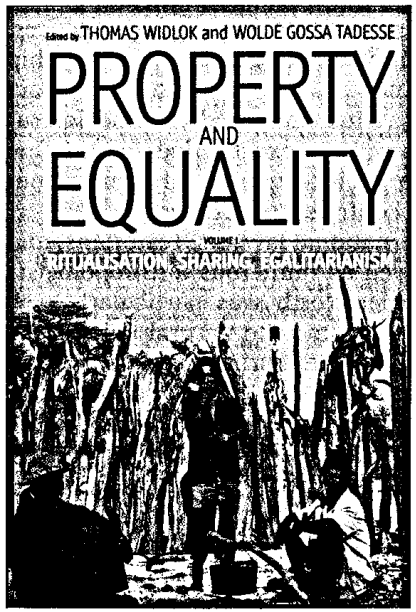
Thomas Widlok and Wolde Gossa Tadesse

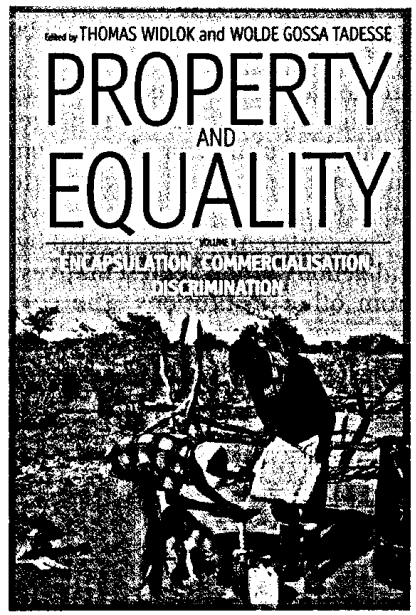
Property relations have long been considered the key to our understanding of equality and inequality, not only through the work of thinkers such as Rousseau, Marx, Engels and others, but also through common everyday experience. Social anthropologists continue to collect data that are relevant to the fundamental issue of property and equality, but this work has rarely been a concerted effort. For this conference we invited more than fifty experts to Halle in June 2001. Despite their different backgrounds, the contributors to the two volumes we have edited share considerable common ground: all are anthropologists whose work has been influenced by James Woodburn's seminal article on 'Egalitarian Societies' (*Man*, 1982). Many have done field research with hunter-gatherers in the Arctic, in Africa, Australia or Asia. However, other contributors have worked with pastoralists, with horticulturalists, agriculturalists, in industrial societies, and with nonhuman primates; all have drawn on the theoretical ideas that have been developed in hunter-gatherer studies.

The ethnography on egalitarian hunter-gatherer societies sent shock waves through anthropology in the 1960s when ethnographers came forward and suggested that forager societies could work well without structures of dominance, without rigid hierarchies, without binding property relations, and without inherent inequality with regard to gender, age and status. These volumes bring together the current work of prominent members of the original group of researchers and the very recent ethnography of a new generation of researchers addressing related themes. They have revisited key debates of the field, tackled unresolved issues, and reassessed how these egalitarian societies still pose a challenge to established assumptions about the conditions of human political and economic life, and of course to anthropological theory and research in other fields. In the past the ethnography of egalitarian social systems was met with sheer disbelief. Today it is still hotly debated in a number of ways, but has gained sophistication as well as momentum. As editors, we have tried to do justice to the field by dividing the materials into two complementary volumes. Volume 1 focuses on the embeddedness of egalitarian property relations in dynamic processes of human sociality. Contributions highlight the role of ritual, of sharing in its various articulations, and of discourses of egalitarianism. Volume 2 focuses on the embeddedness of egalitarian property relations in the dynamics of larger social systems. It highlights the issues of encapsulation, commercialisation and discrimination. Despite their distinct foci,

many connecting lines draw the two volumes together, both in terms of the groups and regions discussed and also systematic intellectual links. As several contributors point out explicitly, 'internal' institutional dynamics and 'external' historical developments are really two sides of the same coin.

Anthropological thought, like all social theory, progresses through debates and through conversations. The conference and the two volumes on "Property and Equality" continue a conversation about property and equality that has a long history in the discipline. We succeeded in drawing together materials from many different regions of the world, and in demonstrating that studies of property relations in the contemporary world can still be enormously enriched by the inclusion of areas that may initially look marginal.





Contributors: Megan Biesele, Nurit Bird-David, Barbara Bodenhorn, Kirk Endicott, Thomas Gibson, Mathias Guenther, Robert Hitchcock, Tim Ingold, Mitsuo Ichikawa, Ian Keen, Justin Kenrick, Axel Köhler, Robert Layton, Richard Lee, Jerome Lewis, Jean Lydall, David Riches, Ivo Strecker, Kazuyoshi Sugawara, Hideaki Terashima, Robert Tonkinson, Lye Tuck-Po, James Weiner, Thomas Widlok, Wolde Gossa Tadesse, James Woodburn

"Cultural Property": a conference and two ensuing publications

Deema Kaneff and Erich Kasten

The ownership of 'culture' is a concern that is gaining momentum across the globe as an increasing number of groups and individuals make claims to 'their' cultural property. Academics, national governments, international organisations and indigenous groups all have interests in such claims. As a relatively new research theme, this field poses many theoretical and practical challenges to a discipline in which the culture concept has long been considered central.

The conference that we organised in July 2002 brought together scholars working on issues surrounding the claims of particular groups to exclusive ownership of symbols, rituals and knowledge practices. While the reification of culture is not in itself new, claims of ownership are nowadays being asserted in quite new ways, e.g. due to the impact of tourism and to nationalist agendas, which commoditise and instrumentalise culture for political purposes. How exactly does one define cultural property and to what extent must it be treated differently from other forms of property? Who owns or controls such property?

The conference was attended by international lawyers, historians, and indigenous group representatives as well as numerous anthropologists from other institutions. The circumpolar North was particularly well represented, and this regional division became the natural delineation when it came to drawing the papers together for publication. Deema Kaneff edited a special section *in Focaal, European Journal of Anthropology* (2004, No. 44), titled *'Owning Culture'*. These papers present case studies from postsocialist Eurasia, the majority from Europe. The articles focus on the ways in which culture is possessed, produced and transformed into a marketable commodity. This process is often associated with nation-building. The volume's main contribution to the cultural property debate is to show that not only indigenous populations but a whole range of marginalised groups are nowadays staking claims to 'our culture'. Cultural property can be understood more generally as a tool available to any group seeking confirmation of an identity perceived to be under threat.

Contributors to the *Focaal* volume:

Catherine Alexander, Veronica E. Aplenc, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Paola Filippucci, Deema Kaneff, Alexander D. King, Silke von Lewinski.

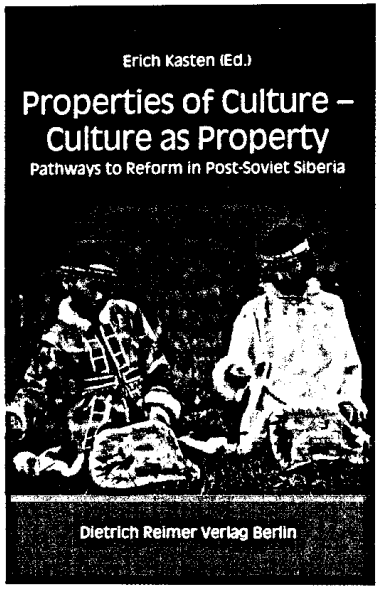
Erich Kasten edited the papers dealing with Siberia and other Polar regions under the title *Properties of Culture – Culture as Property*, published in 2004 as the second volume in the series 'Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia' (Berlin, Dietrich Reimer). In his keynote paper, Kasten called for reconciling the need to protect certain kinds of indigenous knowledge vis-à-vis outsiders with a general norm of open access to knowledge, necessary in order to sustain cultural creativity and keep traditions alive.

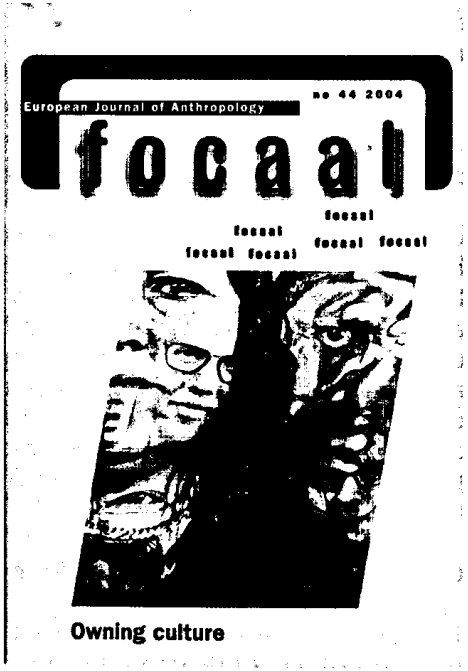
Legal concepts and practices to protect indigenous knowledge were analysed from different angles: by legal specialists on intellectual property, but also by community activists. There was general agreement that legislation should leave room for negotiated agreements and flexible solutions that reflect local situations and grassroots opinions. Similar principles have been widely aired in recent discussions over 'repatriation', a pressing issue for museums in recent years. One possible way to preserve and 'repatriate' endangered cultural property is to prioritise concrete initiatives to share the *knowledge* that lies behind objects and the traditions connected to them, which are of greater long-term significance than the artefacts themselves. These questions of repatriation opened up another, probably overdue discussion for all of us: how to return or to share the anthropologist's most treasured intellectual property, namely fieldwork data, with the native communities where they originated? Thus, the conference provided an opportunity not only to discuss the property concepts and practices of others, but also to reflect critically on those of the discipline of anthropology itself.

Participants provided plentiful evidence of the commodification of culture and the ways in which it is both celebrated and also manipulated today, in Siberia, as in other regions of the circumpolar North. A lively discussion arose on the question of "authenticity": does it refer to an imagined, ideal state or to explicitly formulated, concrete claims in competitive contexts? The very concept of culture as an analytic tool also came in for questioning. Some of these issues, especially the role of commodification and the political instrumentalisation of culture in complex processes of identity construction, are further documented in the third and final volume of the Siberia series *Rebuilding Identities* (Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 2005).

Contributors to *Properties of Culture – Culture as Property*:

Tatiana Argounova-Low, Olga Balalaeva, Barbara Bodenhorn, Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Chris Hann, Erich Kasten, Alexander D. King, Julia A. Kupina, Silke von Lewinski, Sonja Lührmann, Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, Thomas Ross Miller, Trond Thuen, Aimar Ventsel, Andrew Wiget, Alona Yefimenko.





II Individual Projects

Property Struggles and the Ownership of Development in Southern China

Susanne Brandtstädter

Susanne Brandtstädter studied social anthropology (Ethnologie), sinology, and sociology in Heidelberg and Berlin; she obtained her MA in 1991 and her PhD in 2000 in Ethnologie from the Free University, Berlin. She has undertaken comparative anthropological fieldwork in southern China (Fujian) and Taiwan. Her doctoral thesis brought out the centrality of property for gender and kinship relations, a topic she pursued further at MPISA as a postdoctoral fellow between 2000 and 2002. Since leaving Halle she has been a lecturer in Chinese anthropology in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.

After experimenting, under Mao Zedong, with extreme forms of collectivization and radical social reconstruction, the People's Republic of China was one of the first socialist countries to initiate drastic economic reforms, beginning in 1978. These reforms eventually led to the dismantling of the state-controlled system of production and distribution, the dissolution of the three-tiered structure of communes, brigades, and production teams in the countryside, the emergence of private markets, and the opening up of the country to global capital. The system of fixed class-statuses was abolished, and tight state control over population movement was relaxed, leaving in place only the fundamental categories 'peasant' (*nongmin*) and 'urbanite' (*jumin/shimin*). The vast majority of the population remained classified as *nongmin*, people registered officially as members of peasant households, even though since the economic reforms many have in fact left agriculture and moved to cities as mobile peasant labourers (*nongmin gong*).

The economic, social, and cultural effects of this 'second revolution' can hardly be exaggerated. During years of dynamic economic growth and a massive influx of foreign capital and foreign goods, China has experienced unprecedented economic, social, and geographical mobility, a boom in private enterprises, a consumer revolution, the construction of a new legal system, and, most recently, the emergence of a small middle class. The country has also witnessed the emergence of vast economic inequalities between its urban and rural areas, between different regions, and between individual citizens. In contrast to the states of the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe, however, the communist party-state has not only survived the embrace of global capital but has proved uniquely resilient and adaptable in the face of new social, economic, and political challenges. This has made for institutional continuities that still permeate state-society relations long after capital, markets, and entrepreneurs have entered the equation.

My research, located in two villages in southern Fujian (and drawing on my doctoral research in a third), has been focused on one central institutional continuity, namely, the continuing formal ownership of village land by the socialist collective. This continuity has had two immediate effects. First, it has given village governments and, by extension, the state lasting control over important village resources, enabling their expropriation on the premise that all collective ownership is derived from the state (i.e., the state is the 'ultimate' owner). Second, from the perspective of land as territory, it has boosted the state's claim that all 'development' within this territory is owed to and owned by the state.

During the Maoist period, the appropriation of existing territorial communities as socialist collectives and the 'socialization' of pre-revolutionary collective property relations (symbolized, in South China, by ancestral halls and territorial temples) inscribed the state into community relations and productive labour and redefined both as 'socialist'. In the post-Maoist period, when development is perceived to be the result of the dehumanized 'dialectic' between the socialist state and global capital, this has served to conceal the contribution of rural people to China's development, rendering them visible only as modern China's new 'peasant problem' (*nongmin wenti*). As in other postsocialist countries, China's peasants today are marginalized both economically and culturally, while the individual urban entrepreneur has emerged as the new 'model citizen'. In this environment, rural property relations have become a new realm of cultural, economic, and political struggle, reflecting the tension between a 'deterritorialized' global capitalist economy, the socialist state and its property regime, and local peasant communities that are struggling to attain 'development' on their own terms (in preparation, a).

Although village land has formally remained the collective property of villagers, commodity production, whether within or outside agriculture, the emergence of (semi-legal) land markets, and local governments' development plans for rural areas have made rights in land an area of contention between different interests. Property relations are a field of struggle over the notion of the collective, over the relationship between the individual and the collective, and over state-society relations. In the coastal provinces of the South and Southeast, where the government established the first 'Special Economic Zones' and which by the early 1990s had the fastest-growing market economy in the world, change was even more rapid and the transformation of existing social relations and institutions more profound. Although the rural population produced a huge part of southern China's economic miracle, it also faced massive new social and economic insecurities, coupled with a new discourse on 'backward peasants' that rendered their struggles and achievements largely invisible in public discourse.

The effects of such discourses were particularly observable in Baisha Village, located close to Xiamen Special Economic Zone, in the tourism section of a newly designed investment zone. Despite the fact that Baisha's peasants had successfully transformed themselves into rural entrepreneurs, producing shrimps for the national and international market, 'development' had meant the expropriation of half of all village land for the construction of a golf course. Many other village resources were destroyed, too; the sea was polluted, sand was dredged in the tidal basin, and the village hills were mined by the city government. Villagers were not adequately compensated for any of these depredations.

In Nanjiang Village, closer to Quanzhou City, the sale of village land to village émigrés, most of them living in Hong Kong and Manila, had become the major source of income for the local government. This practice increasingly priced those living in the village out of the local land market, yet it did little to improve village finances. In both places, villagers retained strong collective claims to village land as territory – claims that were not relinquished even when land was individually farmed, rented out, or even 'sold' to outsiders. To the local representatives of the state, eager to control land in order to promote their own vision of 'development', such claims (formally sanctioned in law) were an increasing annoyance, as was the village collective itself. Peasants who asserted collective rights as *bendiren* (locals, lit. 'own-soil-people') against outsiders were seen as potential troublemakers and perceived as 'backward' elements from a collective past (either Maoist or 'feudal'). They appeared as obstacles in the development path now championed by the party-state and the new standard-bearer of China's modernity, the risk-taking and self-reliant individual entrepreneur. State policies to weaken collective property rights were therefore also policies which undermined the forms of social relatedness that sustained the *bendiren* in rural China.

My research highlighted the importance of these forms of relatedness, sustained through collective property relations, in producing 'development' from below. The post-Maoist state has preferred, for political reasons, to deny this phenomenon altogether. The explosion of ritual expenditure in areas most directly affected by the new market economy, often explained as the result of new 'status games', involves a pooling and sharing of property that sustains personal (kinship) relationships and gives them new social and economic importance. These relations are grounded in trust. They create new marketing networks, draw in resources from overseas, and thus help to produce the material and social resources that new entrepreneurs need in order to take the economic risk of investment in the first place (2003). In the case of Baisha villagers' successful turn to industrial shrimp production, knowledge of production techniques has entered 'traditional' practices of property sharing and gifting, which produce the local and localized expertise that in turn has sustained Baisha's emergence as a marketplace and as the region's most famous 'shrimp village' (2004).

In Nanjiang, the reconstruction of ancestral halls and shrines has facilitated the lasting reintegration of overseas patrons into the local community. This reconstruction has redefined the village as a community under 'the ancestors' shadow'. It has depended on assembling a collective fund – that is, on the formation of new collective property. The building of a collective person (symbolized by the hall) has in turn 'produced development' through remittances and investments in the village's public infrastructure. More importantly, the reconstruction of ancestral halls contests the identity of Nanjiang as a socialist collective, and thus its 'ownership' by the state. These new-old local institutions, the halls and territorial temples, are found all over rural southern China. They re-enact (and undo) the formation of socialist collectives through the collectivization of private property (in this case, via donations) and through the transformation of socialist collective property back into ancestral property. In these processes, historical communities separate themselves from the local manifestation of the state, and through this separation they reject its centrality in community reproduction (2001).

But this transformation is never complete: it produces not absolute ownership but legally plural property relations. The new-old collective institutions are therefore important arenas in which new relationships between individual and collective and between community and local state are being negotiated (see Brandtstädter and Schubert, in press). One central aspect of this renegotiation involves rendering the productivity of local collectives visible to the state once again and thereby contesting the cultural marginalization of the peasant in post-Mao China. Ancestral halls and territorial temples reclaim the village as a social and geographical space under the tutelage of gods and ancestors. As part of this re-appropriation, all development within the village is reinterpreted as 'owned' by the local community, rather than by the socialist collective. The peasant (*nongmin*), far from being a passive recipient of development, is thereby transformed into a resourceful *bendiren*, a producer of local development.

Property struggles in rural China are not confined to the economic dimension. Because of the implication of property in the formation of local communities and in state-society relations, property norms have become a central arena of cultural, social, and political struggle in a rapidly changing society. Such struggles are the subject of my new project on the localization of law, which I began in Manchester in 2004; this time the main focus of attention is China's recent 'legal revolution' and the burgeoning rights discourse in the rural sector.

The Security of Properties in Romania

Andrew Cartwright

Andrew Cartwright was born near Liverpool and received a broad education in law at the University of Warwick (LLB; LLM; PhD, based on archival research and fieldwork investigations of the Romanian land reforms). After completing his post-doctoral position at MPISA, he proceeded to Hungary to work at the Central European University, where he currently teaches rural development policy.

In recent years, interest has been growing in the idea of access to land as a means of reducing poverty and promoting economic growth. The World Bank emphasizes the critical role that governments play in guaranteeing security of land tenure. Without it, owners and tenants will not invest, financial lenders will not accept land as security, and land markets will be open only to those prepared to accept the risks of informal transactions. Worse, insecurity of tenure usually imposes the burden of protecting property on people who are ill equipped to do so.

In the 1990s, almost every government in central and eastern Europe introduced a new legal infrastructure for property ownership. In Romania, the land law of 1991 claimed to be both 'constituting' and 'reconstituting' ownership rights in land. Reflecting the balance of forces in Parliament, Law 18 allowed former landowners and former collective farm workers a share of the collective farms. The ownership rights of those who had 'voluntarily' joined the cooperative would be properly recognized: in other words, they would be allowed to withdraw their land from the farm. At the same time, and echoing the socialist principle of 'land to the tiller', the law provided that those who had worked for more than three years for the collective farm were also entitled to a share of its land.

Law 18 was the first of a series of land laws designed to reform the system of landownership in the country. Alongside various market reforms, the aim was to develop a mixed farming sector made up of family farms and agricultural companies. Although the government continued to subsidize large-scale farming in the state sector, in the eyes of neoliberal planners it was the smaller, family-owned farms that would emerge as the real engines of growth. Although the initial distribution of collective farm land did produce more than 3 million smallholdings, it was hoped that the land market would lead to a rapid transfer of land to the most efficient users. And because 60% of the new landowners lived in urban areas, there seemed every likelihood that they would sell or rent land to the new rural entrepreneurs.

For several reasons, the land reforms did not lead to a dynamic, mixed rural economy. For one, the allocation process was very drawn out. Many claimants waited years to receive final titles, and then many of the heirs could not agree on how their inheritance should be divided. In 1998, the OECD estimated that there were approximately 1 million land-related cases in the state tribunals. To compound the problem, neither the delays nor the disputes prevented the emergence of lively informal markets in land. Considerable trading, dividing, and exchanging took place using interim certificates of ownership and home-made contracts witnessed by neighbours. The result was, arguably, that the real state of land tenure in Romania was unknown.

In 1996 a new government took office. It blamed Romania's sluggish development on the policies of subsidy and general market interference. It argued that the old elites had been able to transform their appearance while holding onto their privileges and powers. The failure to privatize state farms was the prime example of corrupt and inefficient protectionism. A new land law was promised that would remove many of the restrictions on private landholding, including the 10-hectare ceiling on restitution claims that had been established in the first land reform law. The possibility existed that many of the former larger landowners could apply for the return of all the property they or their families had once owned, paving the way for a potential unraveling of the earlier land settlement.

The original aim of my research, carried out in summer 2000, was to investigate the effects of this law on property relations. Earlier research in two villages in Transylvania had highlighted the weakness of state law and the prevalence of informal land agreements. It was also clear that there was significant bad feeling among former collective workers who had received either no land or only tiny parcels in poor growing areas. Almost 10 years after the first reform, Romanians firmly believed that the local land commissions had cheated these people for their own gain. In Plaiesti, for example, it was common to hear expressions of grim satisfaction that several land commissioners had later suffered some personal misfortune (one had died prematurely, another was a lonely alcoholic, and a third had lost a leg in a farm accident).

Despite rumours of evictions, the conclusion of the mayor in Plaiesti was that the new law, Law 1/2000, would have almost no effect. True, he had received several formal applications for the return of land, but by late summer 2000 he still had received no further central instruction about how to proceed. As far as the restitution of forest land was concerned, an issue of huge economic significance for the region, there was virtually no movement at all. Changes in county boundaries and obstruction by the state forestry agency made the process extremely slow and difficult.

In view of this, the research was reoriented towards examining the general influence of law on property relations. Much of the research previously carried out on property reform in central and eastern Europe had focused on the laws that were passed rather than on their actual

consequences. I gathered data on the relationship between the law and current property practices via a survey of one-third of the households in each of two villages, Plaiesti and Mirsid, concentrating on the question, 'How can we know who owns what?' The responses shed light on both the scope and the development of informal methods of protecting ownership. Unsurprisingly, few of the official land titles that were received were accurate. Many were in the name of only one sibling, even though the land was often divided between both village- and urban-based heirs. In Mirsid, among 48 households (n = 83) that had engaged in land sales, only 3 had involved a state notary, and only 1 had registered the changes in the official land register. In the early part of the 1990s, third-party witnessing of (home-made) contracts for land sales was standard, although from the mid-1990s the mayor's office did issue standard form agreements and allowed contracts to be deposited with his office.

Disputes over land boundaries were fairly common in both villages, although there were differences depending on whether the dispute was over household garden boundaries or more distant fields. As one local councillor in Mirsid put it, 'People don't tend to protect that which they don't see'. The depressed conditions for agriculture had resulted in increasing abandonment of farmland. Several villagers admitted they had 'forgotten' where their land was located, and others conceded that the boundaries of their plots seemed to change when they did get around to visiting them. In Plaiesti, the village agronomist was called upon repeatedly to intervene in boundary disputes, measuring and remeasuring field boundaries. In Mirsid, which had more urban commuters and fewer households reliant on agriculture, field disputes were less an issue. Instead, protracted disputes took place over shifting garden boundaries and former rights-of-way. One noteworthy dispute pitted many villagers against a single household that had blocked off an 'ancient' right-of-way. This case went as far as the highest court of appeal in the regional capital, but even there it proved impossible to resolve the problem fully.

The aim of the study was not to provide an(other) illustration of state weakness in rural eastern Europe but rather to discover the dynamic of the relationship between formal and informal methods of ensuring security of tenure. I found that Romanians based their decisions to register or not register changes in ownership partially on the basis of whether the household saw any benefit from involving the notary. After the initial flurry of land transactions in the early 1990s, fewer transactions took place in the second half of the decade. The absence of credit and the difficulties of saving from agricultural income meant that those buying land were less willing to rely solely on the witness of a neighbour.

