MEGA SEMINAR 2019

PANELS AND ABSTRACTS

Time to do something about the Climate!
Convenors: Quentin Gausset (KU) & Steffen Dalsgaard (ITU)

Abstracts and participants:

Avatar Anthropology: Can Computer Science help Anthropologists with their Climate Conundrum?
Steffen Dalsgaard

To travel has traditionally been a significant part of what it meant to do anthropological work, and if we were to assess the climate impact of anthropology as a professional practice, carbon emissions from travel would surely be a significant factor. This paper will consider some ways in which anthropologists could potentially make use of new digital platforms to facilitate if not all then at least part of their work that would otherwise require travel. Could we, for example, experiment with collaboration through digitally mediated forms of presence in the physical world? The backdrop to this question is the inspiration that anthropology provides for several disciplines within the 'softer' part of the computer sciences (HCI, CSCW, Interaction Design). Scholars within these disciplines draw upon anthropological insights when claiming to do ethnographic work. While anthropology tends to deride these disciplines for their somewhat shallow engagement with (face-to-face) fieldwork, this paper argues that when it comes to making reductions in carbon emissions, anthropologists could perhaps learn something in return. In particular, the digital platforms that are developed and explored by researchers within these disciplines allow people to engage in collaborative work and to connect more efficiently across distances in time and space. However, what would an anthropology conducted via digital avatars or robots would look like? Tom Boellstorff and others have explored how to work ethnographically through the use of avatars in online worlds such as Second Life, but what types of avatars would work in the physical world?

Addressing Climate Change as a Decolonial Project
J.C. Salyer

How we respond to climate change is predicated on how we understand climate change. The discussions of when the Anthropocene began and how to parse the anthropogenic origins of the no-longer-slow violence of climate change have resulted in important considerations of global inequalities of wealth, power, and status. Important interventions from

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native scholars have decentered the predominate Eurocentric narrative of the Anthropocene and pointed out that "some indigenous people already inhabit what our ancestors would have likely characterized as a dystopian future" (Whyte 2017: 207) and argued that decolonization must be central to understanding and addressing climate change. Indeed, a number of scholars have argued that the era of colonization during the European Age of Discovery should be seen as the beginning of the Anthropocene (Lewis and Maslin 2015; Haraway 2015). Some have understood this argument, however, to negate universalizing aspects of the Anthropocene and to diminish the singular existential crisis anthropogenic forces pose to human and more-than-human denizens of the Earth. In this paper, I propose that the Anthropocene should not only be seen as having it origins in colonization in the Fifteenth Century's colonial projects but should be considered an unbroken practice of colonization has continued unabated in the form of resource expropriation, dispossession, and global "wastelanding" (Voyles 2015). By focusing on the violence and dispossession undertaken in the service of fossil fuel capitalism as a continuing manifestation of colonialism, this paper hopes show that the decolonizing of the Anthropocene and highlighting it as a singular threat to human and more-than-human life are not at odds but are part and parcel of the same project.

Planned Presentation: The paper will be presented using a series of juxtaposed historic and contemporary images to illustrate the claims made in the presentation.

Social dissonance and the collective dimension of behaviour change
Quentin Gausset

When it comes to environmental behaviour change, government interventions tend to focus on influencing individual choices through information campaings, green taxation/subsidies, and nudging. Our results from the compass research project (Collective Movemements and Pathways to Sustainable Societies) suggest that the collective dimention of behaviour change is at least as important as the individual dimension. When environmentally minded people interact together in green organisations or live together in eco-villages, something is happening that promotes greener lifestyles and social congruence.

This paper takes as point of departure the theory of cognitive dissonance and gives it a social turn (a collective dimension) by introducing the concept of social dissonance. In peaceful social interactions, the basic need to agree on a common set of values and norms, and to adopt common social and physical infrastuctures, result in social congruence and in an emulation of core values (in the present case, green values). This theoretical approach can explain how a few individuals succeed in influencing the behaviour of a larger numer of people through bottom-up everyday life social interactions.

The paper concludes by arguing that the collective dimension of behaviour change is at least as important as its individual dimension, and that national and local governments would be well-advised to engage in a greater collaboration with green communities.

'We just live here..'
Anette Høite Hansen

This presentation explores how the ecovillage movement plays a role in the sustainable transition of societies from a local to a global scale. In comparison with other sustainable organizations and movements, it is unique for members of ecovillages that the arena of their sustainable engagement is also their home, and not just a community constituted by volunteers (like political climate groups, urban gardens or food cooperatives).

The presentation is based on fieldwork in three different Danish eco-communities (the Danish version of ecovillages) as well as the Danish Eco-community Movement (LØS) and the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN). Through the empirical material, dynamics between the close, practical community [fællesskab] experienced in the local Danish eco-communities and the less definable, more imagined network community in the national and global movements are described. I argue that most residents in eco-communities, the settlers, do not relate themselves to the larger movement despite the fact that members of the national and global associations, the networkers, represent these residents as being important actors in the larger achievement of a sustainable transition of societies. Instead, what seems important to the settlers is the fact that they make a difference 'just by living there' in their eco-communities. The presentation adds to this comprehension by suggesting, that the settlers are in fact networkers per se since the very existence of their eco-communities contributes to not just local impact (through e.g. monthly guided tours) but also the global vision of establishing more eco-communities worldwide as well as making behavior in 'mainstream society' more sustainable, inspired by the ecovillage living.

Anthropologists for a green campus!
Malene Karenkewitsch, Kirstine Damgaard Henriksen & Josefine Dahl

The pro-dean and head of the Green Campus are in the process of writing a new sustainable strategy for Copenhagen University in general, and for the campus of social sciences in particular. It is in this context that have asked 4th semester students in applied anthropology to come up with an analysis of challenges and some recommendations on how to promote more sustainable practices. 6 groups of students have worked with different themes, including food, waste, energy, transport, organisation, and local green initiatives on campus.

This paper summarises the findings of our research with a focus on how the campus and the different departments can be reorganised so that sustainability becomes a permanent focus in future management. It presents the view of our respondents (students and employees from different faculties) on how anthropologists can contribute to the sustainable transition. And finally we presents our own personal reflection on how we as anthropologist can play a role in building a more sustainable society.

