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SOCIAL COMPLEXITY AND THE QUESTION OF SCALE:
GLOBAL CHALLENGES TO ANTHROPOLOGY

(Summary)

At present, there is a sense that anthropology is being tested by new global realities. In actual fact anthropology has been permanently tested since its inception, because history has always been on the move. In this article I shall discuss the current challenges with a view to identifying various scales of knowledge that all of them are in some sense local. By taking off in a discussion of social complexity as the result of bottom up processes of action and deliberation, it is possible to rethink scale in anthropology without losing the precious foothold in actual social life that was always the hallmark of anthropology. What is being tested right now is not anthropology as such but some of its concepts – notably those that depend on social boundaries.

Key words: social complexity, scale, globalization, world making, figuration

THE EUROPE TRAP

(Summary)

This paper takes a critical approach to the “anthropology of Europe” by warning against the treatment of this pseudo-continent as a culture area or *Kulturraum*. Drawing on the author’s own field research during and after socialism, primarily in South-East Poland but also in Hungary, the paper argues for the contingent, constructed nature of territory-based collective identities in general. Even the primary differentiating criteria of language and religion do not always permit the drawing of sharp lines. Polish ethnographers once had trouble in defining the exact boundaries of a territory they called *Lemkowszczyzna* and unwittingly found themselves drawn into politics in the process. Similarly, ethnographers of Europe today should be wary of politicians who reify an identity that does not yet exist as a focus of emotional belonging, and link it tendentiously to certain “norms and values” which are allegedly different from those of neighbors. The last section of the paper focuses on issues of historical memory. The revival of older nationalist narratives after the demise of socialism made it imperative to find supra-national antidotes. But as with European identity, invocations of a “European memory” must be approached critically by anthropologists who, by paying close attention to local circumstances, can show how events are refashioned into powerful narratives at multiple levels. These processes were more complex under socialism than is usually admitted, and contestation has become more overt since. In addition to ongoing processes of minority identification among the Lemkos, the paper notes how the freedoms of the new civil society in Przemyśl were exploited by veterans’ groups to foment opposition to the Ukrainian minority and frustrate its attempts to reassert an east Slav presence in that city. It is too soon as yet to speak of a harmonious European memory in the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands.

Key words: collective identities, ethnicity, Eurocentrism, Lemkos, Polish ethnographers, Europeanization, Galicia, memory

WHOSE JEWS? WHOSE BOSNIA? WHOSE EUROPE?

(Summary)

Bosnia-Herzegovina's governance depends on a constitution that was drafted in Dayton, Ohio. It designates the Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs (along with Others) the country's constituent peoples. Although Jews have been residents of Bosnia-Herzegovina for 500 years, with the country's new constitution they have disappeared from official records into the residual category of Others. This article considers how, nonetheless, the Jews of Sarajevo persist as an active community and a named group even as its identity is being defined by others. The interrelated questions, "Whose Jews? Whose Bosnia? Whose Europe?" have no neat, finite answers while Jews-as-Others and Bosnia as an ethnically divided and overdetermined, EU-supervised country remain precariously perched on unsettled and unsettling configurations of rights and power.

Key words: multiculturalism, ethnic conflict, Bosnia-Herzegovina, violence, ethnicity, identity, Europe

RISKY ENCOUNTERS?
RISK IN TRAVEL NARRATIVES OF NICHE TOURISTS FROM POLAND
TO THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

(Summary)

The article is devoted to the role of risk in tourist experience. It particularly concentrates on risk as a figure of travel narratives, the identity boundaries marker. The empirical material comes from a study on Polish niche tourism to the countries of the former USSR, the rarely chosen destination in post-1989 Poland. The niche status of tourists is defined by the choice of destination and the mode of travel (budget self-organized tourism usually involving some contacts with nature and local dwellers). Risk is present in tourist accounts yet it is not central – the interlocutors do not see themselves as adventure tourists. The theoretical models of risk are presented in the second part of the article to the end of establishing the cultural and historically specific meanings of risk such as uncertainty or change as well as the correlation between risk and control, including control over one's destiny. In the final part of the article the empirical material is analyzed through the lens of presented theoretical models. The strategy of backgrounding risk in narratives serves several goals. It produces counter-hegemonic (affirmative) representations of the visited region; it also creates the image of tourists as exceptional and different thus boosting their social status at home. The side effect of these strategies of risk presentation is however the image of the countries of the former USSR as pre-modern, outdated and pristine, as opposed to the (late) modern sophisticated Europe, with which the tourists associate themselves.