A second consideration that changed attitudes towards state law was the question of subsidies. From 1998 onwards, vouchers were issued for

seeds, fertilizers, and other inputs. Many admitted that these vouchers were important for stabilizing household incomes. They were distributed according to the amount of land owned, and yet, rather than use the official land register to ascertain this figure, state authorities distributed vouchers on the basis of the local mayor's records of ownership. What changed at least some villagers' perception of state law in Mirsid was a decision by the agricultural secretary to no longer enter informal land sales in this register, meaning that farmers would no longer receive subsidies for their informally acquired land. The result was a striking number of attempts to legalize land sales. In an admittedly sham compliance with the law, notices to sell and offers to buy were pinned to the public notice boards outside the mayor's office. None of them had any dates, and, as the secretary conceded, almost all of them referred to sales that had already taken place. Nevertheless, she took this as a positive sign that at least some villagers had accepted her argument about the importance of complying with the law.

Landowners in both villages complained that there was little to gain from complying with state law; it was simply a drain of time and money. Yet as the limitations of the informal system grew more apparent and the link between compliance and subsidies was strengthened, increasing numbers of property owners did attempt to formalize their ownership. How far this was driven by the subsidy issue was hard to determine. Other insecurities weighed heavily, and farmers had little expectation that the state would compensate them for flood losses or intervene to reduce the problem of theft of produce. For many villagers, security of tenure was intimately connected to the way they perceived their own vulnerability within the wider environment. The unpredictable economic climate, the constant changes in agricultural policy, and the lack of interest in agriculture among younger villagers all conspired against a long-term sense of security of property.

In this project I sought to analyse how private property ownership developed in the context of weak state enforcement of the law. Some researchers are tempted to see the situation as one of legal pluralism, with the property laws of the state co-existing alongside the informal norms developed by villagers. However, the coupling of state law and subsidies showed how the boundary between these two systems was constantly changing. The implication was that at least for those cultivating their own land, security of tenure was something that could come from the state.

Seeing the Forests for the Trees in Postsocialist Bulgaria

Barbara Cellarius

Barbara Cellarius studied anthropology (PhD, University of Kentucky) and environmental studies (MA, The Evergreen State College). She joined MPISA as a postdoctoral researcher in January 2000 and left in 2002 to take up a position with the US National Park Service in Alaska.

My study of Bulgaria's forest restitution focused on the central part of the Rhodope Mountains, an extensive, moderate-elevation range located along Bulgaria's southern border with Greece. In this mountain setting, farming is difficult (albeit important for household subsistence), and agricultural holdings are small and scattered, accounting for only about 20% of the territory. Thick evergreen forests cover 70% of the landscape.

Following up on previous research on Bulgaria's restitution of agricultural land in one local village, during my tenure at MPISA I examined the more recent forest privatization, concentrating on several communities in the Chepelare Municipality. This municipality had some of the highest concentrations of private forests in the country before nationalization, making it an ideal location in which to study the postsocialist forest reprivatization and subsequent emergence of organizational structures associated with private forest management.

As elsewhere in the postsocialist world, the restoration or privatization of nationalized and collectivized property has been a topic of public debate and legislative action in Bulgaria since the crumbling of its communist dictatorship in 1989–90. The National Assembly authorized Bulgaria's forest restitution in late 1997, essentially undoing the nationalization of the late 1940s. The forest restitution law returned forests to their pre-nationalization owners, their heirs, or their successors, whether they were private individuals, municipalities, or legal persons such as churches or schools. As with agricultural land, priority was given to restoring forests to their former owners according to so-called old real borders, wherever possible. Thus, the post-restitution figures for private forest ownership were expected to be comparable to the pre-nationalization ones. Private forests, the focus of my analysis, accounted for about 16% of Bulgarian forests before nationalization but an estimated 70% of forests in the Chepelare Municipality (with even higher percentages in some communities there).

The deadlines for filing forest restitution claims were in 1999, and most forest claimants in the Chepelare Municipality had received their ownership documents by spring 2001. Unlike the sizes of agricultural landholdings, forest holding sizes vary significantly. A few notable

families own 100 or more hectares, and holdings of 5 or 10 hectares are not uncommon, but most people own a few hectares or less. Many forest holdings actually consist of several smaller parcels scattered in different locations. Because many forests in the central Rhodope were managed by pre-socialist forestry cooperatives from the 1920s to the 1940s, the old real borders of many of the individually owned forest parcels could not be identified. Consequently, many people claiming forests in the municipality did not receive individual forest parcels with real, mapable borders, but rather something that resembled shares in a large piece of real estate lacking internal borders, in this case a named forest massif.

With the restitution, as was the case before nationalization, came the possibility that owners would be able to generate income by selling timber from their private forests or otherwise exploiting them. Given the difficult economic situation facing many rural Bulgarians, the potential for income is of considerable interest to forest owners. Holding legal title to forests, however, does not mean that owners are free to do whatever they want with them. Some of the bundle of rights and obligations associated with the forests as property is controlled by the state. Specifically, once the owners receive their documents and the borders of the forests are marked on the ground to the extent possible, the forests must be managed according to Bulgaria's new Law on Forests, with its associated rules and regulations.

Because most forest owners in the region received their forests in the form of shares in a named forest massif, I concentrated my analysis on the post-restitution management of those forests. Once ownership documents were received, the co-owners of these forest massifs had to decide jointly how to manage them. In principle, they could decide to divide a massif among themselves, breaking it up into individual parcels with real borders, but this would require arranging and paying for an appraisal of the massif and then agreeing upon a method for dividing it into pieces – which would then need to be managed individually. This was seen to be troublesome, and to my knowledge it had not been done. Thus, it was something of a given that these forests would end up under joint management.

The new owners had to resolve the form the co-management would take and who would be selected for its leadership. One issue of concern was voting structure, especially whether capital would lead – that is, whether the number of votes would be based on holding size – or, alternatively, whether each cooperative member would have one vote, as required by Bulgaria's postsocialist law on cooperatives (initially written with agricultural cooperatives in mind). Also of significance was how people with relevant experience accumulated in socialist-era institutions were viewed as possible leaders for these management organizations. Were they seen as useful personnel or as poor economic managers,

tainted by their association with socialist organizations that some viewed as having been corrupt?

In the summer and fall of 2001, forest owners were busy creating forestry cooperatives and other management organizations. By summer 2002, the date of my most recent fieldwork, some sort of joint management structure had been established for most, if not all, of the jointly owned forest massifs in the region. Cooperatives, in which each member had one vote regardless of holding size, dominated, but there were also a few management societies, established under a different law, which were quicker to register and in which capital led. Although a few had not yet started operations, two cooperatives had already had their first regular general assemblies, and most were busy cleaning up trees downed in winter storms and logging.

Two observations help in understanding the kinds of management structures that have emerged following Bulgaria's forest restitution. For the first, I look outside the literature on the postsocialist world to that on property regimes and resource management more generally. For the second, I turn to the historical role of forestry cooperatives in the local area to help explain why cooperatives have been established instead of other possible organizational forms.

As I discussed in more detail in my contribution to The Postsocialist Agrarian Question (2003; see also Cellarius 2004), the nature of a resource can affect the form its management takes. Literature on property ownership and management regimes from around the world suggests that factors affecting the type of ownership regime that is most efficient and thus perhaps most likely to emerge include the density and predictability of a resource, along with the ability to restrict access and enforce the division of the resource into individual parcels. Forests, in particular, are often managed in large chunks, and not infrequently through some form of joint management. Such was the case in pre-socialist Bulgaria – private forestry cooperatives were prominent in the central Rhodope in the years before nationalization.

Thus, the nature of the resource helps explain why it made sense not to divide up the forest massifs and instead to manage them jointly. But the other part of the question concerns why cooperatives were chosen over other possible forms of management.[6] Important clues can be found in the community's past. The current widespread support for forestry cooperatives in the Chepelare area as a way to manage forests is related to historical memory of the pre-socialist cooperatives and their embeddedness in local communities. Pre-socialist forestry cooperatives were local economic and social institutions that played important roles

[6] Forest sales were difficult in the early years after the restitution because of rules about the sale of jointly owned forests, along with the lack of an established market for forests. Thus, sales that could consolidate ownership of the forest massifs have not yet been a viable option, although that could change in the future.

in the town of Chepelare and other communities in the municipality. They donated money, lumber, or both to various community projects; provided jobs for local residents; paid dividends to cooperative members; and managed the forests efficiently and transparently. Fond memories of these earlier forestry cooperatives influence local attitudes towards forestry cooperatives today. As one elderly gentleman explained to me, 'Without cooperatives, there would be no forests'.

The larger context for Bulgaria's forest restitution includes capitalist-oriented privatization programs designed to foster individual private ownership, as well as a history of socialism, which might bias people against cooperative institutions. Yet for the time being, many forest owners in Bulgaria's central Rhodope Mountains are content to have their newly reprivatized forests managed jointly by private forestry cooperatives. An ethnographically informed analysis suggests that this is related to the nature of forests as a resource as well as to the embeddedness of pre-socialist forestry cooperatives in the local communities of the central Rhodope.

A government forestry official from the central Rhodope town of Chepelare documents the amount of timber harvested by a newly created forestry cooperative before it is transported to a sawmill. The university-trained forester is a Chepelare native, and both of his maternal grandparents received forests as a result of Bulgaria's postsocialist forest restitution. (Photo: Barbara Cellarius)

Changing Property Relations in Rural East Germany – A Case Study in Sachsen

John Eidson

John Eidson received his BA in anthropology from Duke University in 1976 and his PhD in social anthropology from Cornell University in 1983. Prior to joining MPISA, he taught at the University of Maryland and the University of Leipzig. In 2005 he took up a new position at the University of New Hampshire.

In 1989, 850,000 East Germans, making up 11% of the workforce in the German Democratic Republic, were employed in agriculture, mostly in 3,850 cooperative farms and 465 state farms. In 2002, 155,000 Germans, or 3% of the workforce in the new states of reunited Germany, were employed in 30,000 agricultural enterprises of various types and sizes, from family farms to corporations. This 80% reduction in the number of jobs in agriculture was accompanied by disruptions and dislocations, but it did not result in widespread rural poverty, despite the inability of industry to absorb excess rural labour. How was this possible?

East Germany was the only country within the Soviet sphere of influence to have split off from a western counterpart after World War II and the only one to be reintegrated with that counterpart after 1989. The incorporation of the new federal states into the Federal Republic of Germany in October 1990 had a number of consequences that set East Germany apart from other eastern European and Asian countries caught up in the postsocialist transition. In early 1990, East German reform legislation was formulated in anticipation of entry into the West German Federal Republic. Subsequently, agrarian reform was subsidized by the Federal Republic and the European Union.

Just as East Germany was an exception within the postsocialist transition, so agriculture was an exception within the East German reform process. In the socialist economy, agriculture, in contrast to industry, was mainly in the cooperative sector, rather than the state sector. Therefore, the reform of socialist agriculture fell under the auspices not of the privatization agency, Treuhand, but of the Landwirtschaftsanpassungsgesetz, or Law of Agricultural Adjustment, which was passed by the East German parliament in June 1990 and amended by the united German parliament in July 1991. This law stipulated that socialist agricultural cooperatives, called *Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaften* (LPG), be liquidated or reorganized as registered cooperatives, corporations, joint stock companies, or partnerships by the end of 1991. Furthermore, it provided guidelines for dividing the assets of the LPG among former members and employees.

In 1989, private owners – mostly small owners – still held title to more than half the land farmed by the socialist cooperatives. Therefore, decollectivization did not entail a general redistribution of land, as it did in the former Soviet Union. Rather, landowners reasserted their rights to control and to profit from the use of their land. The reassertion of owners' rights after 1989 meant that landowners were favoured in the division of LPG assets. First, the former socialist cooperatives were required to return the mandatory fees that landowners had paid upon entry into the LPG. Second, the LPG or their successors made back-payments of rent for the use of private land during the socialist era. Finally – if any money was left over – payments were made to all former cooperative farmers, on the basis of their contributions to LPG assets through their labour. This ruling often revived conflicts between the landed and the landless that had been dormant for the preceding two decades (2001a).

Despite the encouragement of federal policymakers, relatively few East Germans chose to re-establish private farms after 1990. By that time, many landowning cooperative farmers had already retired or were about to retire. Often, their adult children had chosen careers outside of agriculture. Others, who might have returned to family farming under other circumstances, found the risks to be too high and the struggle for adequate amounts of land too difficult. Therefore, many owners chose to lease their land, either to private farmers or to the legal successors to the socialist cooperatives.

In early 1990, the managements and some members of many LPG advocated the founding of successor enterprises, which would use the assets of the old cooperatives, lease land from former cooperative farmers, and retain as many employees as possible. Different LPG chose different legal forms and included or excluded different features of their socialist predecessors. Typically, however, conflicts of interest arose between those who tried to convince former members to leave their assets in the LPG successor (in the form of shares) and those who preferred to withdraw their assets. By 1992, these early reform efforts had resulted in the founding of nearly 3,000 cooperatives or corporations, many of which may be understood as legal successors to the LPG.

In 1992, cooperatives and corporations farmed 72% of arable land in East Germany, but with a workforce that had been reduced by more than 60%. By 2003, cooperatives and corporations farmed 52% of arable land and employed only a small fraction of the number that had worked in the LPG. Some former cooperative farmers started up private farms or partnerships (16,000 in 1992 and 27,000 in 2003). Others found employment in construction or food processing companies, which split off from the LPG in the early 1990s (2003c). Some switched to other sectors of the economy. The rest were unemployed or entered into retirement, early retirement, retraining courses, or make-work programs. Although dissatisfaction with high unemployment rates was widespread, adequate security was usually provided by a broad social safety net.

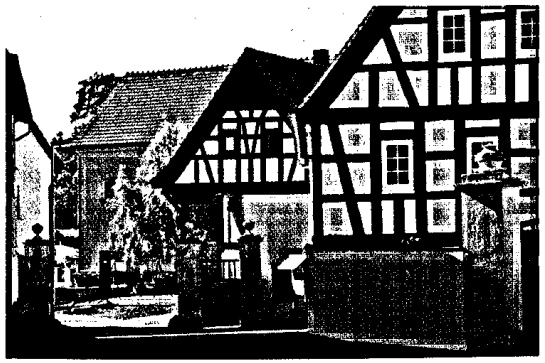
I investigated the processes just described in a case study set in Sachsen, south of the city of Leipzig, where agriculture co-exists with coal mining and related industries. In contrast to the East Elbian north, this region was, prior to socialist collectivization, dominated by the middle peasantry, owners of small to medium-size farms. Despite the pivotal role attributed to them in Marxist-Leninist theory, the middle peasants often represented the social centre of the (largely futile) resistance to collectivization – especially because estate owners were dispossessed in the postwar land reform and many large farm owners had been forced out of business by the mid-1950s (forthcoming). By the mid-1960s, however, many formerly independent farmers had adopted a pragmatic orientation towards cooperative farming, because of their dedication to agricultural production, their interest in protecting the value of the assets they had contributed to the LPG, and their desire to take advantage of the benefits offered by the cooperatives (2003a).

Though based on the same laws and subject to the same policies, socialist cooperatives often varied, depending upon their resources, their personnel, and the quality of their management. The central cooperative farm in the case study in Sachsen was well run and relatively high paying, due to the combined efforts of a competent chairman and a core of dedicated local farmers and recruits (2003b). Under the centrally mandated policies of industrialization and specialization in the late 1970s and 1980s, however, the local sense of the cooperative farm as a truly cooperative enterprise was severely strained.

In 1990, the assembled members and employees of the socialist cooperatives in the case study in Sachsen founded a single registered cooperative, which combined the assets and activities of the two interrelated enterprises that had previously specialized in crop production and animal husbandry, respectively. Thanks to decades of good management and to compensatory payments from the coal mining industry, this successor to the socialist cooperatives had a positive balance of several million marks. Therefore, it was able to distribute assets among former members and still retain enough capital to make a promising start in the new economy. Former members usually came to terms with the management of the successor enterprise, though some legal battles over access to land and individual shares of assets lasted for more than a decade.

In 1989, the cooperative farms in the case study employed more than 400 people and cultivated 2,300 hectares of land. In 2004, the successor cooperative employed 35 people and cultivated about 1,900 hectares. In the surrounding area, there were only three full-time private farmers, each of whom cultivated just over 100 hectares and employed only a few family members. Several former LPG members were among the 80 employees of a meat processing plant, which may be viewed as a spin-off from the cooperative farm of the socialist era. Many of those employed in these enterprises still lived in the village of Großstolpen (pop. 200), which was the local centre of developments under socialism. Other adult residents of this village were either retired, in early retirement, unemployed, or employed outside the village, either in the nearby town of Groitzsch or in the regional centre, Leipzig. A few young men commuted weekly to West Germany.

Respondents to a questionnaire that I administered to all households in Großstolpen in fall 2004 agreed that water supply, roads, communications, and housing had improved dramatically since 1989. All enjoyed the benefits of these improvements, though their distribution was not always uniform throughout the population. At this writing, the results of the questionnaire are still being evaluated, but there is some indication that the distinction between indigenous landowning families and 'newcomers' who had arrived as farmworkers nearly four decades earlier has been reactivated by the liberalization of property laws. Land is clearly not a liability, as landowners have ample opportunities to lease their agricultural land, though at relatively modest rates. In addition, the heirs to older farmsteads, who are also the largest landowners, are eligible for matching state funds in renovating their real estate, unlike occupants of the 'new' housing of the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, the sharpness of the divide between the landed and the landless is ameliorated by numerous federal and state benefits, for which even the less privileged village residents are eligible. The future of the village depends upon further developments in Leipzig and vicinity and on the effects of agricultural reform in the European Union.



A renovated farmstead in Großstolpen: In this four-sided farmstead, the barn and stalls were transformed into living quarters with matching funds from the State Office for Rural Redevelopment in Sachsen. The renovated buildings now house five related families, which include the heirs to agricultural land leased to the local cooperative farm. (Photo: Anja Grabmann)

Decollectivization in Rural Russia: A Perspective from the Far North

Patty A. Gray

Patty Gray was born in the midwestern United States, was educated at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (BA), and Southern Illinois University, Carbondale (MA), and obtained her PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She joined MPISA in 2000 and was coordinator of the Siberia Projektgruppe in 2001–2002. She is now an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

The project I carried out as part of the Siberia project group at MPISA was concerned with how the decollectivization of state farms in Russia and attendant changes in property relations were affecting the lived experience of rural residents. I conducted the bulk of my field research in reindeer-herding villages of Chukotka, a region in the Russian Far North. I also made an exploratory comparative field trip in 2001 to a farming village in the Republic of Mari El, in the Volga region. Scholars typically treat the Russian Far North and the Volga region as entirely separate frames of reference, but I wanted to demonstrate the similarities the two regions shared on the basis of their having experienced processes of collectivization and decollectivization that were remarkably uniform throughout Russia (2003a).

Chukotka has two main economic activities that are considered 'agricultural': sea mammal hunting and reindeer herding. I focused on the latter. Reindeer are herded almost exclusively by indigenous inhabitants of Chukotka, who represent several distinct groups, primarily Chukchis, Chuvans, and Evens. Reindeer herding in Chukotka was progressively collectivized beginning in the late 1920s, until by the 1960s myriad individually owned and managed reindeer herds had been consolidated into twenty-eight *sovkhozy,* or state agricultural enterprises. Reindeer herders were no longer owners of the reindeer, nor were they managers; rather, they were salaried state employees who herded their reindeer according to a plan devised by 'experts' and handed down to them through their *sovkhoz* director (2003b). Individual herders and their family members might own a few head of reindeer; these were typically earned as bonuses from the *sovkhoz* or won as prizes in various socialist competitions, and they could be gifted and passed on as inheritance. In contrast to other parts of the Russian North, such as Yamal in western Siberia, in Chukotka such privately owned reindeer composed only a small proportion of the herds – about 5% throughout the late Soviet period (Gray and Stammler 2002a, 2002b). Because these reindeer were pastured collectively with *sovkhoz* herds, many of their owners were confused over how many reindeer actually belonged to them (forthcoming a).

Thus, by the time of the collapse of state socialism in Russia in 1989, an entire generation of reindeer herders had come of age in Chukotka taking socialist property relations for granted. They did not aspire to become independent owners of reindeer herds; their aspirations were within the given system – to attend a technical college and become trained as a veterinary specialist, or to work up to becoming the *brigadir* of a herd. Few indigenous Chukotkans ever broke into the management tier of the *sovkhoz* system, which included the director and his deputy, the economist, the accountant, and various other specialists (2003b). Herders themselves, however, were relatively well paid. Not only did they have buying power in their villages, but they were often granted economic privileges – for example, they might be given an option to purchase scarce goods such as furniture, or, later in the Soviet period, televisions. Although they worked in the tundra, they had state-provided apartments in the village to which they returned as a home base. School-age children and other family members usually spent most of the year in these settlements.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the economic privatization programs that followed in its wake came as a shock to all state farm employees in Chukotka. Ideally, it meant that reindeer herders could now become owners of their own herds, and some indigenous activists hailed the change as a return to the property relations indigenous people had known before Soviet collectivization. In practice, it meant that state subsidy of reindeer herding abruptly stopped, and with it the regular salary that reindeer herders had taken for granted their entire lives. Very few herders privatized their own reindeer herds, and of those who did, virtually all lost their herds within a few years.

Decollectivization of *sovkhozy* proceeded in Chukotka much as it did elsewhere in Russia: gatherings of *sovkhoz* employees were convened, a prescribed set of optional property forms was considered, and a decision was taken by a vote of the employees. In most cases, the vote was to allow the *sovkhoz* to remain essentially unchanged and simply reregister it with a new name. In the case of one village I studied, the word *sovkhoz* was even retained in the official name of the enterprise. The one thing not controlled by a vote of the employees was the process of stripping the *sovkhoz* of all assets and functions that were not immediately relevant to its economic purpose of reindeer meat production. The sovkhoz director had once presided over a miniature empire in the village, being responsible for utilities (water, heat, electricity), schools, medical facilities, stores and warehouses, the village cafeteria, the library and 'house of culture', and so forth. One by one these functions were divorced from the *sovkhoz* and turned over to other administrative agencies. The remaining 'rump *sovkhoz*' was then further stripped of eco-

nomic assets, in an unplanned way, as some employees opted to leave its employ altogether. Each employee was entitled to take out a share commensurate with the number of years worked and salary level achieved. A pattern emerged in which non-indigenous village residents – usually those working at the managerial level of the *sovkhoz* – took out their shares in the form of assets such as heavy machinery (tractors). They then sold those assets for cash and used the cash to assist in their outmigration from the region.

Generally, the *sovkhozy* that remained intact were the most successful in the long run, for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was that the regional administration looked most favourably upon this form and provided it with the most assistance. Nevertheless, in several cases a small group of reindeer herders, often relatives, opted to break off from the main *sovkhoz* and register themselves as an independent, collective enterprise. By the mid-1990s, what had previously appeared on the books as 28 consolidated *sovkhozy* now appeared as 57 small, scattered enterprises (2003b). After breaking away, these small enterprises were immediately faced with the problem of how to attend to basic needs that had always been provided by the *sovkhoz* – such as supplying themselves with food and other necessities and transporting meat for sale to markets. They also had to pay themselves a salary out of their own proceeds; given the difficulties of accessing markets, this meant in practice that they received no salary whatsoever.

I observed two different outcomes of such attempts at independence in the two villages where I conducted fieldwork. In one case, the independent herding operation simply gave up after about a year and rejoined the rump *sovkhoz*. The leader of that venture, a Chukchi man, was later elected director of the entire *sovkhoz*. While he enjoyed personal upward mobility, his employees remained, up to the end of my project period (December 2002), without any cash salary, and many were in debt to the *sovkhoz* for foodstuffs taken on credit (2003a). In the other village, several family groups had banded together and hired a Russian manager to handle their finances and solve the problems of accessing markets. Within a couple of years, the manager embezzled these families' funds and fled from Chukotka (forthcoming b). These two scenarios were typical of the fates of reindeer herders who attempted to venture away from the safety of the *sovkhoz*.

Toward the end of the 1990s, two significant and somewhat opposed developments emerged. First, the Chukotka regional department of agriculture developed a plan to 'municipalize' reindeer herding in the region, meaning that at least 51% of the property of each enterprise – from the large *sovkhozy* to the smaller, independent enterprises – would be signed over to one of Chukotka's eight municipal districts. This was to be done 'voluntarily', although reports abounded of reindeer herders being strong-armed into signing over their assets with the warning that

if they refused, they would be completely cut off from support and assistance. Although some officials argued that this new arrangement would benefit the reindeer herders, the impetus seemed to stem primarily from the (now former) governor's obsessive aspiration to maintain all political and economic activity in the region under his tight control. The head of the department of agriculture himself told me in an interview that people needed to get things back to the way they were in Soviet times, when a single director controlled the *sovkhoz* (and was in turn more easily controlled by higher-ups). By the end of municipalization, the figure of 57 independent enterprises that had appeared during decollectivization had again been brought down to the Soviet-era figure of 28 registered on paper. The others had either dissolved, merged into the larger *sovkhozy*, or been written out of existence administratively (while their actual fate remained ambiguous).