Choosing the Extra: the stuff stories are made on
Convenors: Helle Bundgaard (KU) & Line Dalsgård (AU)

Abstracts and participants:

Line Dalsgård & Helle Bundgaard

Frida Gregersen

Aja Smith

Anna Maria Frost

Caroline Lillelund

Naja Dahlstrup Mogensen

Etnografiske fiktioner: salon med oplæsninger af literære eksperimenter (DANSK)
Convenors: Line Dalsgård (AU), Mikkel Rytter (AU) & Hans Lucht (DIIS)

Abstracts and participants:

Line Dalsgård

Mikkel Rytter

Hans Lucht

Helle Bundgaard

Cecilie Rubow

Naja Dahlstrup Mogensen & Jon Dag Rasmussen

Karen Waltorp

Mette Schlütter

Charlotte Christiansen

Aja Smith

Christian Vium

Julie Nynne Bune

<u>Abstracts and participants:</u>

CONSTRAINT THINKING: How Material (and other) Hindrances Can Lead to Successful Design
Cameron David Warner

Recently, I collaborated on the designs of two museum exhibitions. Whereas I had been tutored to think in terms of material affordances, what possibilities my environment offered me, my experience in exhibition design consisted of almost entirely of the opposite: material (and other) hindrances. Repeatedly, human and more than human entities diminished even obliterated my agency in decisionmaking. Paradoxically, as my options dwindled making these exhibitions became not only easier, but more successful in terms of budget, attendance, dare I say impact. This has led me to think about externally-imposed design constraints: commercial, non-functional requirements, compliance, style, scenography, and collaboration. I propose that we think via negativa in relation to material affordances. What are the materials hindrances that prevent us from achieving preconceived goals? How do constraints function to limit thinking and practice in ways both negative and positive? I argue that constraint thinking, limiting choices, not only produces better research outcomes, but reduces anxiety produced by an over-abundance of material affordances. The empirical basis for my paper will be an auto-ethnography of the design and curation of two museum exhibitions: "The Value and Impermanence of Tibetan Culture" at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, May 28th-June 3rd, 2018, and "The Museum of Impermanence" at Moesgaard Museum, February 9th-May 19th, 2019. The funding for these exhibitions comes from the Danish Council for Independence Research, Aarhus University, and Moesgaard Museum.

GELLERUP GATE: Materialities of decision-making in a transformed housing block
Marie Stender

The built materiality takes part of people's life and decisions in various ways and the very same housing block can appear to be many different things at the same time. If our bodies are multiple, as Moll has it (Moll 2003), so is our built environments. With an empirical focus on the establishment of a new gate in a housing block in Gellerup, this paper analyses how materiality and decisionmaking intertwine in various ways. The gate plays a key role for the local politicians and housing organisations that have decided on the current transformation of the neighbourhood. The housing block's original concrete materiality and modernistic architecture stands in the way for their ambition of rebranding Gellerup as a new and attractive cosmopolitan neighbourhood well connected to central Århus. By punching through the block with bulldozers they wish to send a clear signal about change, and the gate is therefore designed as an eye-catching landmark opening up the neighbourhood towards the surroundings. For architects and planners involved in carrying out the transformation, such political decisions intertwine with material artefacts and technologies like computer generated renderings, material and budget constraints as well as the original building's constructional

structure. They all take part in design decisions like the gate's golden facing and colored lights that makes it visible at night from the rooftop of Salling shoppingcenter in the central city, but also in the supporting pillars that are knocked into the ceiling of the flats neighboring the gate. To residents in the block the gate thus manifests in yet other ways: Several flats have been demolished and residents rehoused elsewhere in order to establish the gate. The materiality of the transformed housing block intervenes in their everyday life and decision-making on many different levels: from where to use the cell phone, as the new golden facing intervenes in the mobile signal, to what neighbours to socialize with, and where they can live and what to call home in the future. The paper seeks to further develop an architectural anthropology by exploring the way materiality manifests and intervenes in decisions around the built environment, connecting people to other people and other materialities.

PRESENCE, ABSENCE AND DISTANCE IN TØNDER
Kirsten Marie Raahauge

As opposed to many other anthropological fields, the field of space and materiality has a physical presence. In anthropological disciplines, this here and now aspect means that it is possible to point at the specific site or the concrete object when exploring the ways in which different people use it, think about it or otherwise connect to it. Only, this reassuring aspect might be a hoax; the multiple layers of interpretations, practises, connections, etc. are relative to an infinity of perspectives, on an empirical level as well as on an analytical level. This point was very clear in my work on experiences with haunted houses, where sometimes the absence of something that should be present, and at other times the presence of something that should be absent, produced an uncertainty as to how to perceive of space and materiality. The uncertainty is also manifest in my study in progress of Tønder as a prosperous city that has been turned into an outskirted town; in the last couple of decades, Tønder has become perceived as somewhere far away, as peripherized, ligated, and distanced from the major cities of Denmark. Here buildings that have changed content from welfare institutions into something else give rise to new and somewhat unstable interpretations, and here the perception of the city alters as the institutions close down. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Tønder, and drawing on my study of haunted houses, this paper focuses on the multiple layers of space and materiality in Tønder. It addresses how the town, and also the buildings that used to house welfare institutions, are perceived and used by the inhabitants of Tønder. Dealing with these spatial and material fields, the paper considers the impact on interpretation of both the town and its buildings of imaginary constructions of the past and the future. It deals with concepts such as absence, distance, waiting and periphery. Also, it considers various missing, lost or future properties of space and materiality as necessary for comprehending how the presence of space and materiality is conceived of in this specific site. The project is part of the research project "Spaces of Danish Welfare" (2017-21) situated at The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, the Schools of Architecture and Design (KADK).