Key words: niche tourism, risk, Poland, former Soviet Union

"PORTUGUESE LIKE US, PORTUGUESE LIKE THEM" –
REFLECTIONS ON IDENTITY AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY IN FIELDWORK

(Summary)

The main purpose of this paper is to approach some issues concerning intersubjectivity in fieldwork. The field experience addressed here was conducted on the Portuguese-Spanish border area demanding from the author to move across the border and assume, on a daily basis, her status as a Portuguese citizen like half of her interviewees as well as being a foreigner like the other half. One situation that was particularly relevant regarding the level of researcher's identity was caused by the dual-perception subjects formed about the anthropologist: being Portuguese like "us" (anthropology at home) or being Portuguese like "them" (anthropology abroad). Within this framework of reflection this paper looks at the interactional process through which knowledge is acquired, shared and transmitted. It also explores the dynamics of the subject-researcher relationship in order to understand how this relationship influenced both collation and analysis of the author's data.

Key words: intersubjectivity, identity, research encounter, ethnography, fieldwork

FRIENDSHIP IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELDWORK: SOME ETHICAL DOUBTS

(Summary)

Friendship is a relationship and at the same time a sort of feeling, which may take on a permanent character. This article shows that it can be and often is something else, namely a tool in anthropological fieldwork. The author tries to answer the following questions: 1. whether a certain emotional relationship called “friendship” between researcher and researchee is necessary as a cognitive tool in the process of anthropological fieldwork, 2. whether it is possible to reconcile the procedure of intellectual and empirical insight into social reality – which requires considerable distance, impartiality, the descriptive “objectivist” attitude that sees the researched reality, including the researched people, as objects – with friendship which is engaged and not at all impartial, and 3. whether friendship between researcher and researchee is morally neutral. I discuss the story of the friendship between a poet and writer, the first specialist in Roma culture in Poland and an excellent fieldworker, Jerzy Ficowski, and a Gypsy (Polska Roma) woman, Bronisława Wajss (Romani name: Papusza), as an instructive example. The fate of Papusza, unfortunately, was tragic. Ostracized by her tribe and banned as a disloyal person, transgressing the most important norms of *romanipen*, lonely and sick, she ended her life. Her case demonstrates the way in which ethical sensitivity in research is a hard exigency.

Key words: friendship, fieldwork, ethical sensitivity

LOCAL CRAFT, THEORY FROM ABROAD:
JACEK OLĘDZKI'S PHENOMENOLOGY

(Summary)

In this article the author focuses on Polish ethnographies written between 1960-1990 by Jacek Olędzki and argues that it is possible to find a particular way of seeing ethnographic details in these works. The larger part of this ethnographic knowledge was gained thanks to specific skills of noticing and collecting non-discursive data during fieldwork. Therefore, a certain craft of participant observation has been developed within the Polish anthropological tradition. The author refers also to seeing and understanding ethnographic details within the phenomenological/experiential literature in Western anthropology championed by Thomas Csordas, Michael Jackson and Tim Ingold. Yet, these are usually studies which express very clearly their methodological points. On the contrary, the craft of seeing and understanding in Olędzki's ethnography is rather practiced than spelled out in the form of methodological claims. Therefore, some pertinent questions are put forward here: is there anything particular in Olędzki's tradition of gathering ethnographic material? Is there anything comparable in his use of the experiential sources with any Western ethnographic methodologies?