Second, a quite different development arose when Russian federal law made available only to indigenous inhabitants an alternative set of property relations associated with an organizational form called an *obshchina* ('community'). *Obshchiny*, in combination with existing regulations on long-term leasing of land, allowed indigenous reindeer herders theoretically to opt out of the municipalization scheme and remain entitled to governmental support. *Obshchiny* had actually been successfully established all across the Russian North since 1992, when the Sakha Republic set a precedent by issuing a local law about them; but of the three attempts in Chukotka to establish *obshchiny* that I know of, all met with resistance from the regional administration and were effectively disabled (2001). A federal law on *obshchiny* passed in 2000 opened up new opportunities for Chukotkans to experiment with this form. Although it still faced administrative resistance, by the end of my project an 'obshchina movement' seemed to be gaining ground.

The common theme running through my research in Chukotka was that increasing inequality was tied not only to changing property relations but also to changing regional politics, which in turn were tied to the changing political economy of Russia (2000). One unfortunate conclusion that emerged was that privatization and democratization were anything but liberating for the rural residents of Chukotka.

The New Property System in Tázlár, Hungary

Chris Hann

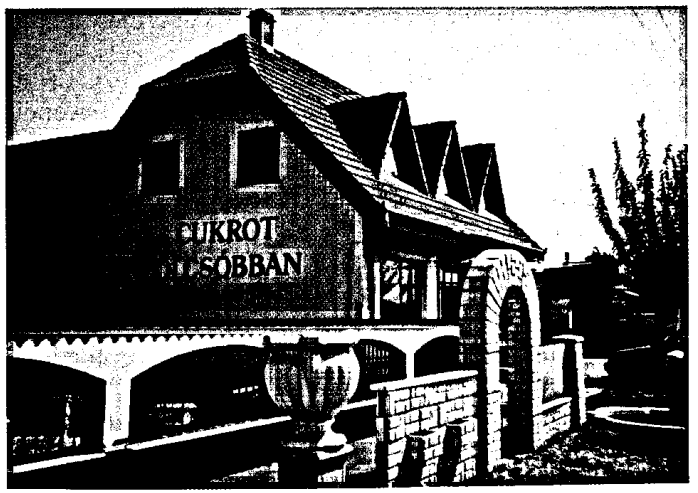
Chris Hann is a Welshman, educated at Oxford (BA in philosophy, politics, and economics, 1974) and Cambridge (PhD in social anthropology, 1979). After many years teaching at Cambridge and the University of Kent, he joined MPISA as one of its founding directors in 1999.

This project was a restudy of the Hungarian village in which I carried out my PhD fieldwork in 1976–78. Although I visited Tázlár intermittently in later years, the two months I spent in the community in summer 2001, supplemented by other, even shorter visits, provided my first opportunity for systematic data collection since the 1970s.

The theme of property was both present and absent in my work on the socialist period (see *Tázlár: A Village in Hungary*, Cambridge University Press, 1980). It was present inasmuch as I outlined the imposed establishment of three 'cooperative groups' in 1960, which later merged to form a single 'specialist cooperative' in 1974. Yet collectivization did not affect Tázlár and numerous other villages of the Danube-Tisza interfluve in the way it affected most Hungarian settlements, whose inhabitants were compelled to join the Hungarian variant of a collective farm. The ecology and scattered settlement pattern of this region led the authorities to make pragmatic concessions. Villagers were obliged to sign disposal rights to their land over to the new collective, but their use rights were initially unaffected. Eventually, this 'simpler' form of collective was expected to mature into a conventional collective farm. But this never happened. Instead, the specialist cooperative came to exemplify the flexibility of Hungary's 'market socialism'. The regime of János Kádár attached priority not to the dogmas of socialist ownership but to increasing production by means of a mutually beneficial relationship between socialist institutions and rural households.

I did not write about property explicitly because by the late 1970s landownership had largely lost its former economic and social importance. On the other hand, the accumulation of new forms of property in the sphere of consumption was the major incentive for the long hours of drudgery which households invested in the production of agricultural commodities, such as in pig fattening; this was often undertaken in addition to full-time wage-labour jobs. Meanwhile, the cooperative gradually expanded the acreage under collective cultivation. With the help of modern technologies and chemicals, and also of subsidies directed to supporting farms with unfavourable ecological endowments, both the collective and household sectors achieved impressive results in the final decade of socialism.

Despite the village's distinctive features, decollectivization legislation was implemented in Tázlár in basically the same way as in the rest of the country (but see 2003b). Against the wishes of the countryside's most popular political party, the Independent Smallholders Party, the principle of restitution was modified into a principle of compensation. This was intended to avoid the economically deleterious fragmentation of fields which had been consolidated into more viable production units under socialism. The negative concomitant was that some farmers were left emotionally and morally frustrated because they could not re-establish full ownership rights over the plots they identified with their families. In practice, the principle of historical ownership prevailed in the great majority of cases, and land auctions played only a minor role in Tázlár. The redistribution was nonetheless tempestuous. Although most claims had been settled by 1997, a few were still awaiting resolution in the courts in 2001. The most common complaint was that members of the various local committees charged with implementing decollectivization took decisions which gave unfair advantage to their own families (2004b, 2004c).



Private, family-run businesses such as this one, offering its customers 'cheaper sugar', sprang up in many parts of rural Hungary in the last decades of socialism. Sugar was an essential ingredient for augmenting wine production, one of the most important routes to smallholder 'embourgeoisement'. The socialist authorities facilitated and supported this modernization. Since 1990 the 'fuzzy' property relations of late socialism in Hungary have been corrected through privatization, but almost all agricultural markets, including that for wine, have contracted drastically. (Photo: Chris Hann)

Similar complaints were frequently heard in connection with the distribution of the assets of the cooperative. Its leaders decided in 1990 to withdraw from collective agricultural activities, a decision driven not only by the land issue but also by the withdrawal of subsidies and the general collapse of agricultural markets at the time. The cooperative continued to offer coordination and other services to households, but this role declined steadily as farmers explored new market opportunities individually. The cooperative persisted into the new century, thanks largely to the income generated by two subsidiary enterprises established in the 1980s. In contrast to many other villages, where the leaders of the former collective and state farms moved promptly to 'convert' their political capital and emerge as a new class of capitalist owners, in Tázlár the leaders were content to hold onto their positions and preside over a gradual decline. When they finally attempted to transform the cooperative into a private limited company in 2003, the few remaining members rebuffed their plans. The reasons for this trajectory had to do partly with the distinctive regional environment and the institutional legacy of socialism, but also with the fact that the two senior leaders of the cooperative were represented as acting not merely selfishly but in the interests of the neighbouring town where they lived. An acrimonious legal process brought by one of these leaders delayed the final privatization of cooperative property (2004d).

Tázlár has undergone a transformation since the demise of socialism, both on the plane of political economy and in its moral economy. The former has been determined by adverse macro-economic forces, which have reduced or eliminated demand for the products which brought prosperity to households in the 1970s and 1980s. A friend reported with bitterness in a recent letter (2004) that, according to the latest agricultural census, the number of dogs in the village was now greater than the number of pigs. The dairy and vineyard branches have also experienced steep declines. One immigrant to the village has planted new vines and invested in modern cellar equipment, but even this 'model' entrepreneur has difficulty finding buyers. Ironically, he is convinced that some new form of cooperative is the only way to coordinate and standardize production in this sector. Many factories in the region have closed. Unemployment is disguised by a large 'informal' or 'black' economy. Hardship is alleviated by the fact that rural households are able to produce a great deal of what they consume (2005c).

It is difficult to generalize concerning the 'softer' variables of the moral economy. For some, such as elderly people who practise their religion and who have re-established some ownership rights, the end of socialism evokes unconditional approval, regardless of the material drawbacks. But the majority of those with whom I spoke in 2001 emphasized the negative consequences of the 'system change'. What was the point, they asked, in having their ownership rights clarified, if land

had become a liability rather than an asset? Many in the village's upper hamlet, where I undertook a detailed survey, pointed to a deterioration in the quality of community life, which to them was epitomized by the decline of their amateur dramatics club and of mutual aid in house building (2004a).

I concluded my 1980 monograph by emphasizing how hard the villagers of Tázlár were working to produce commodities for the market. I suggested that rapid conversion of the specialist cooperative into a more typical form of collective farm was the only way to liberate them from this self-imposed burden. Thirty years later, with the collapse of their markets, many families are indeed working less intensively, though subsistence-oriented drudgery may well have increased. Villagers express nostalgia for the rapid accumulation they worked so hard to achieve in the last decades of socialism. It now seems that the living standards of that era, when ownership was downplayed and only production mattered, cannot be sustained under postsocialism. Property rights have been thoroughly clarified, but output continues to fall, and recently the population has begun to decline sharply (2005a).

In 2003 Hungarian farmers took their protests to the ministry in the capital, alleging that successive postsocialist governments had betrayed not only farmers' material interests but also the country's national rural heritage.
(Photo: Andre Czegledy)

Property and Kinship in Rural Russia – and Elsewhere

Patrick Heady

Patrick Heady grew up in north London. He studied economics at Cambridge (BA 1969) and statistics at Birkbeck College, London (MSc 1977), before discovering anthropology in his early thirties. Following an MSc (1985) and PhD (1996) at the London School of Economics, he has worked at MPISA since its foundation as a part-time research associate.

Unlike decollectivization in most of eastern Europe, decollectivization in Russia was, in one sense, voluntary. In the early 1990s, collective farms changed their legal status, and members received the right to withdraw their share of the farm's land. Land was also made available for people to rent, providing the average *kolkhoz* family with the opportunity to set up as *fermery* (commercial farmers) working about 40 hectares of land, partly their own and partly rented. Only about 2% of families took this opportunity, so in a sense decollectivization was a fiasco – rejected by 98% of the rural population.

Other government policies, however, severely weakened the position of the collective and state farms. Two important measures ended the previous system of official financial support for *kolkhozy* and transferred their housing and welfare functions to separate local government bodies, which reduced the scale of implicit incentives that managers could offer their workers. On top of this, the mismanagement of economic reform in the manufacturing sector greatly reduced the effective incomes of town dwellers, and hence their demand for farm produce. In retrospect, the results seem obvious: farm bankruptcies, unpaid wages, breakdowns in labour discipline, lay-offs of *kolkhoz* workers, and a massive fall in the output of the collective farms (including their notionally reconstituted successor organizations). By the late nineties, most Russian agricultural output was produced by the private sector, not by *fermery* but by *kolkhozniki* and ex-*kolkhozniki* cultivating anything between a third of a hectare and three or four hectares per family – former family plots carried over from Soviet times, supplemented by small-scale renting of public land. According to official statistics (which may not be entirely reliable), private production did not increase by much. Its emergence as the main source of agricultural produce was largely due to the collapse of output from the former collective farms.

The only real exception to the collapse of large-scale farming was the emergence in central, and more so in southern, European Russia of profitable large-scale farming enterprises (ranging from hundreds to thousands of hectares) under the control of former members of the elite. Medium-size *fermer*-type farms, however, were scarcely more common in the south than in the north. This sets a puzzle that is at the heart of the Russian agrarian question. If former managerial elites can make a success of large-scale farming (at least in some parts of the country), why are ordinary people unable or unwilling to do so as well – either as *fermery* or as partners in efficiently run collective enterprises?

This question came into focus during the four months I spent working in the Russian countryside. I split six weeks of this time, in the summer of 2000, between Arkhangelskaya Oblast in the Far North and Voronezh Oblast in the heart of the fertile southern black earth country. I devoted the remaining 10 weeks, in the spring and late summer of 2002, to a village in Lipetskaya Oblast, a few hundred kilometers south-south-east of Moscow, on the northern edge of the black earth country. The circumstances of these field sites were fairly typical of their respective regions. In the north, agriculture was in unmitigated decline, though logging was starting to boom. In the village in Lipetskaya Oblast, one former state farm manager had set up as owner-manager of a meat-producing firm using part of the property of the former state farm, but the remaining collective farms continued, just, to function. Farther south still, in the village in Voronezh Oblast, an entrepreneur from the former elite was converting the entire collective farm into his own commercial enterprise. I found few *fermery* in any of the field sites, but small-scale peasant farmers seemed to be more prosperous in the two southern areas, particularly in Voronezh.

Of course four months is a very short time to spend researching such fundamental questions, but I was fortunate to be able to compare impressions with a number of colleagues – especially Liesl Gambold Miller, with whom I wrote two joint articles (2003a, 2005c). However, even with the benefit of comparisons with Miller's Nizhegorodskaya field site, it did not prove possible to directly tackle the question of why people did not set up as *fermery*. When asked the question, people said either that they had not thought of it, that the amount of land they already had was enough for them, or that they would need more machinery to work more land. Though the latter sounds like a good reason, it was actually unconvincing, given the ready availability of machinery for hire. The answers amounted to little more than saying, 'We work on a small scale because that is the way we work'. Miller and I made more progress in talking to the few people who had tried to work on a larger scale and had found themselves in a difficult situation, facing the stress of commercial uncertainty without the supportive networks available to members of the former elite. They also faced, at least in some instances, obstruction from the authorities and suspicion or ostracism by their neighbours.

The counterpoint to this was a positive preference for collective activity, which was evident in the real pleasure people showed in working together – under the auspices of the old *kolkhoz* in Miller's village and in

extended groups of relatives in my Lipetskaya field site. It was also shown in a reluctance to ask for payment in transactions between neighbours or relatives: working together was clearly seen as an expression of moral solidarity, which payment for labour would destroy. It was important to help if asked to do so, at least some of the time. It is not difficult to see that such a set of values and commitments would be hard to combine with profit-oriented commercial farming centred on narrowly defined family groups.

But these values would still be compatible with commercial farming on a collective basis, so why are virtually all successful large-scale farms now run by the managers in their own interests, rather than being genuinely owned and run by the collectivity of their members? This is where the comparison between Miller's village and mine proved particularly illuminating. Her village was formed fairly recently, and the *kolkhoz* was both its reason for existence and the main source of its collective moral authority. When the *kolkhoz* leadership was weak, less conscientious members of the community could avoid doing their share, with the result that the others felt exploited by the lazy ones and tended to withdraw from common activity. In my village, where the *kolkhozy* were decidedly weak, cooperation still took place, but mainly between relatives. In this village, which predated the *kolkhozy* by centuries, extended kinship networks were an important social reality that provided the possibility of mutual monitoring of each others' behaviour. In other words, collective values were not enough in themselves to overcome the free-rider problem associated with any form of collective action. An institutional framework was also required – to punish backsliders and reassure the well-intentioned majority that they were not being exploited. By undermining the *kolkhozy*, the reforms of the 1990s destroyed one institutional framework for community-wide collective enterprise, and so far no alternative framework had been developed.

The wider implication of these findings is that if we want to understand economic behaviour, we must take account of the social relationships and emotions that are involved – linking the Russian data to the wider literature on the connections between economy, community, and kinship. In a forthcoming paper, Miller and I extend the foregoing analysis to argue that nostalgic discourses about social relationships having been warmer and more supportive under socialism, which are often taken to be primarily rhetorical performances, should also be taken seriously as accounts of people's lived experiences (2005c). In a review article on barter (2005b), I tried to place the material on postsocialist barter (including the very stimulating article by Cellarius) in the context of wider anthropological discussions of this issue – focusing particularly on interactions between the economic side of barter and the need to construct and maintain a social framework within which transactions can continue to take place.

In a paper on the symbolic and practical side of Russian kinship, I (2003c) argued that the Russian kinship system is what Peter Schweitzer called 'inclusive', encouraging the maintenance of active relationships with a wider range of relatives than is common in many parts of western Europe. I suggested a connection between this and differences between Russian and western European kinship terminologies. In a second paper, I took these terminological explorations further, showing a broad correlation between differences in kinship terminology within western Europe and statistical indicators of the role played by the family in social life (2005a).

In December 2001, MPISA held its first conference in its new building, on the history and anthropology of European family, property, and inheritance systems. Working with Hannes Grandits on editing *Distinct Inheritances*, the book that grew from the conference papers, gave me an opportunity to extend my understanding of the range of possible approaches to these issues. Our first response to this intellectual challenge is embodied in the introduction to the book (2003b). However, the work we did on the book also provided us with the necessary background knowledge to make a successful bid for EU funding for a project called 'Kinship and Social Security' in eight European countries. The project is being coordinated by MPISA and is scheduled to run from 2004 to 2007 (2004).

The private as collective: Relatives help harvest a household plot in an unenclosed but now privately owned field in south-central Russia.
(Photo: Patrick Heady, 2002)

Comparing Rural Property Relations in Bulgaria and Ukraine

Deema Kaneff

Deema Kaneff was born in Australia and obtained her BA and PhD degrees in social anthropology from the University of Adelaide. Following postdoctoral research at the University of Cambridge she joined MPISA as a senior research fellow in 1999. She remains based there as a senior researcher in the team investigating 'Social Exclusion in Poland and Bulgaria'.

The main aim of this project was to examine different forms of property that had emerged in the course of postsocialist reforms in Ukraine since 1991. A second dimension of the study was to compare the findings with those from Bulgaria, which was my first region of expertise and which I have maintained as a field site since the mid-1980s. A comparison of these two countries offered a means for understanding the development of reforms in the wider east European rural context.

The Ukrainian research involved setting up a new field site in a village in southernmost Odessa Oblast, where I lived there for altogether one year. Already aware of the importance of land reform issues in Bulgaria, I soon recognized that land was only one resource under negotiation in the context of sweeping reforms in Ukraine. Thus, a number of differing forms of property constituted the focus of my research and are central concerns of the book I am presently completing (forthcoming 2006; for introductory accounts see Kaneff and Leonard 2002; Kaneff and Yalçın-Heckmann 2003).

In rural Ukraine – as in many other former USSR republics – land has been the foremost resource privatized. 'Work' and 'land use' have provided the basic criteria for land distribution, forming the framework for the disestablishment of the *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* and the creation of at least four identifiable forms of recent agricultural production. First, in my field site, most land was owned by former *sovkhoz* and *kolkhoz* members, who had all received standard-size plots. These plots were cultivated by successor cooperatives. The *kolkhoz* had been divided into four new cooperatives, each led by a previous *kolkhoz* specialist, including the head engineer and the head agriculturalist. The *sovkhoz* remained intact as one large cooperative.

The second category consisted of informal groups of (ex-)social-sphere employees who managed small tracts of land collectively. Those who worked in the social sphere (i.e. in domains such as teaching and health care) were also each entitled to a plot, but these plots were significantly smaller than those allocated to former agricultural workers. With less than 1% of all village land, this category was statistically insignificant, but it was interesting ethnographically because of the group relations it reflected (co-workers were generally not kin).

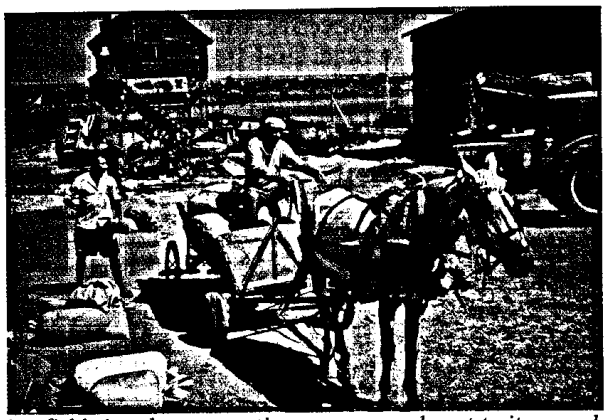
Third, a small number of private farms had been established by ex-collective workers with experience in a wide variety of agricultural tasks (a rare quality in the socialist collective, where occupations were usually specialized). These farmers rented land from friends and family; there was no official market for the sale of land, which became legal only in 2005. The farms established in the early 1990s benefited from receiving up to 20 hectares from the government, which was eager to encourage private farming. But land from the reserve fund was quickly exhausted, and later applicants missed out. The number of private farms remained small: of approximately 900 households, only 8 were involved in such entrepreneurial activities, working a little under one-tenth of all village land (these figures are approximate, because land was 'hidden' in order to avoid taxes).

Finally, as in Bulgaria, and indeed across eastern Europe, the vast majority of villagers maintained household plots. Families had become increasingly dependent on produce from these plots in the context of a weakened state with shrinking resources, high unemployment, and ever-increasing prices.

Variations in the ways land was worked and owned in Ukraine, and the apparent lack of opposition to private farming – despite a strong community emphasis on social equality – can be attributed to a number of factors. One is that successful farmers did not flaunt their wealth through investment in luxurious lifestyles. There were no new big houses. Indeed, they shared their success with the community by, for example, providing the school with free wheat for bread at school meals. In any case, the majority of farmers owned little more land than other villagers (since most was rented), and their success was generally viewed as well deserved because of their hard work (2003).

A comparison with my Bulgarian field site, only 400 kilometres away, is revealing. In Ukraine, increasing numbers of people were taking their land out of the cooperatives in order to work it together with the land of family members and friends. This was partly in response to the disappointing rent offered by the successor – and still dominant – cooperatives. This situation differed considerably from the Bulgarian case, in which demographic factors (large elderly populations in rural areas), as well as greater historical and ideological commitment to cooperative forms of farming, contributed to the lack of small, household-based farming groups. In the Bulgarian field site, three relatively large organizations (one cooperative and two 'capitalist' firms) farmed all the non-household plot land, paying rent to the landowners. Unlike the Ukraine case, in which the cooperatives were starved of cash and paid rent in crops (usually wheat), in Bulgaria the cash economy was stronger, and villagers preferred to receive their rent in cash. In the former case,

where the survival of families was closely linked to household plot production, the wheat was used for animal feed as well as milled into flour and baked as bread for household consumption.



In the Ukraine field site, the cooperative pays annual rent to its members in grain. (Photo: Deema Kaneff)

A number of broad processes are central to understanding the differences between the two contexts. First, reforms in Ukraine have been more drawn out than those in Bulgaria, partly because of greater resistance to them at the national and regional levels. This has meant that, locally at least, the same figures who were powerful during socialist times have retained power. In the Bulgarian context, a notable shift in local power relations is evident (2004a). Second, the criteria used to allocate land have significantly shaped new forms of agricultural production and related problems. In Ukraine (and most of the former Soviet Union), land reforms have been carried out on the basis of the type of work a person performed during the socialist period. In Bulgaria, restitution to pre-1944 owners has been the main approach. In both cases this has led to a renewed importance of kinship, although in quite different ways. In Bulgaria it has also openly polarized the country, reviving historically rooted political divisions between rural and urban areas (2000, 2002). Third, reforms in Ukraine have been more extensive in the sense that they have included the privatization of resources other than land, such as water and some housing. This was not the case in Bulgaria, where the socialist cooperatives never had such vast control over local life in the first place.

This last point alerted me to the need to look at property from a broader perspective. Land, though important, was not the only resource at the centre of Ukraine village reforms and changing ideas about property. The *sovkhoz* has transferred many village houses to their occupants, charging only a minimum legal fee for the conveyance. Control of water has moved from the *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* to the village municipal council. Because of Ukrainians' growing dependence on household production, this has created a new source of local tension. In recent years the survival of the household has depended on plot production, whereas during the Soviet period, villagers bought most of their fruit, vegetables, and meat at subsidized rates from the *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz*. The new importance of water arises from this increased tending of household plots and has resulted in squabbles between neighbours and between different sections of the village.

Less tangible 'properties' are also newly under negotiation in contemporary Ukraine. The cosmological order, for example, is a battleground as the newly prominent Orthodox priest struggles to regain control over the moral domains of village life after 50 years of socialism. 'Culture' can also be viewed as an emerging form of property in which local identity is the resource under negotiation. The village at the centre of my Ukrainian research is ethnically Bulgarian, yet many of its inhabitants embroidered Ukrainian cultural objects at the local sewing centre. Handicrafts are important markers of identity. Through the production of Ukrainian-style embroidered objects, villagers carved out a new position for themselves vis-à-vis the newly emerging independent state, a position as Ukrainian citizens with minority-group status. Cultural property was the subject of a conference I organized with Erich Kasten in summer 2002, on the ownership of 'culture', its commodification, and its role in power relations. I published a selection of the conference papers (those based on European ethnography) in 2004.

The rupture of social relations in the context of political-economic reforms is the main common thread running throughout my Bulgarian and Ukrainian research. The rising importance of kinship that accompanies a weakening state was a topic Lale Yalçın-Heckmann and I discussed in our joint publication comparing Azerbaijan and Ukraine (2003). This suggested a need to carry out further research at the intersection between kinship relations and political-economic reform, a significant and understudied aspect of postsocialism. I took up this topic in a project launched in 2003 with Frances Pine, funded by a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation. With two PhD students, we are carrying out a comparison between Bulgaria and Poland (in both an urban and a rural site in each country), focusing on the role of kinship in gaining access to economic and political resources (or failing to do so, as the case may be).