HOW TERRORISM SHAPE URBAN SPACE
Stine Ilum

Perspectives on public decision-making, security, and morality in relation to urban space In recent years a series of terrorist attacks have taken place in public spaces in cities across Europe. Alongside these attacks, a fear of terrorism and an urge to secure the public space have quite literally materialized into physical installations in the urban landscape – in the shape of concrete blocks, large metal planters, bollards, wedge barriers etc. In the summer of 2016 a truck drove down a crowded Promenade des Anglais killing 85 people celebrating the Bastille Day in Nice. In December 2016 another truck drove into a crowded Christmas market in central Berlin. In Copenhagen the Berlin-attack resulted in hundreds of concrete blocks being placed around pedestrian streets and plazas almost overnight - the same was the case in multiple other European cities. However, a few months later a similar attack happened at a pedestrian street in Stockholm soon followed by one in Barcelona. In both cases city officials were strongly criticised for not having secured the public spaces better. Securing public spaces against terrorism is a new discipline for many cities. There is no protocol, and very little previous experience. Based on ethnographic fieldwork among professionals working with counter-terrorism in Copenhagen, this paper explores how decisions are made and how concerns of security and societal values are negotiated in the work practice of shaping urban space. The paper explores the dilemmas met in the professional practice through a focus on the relation between decision-making, morality, and urban materiality. The paper argues that not only have moral discourses often been mobilized to justify new and more security measures - in Copenhagen moral discourses are also mobilised in order to justify a movement against the securitization of cities. E.g. professionals who have worked for decades with projects improving quality of urban space, express an obligation to ensure these qualities in times of securitization - "If something actually does happen, nobody wants to be the person who said no to security but someone has to take that responsibility. Otherwise we end up building a fortress-city because nobody dared to say

no."

BUILDING NEW FUTURES WITH MATERIALS FROM THE PAST

Maia Ebsen

A recent report from the UN estimates that construction and operation of buildings account for nearly 40 percent of the global energy-related CO2 emissions (UN 2018 Global Status Report). Following conclusions such as this, 'sustainable construction' has become a highly popular topic within the construction industry in Denmark and various actors – ranging from architects to construction companies - are currently struggling to develop new ways of building. During a longterm fieldwork in a Copenhagen-based construction company, I followed a number of experimental projects in which the constructors used materials from old buildings in new constructions – an idea more generally described as 'urban mining'. In this paper, I will explore the particular mode of decision-making that the constructors appeared to be performing within these projects as they worked toward finding new solutions while simultaneously complying with existing national standards of construction. As demands were constantly changing and new challenges arrived, the constructors needed to stay alert and to continuously come up with new solutions. In short, decisions never appeared to be final but were instead constantly modified to fit the changing circumstances. Exploring the constant movements that make up this process of decision-making will, I suggest, allow us to understand how the constructors created new relations between materials of the past and standards of the future.

BUNKERS AND BELONGING: Managing the cumbersome concrete of modern war

Mads Daugbjerg

The Atlantic Wall – the extensive system of bunkers and fortifications constructed on the orders of Nazi Germany along the Western coastline of occupied Europe in 1942-44 – is the materialisation of an immense and extreme construction effort. In Denmark alone, the thousands of bunkers along the North Sea coast constitute the largest construction project in the history of the nation. Although most often referred to as the "German" bunkers, these concrete structures were mostly built by Danes, and today they continue to dot the Danish coastal landscape in various states of weathered disrepair. Their status and significance – materially, symbolically, emotionally – are unclear and ambiguous. Although the bunkers represent a particular, and very decisive, historical period, they are not officially listed as heritage or belong under the responsibility of museums or other caretakers. A fraction of them have been removed by municipalities out of security concerns. Mostly, however, they simply linger, abandoned, partly concealed, overgrown and overthrown; ruins of a violent modernity, weird naturecultures made to last forever yet increasingly giving in to their surroundings some 75 years on.

This paper discusses the fate and "management" of the WW2 bunkers along the Danish West coast, as an example of cumbersome material legacies of war and conflict. It utilises ethnographic material from a recent tourism development project, financed by Innovation Fund Denmark, in which a collective of researchers and collaborators set out to rethink conventions in tourism and propose new formats for locals and visitors alike. It specifically deals with a particular design intervention, a film festival created around and inside a number of bunkers in the coastal municipality of Ringkøbing-Skjern. As such, the paper discusses a number of choices made – and some unmade – surrounding the fate and possibilities of these particular, cumbersome war witnesses. Thus, the paper is concerned with how both ethnographic, architectural, artistic and commercial agendas and choices regarding material infrastructures of the past take on concrete form in the present. What kind of places are the bunkers today? As sites of memory, emotion, haunting, experience, abandonment, exploration, tourism, and more, what do they 'contain' and what processes can they be utilised to facilitate? What possibilities, constraints and provocations – past and present – do they materialise? As the panel convenors ask, 'what do decisions look like empirically and materially?' and 'how are traces of already materially manifest decisions activated and relayed as new choices take shape?' Not least, what difference does it make that in this case, many of these decisions were decisions made, at least partly, by the researchers themselves intervening in the scarred landscape?

SCALES, LEAVES AND FUR: A taxonomy of contemporary domestic slavery

Lea Muldtofte & Christina Jerne

Slavery is one of the most representative practices of systematic coercion, which delimit free choice and mobility. While many speak of it as a phenomenon of the past, slavery continues to dominate relations of kin and labour around the world. The lives of companion species, such as dogs, goldfish and living-room plants, are for example, owned by

human beings- in many countries, to a legally disciplined extent. This particular form of slavery is interesting because of the ontological asymmetry of the relation: it is so pronounced that there can never be a liberation. This entails that both choice and freewill, the presence or absence of which actually defines slavery, are irrelevant ethical coordinates to assess these types of relations. Inspired by Donna Harroway's posthuman conception of kin (2003; 2016), which invites non-human actors into the cosmological home and its intimacy, this paper explores the role that materiality plays in legitimising pet ownership. Through a netnographic study that describes the escape of a pet snake in a shared basement in Nørrebro, we explore the different affective layers that pets carry on their skin. Fur for example, is sexier than scales, and thereby worth caring for. Affective reactions such as attraction (Lorimer 2007) and abjection (Kristeva 1982) are pre-rational. In other words, we do not really choose whether we find Chihuahuas to be particularly cute or vipers repulsive; the emotional reactions we have are historical reactions, based on our earlier contacts (mediated/non-mediated) with the world (Ahmed 2006). However, if, as Latour suggests (2004) it is possible to learn to be affected, then perhaps, the ethics of this type of slavery lies in the disposition of sensory realm.