Key words: fieldwork, methodology, ethnography, phenomenology, Polish anthropology, theory of anthropology

KAZIMIERZ MOSZYŃSKI AND JÓZEF OBRĘBSKI:
TEACHER AND STUDENT

(Summary)

The article, based on archival sources, discusses the relations between Józef Obrębski and his first teacher, Kazimierz Moszyński. The author presents facts which describe their contacts in 1926-1936 and shows how Obrębski, who was considered Moszyński's most able student, learnt study and research methods, the skills and tools of a field ethnographer, the foundations of ethnological thinking and intellectual freedom. Obrębski studied ethnography and ethnology in 1925-1929 at the School of Slavonic Studies of the Jagiellonian University. While a student of Moszyński, he was also his assistant who contributed to editorial work and who helped collect field materials. In 1927-1934 the teacher and his student explored the Balkans. In 1930 Obrębski was awarded his master's degree on the basis of the thesis entitled *Rolnictwo ludowe wschodniej części półwyspu Bałkańskiego* [Folk agriculture in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula]. Some of Obrębski's materials were subsequently included in the first volume of Moszyński's *Kultura ludowa Słowian* [Folk culture of Slavs]. In 1930 Obrębski went to London where he was a student of Bronisław Malinowski at the London School of Economics; in January 1934 he was awarded his doctoral degree in social anthropology. He would not have been granted the scholarship to study in London had it not been for the efforts made by Moszyński – records reveal that Moszyński highly valued Obrębski and greatly helped him to pursue his scholarly career. Obrębski, in turn, although with time he became more reserved about Moszyński's scientific position, never stopped to respect his master. In his later works, mainly in ethnosociological studies of the Polesie region, he drew from the achievements and inspirations of his former teacher. His subsequent scientific career developed and completed what he learnt from Moszyński.

Key words: Kazimierz Moszyński, Józef Obrębski, history of ethnology, Polish ethnography

WHAT DO WE COMMEMORATE ON AUGUST 29 IN ŁÓDŹ? SITES OF MEMORY CONSTRUCTION METHODS

(Summary)

Referring to the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, developed by a French historian Pierre Nora, the author writes about practices commemorating the past and describes spaces subordinated to the function of commemoration. The area of her interests covers celebrations commemorating the events in Łódź on 29 August 1944.

On that day, in Łódź (at that time – Litzmannstadt), the last transport of the Litzmannstadt Ghetto Jews left the Radegast Station for Auschwitz-Birkenau. Initially, the Radegast Station provided only cargo transport services for the ghetto, then it became a location from which Jews were transported to work outside the ghetto, and to which Jews from other places in Poland and Europe were moved. From this station during the year 1942 Jews were deported to the extermination centre in Chełmno on the Ner and since August 1944 – to the camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. In total, Germans deported approximately 145.000 Jews. Together with the last transport, the Litzmannstadt Ghetto ceased to exist. The journey to the concentration camp on that August day was not only a tragedy experienced by hundreds of people crammed into cattle wagons, but also a symbolic date that put an end to the existence of the Łódź Jewish Community and Jewish local society which, before the outbreak of World War II, constituted one-third of the city population. In the article, the author explains why certain memorials are becoming the most important places of yearly commemorations of the Jews deported from the ghetto to death camps. She also discusses the meaning of practices connected with visiting *lieux de mémoire*.

Key words: sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*), commemoration, Litzmannstadt Ghetto, Radegast Memorial, monument to the Holocaust

PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF RICHNESS AND POVERTY
BY FARMERS IN PODLASIE

(Summary)

The article deals with the phenomenon of richness among Polish farmers (inhabitants of the western part of Podlaskie voivodeship). Showing their attitude towards wealth and poverty the author argues that these days being wealthy might be a bigger social and cultural challenge for a farmer than being poor. Wealth is ambivalent; on the one hand almost all people would like to be richer than they are, and on the other, everybody tries to hide their assets because they know that their neighbours would consider them dishonest, as they themselves consider wealthy people. To their minds, richness and honesty cannot go hand in hand.

The text also shows a peculiar way of using the word “profitability” by farmers, which is different from that used in a public discourse or in business. In order to seem not rich to one’s neighbours, one must count his or her money (both incomes and expenses) in a way which will guarantee that it is obvious for everyone that one does not belong to those wealthy but dishonest people.