Culture as Property: Returning Knowledge to Native Communities

Erich Kasten

Erich Kasten received his PhD in anthropology (Ethnologie) from the Free University in Berlin in 1984. He has conducted extensive fieldwork in the Canadian Pacific Northwest and, since 1993, in Kamchatka. In addition to teaching at the Free University, he has realized numerous museum exhibitions and is involved in multimedia productions. He was the first coordinator of the Siberia Projektgruppe. Since 2003 he has been the team leader of a UNESCO project on indigenous knowledge in the Russian North.

The diverse backgrounds of the researchers in the Property Relations Focus Group generated lively discussions on pathways to reform in post-Soviet Siberia. They helped me crystallize my own concepts and approaches, which I have continued to apply in my most recent projects, funded by the German Research Council and by UNESCO. I chose to pay special attention to the symbolic discourses surrounding property concepts, because this enabled me to build on my earlier research with First Nations in the Pacific Northwest of North America. According to worldviews still in place in hunting and fishing societies today, well-being depends largely on maintaining proper relations with the supernatural. To understand property relations in these societies, it is necessary to understand the specific knowledge which underpins such relations with the supernatural and how it is manipulated in discourse. The prime location of my research in the Russian North since 1993 has been Kamchatka, where debates over cultural property have been particularly lively. For this reason, after convening the conference 'Postsocialisms in the Russian North' at MPISA in 2000, I proposed a similar large conference titled 'Culture as Property', which I convened in 2002, together with Deema Kaneff.

The culture-as-property debate is fuelled largely by the fact that cultural traditions are increasingly subject to commodification and political instrumentalization. This jeopardizes productive exchanges between indigenous and exogenous knowledge carriers, exchanges that are crucial for cultural dynamics. Creativity and innovation are blocked when stereotypes are reproduced, which is what happens when distinct 'cultural' or 'ethnic' styles are foisted on native traditions in order to make performances or works of art 'authentic' in the eyes of consumers (2004a, 2004c). It is important to acknowledge the diverse origins of such traditions. Almost all intellectual work builds upon the knowledge and ideas of others. This fact makes it difficult to specify the originality of any particular creation, which may be considered the property of an individual, of a collectivity, or of the entirety of humankind, depending upon one's perspective. People writing legislation on cultural property must search for flexible solutions which take account of such fuzzy boundaries and recognize that cultural creativity is a continuous process which subverts rigid reification.

Similarly, when native political leaders and their advocates (often anthropologists) assert an ethnic identity and claim territorial boundaries for it, people whose existing social and economic networks are based on interethnic exchanges with their neighbours find the concepts alien. In Kamchatka, new socio-economic organizations such as the *obshchina* (clan community) failed because they usually involved the mapping of territories, whereas local people preferred to live with more flexible arrangements for sharing the land and its resources with others. Therefore, the proclamation of ethnic identities and ethnic territorial units such as 'Itelmeniya' and 'Koryakiya' can lead to tensions among residents in such areas, where different native groups lived together even before the massive arrival of incomers (2005d).

Looking more closely, one finds, of course, that native societies are not homogeneous: views about cultural property concepts vary according to interest and, often, generation. The anthropologist must take care in deciding which 'map' to follow. Those of powerful factions or native activists may well be opportunistic, and in such cases it is incumbent on the researcher to balance these maps against those of other local people.

From cultural property it is but a short step to investigating concepts of intellectual property in general. One particularly sensitive issue concerns what is understood as the 'anthropologist's property' – the collected data from one's own fieldwork. Researchers still often treat such data in questionable ways, without proper acknowledgement of the intellectual property rights of informants and research assistants. Contests over the cultural heritage of indigenous people require new ways of returning that knowledge or sharing it with the communities in which the data originated. I have tested several options for doing so in recent initiatives, with encouraging results. For example, anthropologists commonly collect unpublished manuscripts or notes by native experts and use them in their dissertations and other academic works. In order to do justice to the intellectual property of such native authors, I established the series Posobie po yazyku i kul'ture korennykh narodov Kamchatki with the Kamshat publishing house; three volumes by native authors (K. Khaloimova 2000, A. Urkachan 2002, and M. Yaganov 2005) have already appeared (see http://www.siberian-studies.org/publications/kamshat.html).

To enable native and other local experts to take a more active part in academic debates, since 2000 I have organized (with the support of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle) a number of workshops in Kamchatka. The edited volumes of proceedings (2002e, 2004e) are published in Russian and are aimed primarily at native communities. They en-

courage local scholars and educators to continue developing bicultural education programmes, and we have contributed electronic learning tools on CD and DVD (2000, 2001a, 2005e, forthcoming). In this way, recorded texts and indigenous knowledge are being returned to local communities. Such e-learning tools include full transcripts in the native languages. They help in preserving and enhancing endangered languages and dialects, together with the particular knowledge connected to them. At the same time, optional Russian and English subtitles encourage cultural exchanges, not only with other local ethnic groups but also with people in other parts of the Russian North and in Canada and Alaska. These documentaries place special emphasis on indigenous knowledge with regard to nature use, the main focus of my work since 2003 under the UNESCO-LINKS programme.

Another project – hosted at the Museum für Völkerkunde in München and supported by the German Research Council from 2001 to 2004 – involved collaboration with native artists to study the cultural dynamics of their creations. While organizing exhibits in Germany (*Unterwegs: Nomaden früher und heute,* Westfälisches Museum für Naturkunde Münster, 2003, and *Offen für das Fremde,* Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, 2005), I was able to test in real applications property concepts discussed at MPISA. Cultural heritage, removed from local communities in the form of objects, is 'repatriated' in new ways when the knowledge connected to it is presented in catalogues (2005a) and DVD documentaries (2003b, 2005b). These materials contribute to the survival of endangered art and craft traditions and supplement the educational programmes already described.

The internet, too, presents many opportunities for returning scientific knowledge based on data collected from local informants. New information technologies and the wider dissemination of knowledge, however, often have problematic effects on native societies. The unauthorized use of indigenous 'secret' knowledge can lead to well-justified anger among people affected by this 'theft'. Nevertheless, potential benefits for native societies also arise through certain uses of modern technologies, which can allow them to participate in the global knowledge society (2004d).

An example is the website http://www.siberian-studies.org, which I created together with Michael Dürr. It is dedicated to case studies in Siberia and the Russian North by social and cultural anthropologists. By providing electronic access to digitized publications, the site both enhances dialogue within the scientific community and ensures that the outcome of ethnographic research is shared with local communities. In addition to essays by international scholars, particular attention is given to publications by local and native authors. Differing viewpoints from authors with a variety of backgrounds help stimulate more productive discussion and understanding among scholars, local and native experts, and other practitioners and consumers of culture in the Russian North.

Native organizations have welcomed this initiative, which counters the danger of an increasing divide between those at the centre and those on the periphery of the 'information society'. Because of high transportation costs, among other reasons, print media are increasingly scarce in communities such as those of Kamchatka, and local libraries seldom have the financial means to augment their holdings. But even if computers in private households are still rarities, and even if some villages still struggle to maintain reliable power supplies, almost every community has access to the internet, through either the library, the school, or the office of a native organization.

In sum, my investigations of property issues have emphasized how further theoretical insights can be achieved when concepts are explored and tested by means of practical applications. It is important to reflect critically on researchers' interactions with native communities, to devise appropriate ways of dealing with the intellectual property of informants and local experts, and to return to them the outcomes of the anthropologist's research, which is always a collaborative process.

Retired Even and Koryak reindeer herders share knowledge with anthropologist Erich Kasten, near Palana, 2003. (Photo: Aleksandra Urkachan)

Really Living or Just Surviving in Kamchatka, Russia

Alexander D. King

Alex King grew up in the north-western United States. He was educated at Reed College (BA, anthropology, 1991) and at the University of Virginia (MA, PhD, anthropology, 2000). He joined the Siberia Projektgruppe of MPISA in September 2001. Since 2003 he has been a lecturer in anthropology at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland.

From my first expedition to Kamchatka in 1995 to my most recent visit in the summer and autumn of 2001, people frequently commented to me, *'My ni zhivem, vyzhivaiem'* [we aren't living, we are surviving]'. This remark was not an example of post-Soviet nostalgia for communism but an expression of a pervasive frustration felt by ordinary people in places from the smallest village to the largest city in Kamchatka – frustration at the lack of infrastructure for water, heat, electricity, transport, education, and even basic health care in many instances; frustration at a corrupt system with no apparent checks on the powerful who took for themselves and their cronies while hard-working people went without, suffered malnutrition, and died of tuberculosis.

My work as part of the Siberian project group from September 2001 through the end of 2002 was not a single project but focused on three topics: the semiotics and political economy of reindeer herding in Kamchatka, the pragmatics of 'subsistence', and an analysis of 'culture' as property. Some of this work is still in the final stages of analysis and writing, but I will summarize each topic in turn. First, however, I want to specify my use of the term 'culture'. I use it to refer to more than just ideas; it includes practices and an embodied way of being, but it does not mean everything under the sun. Culture refers primarily to those ideas and practices which underpin consciousness and action. It is not coterminous with a particular language, although it is inextricably linked with a particular way of speaking. Neither is culture coterminous with a specific social group, although groups of people are often identified by 'a culture' or identify with a specifically named culture. It is a set of styles which, although not bounded in space or time, are necessarily located in history. The edges of culture are far from distinct, and so I focus on the 'centres', on prototypes.

Reindeer herding in Kamchatka carries powerful symbolic force for natives and incomers alike. It is an index of 'indigenous culture' (often labelled 'Koryak', although this is problematic), and anyone professing an interest in native culture in Kamchatka is obligated to visit a reindeer herd. Only with this direct experience are ethnographers taken seriously as people interested in indigenous lifeways and as having learned something about indigenous culture (2002a, 2002b). Reindeer herding is also iconic: reindeer are found on the official flag of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug and on the mastheads of the okrug and other newspapers. Video footage of reindeer even makes its way into locally produced documentaries on the hunting ritual of maritime Koryaks – a ritual which has nothing at all to do with reindeer or herding.

The symbolic connection between reindeer and native people is complex but linked to Soviet policies of industrializing traditional activities related to herding, hunting, and fishing. Though the latter were also traditional among local Russians, herding had been the exclusive purview of native Kamchatkans. Salmon fishing and other maritime products were taken over by incomers in the 1950s and 1960s, and commercial fishing is done at sea, not on rivers. The industrialization of reindeer herding included centralized management by university-trained, non-native specialists, but daily activities required the traditional knowledge and skills acquired through years of practice, starting in childhood, and not through formal training.

Subsistence activities in Kamchatka are not limited to small villages distant from commercial centres, although such villages provide few opportunities for cash income and usually lack basic social and health services. Unlike Yamal, where opportunities are presented by the oil industry, or Sakha, with its diamond mining, Kamchatkan rural areas have no market for tundra produce. They are close to critical food resources, however, notably salmon streams but also berrying grounds and areas where one can hunt terrestrial and sea mammals. Cities such as Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski and even the small town of Palana provide people with better chances for education, health care, and goods and services at affordable prices, but without a cash income, one is destitute in such urbanized areas. Villagers are more vulnerable to the corruption of local officials, but they are also better able to manage subsistence activities with less interference from the state. In urban centres, one can appeal to different levels of government for redress of wrongs, but fishing and hunting are more carefully controlled, and the system is stacked against indigenous people. Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski is an expensive place in Russia, but goods and foodstuffs of lower quality sell for two to three times Petropavlovsk's prices in remote northern Kamchatkan villages. Every village used to have at least one doctor, but now many native villages are fortunate to have just a nurse practitioner. Tuberculosis rates have soared, and people are dying of this preventable and curable disease, a disease of poverty.

As Kamchatka has become reintegrated into the global economy as a peripheral area for natural resource extraction (currently salmon, potentially oil and gold), the scene looks remarkably like that described by June Nash for the Americas ('Global Integration and Subsistence Insecurity', *American Anthropologist* 96 [1994]: 7–30). In Kamchatka, old industrial areas are state reindeer-herding or fishing enterprises. Just as

Nash 'found a range of subsistence activities persisting even while the people are increasingly integrated into the world system as wage workers or commodity producers' (1994: 22), so very few households in Kamchatka can get by without a combination of subsistence and commodity production. While specific problems and the strategies for overcoming them vary from rural to urban contexts, social insecurity is experienced as intense and worrisome.

During my fieldwork, I found that life was harder in northern Kamchatka than it had been for several generations, but people there wanted to do more than just survive. They were trying, and often succeeding, to live with dignity, even beauty. I found that impoverished Koryaks and Nymylans living in small villages in squalid surroundings were often terrified by the prospect of having me visit, ashamed of their material circumstances. Especially if they were educated and had travelled some of the world (and many had), they feared that I (the American) would see their poverty and attack their dignity. After they saw that I took off my shoes in their home, drank from their cups, and judged them from their conversation (I returned to visit people who were interesting), they showed me a rich world of meanings and ideas, of which many newcomers have not even an inkling. This cultural world is important not only to the symbolic anthropologist or the artistically inclined Koryak. It has increasing value on the world market, where people are willing to pay hundreds or even thousands of dollars for authentic souvenirs, and even more just to talk with a real Siberian shaman. Valorizing traditional knowledge (whether shamanism, craft production, or traditional ecological knowledge) requires a perilous engagement with the world capitalist system. Nevertheless, many indigenous Kamchatkans rightly see such an engagement as a potential solution to their current economic disempowerment.

One of the most salient manifestations of marketable indigenous culture in Kamchatka is the plethora of dance ensembles. Many are organized through the official auspices of the local 'house of culture' (*dom kul'tury*, a sort of community arts centre); others are family affairs focused on the artistic energy of one or two elders. The professional dance ensemble Mengo was typical of Soviet ethnic dance groups because it incorporated Koryak and other native Kamchatkan cultural motifs as decoration for a Soviet (European/Western) art form: the grand stage spectacle. In my research I found that Mengo was often criticized for being 'not the real thing' or generally getting it 'wrong'. A spin-off, semi-professional ensemble, Weyem, was lauded by the same people for its accurate representation of Koryak, Even, Chukchi, and other native groups' dance forms. Most interestingly, Weyem's authenticity was supposedly a result of the leader's field research with elders. His ethnic identity as Koryak, and the Ukrainian ethnicity of Mengo's deceased founder and choreographer, were never addressed. Indeed, people who asserted that Mengo offered authentic representations of native dance highlighted the Ukrainian's field research among elders, too.

As I have shown elsewhere (2002; Kaneff and King 2002), authenticity underpins the market value of ethnic commodities. I analyse authenticity as a local, socially real category as it operates in Kamchatka. Much work in anthropology and cultural studies has demolished the category of the authentic as something which is 'really real', existing independently of the social and cultural contexts in which representations of authenticity are created. Kamchatkan discourses on authenticity rest upon notions of culture and identity different from our Western commonsense notions. Our sense of authenticity is that of a quality referring to a real and true essence, one that is not imitation, fakery, or invention. Kamchatkan arguments over authentic ethnic dances focus on a named style which is learned. Culture as style is an identity claim, but it is not individuated. *Koryak, Chauwchu* and *Even* are deployed as adjectives, not as nouns. These terms refer to a way of dancing or a way of speaking, a way of being in the world. This is a rarefaction of the way specific people (elders) act, but once the style is mastered, it remains authentic and real, no matter what the context. In this way, a Koryak way of dancing learned from the elders remains a real Koryak dance when it is performed on the stage for an audience, whether in Palana or in Paris. Identifying cultural traditions with the habits and styles of elders also has built into it ideas of change and time. As current elders pass away and are replaced by new ones, the specific forms of traditions, including the details of dances, are bound to change. Koryak culture and examples of real Koryak dances are not naturalized, bounded objects in this discourse. A socio-economic weakness of this sense of authenticity is that it makes it easy for outsiders to appropriate elements of indigenous culture and profit thereby.

The conclusion of my work at MPISA is still unwritten, but it will address Siberia as an imperial periphery in a global comparative perspective, rather than as merely a post-Soviet periphery. Analysts of Soviet and post-Soviet ethnic politics have been too parochial. Until now, postcolonial theorists, in their discussions of empires and colonialism, have mostly ignored the imperial and colonial processes inherent to the Soviet Union. A unified theory of capitalism, socialism, the state, and indigenous peoples is needed for a satisfactory understanding of continuities and differences in the histories of places as disparate as the Russian Far East, the Canadian Arctic, central Africa, and Southeast Asia. My arguments for the collapse of postsocialism and postcolonialism do not favour a folding of the former into the latter. The differences between Soviet imperial legacies and British imperial legacies cannot all be accounted for by postcolonial theory. I am entertaining the prospect of a Unified Theory of Empires.

Claiming Ownership in Post-war Croatia: The Dynamics of Property Relations and Ethnic Conflict in the Knin Region

Carolin Leutloff-Grandits

Carolin Leutloff-Grandits was educated in Freiburg/Breisgau, in Edinburgh, Scotland, and in Berlin, where she obtained a master's degree in social anthropology at the Free University. She submitted her PhD at the Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, in April 2005. Currently she is a research associate at the University of Graz, Austria.

Postsocialism in the Croatian case meant independence from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and inter-ethnic warfare from 1991 until 1995. My PhD project was focused on changing property relations in the region of Knin, which had been one of the centres of ethnic conflict between Serbs and Croats during the war. I conducted fieldwork between May 2000 and July 2001, investigating various types of property including private housing, formerly socially owned housing, and agricultural land.

In the region of Knin in pre-socialist Yugoslavia, land was central to economic activities and social identity. In the socialist era, land had mostly remained in private ownership, but housing, both private and 'socially owned', had become the more important property in local society. During and after the war in the region of Knin in the 1990s, property relations were characterized by the occupation and destruction of houses of the 'other' national group. Land became a site of conflicting territorial claims along national lines. At the same time, agricultural land represented an economic resource in times of economic dislocation. In my researchI took account of the political, economic, and social context, including the effects of national and international organizations, but at the centre of my analysis were the strategies and power of different local actors. I distinguished legal and ideological layers of property relations from the actual social relationships and practices associated with changing forms of property.

The research showed hat the experiences of violence and war in the 1990s were crucial for the access to property according to national criteria. After the reintegration of the Knin region into the Croatian state, which had been under the control of Serbian forces during the war, and after the flight of the Serbian population, the Croatian government of the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), under the leadership of President Tuđman, supported the settlement in Knin of non-local Croats mainly from Bosnia. They received use permits for abandoned private houses and formerly socially owned flats. The Tuđman government justified the occupation of Serbian housing by casting Serbs collectively as aggressors while portraying Croats as defenders of the homeland.

The analysis of the influence of the International Community on property relations emphasised that competing ideologies concerning property rights were put forward and found entry into the legislation in post-socialist, post-war Croatia. The international community, in line with the Dayton peace agreement, supported the rights of Serbs to return and repossess their property. It pressured the Croatian authorities to respect private property. In 1998 the Croatian state adopted a program which prohibited further occupation of housing and set out procedures for the repossession of occupied (Serbian) private property. However, the repossession of formerly socially owned property was not included. Even the repossession of privately owned property made slow progress, because the political will to implement the program was missing. Powerholders continued to privilege settlers and discriminate against Serbian owners. They did nothing to reduce legal insecurities and even encouraged further illegal appropriations by Croatian settlers.

Following the death of Tuđman and the electoral defeat of the HDZ in 2000, the new government, led by the Social Democratic Party (SDP), seemed more determined to honour its commitments towards the Serbs. Between 2000 and 2003 the SDP-led government took important steps to facilitate the restitution of housing. However, implementation remained imperfect. The government was unable to ease the social differences within the Croatian group itself, and it did little to provide alternative accommodation for those socially weak settlers who had occupied houses illegally.

My research showed that these legal and political uncertainties supported the power of nationalist actors. Croats who had occupied property became dependent on nationalist powerholders while Serbs, frustrated over the lack of implementation of their property rights, turned again to Serbian nationalist parties. In this way, the failure to resolve the most crucial property issue perpetuated the national conflict.

In my findings I however also stressed that despite the nationalist housing policy, alternative property relations existed at various levels. These were very much bound to socialist and pre-socialist values rooted in local experiences. For example, the differential treatment of socially owned housing and private property by Croatian settlers and local Croats, and the different relations which Croatian settlers, local Croats, and local Serbs had to the land, illustrates how the legitimacy of property rights is modified by specific local factors. When the government, in 1995, allowed the occupation of abandoned private property and formerly socially owned housing, Croatian settlers moved into both. Local Croats usually respected the private rights of Serbs in the case of houses they owned but did not show the same respect towards socially

owned housing. To understand why local Croats had more respect for private property rights than for claims to socially owned property, it proofed useful to take a diachronic view:

In the Knin region, as in many other parts of Croatia, many Croats felt themselves to have been disadvantaged in the distribution of social entitlements, including housing rights, during socialism. There was a perception that Serbs had done better, and so after 1995 the occupation of formerly socially owned flats was seen as a way to right this historical injustice.Differently from socially owned housing, Croats believed that private housing belonged to the private sphere and was outside the domain of the state and its clientelistic ethnic policy. Private houses were often built on family ground with the help of relatives, neighbours, and friends and were often not officially registered.

Next to the different perceptions of legitimate housing rights after war, local Croats, Croatian settlers and Serbs also took different views of the meanings and functions of land. On the symbolical level, the meanings and functions of land in the region of Knin were loaded with competing notions of Croatian and Serbian homeland. In the post-war years these notions were reinforced by religious and political rituals and festivals as well as in political and private discourses. Through rituals and discourses, Serbs asserted their right to return to their home territory, while Croats' discourse emphasized their supremacy and right to control resources. For Croatian settlers, such notions legitimated their rights of settlement and even, in one example, to take over the management of an agricultural cooperative which had had a Serbian management in socialist times.

Both local Croats and Serbs felt complex, historically evolved identifications with this land. It was a national home, too, but for local people their houses and land was the foundation of a social identity, and stood for a certain mode of living.

As rural life gradually returned to 'normal', local groups resumed work in agriculture. They relied on cooperation and reciprocity among relatives, neighbours, and friends, practices which derived ultimately from pre-socialist times. At this level, ethnic and religious boundaries may be transcended, but the tensions between local Croats and Croatian settlers have remained. They have been accentuated by international organizations, whose numerous projects to revitalize agriculture in the Knin region have prioritized those who were landowners and had been registered in the locality in 1991. Settlers were thus excluded from credit programmes and hindered from establishing agriculture enterprises.

The fact that some local Croats allied themselves with their Serbian neighbours after their experiences of war and expulsion can further be explained by taking into consideration the changing demographic circumstances and power imbalances of the different groups in the locality

of Knin after the war. With the strong influx of Croatian settlers in the Knin region after the war, the returning local Croats were soon outnumbered by settlers and became a minority within the Croatian national group in Knin. By claiming their rights as natives, and so distancing themselves from settlers, they were able to obtain political authority and political rights despite their numerical minority.

Finally, property relations were strongly marked by deteriorating economic and social realities in the Knin region, which had a high unemployment rate. Croatian settlers who had occupied Serbian houses in the euphoria of the post-war years found themselves obliged to give them back to the Serbian owners and, if they relied on social assistance, in no position to obtain an adequate alternative. In this situation, some Croat settlers internalized the nationalist discourses, blamed Serbs for their insecure situation, and attempted to hold onto their housing rights against Serbs. Others hoped that their miserable social situation would be taken into account by Croatian state authorities and that they would receive alternative housing. Some left the region altogether. Only a few settlers considered returning to Bosnia, where few young families had any real-estate claims.

Local Croats shared emotional relationships to the region and to their private property, and had relatively good access to jobs and urban housing. Still, unemployment was high among Croats in the Knin region as well and the war had negatively affected social relations within the local communities.

The economic crisis affected Serbian returnees most: ethnic discrimination in the urban labour market confined them to rural areas. As a result, relatively few and predominantly elderly Serbs returned to the now marginalized rural areas, while the young and better educated remained in exile. For emotional reasons, however, few wanted to sell their houses. Others cut their links to the region after recognizing that 'everything had changed' after war. Some sold their houses. and others tried to do so but without success.

In summary, in this project I was able to show that nationalist policies had strong effects in the transformation of property relations and their legitimation in the locality of Knin. The nationalist housing policy served to perpetuate inter-ethnic conflict in post-war Knin and had a strong impact on the population share of Serbs and Croats. Outcomes were also shaped by a range of other factors, including international agencies and values from the socialist and pre-socialist past. As the war recedes into the past, supra-ethnic alliances among those with roots in the region seem to be gaining strength at the expense of national solidarity and property rights other than those defined by national categories seem to receive increased significance.