Decision-making in a Technologized World
Convenors: Lone Stub Petersen (AAU), Tom Børsen (AAU) & Joakim Juhl (AAU)

Abstracts and participants:

Android Autonomy and Human Presence

Frederik Vejlin

In this paper, I want to explore how the relations between intentions, autonomy, and a sense of presence are configured in the development of an autonomous android robot, Erica, currently being developed at the Hiroshi Ishiguro Laboratory (HIL) in Kyoto, Japan. A central part of the HIL research is studying what is required for humans to feel the sonzaikan of an android. In Japanese, sonzaikan describes the feeling that emerges when two humans interact with each other and sense that someone is there (Sumioka et al. 2014: 761). Since the early 2000's, the HIL researchers have studied how a human presence can be transferred to an android body via teleoperation (Sakamoto et al. 2007). Recently, however, the focus has shifted from teleoperated to autonomous androids, evident in the development of the ERATO Intelligent Communication Android (Erica). In the paper, I discuss how the implementation of Erica's intention-desire system (I-D system), contributes to the emerging presence of some form of android autonomy. Since it creates a feedback loop between internal states and external behaviour by allowing Erica to choose an interactive trajectory based on how external input progressively changes her internal motivations, the HIL researchers see the development of the I-D system as a crucial step towards developing an autonomous and sociable android (Glas et al. 2016: 28). The I-D system, ideally conceived, is also wholly 'autonomous' and is made possible by the networked integration of a variety of technologies; her system architecture; auditory, visual, and tactile sensors; strategically placed pneumatic actuators; speech synthesisers; and so forth. When integrated properly, the system is supposed to run without human interference. However, Erica's potential autonomy is not only indebted to her technological construction. On the contrary, it is

intimately reliant on the continuous presence of human interference from both her programmers, operators, and interactive interlocutors alike. I argue that the notion of sonzaikan, so important in the HIL research, also reveals how the presence of humans is crucial for the possibility of creating android autonomy and that without human interference, androids could hardly be called social nor autonomous.

Copenhagen – From National Capital to Regional Metropolis
Joakim Juhl

Throughout the last three decades the city of Copenhagen has significantly transformed its physical appearance, the lives that it contains and its public image. From the socioeconomic depression of the 1980s to the 2000s' grand entrepreneurial projects, the transformation reflects both a fundamental remake of the city's infrastructure, its socioeconomic dynamics, and the cultural identity and place it holds within regional innovation ecosystems. By tracing the development of the Copenhagen Metro, the Øresunds bridge, and the Ørestad while situating them within concurrent sociopolitical developments at the city and at the regional level, the paper analyzes the fusion of Copenhagen and Malmö into one integral 'Greater Copenhagen' city-region. With outset in the reimagining of Copenhagen's identity, I question the moral implications associated with how the innovative transition was conducted, by and for whom it was imagined, and how we can account for its costs. By placing the local Copenhagen-Malmö development into a global setting, the paper examines influential factors of associated innovation models and the epistemological and normative disruptions that their import and local uptake brought to the city-making practices in the 2000s. Whilst the formation of Greater Copenhagen expresses strengthened cultural adherence around shared innovation interests, it brought along economic dynamics and ascending real estate markets that in significant ways collided with the social accountability for which Scandinavian welfare politics is widely recognized. The paper argues that the new economic thinking and decision-culture that made highly visible symbols like the Øresunds bridge and the general modernization of Copenhagen's aesthetic appearance, came together with a broader, yet almost invisible, social reorganization, which normative underpinnings successfully remained outside public discourse while effectively undermining deeply rooted social accountabilities.

Good Scientific Conduct in Post-Normal Science,
Tom Børsen

This paper investigates the relationship between ethics and different forms of science activities. Academic science, industrial science, professional consultancy, and science-based advice are all different problem-solving strategies. What counts as good scientific problem-solving and hence scientific misconduct is specific to the type of scientific practice being undertaken. In academic science, misconduct is defined as severe violations of Robert Merton's ethos of academic science (CUDOS).
However, CUDOS does not account for science's responsibilities for decision-making in the political sphere, and only focus on good scientific practice in a narrower sense. This is not the case when we enter the political decision-making regarding technological risk, where scientific activities are entangled with society, its institutions and stakeholders.

In this paper I argue that the practice of science-based policy advice can be guided by post-normal science (problem-solving done when facts are uncertain, stakes high, values in dispute, and decisions urgent) and its ethos TRUST. This type of science is required to be transparent and not to hide political and financial interests, it should be robust and involve an extended peer community, it must address uncertainties, focus on long-term consequences for society and the environment, and not be one-dimensional.

In the first part of the paper I shortly outline the norms for good scientific practice in academic science, applied science, professional consultancy, and science-based policy advice, and exemplify how they can be grossly violated. The status of an ethos of a mode of problem-solving is discussed, and it is explained how the ethos of post-normal science, TRUST, was established. Then I compare responsibilities of scientists working in respectively academic and post-normal settings, and I discuss how university education can prepare for providing sound science-based advice.

Positioning patents to perform coordinative action

Charles Anthony Bates

Developing technologies for product specific applications involves numerous socio-technical objects, some of which are specifically designed to support decision-making processes. These objects include figures of merit (e.g. Technology Readiness Levels cf. Mankins 2009), process-models (e.g. Stage-Gate cf. Cooper 2008), and specifications and standards serving at organisational and (inter)national levels. Scholarship concerning how such objects contribute to finalized decisions about a technology's achieved characteristics (e.g. functionality, reliability or safety) is abundant. Still, knowledge of how skilled practitioners situate these and other socio-technical objects to perform in coordinating actors and action – towards achieving the characteristics upon which finalized decisions rest – is limited.

In its simplest sense, a hydraulic patent uses standardized symbols to circumscribe a finite and specific order of functions, that innumerable functional realizations might be commercially appropriated. Drawing on a technology development project as it was led by the author, this paper proposes that patents also perform coordinative actions pertaining their own technologic development. To this end, I present an empirical narrative following a series of patents, as these were positioned by their inventors to coordinate how actors and activities purposed with materializing and validating a new steering technology for the off-highway mobile market were constituted and configured.

Negotiating design in the intersection between technical, techno-antropologisk and clinical reationalities

Lone Stub Petersen

In technology development many different rationalities often meet and are negotiated into material artefacts. The challenges of these negotiations is one of the playing fields of Techno-Anthropology where ethnographic and participatory design methods are mixed.

This paper addresses the challenges of decision making in the design of a webpage for mediating patient communication and support In primary care. The challenge emerged in the approaches to doing research based

technology design projects in clinical practice where evidencebased methods met technology construction and ethnographic-participatory methods.