The author discusses the origins of such an attitude towards wealth and poverty and tries to show how it influences people’s actions and everyday strategies.

Key words: wealth, poverty, farming, village, economic anthropology, profitability, counting

“HERE **WE** ARE”: ABOUT MEMORY OF THE NEW INHABITANTS
OF A FORMER LEMKO VILLAGE

(Summary)

The article presents selected conclusions from the ethnographic field research conducted in 2010-2011 in Wisłok Wielki, a village situated in Podkarpacie region, in south-eastern Poland. This study was carried out as a re-study of a local community after the research made by British social anthropologist Chris Hann, who resided in this place in 1981 and published a book *A Village without Solidarity: Polish Peasants in Years of Crisis* (1985). One of the questions of the research – presented shortly in the article – was social memory of the inhabitants of the village, the immigrants descended from many directions of Poland who came to Wisłok after the Lemkos, indigenous people, had been displaced in 1944-1947. During the research it occurred that people from Wisłok are aware of the Lemkos' past of the village. Nevertheless, their narrations are distorted by many factors (time, books, personal prejudice against the Ukrainians stemming from the dramatic experiences with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army – UPA or by being prone to negative stereotypes). It depends also on the generation that a narrator belongs to, and, which seems to be crucial, time when a “pioneer” came to the village. The Lemkos in Wisłok, although some of them returned, are treated as representatives of dead culture which can be revived only temporarily, for instance, by an ethnographer's question.

Key words: Wisłok Wielki, the Lemkos, memory, narration

KENYAN NUBIANS IN KIBERA.
STRATEGIES OF BUILDING COLLECTIVE IDENTIFICATION

(Summary)

The majority of Kenyan Nubians inhabit Kibera, a neighbourhood of poverty in Nairobi, considered to be one of the largest slums in the world. The author analyses strategies employed to build collective identification of this community, used in order to survive in the multi-ethnic Kenyan state. Survival is possible because Nubians believe that they form the so-called *community*. This category relates to a complex set of practices, among which the behaviour of the elites are most important – they apply the discourse of group unity to their members and, particularly, to people from outside the community. This approach supplants cultural diversity of the groups, which used to live separately and which presently assimilate within the *community*. These intergroup differences are based on practices, which the locals define as *sibir*. As a result of the social unification policy of the elites it no longer is the most important distinguishing factor of the *community*. The strategies used to build collective identification of Nubians are based today, on the one hand, on factors stemming from *sibir* (such as holidays, garments or cuisine), and on the other on “new” values such as a shared history and one religion (Islam) and on their fight for the right to the “own land”, i.e. Kibera.

Key words: Kenyan Nubians, collective identification, *community*, *sibir*, elites

ALL ALONG THE LUXURY PRISON:
SOCIAL INFLUENCES OF TOURISM IN JAMAICA

(Summary)

In this paper I examine the social and cultural impact of tourism and tourists on social relations and ethnic imaginaries in the local communities in Jamaica including those where the industry has not been developed. Global spread of the tourist industry and its impact on the growing number of everyday life aspects of people across the world, both tourists and host communities members, make tourism-related issues crucial for anthropology. The tourist industry is the main sector of Jamaican economy and also a powerful force in the Jamaican social life. The interplay between tourism and Jamaican communities cannot be reduced to the Jamaica's subordination to the global capital, overwhelming *neoliberalism*, Western imaginaries and foreign tourists needs evident in mass tourism expansion which are symbolised by the image of the enclave resorts – “the all-inclusive prisons”. Jamaica is a relatively young nation still internally negotiating its multiple identities and confronting imaginaries of the Other and Self with the external imaginaries of Jamaica inhabitants and their conditions of life on which the country's and local communities ability to absorb tourist money heavily depends. These sets of imaginaries subsequently influence the Jamaicans' life-aspirations and everyday living strategies. The paper draws on observations and reflections deriving from the ethnographic research conducted by the author in Jamaica in 2011.

Key words: anthropology of tourism, package tourism, ethnic imaginaries, Jamaica, the Caribbean