Continuity and Change in Rural Russia

Liesl L. Gambold Miller

Liesl Gambold Miller received her honours BA in anthropology from the University of Illinois in 1989 and her PhD in 2001 from the University of California, Los Angeles, also in anthropology. She held a postdoctoral visiting fellow position at MPISA in 2002 before proceeding to a teaching post at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Four hundred miles east of Moscow in October 1997, tractor drivers were grumbling with the farm director on the recently privatized collective farm in Moshkino. The director was angry that the drivers hadn't finished harvesting and ploughing in a low-lying area that she feared would soon be inaccessible because of impending rains. The drivers complained that they had no more petrol and that no one in the farm offices would give them the money they needed to buy more. Accusations were levelled about misspent funds and poor time management. After a few uncomfortable minutes and two phone calls, the director brusquely instructed the drivers to deliver several sacks of fresh potatoes to the small petrol outlet nearby, where they could then fill their tanks to finish the harvesting. So much for the 'invisible hand' of capitalism in a postsocialist Russian village.

The barter economy in rural Russia peaked during the first five years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Following the economic crash of 1998, many villagers were again obliged to call on what they had and hope that it would bring them what they needed to secure basic subsistence. For others, the privatized parent farm – the neoliberal mutation of the collective farm – provided the only means of support when ends failed to meet month after month. In Moshkino, as in countless other villages, the Soviet collective had been transformed into a kind of patron-client arrangement in an attempt to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of state-provided fiscal and social support (2003a).

The problem with this arrangement was that the 'new' farm, now a joint stock company, was supposed to become profitable, meaning that the focus had to shift from paternalistic care to moving into the black in the accounting books. In the perfect postsocialist world, villagers were also supposed to establish private family farm ventures. Instead, they spoke with disdain about their recently acquired property and the independence and security it was supposed to bring them. Their property amounted to little more than a scrap of paper entitling them to a random parcel of land (the average size of a land share in my field site was 12.5 hectares per former *kolkhoz* worker), which they subsequently 'leased' to the parent farm. Having never independently farmed more than their personal kitchen gardens, risking what little they had for the uncertain promises of the capitalist market appealed to very few villagers. The maintenance of social support and of some aspects of collectivity in agriculture was much more important.

Moshkino is in Nizhegorodskaya Oblast, where the forward-thinking governor, Boris Nemtsov, had been the first to usher in property privatization. Using a public auction method to privatize resources, state businesses and land were retitled and parcelled out to new 'owners'. One of the main difficulties in the auction process, especially in the villages, was the very term 'auction' (*auktsion*). Both regional administrators and rural residents disliked the word because it implied the buying and selling of land. Although selling many other kinds of property was not only legal but culturally acceptable, land was not viewed as a commodity to be bought and sold like cattle. A legal land market was not introduced in Russia until 2003. Since rural residents had no cash to speak of, they were suspicious of a process that 'took' the collective land and 'sold' it to others. In fact, no cash ever traded hands at the village auctions, because none of the parties involved had any: the transfers existed only on paper.

In the early 1990s, seasoned academic observers sensed that decollectivization might not succeed in the former Soviet Union because of the extent to which state and collective farms were entrenched in the system of central planning. To me it was unclear at the time whether Russia's villages could be reformed; perhaps they were irreversibly ruined by a lack of labour, discipline problems, alcoholism, an unfavourable demographic profile, and general hopelessness. Western economic advisors to the new Russian government, however, exuded optimism in the powerful lure of private property and independent entrepreneurship.

After I arrived in Moshkino, it became clear that no observers had anticipated the collective antipathy of villagers towards an economic system that neglected local social welfare. Villagers disapproved of the state's failure to continue supporting primary social sectors such as day care and the Cultural Club (*kulturni klub*). In truth, these venues were under-used and over-funded in Moshkino during the late years of *perestroika*, but their symbolic value was tremendous. Watching a local elementary school and day care centre close was painful. People complained that if none of the basic services for raising children existed in the village, young people would have no incentive to stay and raise families. The village's economic opportunities in the late 1990s were certainly no great attraction. Most young people were casting their gaze northwards, to the provincial capital Nizhni Novgorod, where privatization appeared to be making at least some well-positioned people rich and where job opportunities seemed more promising.

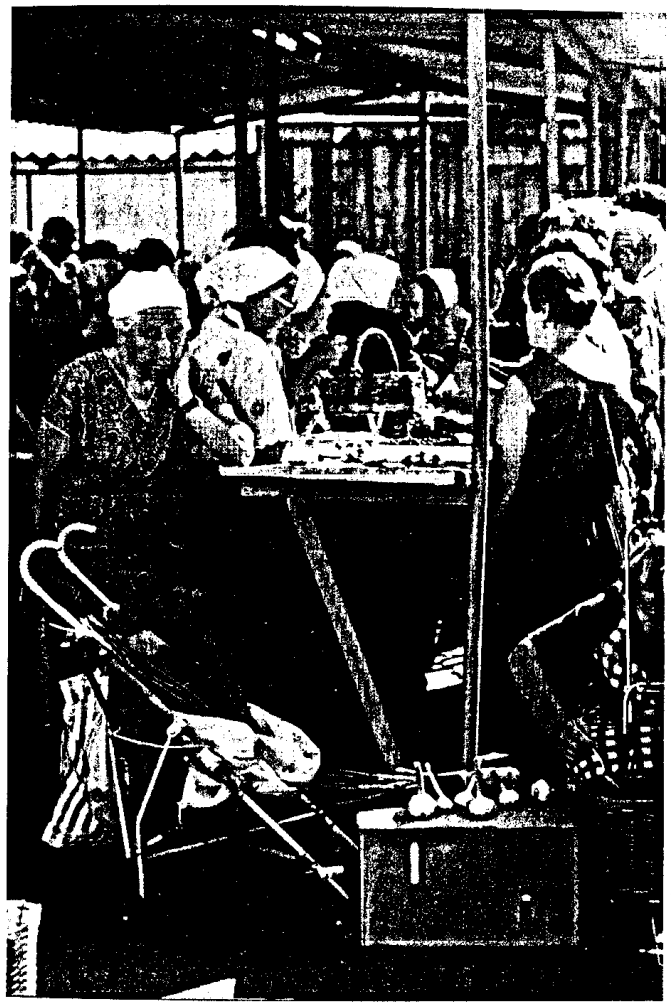
But privatization was not entirely without success stories. In Moshkino, Tatiana, 44 years old, had been the agronomist on the former collective farm. She decided after reorganization to stay on at the newly

formed parent farm, Moshkinskoe Joint Stock Company. She was one of the few residents who was optimistic about privatization and interested in how she could 'be [her] own boss' and thrive. After a year working under the new director as chief agronomist, Tatiana recognized that although the farm had a new name and legal title, it was still a collective. She and her tractor-driver husband left and began farming 30 hectares on their own – land which family members decided to lease to them rather than to the parent farm. In addition to farming, Tatiana buys grains and other products wholesale in Nizhni Novgorod and resells them in Moshkino and other local markets. Her economic success is evidenced in the barbed wire around the family's front fence, in the large wooden post with which they secure the front door once they are inside, and in the new appliances (television, VCR, washing machine) and furniture to be found in their otherwise typical village home.

Their social success, however, has been marred by the continued sentiment among villagers that financial success at the cost of others (the parent farm or the village store) is unacceptable. Villagers would not use these precise words, but many of them made it clear that since leaving the Moshkinskoe farm, Tatiana and her husband had been increasingly unwilling to help fellow villagers in need without asking for payment. They were perceived to have become more concerned with their own economic advancement, and this elicited disapproving shakes of the head from others. There is a tension between being a *fermer* and maintaining communal coherence (2001, 2003b, 2005). I believe Moshkino is representative of villages created and re-created through forced collectivization in the late 1920s. People continue to disdain that from which they have yet to benefit. Although privatization occurred more than a decade ago, no thriving market economy has yet developed in rural Russia, and in 2004 the contribution of individual farms was less than 4% of total agricultural output.

But the question remains, why hasn't rural entrepreneurship expanded in Russia the way analysts predicted? I think this can be partially answered by examining innovation in Russia from an historical and cultural perspective (in preparation). Western models of entrepreneurship and innovation threaten to fracture vital social relationships. In such situations, it is rational for a community to try to maintain the status quo. The discourse with which villagers express these ideas is often dismissed as mere nostalgia or as a display of the risk-aversion 'typical' of rural people. I prefer to take the local terms seriously, in order to get at underlying notions of wealth and well-being. Patrick Heady and I have further considered how the 'emotional economy' is entrenched in local systems of exchange and work (2005).

Although my research on rural transformation in Russia continues, in 2005 I embarked on a comparative project involving field research in rural Vietnam in a site where former members of an agricultural cooperative have shifted to private aquaculture. In its path of economic reform, Vietnam has diverged in several key ways from the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. The comparison provides a rich basis for a better understanding of the complex move from a command to a market economy.



Village women selling their garden produce at the daily market in Gorodets, about 10 kilometers from Moshkino. (Photo: Liesl Gambold Miller)

Changing Property Relations in Rural East Germany: The Present Past in West Pomerania

Gordon Milligan

Gordon Milligan was born and educated in central Scotland, receiving his undergraduate degree in political economy from Glasgow University in 1986. In the following years he worked in industry, where he retrained in computer programming and software design before returning to full-time education to complete an MA in social anthropology from the University of Kent in 1997. Milligan joined MPISA in 1999 as an anthropologist within the IT group.

Pomerania, the 'land along the sea', is cut geographically into east and west by the Oder River, which, since 1945, has formed the political boundary between the modern German and Polish states. With that division, the smaller West- or Vorpommern lost its regional capital, now the Polish city of Szczecin, and became part of a GDR administrative district. The historical name was suppressed. German reunification in 1990 brought a re-recognition of Vorpommern, and paired it – somewhat reluctantly – with its larger western neighbour in the new federal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Having no large towns or industry of its own and, aside from its Baltic coast, lacking the scenic tourist areas found in parts of the Mecklenburg lake district, much of Vorpommern is marked by high unemployment and depopulation. Many joke that the region may have a future as a nature reserve or, given its suitable coastal weather, as home to a vast expanse of energy generating windmills, but not as a place for people to live and work.

Within an analysis of the postsocialist transition, these circumstances of rural decline and local reaction to it exemplify, more than a decade after the legal and institutional changes of the early 1990s, why the prefix 'post-' still carries analytical weight. The new institutional framework brought profound consequences for employment, which fell dramatically in all sectors, including agriculture, with the breaking up of the agricultural cooperatives known as *Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaften* (LPG; see 2003). In West Pomerania, the transition was accomplished relatively peacefully, shaped strongly within networks of existing working relationships and social hierarchy. These networks, which grew up in the socialist period, remain largely intact, and individuals profess values today that appear little changed. This is not to say that they support socialist dogma as described in popular accounts of 'red barons' now said to control large swathes of the countryside; indeed, the argument is rather that today's entrepreneurial skills were acquired well before the *Wende*. My interest is in describing how these networks have maintained themselves and adapted, the key question being whether they represent a 'transition lag', bound sooner or later to fade, or whether they can provide a model for future development. This question cannot be addressed without a detailed understanding of the historical context.

In the inter-war period, the end of the Junker estates in Germany was hastened by the economic slump of the 1930s. At the time, Ramin, an estate of around 800 hectares and fell within the economic orbit of Stettin (now Szczecin). In 1932, the estate was divided up and sold off in plots of 10 to 15 hectares to farming families who, with their descendants, formed the central focus of my study. Those who arrived as children lived through the early resettlement, the chaos of the post-war years, and the collectivization of individual farms and their integration into a larger system of specialized, industrial agriculture covering half a dozen surrounding villages and an area of more than 3,000 hectares. Ramin emerged during the socialist period as a key centre of that larger economic structure, thanks to a successful milk production facility. One of my central arguments is that the managerial competence behind this success was formed through the combined agency of the Ramin farmers and the socialist LPG chairman, who arrived in the 1950s. Both had to adjust more than once to changes in the prevailing institutional and legal structures, and they learned to adapt to these in somewhat the manner of 'cooperative entrepreneurs' (2003). Life histories of those who lived through the varying accommodations of the socialist period throw light on the attitudes and motivations of those who have succeeded them in the postsocialist years.

The villages surrounding Ramin exhibit a variety of property structures, ranging from a Junker estate forcibly expropriated and divided up in 1945 to a village of large, independent farmers effectively forced off their land in the early 1950s and a village of more moderate holdings whose residents resisted full collectivization for as long as they were able. Historical analysis shows why certain villages were successful while others faded away and how production infrastructure came to be concentrated in the hands of certain individuals. In particular, Ramin farmers, with politically acceptable landholdings and pre-war continuity in social and economic ties, formed an island of relative stability and success.

These divergent historical experiences are reflected in post-1989 business structures in the region, which saw the concentration of most of the former LPG assets in the hands of a large, limited liability company based in Ramin, with a few manager-shareholders. In villages with strong independent farming traditions, a few clusters of family-based independent farms have re-formed. Both forms of business rely heavily on rented land to augment the private holdings of individuals. Indeed, there have been disputes about land rentals, especially where newly independent farmers have tried to outbid each other in order to secure rental contracts. Relations between independent farmers and the lim-

ited company have remained good, largely because of the company's well-respected chief executive, who has at times arbitrated disputes among farmers and provided help and advice. This picture of benevolent oversight and responsible community management is held up as an example of how social ties and values remain intact, but is at the same time coloured with some feeling that the economic strength and geographical contiguity of the limited company allow it to get away with paying lower wages and land rents.

That the post-1989 restructuring and redistribution of assets proceeded relatively smoothly reflects a general feeling that these processes were handled, by and large, to the good of the community. Those returning to independent farming were allowed early on to withdraw from the cooperative the resources they required in terms of buildings, machinery, and livestock. Later, redistribution was made under the criteria of the new agricultural law, with payout of the *Inventarbeitrag* (the original entry fee charged to join the LPG) to those who qualified. Beyond this, things became a little less clear. The company management stressed the difficulties caused by successive downward revaluations of assets as buildings and machinery were reappraised in line with West German technical standards. Not everyone received payments based on the remaining two criteria, accumulated land rent and work effort, and when payouts were made, it was in terms of acceptance of a lump sum without a clearly defined formula. Some payments are in theory still outstanding. Some envy is directed towards those who have control and are doing relatively well, but most people accept that not much more could have been expected and recognize, at times grudgingly, that responsibility is being shouldered by those in charge.

Ramin, then, is interesting because it provides a setting against which a number of developments typical of the GDR period can be studied within a social field that is clearly defined and still largely intact. The central narrative is that of the small to medium-size bourgeois farmer and his adaptation over time to changed institutional and legal frameworks. Missing, because the experience was largely one of failure, are the voices of those unskilled farmers who were allocated properties of around seven hectares each on the expropriated Junker estate in the late 1940s, who generally left the countryside in the course of socialist industrialization. Others picked up the economic pieces left by their failure and so gained in influence. The voices of socialist party cadres can still be recorded, and several are still active and respected in the village (as one informant wryly observed, it was always all right dealing with the 100% convinced communists; it was only the 200% convinced who presented any problems). Indeed, a successful, if often sparring, partnership emerged in Ramin between the socialist-appointed LPG chairman and the conservative, middle-class farmer, later mayor, who was in charge of milk production.

I augmented my analysis of institutional change and individual adaptation in West Pomerania with life-span analysis. The generational handover by the old LPG leadership in 1989 in some ways repeated the 1960s change of control from the old single farmer to the first cohort to pass through a formal agricultural education geared to the demands of large-scale industrialized production. A core group of families retained a 'controlling interest' throughout these changes, but along the way some members were lost and new ones taken in. Soon a new generational handover will be due: rental contracts signed in 1990 will run out and may need to be renegotiated with new inheriting owners living at a distance; the independent farmers now reaching middle age will begin to think of who might take over. All business managers try to buy land whenever a suitable opportunity arises. As further institutional change is driven by changes in European agricultural policy and possible reductions in subsidies, it remains to be seen how Ramin farm managers and their neighbours manage and negotiate their future adaptations.

In return for undertaking odd jobs, the former LPG chairman in Ramin, West Pomerania, enjoys rights to make and store hay on the grounds of the LPG successor company. Surrounding buildings, once the Ramin estate, were settled by new farmers in the 1930s but were later surrendered and pooled to form animal stalls and milk production facilities for the emerging LPG. (Photo: Gordon Milligan)

Post-Soviet Herders Meet the Market: Reindeer Nomadism in Yamal, Western Siberia

Florian Stammler

Florian Stammler grew up in Germany. He studied Ethnologie at the universities of Mainz, Zürich, and Cologne (MA, 2000) before joining MPISA in 2000 as a founding member of the Siberia Projektgruppe. He obtained his PhD in 2004. Since 2003 he has been a research associate in the Anthropology and Russian Northern Studies section at the Scott Polar Research Institute of the University of Cambridge, UK.

Ever since my first visit to the west Siberian Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO), I have been struck by the widespread discourse about how 'Nenets culture' is strong, self-confident, and resistant to outside pressures. 'Culture' is invoked both locally and in Russian academia as the main reason for the successful 'preservation of the indigenous traditional livelihood' of the Nentsy. Indeed, throughout the history of the Soviet Union and after its demise, the number of nomadic families and domestic reindeer herds steadily increased in this region (2002). However, the culturalist explanation left me both sceptical and curious: I felt that phrases such as 'the Nenets phenomenon' and 'the Nenets myth' had little explanatory value. What were the causes of this exceptional performance? This became one of the driving questions in my work as a member of the Siberia group, and 'culture' therefore became one of the framing concepts of my dissertation (2005b).

I approach culture in terms of practices that are constantly transformed as people pick up new ideas and adapt them in the course of their interactions with their natural and social environment. From this perspective it cannot realistically be claimed that Nenets nomads 'preserved' their culture against all kinds of contamination from outside. We need to distinguish between the political use of terms by local people and their application as analytical tools in academia. Taking a processual view of culture seriously, I focused in my project on how the tundra nomads of Yamal were engaged in a continuous dialogue with their own domestic institutions as well as with the outside world. I accompanied reindeer herders on their migrations and talked to their representatives in villages and towns, as well as to other inhabitants of the region such as industrial workers. It soon became clear that anthropological debates over property relations were very timely in western Siberia.

Keeping domestic reindeer in large herds on the tundra is at the centre of the nomads' lifestyle, both practically and ideologically. Reindeer are the supreme form of property among the Nentsy, but the precise ways in which reindeer are held and used are highly variable. The location, size, and composition of one's herd change constantly in the course of the year and are highly dependent on social as well as environmental factors. Other economic activities are subordinate. For example, nomads fish in thousands of lakes on the tundra and in the Ob' River and Bay, which are rich in high-quality fish. Many, however, invest their income from fish in stocking up their reindeer herds, since it is the personal herd which brings a herder prestige in the eyes of his fellow nomads and of envious sedentary neighbours. The proportion of personal reindeer in the overall number of animals was never lower than 30% even in the Soviet era, a situation sharply in contrast to those in other northern regions such as Sakha and Chukotka (2002, 2003).

As the supreme form of property, reindeer are crucial in establishing and sustaining long-term reciprocal relationships among individuals and households in the tundra. Anthropologists of pastoralism have paid close attention to the social significance of animals. Many pastoralists elsewhere rely on a variety of small species (e.g. sheep, goats) and large ones (e.g. cattle, camels), each of which has its distinctive social significance. The general aim is to diversify the herd. In polar regions, however, the reindeer is the only domestic pastoral animal, and it therefore unites the social significance of small and large stock. Reindeer are used both for subsistence purposes in the domestic sphere and for market purposes in the commodity sphere of the economy.

If we constructed a continuum to indicate the extent to which animals are embedded in their owners' social networks, Nenets reindeer would be located somewhere in the middle, between the maximally embedded cattle of the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard) and the minimally embedded sheep of the Basseri (Barth). This embeddedness is exemplified in intensive sharing of both labour and the products of reindeer herding. Relatives and neighbours share reindeer for transport and herd them jointly; individuals dispose of reindeer as gifts and sell them to other herders wanting to stock up their herds. Dead reindeer may be shared in meals immediately after slaughtering or bartered to oil workers or villagers for equipment and staples, but most are eventually sold on the market. These multiple possibilities make the animal an important social 'glue' binding Nenets nomads not only to sedentary villagers but also to the many industrial workers who have moved into their region (forthcoming).

My work stresses the flexibility of these property relations: as nomads move across the tundra, they emphasize different facets of these relations. This flexibility also characterizes the nomads' relationship to the tundra itself. The notion of tundra as land is complicated by the fact that the surface of the Yamal Peninsula consists of more than 50% water, which for most of the year is frozen in lakes or melts into bogs above the permafrost. The tundra figures prominently in cosmology as well as in everyday life. Certain ways of knowing the tundra influence

the behaviour of humans as an integral part of the landscape. The Nentsy organize access to land on the basis of seasonal migrations, co-operation in herding, hunting, and fishing, and ties of friendship and kinship. Their emic approach to the tundra is grounded in knowledge of both its animate and its inanimate features, since these are the most important resources for survival in this harsh Arctic environment. When questioned about the ownership of land, one Nenets answered, 'The land belongs to the state', but he quickly amended this by saying, 'The land is common' (*zemlia obshchaia*). During the same conversation, this man told me the location of his own land (*moia zemlia*), meaning the land he currently used. It was distinct from his age-old land (*moia iskonnaia zemlia*), where he believed he and his ancestors originated.

On the other hand, the extraction of oil and gas deposits has already had significant effects on the pastures in the northern tundra, so that the inclusive cosmology is increasingly accompanied by a defensive discourse that emphasizes the scarcity of territory. It follows that an adequate theory of territorial behaviour must incorporate both the inclusive and the defensive aspects. I argue that Nenets representatives buy into the latter discourse when advocating the establishment of indigenous communities (*obshchiny*) in order to assure and defend land rights against oil and gas companies (2005c). This does not mean that they thereby discard their own inclusive concepts. Rather, they readjust them to changing outside conditions and may continue to enact the inclusive principles under the umbrella of this new form of territoriality. Just as increased involvement with the state has given rise to a 'property pluralism' regarding reindeer, so the more recent advent of the oil industry has led representatives of the Nentsy to extend this attitude to the land.

Similarly, the integration of regions such as Yamal into the global economy does not mean that people cease to engage in domestic exchange and barter for subsistence (in preparation). Alongside fellow shareholders in the Moscow Kremlin and in the headquarters of Eon-Ruhrgas in Germany, Nenets reindeer nomads own shares in Gazprom, the world's largest gas producing company. Reindeer products may end up on markets and in restaurants in Moscow, Beijing, and Seoul, but this does not prevent them from continuing to figure in complex domestic exchange networks in the tundra.

Nenets herders' increased integration into international trade is primarily due to the demand for 'velvet' reindeer antlers (*panty*). To collect these antlers, a trader must know the exact locations of the herds in June and July. As a consequence, this lucrative business is nowadays controlled largely by entrepreneurs from within the Nenets community itself, businessmen who typically have their own reindeer grazing on the tundra, herded by their nomadic relatives (2004). This observation contrasts with the results of many other academic studies of trade in raw materials, which have identified outsiders as the dominant powers. Whereas such studies tend to present barter as a poor substitute for monetary exchange, many Nenets herders deliberately choose barter as their form of engaging with the market. They could trade their antlers for money, but because the store where they could spend this money is far from their summer camps, this would be inconvenient. Instead, they prefer to deal directly with a Nenets entrepreneur who collects their antlers in the tundra by helicopter and offers goods and staples in return. This kind of exchange depends on trust and personal contacts.

What this means is that globalization has not so far led to anonymity in economic activity or to the marginalization of the producers of the raw material. Reindeer herders engage with the changes brought by the global market through a characteristic style of two-way adaptation. They have accepted many innovations from outside, but as supplements to existing practices in the tundra rather than as substitutes. Nenets herders face constant challenges to their lifestyle, but so far they have been able to react flexibly by adapting external inputs to make them fit their own life practices. Rather than attribute to the Nentsy a stable and resistant culture, we should pay attention to the flexibility and adaptability of their responses.

The relevance of reindeer pastoralism to a general understanding of nomadism has by no means been exhausted (Beach and Stammler, in preparation). In the case of the Nentsy, the concept of mobility can be extended beyond literal geography to capture the general nature of their adaptability. Many scholars have predicted the end of nomadism, but the continued high prestige of the nomadic lifestyle in Yamal and the nomads' enthusiasm for it suggest that this prognosis may not apply there. The Nentsy call a life in movement *nenei ilngana*, 'the real lifestyle'. It must satisfy not only basic needs such as those for food and shelter but also elaborate social and spiritual needs. As well as traversing the climatic zones of forest and tundra, reindeer nomads in this region move freely between ideological concepts, between subsistence and commodity production, between state-owned and private reindeer, between animism, communism, and market relations, and between territorial defence and cooperative knowing of the tundra. In closing the gaps between these diverse categories, we come closer to an understanding of the dialogues that reindeer nomads have developed with the world surrounding them, in which global processes and concepts such as culture, property, and market are expressed in local human practices.