The key concern of the paper is how to negotiate imagined futures and a place fore Techno-Anthropological explorative and iterative research and design methods in a world of highly formalized, evidencebased methods, rationalitied and demands.

Choosing the Extreme case
Convenors: Henrik Hvenegaard Mikkelsen (KU) & Mette My Madsen (KU)

<u>Abstracts and participants:</u>

Choosing Lolland: Doing ethnography on a Danish island with an extremely bad reputation
Birgitte Romme Larsen & Trine Brinkmann

'Migration' and 'precarity' are increasingly understood to structure modern urban life. In the upcoming research project Remote Relocations we will be examining these phenomena in a smaller-scale rural context, where they are at once sharply felt locally and vividly materialized in the infrastructure. Through collaborative ethnography, the project shall explore the inclusion of recognized refugees, international work migrants, unemployed national migrants, and relocated state employees on the Danish island of Lolland as well as their relation to local infrastructure. By rethinking integration debates in such socially broad terms and by bridging established categorisations of national and international, employed and unemployed migrants, we aim to gain novel insights in both the precarities of work and the precarities of place, equally structuring local lives on Lolland.

Anthropology has long recognized remote areas as prisms for understanding workings of larger systems (Das & Poole 2004; Harms et al. 2014). As Setha Low (2001) notes, "contradictions and conflict at the center are often drawn more vividly at the edge." Lolland thus provides us with a vivid 'case' for understanding precarities of work and place not despite its remoteness, but because of it. However, what happens, if we think of Lolland, not only as a vivid, but in fact as an extreme case? In general, rural regions in Denmark struggle with ageing populations, reduction of welfare, contraction of the labour market, the abandonment of buildings and stigmatization in wider society – and locally, these problems all entwine. On Lolland, every tenth property sale is a foreclosure (the highest number countrywide), while local authorities work to demolish decrepit buildings. Unemployed nationals are attracted to Lolland by cheap housing, while they are considered a serious challenge to local welfare resources. At the same time, local construction firms look to hire, as they anticipate the major infrastructural project of the Fehmarn Belt Fixed Link; in fact, Lolland today brands itself as 'The Gateway to Europe.' However, in part as a consequence of the island's exceptionally bad image and reputation in national public media, local employers have difficulties in attracting qualified Danish labor to Lolland, so industry (e.g. MHI Vestas) and regional welfare (e.g. Nykøbing Falster Sygehus) are increasingly looking to international migration for their labour needs (echoing Lolland's history of international labor migration, namely the so-

called 'Beet Poles', who between 1893 and 1929 worked precariously in Lolland's sugarbeet fields, and who are today remembered as a successful in-migration).

With this paper, we would like to address and discuss what sorts of ethnographies, methodological inquiries and ethical concerns our upcoming project might be bringing to the table by choosing to put 'the extreme case' at the center of our collaborative research on the everyday entanglements of work, precarity and the inclusion of newcomers in a present-day local rural community on the fringes of the Danish welfare state.

Vertical Tension: A dance off with Mongolian neo-Nazi's
Malthe Lehrman

This paper, explore revolutionary self-cultivation among men in Mongolia as a form of vertical tension, where every man wants to become a leader but no one wants to be led.

This idea of vertical tension is explored through juxtaposition of exaggerated cases, namely a dance off with neo-Nazi's in Mongolia, a sacrificial trip to the mountains and a night in hostel used by young people to have sexual intercourse.

By exploring the relation between these somewhat arbitrary cases I wish to examine the manner in which vertical tension as a form of existential and moral imperative impinge on revolutionary life in Mongolia.

It argues that attending to moral claims made in the context of the aforementioned cases of life may elucidate how vertical tension content comes to matter in creating a revolutionary subject among especially young men in Mongolia. Further, by deliberately distorting the ethnographic reality at hand through extreme juxtaposition, this paper argues for the need of an analytical strategy of abstraction from ethnographic particularities in order to re-theorise ´structure´ as an analytical construct.

Hyber-ideal Sociality: Extreme learning among engineering students
My Madsen

Students dressed up in a mess of themed fancy-costumes, drinking, dancing, puking, and improvising their way through schedules of planned social activities, competitions and games. 'Studiestarten' the six months of weekly socialising activities for freshman students at the Danish Technical University was full on.

Wondering, at my twelve months of fieldwork participation in Studiestarten, why students would engage large amounts of time, energy and money in such activities, it was continuously stressed to me both by students and by the institution as a meaningfull – indeed important –part of the students learning-process in becoming 'good engineers'.

Following Turners ritual theory the literature on ritual rushing of freshman stress that such rituals often are failed attempts at creating communitas. This paper, however, will examine the meaningfulness of Studiestarten through the context of contemporary professional ideals of engineering, Hasses conceptualisation of students social learning as a professional 'code curriculum' and Bloks ritual theory of ritual as an overdoing of the socio-structural ideals underlying normal sociality.

Looking at the professional ideals of engineering and how they were understood amongst students and communicated at the institutional level the paper argues that the role of Studiestartens socialising activities was to 'engeneer' and 'build'

momentary scenarios of hyper-ideal sociality amongst students – extreme sociality where the 'codes' were overexposed. It further argues that the students would learn to orient their everyday sociality according to the ideal sociality through momentarily living out the extreme hyper-ideal.

Reading the extreme: The example of Jens Blendstrup's short story 'Weight'
Charlotte E. Kristensen

Within social sciences, the extremes, or 'statistical outliers' have not been given much attention. However, within psychological research, extreme cases have often served as a testing ground for the rest of the population; if something is true for clearly extraverted persons it will also hold for people who are moderately extraverted, the argument goes. A very different area, with a related rationale, is the field of literature: literary fiction can be pushed to the extreme for aesthetic effect; if the main character can be an extreme version of a villain, the story could work better; if actions are taken to their extreme consequences, the narrative is more powerful. If the poem can crystallize a specific emotion purely, it is most often a 'better' poem. This use of the extreme, or absurd, in literature bares similarities with the use of it within ethnography (a connection that has yet to be thoroughly investigated).

This paper brings together all three areas, psychology, literature and ethnography, as I discuss the reading of an 'extreme' literary case in my ethnographic fieldwork with young Danes (between 20 and 35 years) who have joined a reading group to alleviate their mental distress. In this group, prose and poetry texts are read aloud and discussed. The extreme text was the Danish author Jens Blendstrup's novel 'Tyngde' (Weight) (2015). I discuss how the reading of the literary extreme case served as a ground on which to make sense of and reflect on different aspects of life for my interlocutors. Thus, following an idea originally proposed by Line Dalsgård, I use literature as ethnographic method.

My example, Weight, is about a man and a woman who are each other's extreme opposites; the man can never smile, and the woman is always happy. Their relationship is extremely abusive; the woman is not allowed to smile or laugh, and in the end, the husband succeeds in shutting down her happiness as he puts flat irons under her dress that she has to walk with. The story let to a very cheerful talk in the reading group, with different verbal positionings towards the literary characters. Some condemned the man. Some laughed at him. Some (such as myself) took him in defense. Positionings were made in a playful way towards what a 'good' relationship should or could be, without moral judgment of each other's positions.

I discuss how to ethnographically consider these different kinds of relating to the story, and compare this reading with another, much less cheerful reading we made of an extreme poem about 'bad relationships'.

Lastly, I would like to discuss whether conducting fieldwork within literary fiction can be seen as an extreme, i.e. bordering on impossible, kind of fieldwork.

The Woman who clothes the saints. Dreams and cultural change in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico
Chiara Bresciani

In the syncretic form of Catholicism prevalent in Mexico, saints are worshipped as the protectors of families and communities, who establish with them a relation of reciprocity in which the saint will provide protection in exchange for devotion and care. Beside appropriately celebrating the traditional fiestas in their honour, "taking care" must also be intended in material terms, since the saints' effigies (usually statues) are not a representation of the divine but are the saints themselves.

Rafaela is an elderly Zapotec woman from the town of Juchitán, in the Isthmus de Tehuantepec. I first got interested in her while I was conducting fieldwork in San Dionisio del Mar, a smaller village belonging to another ethnic group (Huaves), where the proposed implementation of a wind park had caused conflict and division in the village. Although not a Huave, Rafaela had been visited by the patron saint of San Dionisio, who entrusted her to warn his people of an imminent danger linked to the political situation. Since she was 7, Rafaela has been visited in her dreams by saints from near and far away villages. She has dutifully recorded these dreams in form of drawings and notes, and visited several villages to deliver the messages on behalf of the saints. A common theme emerges from her dreams: saints complain because families and communities are forgetting or neglecting them, by refusing to properly celebrate their fiestas and sometimes even abandoning, breaking or throwing them away. In some cases, Rafaela ends up recovering, restoring and painting the saints. Sometimes, she sews new clothes for them, following the directions they give her in the dreams. What to do of this extreme case? Rafaela's story is unique, as are her drawings where text intertwines with figures. She has made reconnecting saints with their people her life's mission, using dreams to an unprecedented extent: in fact, her dreaming is not typical for her society, nor is her daytime dedication to make sure saints' wishes are fulfilled. Using ethnographic data from the region (particularly the reports on the "flying saints" who decide to leave their villages), I argue that Rafaela's dreaming highlights and amplifies a general concern widespread at regional, inter-ethnic level. Faced with the uncertainties caused by political instability and the increasing number of conversions to Evangelical groups, people find new ways to express and make sense of what they define as "the abandonment of tradition".

The saints' calls for help in Rafaela's dreams shed light on people's emotional investment in the relation of reciprocity they entertain with the divine, a vital relation that they perceive to be threatened by major changes in their society. The analytical focus on the "extreme case" thus serves to understand mechanisms of cultural and social change in affective as well as in moral terms, and also shows how peoples' experiences of change can transcend ethnic boundaries to establish dialogue on common grounds.

Muggles and Wizards: Autism as an extreme version of the human kind?
Fie Lund

There are two kinds of people in this world: Muggles and wizards. Both can have an autism diagnosis, but only one is a true autist. This was explained to me during a conversation between me and three autistic women. For these women, the recent year's increase in autism diagnoses had created a need for inventing a concept, the autism core, to separate the people they felt were genuinely autistic and the ones misdiagnosed. According to the three women, the differences between people with and without autism depend on the core of one's development. You can either have, like most people, a normal neurotypical psychological developmental core. They call those people Muggles, a concept from the universe of Harry Potter (Rowling, 1997) that describes people without magic. Or you can have an autism core, be a

wizardkind, where the development is different and you will think and sense differently than the Muggles. The dichotomy between the world of Muggles and wizardkind clearly illustrates the three women's experiences of living in a different world than most others. Holdbraad and Pedersen (2017) urge anthropologist to run with the statements of interlocutors: to take statements like this seriously. To take the three women seriously means not just to understand them as on the border of the human spectrum, but to understand them as having a different ontological starting point. However, the criteria at the time was to be changed. The social consequences of broadening and altering the criteria for autism are undescribed but when describing them, it becomes clear that there is a gap between how autism is understood by the clinicians diagnosing on one side and by the women with autism on the other. For the clinician's autism is understood as an extreme version of the human kind, expressed in a range of different symptoms. For the three women, autism is so different, that autism is a different ontology. By this, it is not suggested that people with autism are not humans, but I wish to explore the tension between autism as an extreme neurological variation and as a different being. So extreme that they understand them self's as living in a parallel world: the wizard-world. Therefore, my paper becomes an argument for choosing the extreme analysis, exploring the question of how extremely different people with autism are?

The Monster as an Extreme Case
Henrik Hvenegaard Mikkelsen, KU

When Josef Fritzl emerged on TV-screens and frontcovers of magazines across the globe, the picture of the elderly man was often accompanied with the word "Monster". Thus, while most monsters are either located in faraway times or in faraway places—or in the world of fiction—it is clear that monster is not only an epithet applied to that which is not here. In this paper, I approach the monster as something human, yet also something radically different. By discussing diverse cases—from psychopaths in Denmark to chiefs among the Philippine Bugkalot people—I suggest that monsters, as "spectral floating signifiers" (Camoroff and Cameroff 2002), may best be understood as a "extreme cases": the radical realisation of particular logics, ideals and potentials.