Contentious Property: Tradition, the Modern state and Churches in Southwest Ethiopia

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Wolde Gossa Tadesse was born and raised in Ethiopia. He received his undergraduate degree from Addis Ababa University and an MSc and a PhD in social anthropology from the London School of Economics. Since leaving MPISA in 2003, he has been with the Christensen Fund of Palo Alto, California.

In this research, I examined issues of property with a focus on intergroup relations and the relationship of groups to the state; the situations of various local non-state indigenous institutions of power, especially those dealing with tangible and intangible property; and the situations of a variety of religious structures making new claims to property in south-western Ethiopia. The six themes (ritualization, sharing, egalitarianism, encapsulation, commercialization, and discrimination) of the two volumes I edited with Thomas Widlok (2005a, 2005b) indicate the main lines of my enquiries into property in this marginal part of the world. To understand property relations at a regional or subregional level, it is necessary to complement research findings on the ground with an analysis of global processes of policymaking and implementation. At the local level, it is important to understand the web of relationships within a group and between groups, in order to grasp how these shape and affect relations pertaining to property, including ties to the property object itself.

My study was focused primarily on the local and regional levels. It included case studies from Gamo, Konso, and Hor Provinces (2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003) and, more recently, the communities of Zala and Mursi. South-western Ethiopia is home to more than 55 diverse linguistic groups, which share religious traditions, markets, and trade and friendship networks. The region is one of the few places in the world today where human cultural diversity and biological diversity both remain high. The inhabitants of the plains manage their water and plant resources carefully in arid and semi-arid landscapes; residents of the mountains practise irrigation, terracing, and manuring of fields. The latter residents need to maintain a careful balance between cultivated areas and mountain pastures, which supply dung for the fields. Intergroup relations in recent decades have been generally peaceful, with occasional externally caused conflicts restricted mainly to pastoral areas.

These complex local interdependencies have all helped shape property relations. Increasingly, however, newer state and religious institutions, together with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) operating in and around semi-urban settlements alongside major roads, have been attempting to change the lives of local groups. Religious institutions want

to control indigenous spirituality and appropriate property associated with it. Indigenous tenure nowadays exists side-by-side with state tenure. The latter prevails inasmuch as taxes have to be paid, but the reality of the holding, use, inheritance, and management of land and the organization of labour in much of the region still follows indigenous traditions, as I have demonstrated in detail for the Hor.

In this part of Ethiopia, postsocialism has brought no significant changes from the preceding period concerning state ownership of land. As previously, decisions regarding land are carried out in a top-to-bottom fashion. Where current practice regarding the land varies from that of earlier periods is in the fact that collective ownership of producers' cooperatives has now been abandoned. Instead, individual landholding and especially 'investor landholding' are encouraged, although the constitution asserts that land is the 'common property of nations, nationalities and peoples'. The government has sponsored numerous resettlement projects, which encourage people to migrate and occupy remaining pockets of fertile landscapes of biodiversity, the traditional owners of which are not consulted. The state still owns plantations, forested former mountain pastures, and indigenous land turned into parks by previous governments. Many decisions concerning land that was contested between indigenous groups and provincial governors in the imperial court have still not been taken. In practice, regional and local governments now exercise control over rural populations through their monopoly over land. This tradition has a long history among Ethiopia's ruling aristocracy, but unlike the centralization aspired to by the ancien régime, the current practice results from the devolved power of a regional state (such as Amhara, Harari, Benishangul, and Tigray).

Federalism was introduced shortly after the fall of the military dictatorship in 1991. The Southern Regional State was established by Decree No. 1 of 1995, which introduced a number of laws concerning rural land and associated institutions. Proclamation No. 4/1996 set out the standards for payment of rent for rural land use and income tax in the region. Decree No. 2 of 1997 concerned the provision of land for investors to promote rural development. A decree introduced in 1998 (No. 147) laid down the way farmers could benefit from communal enterprise by setting up cooperative societies. Yet another (No. 53 of 2003) stipulated conditions for the use of land by farmers and herders and outlined their obligations towards the state administration. This is the legal foundation on which efforts are currently being made to mark out private holdings and to complete the registration of all land.

Although the last of these decrees appears to envision a future for communal landholding, what actually constitutes communal land in various contexts can be clarified only with the assistance of community experts, because only they can provide information about local specificities and community interests. Because the decree does not recognize

indigenous tenure as such and does not give communities a leading role in implementation, the legislation could disempower the very people it is supposed to benefit. Similarly, the privileging of settlers and investors on land that has historically been considered the cultural and spiritual property of indigenous groups threatens to undermine the main objective, which is to grant existing users security of possession. In terms of both protecting the intangible cultural heritage engraved in the landscape and empowering the indigenous local institutions that have maintained these traditions and landscapes so well, positive results could still be forthcoming – but only if binding local amendments can be negotiated before the formal implementation of the decree. At stake is the recognition of sites held to be sacred, forests, cemeteries, springs, streams, places for oath-taking, marketplaces, wetlands, swamps, pastures, land formerly owned by individuals but transferred to the collective, ritual space, assembly places, paths, and other features of the landscape that local groups identify with and care for. Besides respecting the cultural heritage of indigenous communities, to recognize collective ownership of such land would make a crucial contribution to long-term stewardship, since no government will be able to afford to maintain these places properly.

That such places are not considered significant objects of property in the law allows them to become bones of contention between expansionist external religious groups and indigenous people wishing to retain their cultural heritage and the land they see as an integral part of that heritage. Bigger religious groups devalue sacred spaces (such as mountain peaks) as places of 'devil worship' in order to justify appropriating them and then representing them as symbols of the superiority of their own religious tradition. Local groups seek state support to prevent this, but the law of 2003 views land solely in terms of topography and potential productivity and ignores its cultural and spiritual aspects. Some churches do recognize and respect the latter, but by no means all of them do so. In the Gamo region, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has recently been involved in publicly humiliating local spiritual leaders and their heritage by clearing sacred places in order to construct churches. Control is also extended to the domain of intangible property such as ceremonies and rituals. The Orthodox Church has banned many songs, dances, and funerary rituals and sought to replace indigenous spiritual knowledge with daily Orthodox *mihilla* catechism for youths. In the same vein, the church systematically channels the funds of indigenous agricultural labour groups into church accounts.

Some religious groups have called for a division of mountain pastures and graveyards between 'believers' and 'heathens'. This move met fierce opposition from community members, who pointed out that they had never known a Christian or a Muslim goat, sheep, or cow and could therefore see no sense in segregating the pastures. These arguments

prevailed in traditional assemblies. Evangelical groups continue to spread through development projects, but most communities continue to observe the traditional calendrical rituals. Indigenous institutions that embed economic and utilitarian considerations in wider social and spiritual frameworks remain effective – for example, at marketplaces, in networks of trade and friendship, and in peacemaking assemblies.

Local groups value peace and seek the protection of their government to help them retain contested properties. In this context it was interesting to note an instance in which inter-group peacemaking was commoditized through the intervention of an NGO that attempted to replace hereditary institutions by offering remuneration to individual civil servants involved in the negotiations. Traditionally, peacemaking services have been supplied free of charge by certain families with hereditary responsibilities for doing so.

Meanwhile, no progress is being made towards the restitution of land taken in the past. On the contrary, the state continues to appropriate indigenous land for use by farmers and to benefit both local and global investors. Some groups have responded to the insecurity they feel by converting mountain pastures into fields, in order to preclude the government's classifying them as wasteland. This process is leading to serious soil erosion, to acute shortages of animal manure, and hence potentially to shortages of food in the near future. Unfamiliar models of development are being imposed upon farmers whose own systems of cultivation yield satisfactory results, are environmentally sound, and remain economically viable. Cooperatives of fruit growers and weavers are doing well in some mountain and lowland regions, providing important supplementary income. Herding communities also supplement their income – for example, by supplying animals to the meat markets in the south. In both agricultural and pastoral areas, the production of craftwork (e.g. pots, textiles, carved stools, and decorated gourds) for tourist markets is gaining momentum.

Even when they adapt new elements, farmers try to hold onto their traditions to avert the risk of catastrophes. They uphold their cultural heritage and rely on knowledge passed down through generations, such as knowledge of the songs and dances which enable people to celebrate their endurance and regeneration as communities. In this context I noticed the way farmers and herders experienced an intensifying shortage of the time needed for the reproduction of culture and society. Local government, religious organizations, and NGO-sponsored meetings all make inroads into the farmers' time allocation.

In summary, I found that while the interplay between the global and the local forms one critical factor in understanding property relations, other factors, such as time and who controls it, as well as control over intangible forms of property such as spirituality, are of fundamental significance in this research area.

Trust, Property and Social Change in a Southern Slovakian Village

Davide Torsello

Born in southern Italy, Davide Torsello obtained his BA in Japanese and pursued postgraduate research in Japan from 1994 to 1998, earning an MA in cultural anthropology on the basis of fieldwork research in the Tsugaru region (Honshu). In 1999 he obtained an MSc in social anthropology at the London School of Economics. He joined MPISA at its foundation and took his PhD in 2003. After a spell as a junior fellow at the Collegium Budapest, he currently teaches cultural anthropology at the University of Lecce and the University of Bergamo, Italy.

In this project, which in its theoretical framing linked property to the concept of trust, I examined continuity and change in a village in a district of south-western Slovakia where most of the population was of Hungarian ethnicity. I paid some attention to the late feudal, early modern, and socialist periods, but I focused primarily on social change since the end of state socialism in 1989 (2003c). The general premise was that when living conditions are changing rapidly, people make sense of their situation through various strategies of adaptation, the social dynamics of which can be recognized only through historical analysis. Trust and property constitute two important fields in which strategies are constructed and constantly modified in actors' everyday interactions and in their relations to material objects (2003a).

The village in which I worked, Királyfa, had undergone profound political, economic, and social changes over the preceding century. Its region belonged to the Hungarian part of the Habsburg monarchy until 1918, when it was incorporated into the newly founded Czechoslovak Republic. In 1938 Hungary invaded the southern Slovakian lands and re-annexed part of this territory, including Királyfa. After the Second World War the village became part of the second Czechoslovak Republic and, soon afterwards, of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Today the village is in Slovakia. Its location on a fertile plain and the ethnic identity of its population make Királyfa atypical in a country in which upland communities are more numerous, yet the village in many ways exemplifies the patterns of rural property reform in east-central Europe.

Concepts of property and trust have been prominent in the literature on the postsocialist transition, but they have seldom been conjoined. Property reform was, from the early 1990s onwards, a key field in which policymakers sought to legislate and 'engineer' institutional transformation and the implementation of market capitalism. The restitution of property rights and privatization of national assets were also important symbolic markers that the socialist era was over. In Királyfa, however, people quickly realized that capitalism was not all it was made out to

be. Under the conditions in which decollectivization was implemented in Slovakia (fragmentation of plots, long bureaucratic processes, lack of capital, and unfavourable agricultural markets), few people were able to consider farming commercially (2003d, 2004a). For this reason, the key integrating institution of the socialist era, the collective farm, was in practice able to consolidate its economic and social role in the village. Restructured as a cooperative, it provided important services to the community, such as renting and leasing parcels of land, hiring out machinery, purchasing animals, and selling fodder.

The cooperative farm remains an essential actor in villagers' social networks, which continue many of the patterns established in the late socialist period. They create niches of predictability in an environment in which the weakness (or immaturity) of formal legal and institutional structures necessitates a reliance on informality and inter-personal trust. One can observe these networks in the ways in which people work their land; small plots are cultivated by kin members according to norms of reciprocity and task sharing which reinforce traditional familial roles (2005d).

My study demonstrated that villagers' ideas and choices are shaped by generalized worries about the uncertainty they face in the postsocialist present. They construct their strategies on foundations provided by their knowledge of the past, and they implemented those strategies in the everyday arena of social interaction. Two strategies of adaptation to social transformation seem especially significant. The first is to invest in social assets (kin ties and personal networks, including personal connections to institutions) in order to open secure avenues for decision taking under conditions perceived to be increasingly unfavourable. In Királyfa this is not a new strategy; it has its roots in pre-socialist and socialist practices of social interaction. The end of state socialism, however, made people increasingly dependent on the maintenance of such networks and on continued investment in long-term social relations (2004b, in press, c).

I characterize the second coping strategy as the 'management of ambiguity'. Following neo-evolutionary approaches to understanding changing institutional structures in postsocialist countries, as pioneered by sociologists such as David Stark, I developed the idea that actors respond to instability and uncertainty by (strategically) generating ambiguity between their ideas and their deeds. This, too, has roots in past practices. Under socialism, substantial inconsistency existed between what was done or shown in public and what was said in private (2005c). Social scientists have tended to ascribe this phenomenon to the divide between public and private life characteristic of a totalitarian system, but this inconsistency can also be seen as intentional and strategic. It is best seen in the proliferation of 'secondary' economic prac-

tices, many of which became symbiotic and reinforced the primary economy of the central planners.

Most villagers in Királyfa indicated that postsocialist transformation had brought increased mistrust, both of other villagers and of institutions. I argue, however, that this mistrust should not be considered simply detrimental to social cohesion. Villagers have been able to build obligations and practise reciprocity with each other *because* they mistrust each other, and in the absence of a more solid framework enabling generalized trust and predictability, such mistrust is indispensable. Generalized mistrust does not entail a lack of collective action or apathy towards political and civic issues. On the contrary, I found that the inhabitants of Királyfa showed a great degree of public involvement in collective events, festivals, and social and cultural clubs (2003b).

The relationship between trust and property becomes analytically important when one attempts to conceptualize the strategies that local people pursue to deal with the uncertainty of postsocialist times. In Királyfa, villagers are increasingly preoccupied with changing family lifestyles, with values, and with how to assess social roles. They are searching for new sources of stability and accountability (Torsello and Pappová 2003). This stability, however, is not based on a static idea of social order. Rather, it is achieved through a combination of memories and perceptions of the socialist past, on the one hand, and attitudes towards contemporary institutional transformation, on the other (2003e). Trust becomes the main means of shaping economic, social, and political relations as people strive to keep social networks active and sustain their capacities to act in the present (2005a).

Property is the set of relations that tie residents to their village community and to the institutions that, even with low levels of discursive trust, regulate access to land and agricultural production. By manifesting mistrust in the agricultural cooperative, villagers express their concern for the present and future economic conditions of the village, a concern which cannot be expressed without seeking confrontation with the socialist past. Yet the very fact that this sort of mistrust, like that articulated towards the local administration, does not lead to a fatal interruption of socio-economic transactions demonstrates a concealed reserve of trustworthiness between villagers and the cooperative. The demise of the nationalized property system has not led to a large-scale revival of private farming, but it has made the relationship between people and land deeply problematic. The only possible solution is that trust must be established and maintained between owners and those who represent the cooperative (members, workers, and managers) in everyday life in the village.

Trust and property are two fundamental concepts which allow the analyst to delineate processes of social interaction. At the emic level, the changing ways in which people make use of these ideas also form part

of the overall process of historical transformation. Because trust and property are such pervasive notions, it is also crucial to specify them rigorously if they are to be used analytically. This requires close attention to history. In the case of property, this means investigating how villagers have dealt in different eras with the social relations inherent in the ownership of economic assets. In the case of trust, it is essential to distinguish between what people actually do and what they say they are doing when dealing with other individuals and institutions. Trust is not a global panacea for problems of social order. It is better defined as the ground-level construction of rational acts, morals, and emotions that underpin all social interaction. As such, trust is bound to change as the wider institutional context changes, and it is bound to be continuously questioned by people in the everyday use they make of it. Only in the context of application in local strategies can the analytical notions of trust and property be usefully applied in explaining processes of social change.

In Királyfa, Slovakia, hurka *are sausages made from rice and pig blood gruel. The pig is generally raised by elderly family members, to whom it legally belongs, but after slaughter the products are distributed to close kin and sometimes to other relatives, friends, and neighbours. Hurka serve primarily as tokens of gratitude to non–family members who help in the killing and who do not receive more valuable pieces of meat. It is through shared participation in events such as a pig killing that villagers instil and consolidate interpersonal trust and solidarity. (Photo: Davide Torsello)*

Kinship, Property Relations, and Informal Networks in the Tundra of the Republic of Sakha (Eastern Siberia)

Aimar Ventsel

Aimar Ventsel was born in Tallinn, Estonia. He was educated at the University of Tartu (BA in anthropology and history) and the Free University, Berlin (MA in anthropology and history). He received his PhD from the Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, in 2005. He was a member of the Siberia Projektgruppe and since March 2003 has been a senior research fellow at the Literary Museum of Estonia, Tartu.

The collapse of the Soviet state brought a crisis in the agricultural sector, which in the Soviet Union included fishing, hunting, and reindeer husbandry. Reindeer herding and hunting were in socialist times subordinated to the planned economy and heavily subsidized. This guaranteed the well-being and social security of people engaged in these activities, many of whom lived in remote tundra settlements. From the beginning of the 1990s, however, subsidies disappeared, and the state began to scale back its social security structures. In small Arctic villages, life revolved entirely around the local state agricultural enterprise. Undermining this enterprise necessarily led to increased poverty and inequality. Unemployment became widespread, and the dismantling of state control structures caused an expansion of criminality and alcohol misuse. With the reduction of transport subsidies, many tundra villages became isolated islands; few people could afford to leave for holidays or to visit friends and relatives in other parts of the country, as they had in Soviet times. Federal and regional attempts to reform agriculture replaced the former state farms with a variety of new enterprises that differed in their legal status but were all engaged in the same basic activities: hunting wild reindeer and Arctic fox, fishing in tundra rivers, and herding reindeer.

The Republic of Sakha is one of the world's most important diamond-producing regions. The Turkic-speaking Sakha, form roughly one-third of the population, and since the mid-1990s their importance within political and administrative structures has increased. Incomer Russians are traditionally engaged in industry, mainly coal and diamond mining. The third distinctive group in the republic is made up of indigenous minorities – Dolgan, Evenki, Yukagir, Chukchee, and Even – who lived there even before the arrival of Sakha and Russians. These minorities live mainly in small villages in the northern and eastern districts and are engaged primarily in hunting, fishing, and reindeer herding. Many have adopted the Sakha language as their first language and established kin relations with ethnic Sakha in central districts. Their lives are generally harsh, and those who live in agricultural settlements often struggle to survive. In 2000-1 I spent a total of 13 months among such people, mostly Dolgan, dividing my time between hunters and reindeer herders in the tundra and the base village. The focus of my research was property relations and survival strategies in postsocialist society, with special reference to informal networks.

In Sakha, as elsewhere, reforms in the beginning of the 1990s broke the monopoly of state (*sovkhoz*) and collective (*kolkhoz*) farms. I found 13 different types of state, collective, and private agricultural enterprises officially registered. But despite the colourfulness of this local 'agricultural landscape' and the state's attempts to control hunting and herding through licenses and subsidies, people's economic activities and access to resources, as well as resource distribution, are nowadays channelled primarily through kinship-based networks which link various social layers and extend over long distances, from the tundra to the village and on to the big cities (2003).

In the Soviet period, every hunting and herding work unit (brigade) was assigned its exclusive territory, and external activity was strictly forbidden. In the postsocialist period, this territorial division has been combined with traditional land-use practices to give birth to the institution of the 'master of lands' (*khoziain*). The master is a person, usually the head of a big hunting family, who is supposed to have a right to deny or allow access to his hunting grounds. The development of this institution was facilitated by the Soviet policy of incorporating the indigenous social structure into the state agricultural system. In this way the representatives of some families continued to hunt or herd reindeer in regions where their ancestors had exercised exclusive rights to land use before collectivization. People believed that the length of the time spent in a territory was linked to 'knowing the land'. As David Anderson has demonstrated for an adjacent region of Siberia, this knowledge gave a person the right to consider land 'his own'. Similar to the Scottish shepherds studied by John Gray, members of the Dolgan minority believed that this social bond to land could be inherited, and one could be 'bred into' the landscape through one's own activities and the activities and experience of one's ancestors. The importance of the institution of the master is illustrated by the fact that in many cases these persons held no formally registered territories, but their informal entitlements were nonetheless recognized, even by formal structures such as other hunting enterprises and state officials.

The postsocialist economic crisis placed the resources of the tundra under strain, because all sections of the local population were left more or less to fend for themselves. A shift to 'subsistence economy' was accompanied by an increase in hunting for commercial purposes, in order to be able to trade for imported goods. In north-western Sakha, access to hunting grounds was provided primarily via kin relations.

Concepts of the 'social boundary defence', as developed in anthropology by Elizabeth Cashdan and Michael Casimir, have been deployed to suggest that when resources are unpredictable, social structures provide efficient mechanisms for monitoring the use of the commons. In practice, state structures in Sakha have been unable to exercise control over people's activities in the tundra, and hunters and herders have negotiated use rights over land among themselves. Contrary to classical theory postulating a dichotomy between hunting and herding, I found these branches not to be separated but thoroughly mixed. Reindeer herders hunt intensively, both for their own subsistence and in order to barter meat for imported goods. Masters regulate access to their hunting grounds through kinship relations, while reindeer herders and village people use the same networks to be allowed to enter hunting territories.

Cooperation between hunters, herders, and village people is not one-sided but reciprocal. Herders and villagers possess resources to share. Tundra products traditionally include meat, hides, fish, and timber, while village inhabitants usually enjoy easier access to fuel, ammunition, and the district administration. Reciprocity not only regulates the exchange of goods but includes services as well. When adults spend a lot of time in the tundra, their village relatives assume the role of caretakers of property or child minders. My data show that reciprocal networks operate over large territories, linking families to other families inside the district, in other districts, and as far afield as Yakutsk, the capital of Sakha. People use these networks when travelling, to gain access to specific regional goods, and for commercial advantage generally. The ideology behind these kin-based networks is the so-called law of the tundra, which in essence proclaims: 'You should share if you have something to share!' All those who acknowledge kinship are expected to support each other by conforming to this norm.

To establish long-distance networks, people also manipulate ethnic categories. In north-western Sakha, for centuries the first language of the indigenous population has been Sakha. Northern hunters and reindeer herders have incorporated many elements of the Sakha culture into their lifestyle. Through intermarriage, families in my field region have created alliances with families in the central districts and used them to activate contacts to economic and political elites. This strategy is supported by the official policy of the Republic of Sakha, which invites members of the indigenous minorities to consolidate on the basis of the Sakha language and culture. The state provides scholarships for students and credits to enterprises in order to promote the national culture. At the same time, local Evenki and Dolgan also make use of ethnic ties to establish solidarity with related groups outside of the Republic of Sakha, especially those in the Taimyr Peninsula. Such networks can be helpful in organizing hunting trips outside the borders of one's administrative unit, which is theoretically illegal. Relatives on both sides of the border help each other as necessary to evade officials and to provide shelter for hunting parties. These relations can also serve pragmatic trading purposes, because the settlements of the Taimyr Peninsula often offer attractive opportunities for bartering.

Most reciprocal activity, however, takes place locally, inside the district. In times of insecurity, it is imperative that kinship structures be flexible and 'mobile'. I found that almost everyone had some relatives in high positions in the management of local agricultural enterprises or in the administration, or who worked as professional hunters or herders. Families were constantly on the lookout for ways to improve their access to resources by creating new alliances, using adoption, marriage, and the establishment of fictive kin relations. As a result, some extended families had better contacts than others to formal institutions, some had more skilled hunters, some had more extensive exclusive rights over hunting territories, and some were more successful than others in mobilizing people to defend the property and reputation of the family. In recent years, social and economic inequality within the village community had increased substantially.

Kinship relations are also important within formal structures in Sakha. The successor enterprises of the state farm have an interest in retaining a labour force in the tundra, and they have therefore liberated movement between brigades and increased brigades' autonomy. As a result, most brigades are dominated by close relatives, and the position of brigadier is in practice inherited within the family. Such tendencies can facilitate negotiations to enter into the territory of another enterprise for hunting and fishing, because many families have kin in key positions in those enterprises. On the other hand, the dominance of one family can have deleterious effects on the brigade – for example, if migration patterns are distorted to allow parents to visit their children.

Informal, kinship-based networks are important not only for monitoring common-pool resources and providing access to formal institutions. They are also a means of exercising social control and mobilizing people for punitive action when norms are infringed. Crime rates have soared in Sakha since the collapse of the Soviet Union, and state institutions can no longer guarantee security on village streets or protect property rights. The solitary police officer in my base village showed little interest in interfering in local conflicts, and only major crimes such as murder received any significant attention. Violence is commonly used as a deterrent, and even in apparently non-violent disputes, it is ever present in the background. In postsocialist reality, the only sure way to protect one's person and to safeguard property is to have a large number of relatives and friends in the community. Outsiders, such as officials, truck drivers, and entrepreneurs, are often unable to assert rights and are subject to harassment.

Property Dilemmas in Non-Western and Non-Eastern Case Studies

Thomas Widlok

Thomas Widlok grew up in the industrial west of West Germany. He studied anthropology, philosophy, and theology at the Universities of Münster and Cologne before switching to social anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science (MSc, 1989), where he also received his PhD (1994). He has taught in London, Cologne, and Heidelberg and is currently (2005) a research associate in the language and cognition group at the Max Planck Institute of Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, Netherlands.

The breakup of the eastern European bloc also brought considerable changes to many non-European countries. Namibia, Germany's former colony in south-western Africa, became independent only in 1990, after the implementation of UN resolution 435 had been blocked by more than 10 years of armed conflict in Angola and northern Namibia. SWAPO, Namibia's independence movement, was tightly connected to the socialist countries, and hundreds of exiled children were schooled in the GDR. Since independence, SWAPO has governed Namibia with a two-thirds majority, but the new rulers, trained to run a country according to socialist principles, have found themselves faced with donor countries wishing to establish a modern nation-state with a property regime compatible with the global market economy. Within the country, indigenous groups, particularly so-called San groups that have a strong commitment to egalitarianism and to the sharing of land and its resources, continue to suffer from loss of land. The country is divided between the 'communal land' of African agro-pastoralists and the 'commercial' (i.e. private) land of European settlers, leaving the San landless. Namibia, therefore, is one of many countries where the East-West divide has had considerable influence on the dominant ways of dealing with property regimes and where postsocialist changes affect recent policies concerning property relations.

The 'property dilemmas' I investigated concerned not only Africans being dragged into conflicting commitments, many of them imposed by external hegemonic forces, but also the conceptual dilemmas posed by the universalizing of concepts and policies rooted in European history. For example, 'primitive communism' played an important role in Marxist theorizing and was subsequently applied more widely, particularly with reference to hunter-gatherer societies such as the San. Their economic life had been described by Isaac Schapera as approaching 'a sort of communism', although he found it to be based ultimately on the notion of 'private property'. The societies of culturally related groups such as the Nama were said to be examples of 'an apparently pure communism', except that 'everybody has his own property, which he seeks to increase and improve, and, preferably unobserved by others, to use for himself' (I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples*, London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1930, 319–20). I looked into such case studies, probing the possibility that the new discussions of property in the post-socialist period had yet to escape the old Eurocentric constraints.

The property regime of the Nama of the Namib Desert, alluded to by Schapera, has a distinctive pattern, which can be illuminated using the layered property model of Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. It exhibits elements of both 'private' and 'communal' property regimes (2001a). My case study of the Nama suggests that it is useful to refine the analytical model by taking explicit account of the particular features of objects (land, water, plants, fruits) that evolve into property items and of the social relations that evolve into property relations. The various features of the property object entail a variety of social relations, in this case between the traders, owners, harvesters, and consumers of the *!nara*, an endemic wild fruit of outstanding importance for the Nama. The layered model provides a conceptual grid for describing the *!nara* property regime and is also an appropriate starting point for analysing its institutional dynamics. Deliberate and involuntary changes in one aspect (or layer) gradually change the whole property regime; they often lead to unintended effects, including the eventual breakdown of the family-based property regime in favour of an open access system.

With regard to the 'San' or 'Bushmen', where 'the only thing owned in common' is commonly said to be land, I scrutinized the established view that conflict between hunter-gatherers, with their need for large expanses of land, and African and European agropastoralists, greedily seeking to accumulate land, is inevitable. This view turned out to be simplistic and misleading (2003a). For example, it fails to take into consideration the important role of the state, in both its colonial and in its post-independence manifestations, as a redistributive agent that has sought to nationalize and divide the land. The Namibian state has rejected a land policy based on the reconstitution of rights derived from first occupance by indigenous groups. Instead, it has sought to resettle a huge number of black Namibians as part of an affirmative action programme geared towards remedying injustices perpetrated during the apartheid era, with its unprecedented relocations of people. Although the executors of the current resettlement explicitly reject ethnic identities and the use of brute force, the policy has created a situation in which rich communal farmers (as subsidized buyers) and rich commercial farmers (selling at inflated prices) have benefited, rather than landless people. In consequence, the gap between the rich and the poor has increased, and Namibia now has the highest Gini coefficient (the standard measure of income inequality) in the world.

Against this background, I identified how national and international pressure for corporate social organization has become a key element in this process (2001b). The emergence of corporate legal bodies has far-reaching implications for the nature of social relations. What emerges clearly in the analysis of development agencies in southern Africa can also be traced elsewhere. A comparison of the Namibian case studies with cases in an apparently very different setting – Australia – revealed striking similarities in the dilemmas that face local people in highly diverse settings. Australia, in stark contrast to post-apartheid Namibia and its neighbouring countries, has increasingly recognized group rights for indigenous people in recent decades, especially since the 1992 court ruling in favour of Native Title land rights. In both southern Africa and Australia (and beyond), however, governmental and nongovernmental agents have demanded specific forms of corporate organization before access to land and other 'redistributed' property items are granted.

My case studies suggest that the comparative anthropology of property relations has so far only scratched the surface of a rich field of investigation that could well be expanded beyond the two priority areas of recent decades, privatization and collective property regimes. The conference 'Property and Equality', held at MPISA in June 2001, gave further substance to the comparative agenda established in this project. The contributions to the two resulting volumes (2005a, 2005b) cover a broad spectrum of non-Western (and non-Eastern) cases. They elucidate people's dealings with property in diverse contexts; they also show how people attempt to achieve equality in the face of a constant tendency towards inequality and to reconcile social equality with personal autonomy. Property may or may not be a decisive factor in the general political theory of inequality, but the contributions to this book suggest that property relations are critical in social processes for achieving and maintaining equality. There can be no a priori solution to the tensions between property and equality, even though both the West and the East claim to have found such a solution, and their efforts to impose it world-wide have had dire consequences. In real-life social relations and institutions, property always creates dilemmas. These need to be mediated and dealt with in terms of practice, with reference to particular property objects, and irrespective of the dominant ideology. The locus for this mediation can only be in social relationships and social institutions.

The Namibian minister for land, resettlement, and rehabilitation hands out the first land title to a resettled 'San' family after Namibian independence. The government's strategy of handing out two- to four-hectare 'household plots' solely for agricultural purposes has not improved the situation of the San. (Photo: Thomas Widlok)

Individualists by Force? Property reforms and rural economy in postsocialist Azerbaijan

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann

Lale Yalçın-Heckmann was born in Istanbul, educated in Ankara and Istanbul (BA in sociology, Boğaziçi University, 1978), and studied social anthropology at the London School of Economics (PhD, 1986). Her first research was on tribal structures and local politics among Kurds in south-eastern Turkey. She has continued to work and publish on Kurds, as well as on Turkish and Kurdish migrants and Islam in Germany and France. She joined MPISA in June 2000 and is currently following up her work on rural property in Azerbaijan by assuming the leadership of a new team which will investigate 'citizenship from below' in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

The former Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan declared its sovereignty in 1991. Since then, with the exception of Elçibey, who was elected president in relatively free elections and held office for one year, all heads of state have had their roots in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Heydar Aliyev, a former member of the Soviet Politburo, became president in 1993. His ruling party has kept a tight reign on the country ever since; local level functionaries either belong to this party or have access to politicians through patronage and corruption. Aliyev's son Ilham succeeded him as president in October 2003. The political turmoil of the first years of independence has been exacerbated by unrest, ethnic cleansing and war as a result of the conflict with Armenia over the status of the Autonomous Region of Karabagh. By the time a ceasefire was declared in 1994, Armenia had annexed Karabagh and occupied parts of adjacent regions as well. Azerbaijan lost almost one fifth of its territory, and seven of its provinces (*rayons*) are still under occupation.

This project focused on privatisation policies in the countryside. Despite the gloomy economic and political background, by the time fieldwork began in 2000 a significant number of reforms were being rapidly implemented. While privatisation has proceeded with different degrees of success in different sectors of the economy, the implementation of both economic and legislative reforms has remained problematic. Azerbaijan's economic development is dominated by the energy sector, which accounted for more than 30% of GDP in 2001. In comparison, agriculture is marginal at the national level.

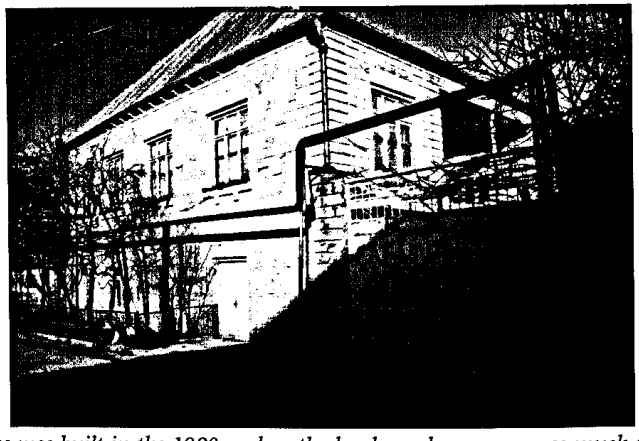
The marginalisation of the rural economy despite radical privatisation of agricultural land has been one of the main themes of investigation in two field sites, one in the west of the country and the other a smaller settlement further north. In the first site, Täzäkänd, privatisation of former sovkhoz and kolkhoz lands had been completed by the time of my arrival and some residents had already received their deeds. According to the provisions of the land reforms, all residents of rural settlements were entitled to receive equal shares of land formerly owned and used by sovkhozy and kolkhozy. This meant 0.14 ha per person in the case of Täzäkänd. An effort was made to ensure that household members received land in the same locations, to enable its joint working. Entitlements to land depended primarily on where a person was registered as residing, and secondarily on family status; thus in-marrying women who failed for whatever reason to register in their new residence could not receive land. A comparison with the case in Ukraine (2003b) showed that Azerbaijani reforms were apparently the more radical in the extent to which they eliminated all traces of the Soviet agricultural infrastructure. Production and marketing are now sustained primarily by informal networks based on kinship and friendship. Closer inspection reveals that cooperation continues to play a key role in production in both countries.

Land reforms were designed to eradicate collective property and to give the individuals the opportunity to become owners and farmers. The former kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers were forced to become individualists, i.e. to become economically active without the state support. At a certain level the policies succeeded, since the old collective structures did indeed vanish and individuals were forced into more entrepreneurial roles. It was not, however, anticipated that individuals and households would focus their energies on household plots and/or migration. The privatised land remained under-cultivated, though one could observe shares – especially those of solitary elderly women - being accumulated in the hands of a few farmers who either had strong links to the local state authorities or were able to mobilise a large group of kin. More intensive cultivation of the household plot, an institution which persisted from the Soviet era, was the main response to the economics of smallholder cultivation, differentials in soil quality and access to water, the limited availability of markets and the withdrawal of almost all state support. Work on the plots suited households' labour composition and could be lucrative through the production of cash crops such as herbs and vegetables for markets in Russia.

Migration to Russia was sometimes part of a coping strategy in which other household members concentrated on plot cultivation. My project paid particular attention to the links of kinship and friendship which facilitated the passage of goods to the urban markets of the north, notably Moscow itself. Unregistered migrants in Russia (and in other former Soviet countries such as Kazakhstan) have become a crucial source of income for Azerbaijani consumers. Nearly two million Azerbaijani citizens are estimated to earn their living abroad (out of a total population of some eight million). Their remittances have a direct impact in changing consumption habits and play a significant role in marriage negotiations and ceremonies (2002).

Lavish banquets, such as this engagement party, require huge financial investments, which are financed primarily with remittances from migrants in Russia.(Photo: L.Yalçın-Heckmann)

In the case of Täzäkänd, my household survey showed that nearly one-quarter of all households had at least one member working elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, and almost half of the households had a kinsman abroad. Migration often involves risks, and the strain it often imposes on kinship obligations feeds nostalgic memories of relative wealth and affluence in Soviet times. Remittances are invested in cars and in new houses, which remain unoccupied.



This house was built in the 1980s, when the local rural economy was much more prosperous than it is today. It is now up for sale as the owners have left for Russia (Photo: L.Yalçın-Heckmann)

That some individuals made no use of a good given to them free of charge, preferring instead to migrate, could be partially explained through comparison with the second field site. Pirdinar, primarily a settlement for internally displaced persons (IDPs), is located in a region where the shares of privatized land individuals received were significantly larger than those in Täzäkänd. The IDPs were not, however, entitled to own land in this settlement but were given only use rights to certain communally owned land. Legal restrictions on ownership, together with the politics of regional and ethnic patronage, forced IDPs to appropriate land which legally belonged to others, following its distribution. The appropriations were successful because Kurdish ethnic activists were able to manipulate official policy to support IDPs, who were perceived as distressed (2004).

My data indicated that although land might be treated 'simply' as an economic resource in some cases, in others it might carry symbolic meaning as territory. This theme has been discussed in another comparative study (2003c). In it we came to the conclusion that the meaning and utility of land could be assessed only by reference to a range of factors, among the most important of which were economic scarcity, the nature of the bundle of property rights, the regulation of access by political actors, and the role of violence in shaping emotional attachments to land, thereby converting it into territory.

A detailed comparative discussion of the land reforms in Azerbaijan will be found in my forthcoming book (2005). Meanwhile, the questions generated in the course of this project have led me to consider further the migratory movements which have become so strong throughout the southern Caucasus countries in the postsocialist years. In my new project, 'Citizenship from Below', I will continue to investigate the changing political economy of this region, paying particular attention to informal networks and to the consequences of new border regimes (both between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia and between these and their powerful neighbours, the Russian Federation, Turkey, and Iran).

Property, Hunting, and Food Sharing in the Taimyr Autonomous Region (North-Central Siberia)

John P. Ziker

John Ziker was born in Indiana, USA. He was educated at Arizona State University (BA, anthropology, 1988) and the University of California, Santa Barbara (MA, 1993, and PhD, anthropology, 1998). He was a member of the Siberia Projektgruppe at MPISA from September 2000 until the autumn of 2003, when he became an assistant professor of anthropology at Boise State University in Idaho.

With the end of the planned economy in 1991, state-sponsored production in Russia's Taimyr Autonomous Region rapidly diminished. Domestic reindeer and blue fox herds were sold, slaughtered, and lost to attrition. Fish and wild reindeer meat production fell off. Some state-owned domestic reindeer herds were turned over to families, but with the state agricultural economy disintegrating, city dwellers found new sources of consumer goods coming from Europe and Asia. Local subsistence became the major focus of economic activity for the indigenous population living in the tundra. Unemployment became widespread in remote settlements, intensifying pre-existing social dysfunctions such as binge drinking on holidays and pension payout days (2002a). Alongside the depression and emergent subsistence economy in remote communities, presidential decrees and regional edicts promoted a variety of property relations in the region (2002b, 2003a). Communities near the regional capital, Dudinka, were most likely to make land claims and to develop entrepreneurial relationships with markets. Those living in communities at a distance from Dudinka and in remote houses across the tundra were less likely to enter such claims. Concomitantly, informal means of regulating access to and distribution of resources were more important in the bush (2003b).

In this project, I documented traditional management strategies and entitlements among the Dolgan and the Nganasan in the Avam tundra area of the Taimyr Region. After the end of state farm plans (*nariady*), property relations in the Ust'-Avam community shifted in line with concerns for subsistence (2002c). Surrounding the village itself, a common-pool hunting and fishing territory (*liubitel'skaia ugod'ia*) expanded after 1993. A number of previously assigned hunting brigade territories (*ugod'ia*) were used less often, and borders with the village area for amateur hunters softened. In the expanded common-pool territory, hunters took and granted each other access to hunting and fishing spots, shelters, and lookout hills. Because machinery became hard to replace, hunters began travelling from the village more often on foot or skis, and people needed to work out among themselves where they would be

'sitting' for a season or trip, rather than being directed by the state-farm hunt manager. Hunting territories assigned to brigades during the Soviet era that were located at moderate distances from the village remained in possession of those hunters. Extremely distant territories, more than 150 kilometres from the village and not located on major waterways, fell into disuse. Several territories were claimed as family/clan or communal/clan holdings (*obshchiny*), but such formal land claims have been rare in the Avam tundra.

A classic challenge to informal management of the commons is the exclusion those who do not contribute to the provisioning or viability of critical resources. Without the ability to exclude those who degrade a resource, future communal use is placed in jeopardy. In the Ust'-Avam area, social boundaries and permission requirements were used to exclude people who historically had taken an extractive or abusive approach to resources.

The degree of individual rights varied according to specific resources. Arctic fox trap hunting was considered most sensitive, and guests were typically excluded from using a hunter's trap lines. Trap lines can be inherited from ancestors, and their maintenance adds to a hunter's recognized authority over an area. In addition, fur bearers historically are among the most valuable commodities in the area, and they are still relatively easy to transport and sell. In contrast, hunters are invited to participate in small groups for seine fishing, for thin-ice fishing, and for on-water and on-land caribou hunts. Rather than protect perimeters of territories, hunters in Ust'-Avam today develop task groups informally, share equipment and labour, and work individually, according to their abilities and equipment the type of foraging, and the season.

Beyond land, property relations among Dolgan and Nganasan involve the distribution of labour's products, most importantly in this region meat, fish, and fur. Informal social networks are the main conduits by which local food is distributed (Ziker and Schnegg, in press), providing another site for the coordination of collective action. Dolgan and Nganasan often explain sharing and local food transfer as an expectation for those with shared social identities such as kinship and family name (*odnofamil'tsy*) (2004a).

Dolgan and Nganasan often discuss the local distribution of meat and fish according to a traditional discourse (in press). A common statement – 'Half the community is my kin [*rodnia*]!' – emphasizes the speaker's consanguineal or affinal ties to many households in the community. Mutual acknowledgement of kinship can facilitate a claim to preferential treatment or rights. There are obligations, too, primarily a positive predisposition toward the giver. Closely related to the concept of sharing with *rodnia* is the use of the Russian word *svoii*, or 'my own people'. Hunters referring to subsistence activities usually said that the food was 'for ourselves', emphasizing an inclusive social boundary. The

definition of 'my own people' often included the extended family, close friends, and those with whom the catch was acquired cooperatively (2003c).

Most of the meat of this kill was transferred to the hunter's mother and to the neighbour, who shared the same family name. (Photo: John Ziker)

'Never return a bag empty!' is another prosocial saying that emphasizes the relationship and not the equal value of the exchange, even though the utility of the food may be important for the receiver. For example, a hunter or his wife might give a sack full of meat or fish to someone who came by, and later the bag would be returned with a book of matches, some pancakes, or even a button. 'Never return a bag empty!' is more about the recipient's willingness to cooperate in the future than about keeping track of actual resource flow. The practice fosters future cooperation and mutual aid in the domestic moral economy.

'I give it if I have it!' is a traditional rule identified by informants for situations when non-relatives and neighbours come by a hunter's household and ask for some of the catch. The dictum supports redistribution of food from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots'. Some requests for food may be more or less forceful, and rarely, individuals attempt to leverage some kind of historical or fictive connection. 'I give it if I have it!' is a component of the local worldview that is akin to the 'giving environment' theorized by Nurit Bird-David and to David Anderson's concept of 'sentient ecology'. It is considered a 'sin' in Ust'-Avam not to give food, especially if the hunter or his family has made a large kill.

Concepts of sin (*ani*, in Dolgan; *ŋuŋkarei* or *ŋuŋka-raka*, in Nganasan; both translated by informants as *grekh* in Russian) are used to encourage cooperative behaviour among community members and descendants of common ancestors. This usage is predicated on the assumption that supernatural forces can cause misfortune in the natural world. Accidental deaths are often linked to some kind of earlier sin or lack of respect for the tundra, its spirits, or the living. On the positive side, hunters explain the sharing and transfer of food as a responsibility to the tundra. One informant stated that 'the hunt simply would not happen' if food were not given away to those who need it. Some people said that sharing was the 'law of the tundra' (*zakon tundry*), and others shared because they were 'children of the tundra' (*deti tundry*).

In Ust'-Avam, local requests for food or use of resources are largely sponsored by the traditional norms of fairness and mutual aid, buttressed by the authority of elders and respected hunters. Resource distribution is controlled and targeted to specific individuals and families (2004b). Elders and wives are the most common recipients of food. They usually have the acknowledged responsibility to redistribute it further to others. Elders often hold the keys to storage closets, symbolizing their redistributive authority. Exchange for utilitarian advantage and defending resources from others within the community are less common concerns in Ust'-Avam.

Avam hunting territories not formally claimed with the state but still in use by the inheritors of the Soviet-era hunting brigades are largely devoted to family food production. In several cases every year, however, people produce enough surplus for transport that they need to call in the former state hunter enterprise, Taimyrskii. A skeleton of its former operations, the enterprise exists largely for its regionally funded mission of providing fuel, electricity, and heat to the village. For the hunters and their families, the money received after the season is generally used as a community good – for example, to buy a new gun for a hunter in the family.

Closer to the regional capital, where there are larger numbers of potential users, formal allocation of property by the government helps regulate resource use. Leasing fishing spots on the major waterways and hunting and herding territories in the tundra is more common near Dudinka. The government also regulates resources through game licenses, tax, and land inspections, all of which occur more often as one moves closer to the capital. For example, licenses are checked at the Government Auto Inspection border upon entrance to the city. This variation in property relations in Taimyr is another example of the socio-economic differentiation that has occurred between urban and rural settings in many parts of postsocialist Eurasia (in preparation c).

III Conferences, Workshops and Panels

Siberia *Projektgruppe*: Opening Workshop, 26-27 January 2000
Convenor: Erich Kasten
External participants:
Igor Krupnik (Smithsonian Institution, Washinghton) **Peter Schweitzer** (University of Alaska, Fairbanks) **Nicolai Vahktin** (European University St. Petersburg).

Conference: Postsocialisms in the Russian North, 8-9 November 2000
Convenor: Erich Kasten
Paper presenters:
David G. Anderson (Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen) Proprietary Ways of Knowing in Eastern Siberia **Tanya Argounova** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): Reconstructing Ethnic Identity. Memory and Symbols **Gail Fondahl** (Geography Program, University of Northern British Columbia) Boundaries and Identities: Re-conceptualising Social Spaces in Berezovka Nasleg, Northeast Siberia **Joachim Otto Habeck** (Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen and Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) How to turn a Reindeer Pasture into an Oil Well, and Vice Versa: Transfer of Land, Compensation and Reclamation in the Komi Republic **Nelson Hancock** (American Museum of Natural History, New York) Pragmatics and Prospects of Indigenous Land Claims in the Russian North **Tim Ingold** (University of Aberdeen) Discussant **Anna Kerttula** (State of Alaska, Office of the Governor, Washington D. C.) The Democratisation and Povertisation of Chukotka: the Disenfranchisement of Yup'ik and Chukchi People in the New Russia **Alexander King** (California State University, Chico) Reindeer Herders' Landscapes and Culturescapes in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug **David Koester** (Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks) When the Fat Raven Sings: Mimesis and Environmental Alterity in Kamchatka's Environmentalist Age **Yulian Konstantinov** (New Bulgarian University) Pre-soviet Pasts of Reindeer-herding Collectives: Ethnographies of Transition in Murmansk Region **Natalya Novikova** (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow) Indigenous Minority Peoples' of West Siberia Self-government: Draft Law on Communities and Practice **Tamara Semenova** (Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North [RAIPON]) Participation of Indigenous Peoples in Building the Russia's Strategy for Sustainable Development **Anna Sirina** (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow) Clan Communities of Northern Indigenous Peoples in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic: Step to Self-Determination? **Tuula Tuisku** (Department of Geography, McGill University, Montréal) Transition Period in Nenetsia: Changing and Unchanging Life of Nenets People **Piers Vitebsky** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) Plenary Lecture – Withdrawing from the Land: Social and Spiritual Crisis in the Indigenous Russian North **Emma Wilson** (Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge) Power Relations and Rights to Natural Resources in North-Eastern Sakhalin **John P. Ziker** (Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks) Land Tenure and Economic Change among the Dolgan and Nganasan.

Conference: Actually Existing Post-Socialisms, 9-11 November 2000
Convenor: Chris Hann
Paper presenters:
Gerald W. Creed (Department of Anthropology, Hunter College, City University of New York) Ritual, Conflict and Community in the Balkans **Stephan Feuchtwang** (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Sciences) Revivals of Religion and Ritual in China **Christian Giordano** (Institut d'Ethnologie, Université de Fribourg) Long Term Transformations and Failed Transition in Agrarian Southeast Europe **Robert M. Hayden** (Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh) Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in the Balkans and South Asia **David A. Kideckel** (Department of Anthropology, Central Connecticut State University) The Unmaking of the Postsocialist Working Class: From Hero to Scapegoat in 10 Easy Lessons **Yulian Konstantinov** (Institute for Social Anthropological Field-Research, New Bulgarian University) Discussant **Martha Lampland** (Department of Sociology, University of California) Farming in the Post-Cooperative Economy **Kevin Latham** (Department of Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies) How far is Post-Mao and Post-Deng China Postsocialist? **Ruth Mandel** (Department of Anthropology, University College, London) Undeveloping Postsocialist Societies: Some Paradigms and Problems **Frances Pine** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge) Restructuring Work from Below: Gender and Economic Diversity in the Postsocialist Countryside **Steven L. Sampson** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Lund) Post-POST communism and the New NEW Elites: Some Examples from Democracy Export in the Balkans **Mihály Sárkány** (Ethnographic Research Group, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Discussant **Michael Stewart** (Department of Anthropology, University College, London) 'If I Had a Lot of Money I Would Buy an Aeroplane'. Are there General Lessons to be Learnt from Postsocialist Pauperisation?