Utopian Urbanism
Convenors: Morten Nielsen (NATMUS), Vibe Nielsen (KU) & Nina Holm Vohnsen (AU)

Abstracts and participants:

Twists and turns in pursuit of a pan-African urbanism, or the aesthetic strategies of re-opening a colonial-styled arts center in inner city Johannesburg
Lotte Knakkergaard Nielsen

Colonial and apartheid pasts and convivial Pan-Africanist utopias are at the center of a curational process of "filling up" an arts center in Johannesburg, SA. In order to integrate into the neighborhood and to be a successful art center, the

aesthetics of pan-Africanism is at the center of attention. As such, art practices and performances, architectural visions and organizational strategies entangles in presenting imaginations of the art center and neighborhood's future.

In June 2017, Windybrow–a former theatre located between Hillbrow, Doornfontein and Berea in the inner city of Johannesburg–reopened as an arts center. This ornamented, Victorian building from 1896 was first the home of a randlord family. It morphed into a state theatre during the last two decades of Apartheid. Post-1994, the house started to fall apart as Apartheid fell into the shadows of the new South Africa. Now, a large African migrant population, events and fears of xenophobia, and a distrust in state and city institutions seems to define the surrounding neighborhood.

In this paper, I show that the re-imagination of this house is a balancing act between a history of colonialism, elitism and Apartheid and a desired Pan-Africanist future that makes a positive mark on the area. Yet, the strategies, tactics and decision-making towards this and towards integrating the art center into the neighborhood have taken many twists and turns, especially in terms of aesthetics. An entire architectural plan for a new building has thus been discarded in pursuit of a more pan-African look, to balance, counteract or play against the colonial aesthetics of the heritage house. To do so, the art center experiments primarily with the medium of African fabrics as a way into the hearts of its proposed "market": the neighboring population. At the same time, the head of center is working towards making it a research center that on the one hand produces knowledge about African peoples and cultures, especially those represented in the migrant population, and on the other hand seeks to represent those peoples, cultures and the diversity of the neighborhood through events, exhibitions, and workshops.

Through a description of this case, relating it to other utopian images of pan-African urbanism, as well as to the city of Johannesburg and its campaign of being a World Class African City, I focus on the everyday re-imagination process: how it takes shape through aesthetic choices and strategies made to represent or produce a pan-African urbanism. I also reflect on the politics on deciding on the "right" strategies, the network of actors with diverse visions partaking in this process, and how fabrics as a moldable medium is used to experiment with this aesthetics. In doing so, I thus seek to understand the micropolitics (cf. Deleuze & Guattri, Bourriaud, Cooper, Blanes et al.) of utopian urbanism as it unfolds in the everyday "making" (cf. Ingold) of an arts center.

Of Mars and Men: on escaping bureaucracy and achieving freedom
Nina Holm Vohnsen

I want to explore utopian thinking understood as the recurrent human conception of perfectly coherent and isolated mini-worlds, carefully cleared of unwanted elements (be they behavioral traits, certain individuals, or specific societal institutions). Specifically, I'm interested in the relationship between these virtual mind-scapes and their worldly distortions. I do this through – among other examples – a reading of: the Vasco de Quirogas' implementation of More's Utopia in 1563; Elon Musk's planned colonization of Mars in 2022; the attempted construction of liberalist micro nations in international waters in 1979; and the production of meal replacement drinks in 2019.

Unrealizations: The making and unmaking of two Japanese-designed extensions to European museums

Jens Sejrup

Unrealized architecture is culturally significant. Although they remain imaginary, unrealized buildings happen to a community, often leaving unintended material and social traces. This paper argues that unbuilt projects contribute actively to the production of locality and the meaning of neighborhoods and institutions. Drawing on theoretical investments from Appadurai and Yaneva, this paper analyzes motifs of locality and globality in long-lasting controversies surrounding two unrealized Japanese-designed extension projects to European museum buildings: the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and the Institut Valencià d'Art Modern in Valencia. The analysis demonstrates that despite their spectacular confrontations, supporters and opponents in both cases shared similar notions of the affected neighborhoods and museums as meaningful social and cultural spaces. The controversies revolved around whether or not the Japanese-designed expansions would violate or reawaken perceived local energies and qualities. Engaging a little-studied dimension of cultural globalization, the paper asks: what sort of locality emerges from unmaking globality-inflected monumental architecture?

"In the mall, people will take us seriously": utopic moral futures and neoliberal urban change in Kampala (Uganda)

Anna Baral

Kisekka Market in central Kampala, known for its thousands of informal workers allegedly prone to violence and cheating, was demolished in December 2014 to be replaced by a luxurious shopping mall. The promised new mall appeared as a sparkly red building surrounded by clean asphalted roads and no traffic, in the architects' drawings. The gap between the imagined mall and the existing market (dusty, muddy and overcrowded) was alienating - intensified, at a second glance, by the drawings of potential customers: all white, and mostly blond women. "When we will work in such a clean place, the people will finally respect us", one of the market vendors, in its greasy overall, assured, readily interpreting material change in moral terms.

Through the voices of the workers, the paper interrogates the effects of the promise of a shiny, bright future on their everyday life. Taking the mall as the materialization of neoliberal promises of success, competitiveness and of a "thriving city", it suggests that urban planning is a moral discourse that questions the urbanites' self-perception as moral beings.

Moreover, rather than seeing the demolition as an irreversibly disruptive event, the paper suggests to apply a perspective of "ordinary ethics" (Lambek 2010) and to investigate how individuals in Kisekka made everyday choices to confirm their self-worth in the face of disruption. The market becomes a "moral laboratory" (Mattingly 2014) in which people work, love, gossip and hope, while reflecting on urban change. In the workers' voices, the utopian idea of a clean and shiny urban futures is variously integrated in the daily "small disciplines" through which people "hold life together" (Das 2015).