Conference: Property and Equality, 25-27 June 2001
Convenors: Thomas Widlok and Wolde Gossa Tadesse
Paper presenters:

Olga Artemova (Institute of Ehnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences) Monopolisation of Knowledge and Social Inequality **Megan Biesele** (Kalahari Peoples Fund, Austin) "Their Own Oral Histories": Items of Ju/'hoan Belief and Items of Ju/'hoan Property **Nurit Bird-David** (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Haifa) The Property of Sharing **Barbara Bodenhorn** (Pembroke College, University of Cambridge) The Costs of Sharing: An Exploration of Personal and Individual Property, Equalities and Differentiation **Thomas Gibson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Rochester) From Equality to Lordship in Island Southeast Asia **Mathias Günther** (Department of Anthropology, Wilfrid Laurier University) The Professionalisation and Commoditisation of the Trance Dancer and Trance Dance among Contemporary Bushmen **Robert Hitchcock** (Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska, Lincoln) Sharing the Land: Kalahari San Property Rights and Resource Management **Mitsuo Ichikawa** (Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University) Food Sharing and Ownership Among Central African Hunter-Gatherers: An Evolutionary Perspective **Tim Ingold** (Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen) Closing Remarks **Ian Keen** (Department of Archeology and Anthropology, Australian National University) "In a World of Hunter-Gatherers..." Variation in Aboriginal Marriage Systems **Justin Kenrick** (Department of Anthropology, University of Edinburgh) – paper read by Jerome Lewis – Equalising Processes, Processes of Discrimination and the Forest People of Central Africa **Susan Kent** (Anthropology Programme, Old Dominion University) Sociality and the Causes of Variation among Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers **Axel Köhler** (CESMECA, Chiapas) Commodity Sharing and Gifting in Baka (Pygmy) Economy, Northwestern Republic of Congo **Robert Layton** (Department of Anthropology, University Durham) Are Immediate Return Strategies Adaptive? **Richard L. Lee** (Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto) Power and Property in Twenty-First Century Foragers: A Critical Examination **Jerome Lewis** (Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Sciences) Whose Forest is it Anyway? Mbendjele Yaka Pygmies, the Ndoki Forest and the Wider World **Jean Lydall** (Independent Scholar, Melle) Livestock, Gender and Questions of Equality in an Agro-Pastoral Society **Nicolas Peterson** (Department of Archeology and Anthropology, Australian National University) The Modernising of the Indigenous Australian Moral Economy: Sharing, Accumulation and Houshold Composition **David Riches** (Department of Anthropology, University of St. Andrews) Are Immediate Return New Religious Movements the Product of Encapsulation? **Aidan Southall** (Independent Scholar, Lisle) Foraging Society and its Contested Implications for Early Human History **Ivo Strecker** (Institut für Ethnologie und Afrika-Studien, Universität Mainz) To Share Or Not To Share. Notes about Authority and Anarchy among the Hamar **Kazuyoshi Sugawara** (Faculty of Integrated Human Studies, Kyoto University) Possession and Equality in the Sexual Relationships in a Foraging Society: An Analysis of / Gui Discourse **Hideaki Terashima** (Kobe Gakuin University, Kyoto) Knowledge and Practice of Plant Medicines Among the Iruri Forest Foragers **Robert Tonkinson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia) Individual Creativity and Property-Power Disjunction in an Australian Desert Society **Lye Tuck-Po** (Independent Scholar, Kuala Lumpur) The Road of Sharing in Peninsular Malaysia **James Weiner** (Department of Anthropology, Australian National University) The Incorporated Ground: The Contemporary Work of Distribution in the Kutubu Oil Project Area, Papua New Guinea **James Woodburn** (London School of Economics and Political Sciences) Opening Remarks.

Conference: Family Organisation, Inheritance and Property Rights in Transition: Comparative Historical and Anthropological Perspectives in Eurasia, 5 – 8 December 2001

Convenors: Chris Hann and Hannes Grandits

Paper presenters:

Steffen Abele, Ulrich Fiege, and **Klaus Reinsberg** (Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Halle) On the significance of social capital in rural transition: an interdisciplinary approach **Tilman Allert** (Institut für Sozialisationsforschung, Universität Frankfurt) Sociological remarks on the history of the family **Susanne Brandtstädter** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The moral economy of kinship in South-eastern China **Ulf Brunnbauer** (Abt. Für Südosteuropäische Geschichte, Universität Graz) Mountains and families. Ecology, household and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire **Nevill Colclough** (Department of Anthropology, University of Kent) Invisible inheritance: Dowry contracts and female property rights in a period of economic transition. Ascoli Satriano 1700-1850 **John W. Cole** (Department of Anthropology, University of Massasuchetts) Property: a consideration of its use and transmission in relationship to formal and vernacular dictates and political economic process **Andreas Dix** (Seminar für Historische Geographie, Universität Bonn) The Construction of a new class of small farmers: The case of the "Neubauern" in the Soviet zone of occupation and early GDR 1945-1952 **John Eidson** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Heritage and inheritance in small business families of Post-socialist East Germany: A case study from Leipzig's southern region **Jack Goody** (St John's College, University of Cambridge) Sorcery and socialism - Keynote lecture **Hannes Grandits** (Universität Graz, currently MPI) Changing family contexts and property rights in the second half of the19th century: Some general trends in the Habsburg Empire **Stephen Gudeman** (University of Minnesota) Conference Summary **Patrick Heady** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Kinship,

property and power in the Russian countryside **Steven Hoch** (University of Iowa) Commentator **Karl Kaser** (Abt. für Südosteuropäische Geschichte, Universität Graz) Power and inheritance: Male domination, property and family in Eastern Europe, 1500- 1900 **Robert Layton** (University of Durham)What creates village democracy in (Western) Europe? A comparative study **Hans Marks** (Department of Methodology and Social Sciences, University of Nijmegen) Bereft of property: change and continuity in the family organization during the transition of property rights in the Swedish province of Härjedalen between 1850-1930 **Boris N. Mironov** (Institute of Russian History, St. Petersburg branch) Family structure in Russia during 17th through early 20th centuries: State of research **Michael Mitterauer** (Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Universität Wien) European kinship systems and household structures – medieval origins **Frances Pine** (Department of Anthropology, University of Cambridge) Inheritance, gender and reproducing the house: changing property relations in highland Poland (1890-1990) **Andrejs Plakans** (Department of History, Iowa State University) Households, inheritance, and kinship in Eastern European post serfdom societies: An overview **David Rheubottom** (Department of Anthropology, The University of Manchester) Land Ownership, inheritance, and labour and their effects on patterns of household growth: The case of Macedonia in the communist transformation after WW II **David W. Sabean** (Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles) Inter-household co-operation and the distribution of tools in eighteen and nineteenth-century Germany **Nigel Swain** (Centre for Central and Eastern European Studies, University of Liverpool) Commentator **Tadesse, Wolde Gossa** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Keeping a grip on property: a case of a Southwest Ethiopian community in transition **Tatjana Thelen** (Berlin) Are the kulaks back? – Inherited capital and social continuity in Mesterszállás (Hungary) **Oane Visser** (Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Nijmegen) Farm reorganization, property rights and household strategies in Russia **Tony Wrigley** (University of Cambridge) Intrinsic growth rates and inheritance strategies: A perspective from Historical Demography **Lale Yalçın Heckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Household, inheritance and gender in post-socialist rural Azerbaijan.

Workshop: Changing Entitlements: Social Security, Land Ownership and Rural-Urban Differences, 28 February-1 March 2002
Convenors: Susanne Brandtstädter and Chris Hann
External participants:
John Flower (Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte) **Pamela Leonard** (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) **Frank Pieke** (Institute of Chinese Studies and Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Oxford University).

Conference: Who owns Siberian Ethnography, 7-9 March 2002
Convenors: Patty Gray, Peter Schweitzer (University of Alaska Fairbanks), Nikolai Vakhtin (European University in St. Petersburg)
Paper presenters:
David Anderson (University of Aberdeen) British and Canadian Theoretical Approaches **Tatiana Argounova** (Edinburgh) Practical and ethical issues in advocacy anthropology **Evgenii Golovko** (St. Petersburg) International collaboration **Patty Gray** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Finding funding and dealing with foundation agendas **Erich Kasten** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Sharing results with local communities and incorporating feedback **Alexander King** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Research topics and local agendas **Konstantin Klokov** (Institute for Geography, St. Petersburg State University) Fieldwork techniques **David Koester** (University of Alaska Fairbanks) Collaborating with local communities **Yulian Konstantinov** (Institute for Anthropological Research, New Bulgarian University) Research Training inside and outside academia **Igor Krupnik** (Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution) The lure of the past: Anthropologists or Historians? **Olga Murashko** (Institute of Anthropology, Moscow State University) Review of post-Soviet changes in Field Research **Natalia Novikova** (Russian Academy of Sciences) Where is "the field"? Multiple locations, multiple levels **Tatiana Roon** (Sakhalin Regional Museum) The role of museums in contemporary Siberian research **Peter Schweitzer** (Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks) Historical overview of Siberian research **Anna Sirina** (Russian Academy of Sciences) Russian/Soviet Theoretical Approaches & Siberian research in the Soviet period **Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov** (University of Cambridge, Department of Social Anthropology) Post-Colonial Theory and Siberianist Anthropology **Nikolai Vakhtin** (European University in St. Petersburg) Team research or lone ethnographer? **Piers Vitebsky** (Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge) Dealing with poverty and social dysfunctionality **John P. Ziker** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Theoretical Approaches in the United States.

Workshop: Property Relations Group, Tázlár, 16-23 June 2002
Convenor: Chris Hann
External participant:
Mihály Sárkány (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary).

Conference: A World of Cultures: Culture as Property in Anthropological Perspective, 1-2 July 2002
Convenors: Deema Kaneff and Erich Kasten
Paper presenters:

Catherine Alexander (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge) The cultures and properties of empty buildings **Barbara Bodenhorn** (Pembroke College, University of Cambridge) Is being 'really' Inupiaq a form of cultural property? **Mary Bouquet** (University College, Utrecht University) (Ethnographic) Museum collections as a form of cultural property **Thomas Hylland Eriksen** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo) Culture as investment capital **Paola Filippucci** (Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge) The only place in France without a cheese: marginality and the problem of heritage in rural North-East France **Deema Kaneff** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Culture for sale: local-state relations and the production of cultural objects in rural Ukraine **Erich Kasten** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Cultural Heritage: property of individuals, collectivities or humankind? **Alexander King** (MPI for Social Anthropology) How to dance like a real Koryak **Mare Koiva** (Department of Folklore, University of Tartu) The Land Myth of Estonia: what has become of it? **Julia Kupina** (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg) Heritage and/or property: the Siberian ethnographic collections in Russian museums **Silke von Lewinski** (MPI for Foreign and International Patent, Copyright and Competition Law) Folklore: the perspective of law **Sonja Lührmann** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt) Beyond repatriation: collaborations between museums and Alaska native communities **Thomas Miller** (Department of Anthropology, Columbia University New York) Object lessons: collecting wooden spirits and wax voices as cultural property **Hannes Siegrist** (Institut für Kulturwissenschaften, Universität Leipzig) Historical perspectives on cultural property **Alona Yefimenko** (Arctic Council for Indigenous Peoples, Copenhagen) Indigenous people and sacred sites.

Panel: Engaging with/in the Post-Socialist World: Property and Anthropology (EASA, Copenhagen), 14-17 August 2002
Convenor: Deema Kaneff
Paper presenters:
Andy Cartwright (University of Liverpool) Wild boars and night thieves: Exposing weak property rights in Transylvania **Stefan Dorondel** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) Property, occupational structure and decollectivisation in a fishing village in Dobrudja (Southeastern Romania) **Patrick Heady** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Understandings of property in rural Russia **Dimitrina Mihaylova** (Oxford University) Land as property, landscape and territory: The changing meaning of belonging on the borderland of Southeastern Bulgaria **Antoine Roger** (Institut d'études politiques de Bordeaux) The interplay between national and local levels in the political definition of property: comparing Bulgaria and Romania **Maruška Svašek** (Queens University Belfast)

The threat from the west. Emotional Dimensions of changing ownership in Central Europe **Tatjana Thelen** (Freie Universität Berlin) "The new power of the old men". Private property, inheritance and family organisation in Mesterszállás (Hungary) **Davide Torsello** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The land that nobody wants? Limits and benefits of the land restitution process in a Southern Slovak village **Iskra Velinova** (New Bulgarian University) An uneasy survival **Thomas Widlok** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The good society in the postsocialist period **Lale Yalçın Heckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Radical land reforms for conservative farmers? On the logic and consequences of land reform in post-socialist Azerbaijan **John Ziker and Aimar Ventsel** (both MPI for Social Anthropoloy) Reindeer herding and hunting among the Dolgan: a comparative study of property relations in the Russian far north.

Conference: Collective and Multiple Forms of Property in Animals: Cattle, Camels and Reindeer, 19-21 August 2002
Convenors: Patty Gray, Michaela Pelican, Günther Schlee, Florian Stammler
Paper presenters:
Hugh Beach (Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, University of Uppsala) Milk and antlers: The dual ownership system of reindeer herding in northern China **Youssouf Diallo** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Acquisition and transmission of cattle among pastoral Fulbe (Burkina Faso) **Brian Donahoe** (Department of Anthropology, Indiana University) "Trust" or "Domination"? The Toszhu-Tyva and the Tofa and their differing relationships to reindeer they raise and the wild animals they hunt **Peter Finke** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Property rights in livestock among pastoralists in western Mongolia: Categories of ownership and categories of control **Patty Gray** (MPI for Social Anthropology) "I should have some deer, but I don´t remember how many": Confused ownership of reindeer in Chukotka, Russia **Anatoly M. Khazanov** (Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin/Madison) Pastoralism and property relations in contemporary Kazakhstan **Mark Moritz** (Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles) Individual livestock ownership in Fulbe family herds: the effects of intensification and Islam on pastoral production systems in the Far North of Cameroon **Michaela Pelican** (MPI for Social Anthropology) From cultural property to market goods: Changes in economic strategies and herd management rationales of pastoral Fulbe in North West Cameroon **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Multiple rights in camels and cattle: An East African overview **Florian Stammler** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Of earmarks and furmarks: On the limitations of generalised property categories in Yamal reindeer herding **Steve Tonah** (Sociology Department, University of Ghana) Fulbe Pastoralists and Changing Property Relations in

Northern Ghana **Aimar Ventsel** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Reindeer: Property you can own and use, but not eat **John P. Ziker** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Socio-ecological contexts of livestock theft.

Panel: Property Relations in an Era of Global Change (AAA, New Orleans), 20-24 November 2002
Convenors: John Eidson and Barbara Cellarius
Paper presenters:
Barbara Cellarius and **Deema Kaneff** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The "Unfairness" of Reform: Property and Inequality in Postsocialist Bulgaria and Ukraine **John Eidson** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Kolkhoz, Inc.: Lessons from the "Postsocialist Transition" in Rural East Germany **Rebecca Hardin** (Harvard) Concessionary Politics: History and Culture in the Congo Basin's Forest Use **Robert Hunt** (Brandeis) Discussant **Anatoly M. Khazanov** (Wisconsin) Agricultural Reforms in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan **Bonnie J. McCay** (Rutgers) Enclosing the Fisheries Commons: Individual Transferable Quotas and Community in U.S. and Canadian Marine Fisheries **Pauline E. Peters** (Harvard) The Struggle for Africa's Land: Are the Experiences of Post-Socialist Countries "Good to Think" With on this Issue? **Alan Smart** (Calgary) Property and Politics in Illegal Building: Hong Kong and China **Florian Stammler** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Ideal Reindeer Herding and Fuzzy Property Relations in Two Regions of the Russian Far North **Alaka Wali** (Field Museum) Conservation Concessions, National Parks, Biosheres, and Other Problematic Concepts: Property Relations in the Context of Worldwide Environmental Conservation Efforts **Lale Yalçın Heckmann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Property as Homeland or Economic Resource: Postsocialist Examples from War-Torn Croatia and Azerbaijan **John Ziker** and **Patty Gray** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Soviet Enterprise and Post-Soviet Nostalgia in the Russian North.

Conferences: Changing Properties of Property, 2-4 July 2003
Convenors: Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, Chris Hann and Melanie Wiber (Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick)
Paper presenters:
Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann (MPI for Social Anthropology) How communal is communal, and whose communal is it? Struggles over land law and land rights in Indonesia **John Eidson** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Real existing socialist property. Orthodox theory and heterodox practices among cooperative farmers in the German Democratic Republic **Charles Geisler** (Development Sociology, Cornell University) Ownership in stateless places **Chris Hann** (MPI for Social Anthropology) The moral economy of decollectivization: historical justice and contemporary survival in the postsocialist countryside

Tilman Hannemann (University of Bremen) Disposal rights on property and women's inheritance in greater Kabylia: from local notions and religious politics to colonial emancipationist ideology **Robert Hunt** (Brandeis University) Work, property, incentive: The curious case of forager food sharing **Deborah James** (London School of Economics and Political Science) "The tragedy of the private": Owners, communities and the state in South Africa's land reform programme **Esther Kingston-Mann** (Department of History, University of Massachusetts) The romance of privatization: Historical case studies from England and Russia (with a preliminary note on Kenya) **Toon van Meijl** (Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen) Changing views of property and its distribution in postcolonial Maori society **Frank Muttenzer** (Graduate Institute of Development Studies, Geneva and Ecole Supérieure Agronomiques Antananarivo, Madagascar) The folk conceptualization of property and going concerns in rural Madagascar **Uta-Maria Niederle** (MPI for Research into Economic Systems, Jena) Nature and evolution of property: an economic view on anthropological findings **Monique Nuijten** (Department of Rural Development Sociology, Wageningen University) Land regulation in a Mexican community. A practice approach to property rights **Gísli Pálsson** (Department of Anthropology, University of Iceland) Appropriating family trees: Genealogies in the age of genetics **Pauline Peters** (Harvard University) Beyond embeddedness: a challenge raised by a comparison of the struggles over land in African and postsocialist countries **Edella Schlager** (School of Public Administration and Policy, The University of Arizona) Cooperation and opportunism among property rights holders **Günther Schlee** (MPI for Social Anthropology) Restitution and compensation in postwar Somalia **Thomas Sikor** (Institute of Agricultural Economics and Social Science, Humboldt University Berlin) Land as asset, land as liability: property politics in rural Central and Eastern Europe **Oane Visser** (Department of Anthropology, University of Nijmegen & CES-TRAD, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague) Land reform and farm restructuring in post-socialist Russia **Melanie Wiber** (Department of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick) Relative publics, repatriation and cultural property: Which public? Whose culture?

Workshop: Der ländliche Raum Ostdeutschlands vom Sozialismus zum Postsozialismus: Ein interdisziplinärer Workshop, The East German Countryside from Socialism to Postsocialism: An interdisciplinary Workshop, 3-4 June 2004
Convenors: John Eidson and Gordon Milligan
Paper presenters:
Karl Martin Born (Freie Universität, Berlin) Die Dynamik von Eigentumsrechten im Nordosten Deutschlands – eine geographische Perspektive **Hans Buechler** (Syracuse University, U.S.A.) and **Judith-Maria**

Buechler (Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, U.S.A.) Vielfalt der Eigentumsstrukturen in einer gleichgeschalteten Agrarlandschaft: Landwirte der Bernburger Gegend **John Eidson** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Germany) and **Gordon Milligan** (MPI for Social Anthropology, Germany) Welche Bedeutung haben regionale Bedingungen für Entwicklungen im ländlichen Raum? Westsachsen und Vorpommern im Vergleich **Katrin Küster** (KOWA-Kooperationsstelle Wissenschaft und Arbeitswelt Thüringen, Germany) Die Entwicklung der ostdeutschen Landwirtschaftsstrukturen ab 1989 – aus agrarsozialistischer Sicht (Beispiel Thüringen) **Dagmar Langenhan** (ZZF Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Germany) Die Last der Tradition – ländliche Arbeits- und Lebenswelten in den 1970er/80er Jahren **Lutz Laschewski** (Universität Rostock, Germany) Landwirtschaft und die Entwicklung ländlicher Räume in Ostdeutschland **Claudia Neu** (Universität Rostock, Germany) Die Klasse der Genossenschaftsbauern – revisited **Barbara Schier** (Munich, Germany) „Wir haben uns gegen die Kooperationsentwicklung gestemmt wie die Löwen...". Industriemäßige Landwirtschaft, individuelle Hauswirtschaft und Alltagsleben in einem thüringischen Dorf **Jens Schöne** (Berlin, Germany) Agrarpolitik und Krisenmanagement. Neues von der Kollektivierung
Discussants:
Chris Hann (MPI for Social Anthropology, Germany) **Jonathan Osmond** (Cardiff University, UK) **Eberhard Schulze** (IAMO, Germany).

IV Publications

Susanne Brandtstädter

2000a "Elias in China? 'Civilising Process', Kinship and Customary Law in the Chinese Countryside" *Working Paper* 6. Halle/Saale: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

2000b "Taking Elias to China (and Leaving Weber at Home). Post-Maoist Transformations and Neo-traditional Revivals in the Chinese Countryside" *Sociologus* (50) 2: 113-143.

2001 "Re-defining Place in Southern Fujian: How Overseas Mansions and Ancestral Halls Re-appropriate the Local from the State". *Working Paper* 30. Halle/Saale: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

2003a "The Moral Economy of Kinship and Property in Southern China", in Chris Hann and the "Property Relations" Group, *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition*, Vol. 1, *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia*, pp. 419-437. Münster: LIT Verlag.

2003b "The Dynamics of State-Society Relations in China" Review article. *Government and Opposition* 38 (3): 408-416.

2003c "With Elias in China. 'Civilizing Process', Local Restorations and Power in Contemporary Rural China" *Anthropological Theory* 3 (1): 87-105.

2004 "'Money Plucked from the Sky': Shrimp Farming, Entrepreneurship and the Circulation of Know-How in a Fujian Village" *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology* 2 (1), Special Issue *Learning and the Chinese Economy*, edited by Charles Stafford, pp. 41-67.

in press (co-authored with Gunter Schubert) "From the Villages? Democratic Thought and Democratic Practice in Rural China", *Democratization*, special issue, *On the State of Democracy*, edited by Julio Faundez.

2007a "Transitional Spaces: Postsocialism as a Cultural Process. Introduction" Special Issue, *Critique of Anthropology* 27 (2): 131-145.

2007b (ed.) "Transitional Spaces: Postsocialism as a Cultural Process" Special Issue, *Critique of Anthropology* 27 (2).

in preparation, (a) "The Science and Magic of Productivity in China". *Cultural Anthropology*.

in preparation, (b) *Transmutations of Value: Property, Gender and Kinship in Taiwan and China*.

Andrew Cartwright

2001a *"The Return of the Peasant. Land Reform in Post-Communist Romania"*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

2001b "Land, Legality and Rural Development", in P. Bartkowiak and C. Nowak (eds.), *Management in the Diversification of Rural Areas*, pp. 14-22. Warsaw: Wyydawnictwa Naukowo-Techniczne.

2003a (with Nigel Swain) "'Finding Farmers': Vital for Policy-Makers but Politically Inexpedient', *Eastern European Countryside* 9: 5-26.

2003b "Private Farming in Romania or What Are the Old People Going to Do with Their Land?", in Chris Hann and the "Property Relations" Group, *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition*, Vol. 1, *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia*, pp. 171-188. Münster: LIT Verlag.

2004 "A Growing Problem". Transitions On-line web journal, November, www.tol.cz.

Barbara Cellarius

2000 "You Can Buy Almost Anything with Potatoes": An examination of Barter during economic crisis in Bulgaria. *Ethnology* 39: 73-92.

2001a „Der tägliche Überlebenskampf – Leben in einem bulgarischen Dorf" *Beiträge zur Sozialkunde* 3: 7-19.

2001b (with T. Pilbrow) Bulgaria, in M. Ember, C. R. Ember (eds.) *Countries and Their Cultures*, pp. 319-331. New York: Macmillan.

2003 "Property Restitution and Natural Resource Use in the Rhodope Mountains, Bulgaria", in Chris Hann and the "Property Relations" Group, *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Condition*, Vol. 1, *Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia*, pp. 189-218. Münster: LIT Verlag.

2004a "Without Co-ops There Would Be No Forests!": Historical Memory and the Restitution of Forests in Post-Socialist Bulgaria *Conservation & Society* 2 (1): 51-73.

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