Decolonising the City: Adding and Removing in order to Remember and Forget

Vibe Nielsen

How is the decolonised urban space imagined? In this paper I examine the ideas behind the removal and replacement of statues related to colonialism. I take my cue from the events that led to the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town in 2015, and explore the use of statues in the decolonisation of urban spaces. Which statues are found necessary to remove and which are added? Examples of statues added to the public space in the process of decolonisation are found both in Cape Town in the Global South and Copenhagen in the Global North. In Cape Town, the South African artist Sethembile Msezane presented an alternative to the material celebrations of colonialism by dressing up as the bird-like figure of Chapungu (2015) who rose like a phoenix from the ashes of Rhodes. In Copenhagen, the statue of Queen Mary (2018), produced by the Virgin Island artist La Vaughn Belle and the Danish artist Jeannette Ehlers, became the first collaborative sculpture to memorialise Denmark's colonial impact in the Caribbean. Both examples were made as protests against colonial oppression, but are simultaneously reproducing the colonial material language of statues. When Msezane turned her body into a statue, or when a nineteenth century Caribbean revolt leader is sculpted in bronze-looking Styrofoam, a crucial dilemma of decolonisation is highlighted: how does one protest against the system one lives and breathes in without using the symbols and language of that system? The reuse of the same material language, as the one used by the system it "sets out to change" (Fanon 2001 [1965] p. 27), confirms "the global hierarchy of value" (Herzfeld 2004) and emphasises the utopian element of the decolonisation of urban spaces. But the process of adding and removing statues in order to remember, as in the case of Queen Mary, or forget, as in the case of Rhodes, also shows that the material celebrations of colonial heroes are being challenged through productions of alternative public narratives that provides more diverse celebrations in the urban space.

Utopic Gellerups

Jonas Strandholdt Bach and Nanna Schneidermann

The Gellerup estate in Western Aarhus was originally designed as a kind of middle class utopia in the 1960's: A place where the residents could live their whole lives, from cradle to grave, in relative luxury, within architecture expected to facilitate communal activities and interactions between residents. 50 years later, Gellerup is being refashioned, once again with the middle class as its target population. The architectural "flaws" of the original Gellerup rectified or erased, new functions and architectural styles added. A new utopic Gellerup has replaced the failed old one. This is perhaps the destiny of utopias.

But how is the new utopic Gellerup taking shape? Anti-ghettoization policies, anti-gentrification grassroots movements, creative vibes, and discussions over the Danish affordable housing model are the backdrop of the transformation of Gellerup "from disadvantaged estate to attractive neighborhood". In this paper I will explore how one of the clashes over the future of Gellerup play out between the localized state in the form of the municipality, aiming for a "balanced

social mix" and a "normalization" of the estate by bringing down the percentage of affordable housing units through demolitions and privatizations, and on the other side various constellations of protesters fighting "gentrification". What are the different past and current Gellerups that are evoked by the municipality and the protester? What are the imaginaries of the future Gellerup? How are they utopic? These are some of the questions I will attempt to examine in this paper.

New autonomous cities as modernist heterotopias in the Indonesian borderlands
Michael Eilenberg

Populating the unruly borderlands with resettled loyal citizens in the promotion of grant development schemes is not a novel idea in Indonesia. The country has a long and contentious history of frontier colonization through population resettlement. Recently the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration announce a grand plan of reinstating the (failed) border transmigration programs of the 1980s. The Ministry introduced a new transmigration 'paradigm' driven by the concept of 'New Integrated Autonomous Cities'. It was envisaged that retired military personnel should act as 'pioneers' by settling the lawless and resource rich borderlands and creating the urban infrastructure for a later wave of Javanese migrants. The vison behind these cities was to promote new beginnings. Cities of order and control catering the growing resource extraction economy and security concerns. A contrast to the overpopulated, poorly planned and chaotic cities of Java.

It is argued that the new 'autonomous cities' being constructed in the Indonesian borderlands are based on an idealized vision of modernity and order. They can be seen as new laboratories of social ordering or 'heterotopias' (the physical representation of a utopia) (Foucault 1986). Heteropias, according to Foucault, are other spaces set apart from the rest of society in which different relations of power and hence different forms of government rationality can be imagined and implemented - places that is real and unreal at the same time. While utopias are an imagined place, heterotopias are a real place where utopias are sought implemented. Heterotopia's are spaces of enacted utopias - places that represents society, but in a distorted way, which calls, to mind particular idealized aspects of social control. In these heterotopias regulation, control and surveillance are shaped through physical design and social engendering. The New Autonomous Cities in Indonesia can be argued to represent such an idealized model of urban planning/development.

Shining futures – crumbling presents: 'Future-making' pasts in the ever-expanding megacity of Cairo
Katrine Mandrup Bach

On almost every rooftop and sprawled over the facades of long abandoned buildings, billboards brightly stand out among the dusty sand-coloured houses making up the horizon. 'Uptown Cairo, Hyde Park, Regent's Park, Palm Hills, Odyssia, La Fontaine, Neopolis, Green Avenue, Lasirena, Liberty Village' are some of the names printed on the majority of them. All refer to new exclusive gated communities, part of the government's mega project – The New Administrative Capital. A New Cairo located in the desert 50 km right of 'old Cairo'. The buildings used for the

advertisement of a shining bright future for the city, are crumbling beneath them – uncared for, caked in black dust and forgotten. The alternative lies in the desert – modern housing buildings of concrete with grand windows overlooking miles of green lands, the streets wide and empty, no car in sight – a complete opposite to contemporary, yet already, 'old Cairo'.

The New Administrative Capital is not the first alternative future imagined for the city. The now suburb, Heliopolis (Masr gedida, lit. New Cairo) for example, was created to house Cairo's increasing number of resident Europeans in the beginning of the twentieth century (AlSayyad 2011: 224). But while the Egyptian government is busy imagining a brighter future for its capital, a growing group of initiatives are looking to Downtown Cairo's past in order to imagine a different future for the city.

Since the 2011 revolution, 'citizen-making' initiatives have mushroomed all over the country (Soliman and Yehia 2019). Among these, are a sizeable body of heritage-oriented initiatives part of the Egypt Heritage Network. Their goals are to raise awareness and to give the crumbling buildings behind the billboards new life. Egypt's past thereby heritage have too often been reduced to one of Pharaohs and mummies (Meskell 2003), obscuring the stories and materials from its more recent history. It is among these heritage initiatives, who seek to nuance Egypt's past(s), that I have done fieldwork. Here, 'heritage' is not only about conservation for future generations, but for inspiring new ways of engaging with the past to create an alternative future. Anthropologist Chiara De Cesari (2010) has pointed how civilian heritage initiatives in Palestine, similarly, seek to use heritage to produce new institutions and socialities as part of an imagination of a new political and civic society (631).

Recently, interest in the future has grown within critical heritage studies (Harrison 2013). Heritage is thus moving from describing what 'has been' to focus on what 'could be' (Zetterstrom-Sharp 2015: 2). Heritage has for long been associated with conservation of the status quo, as past-making, but as argued by Elizabeth Stainforth (2017), who by likening heritage and utopia, highlight the capacity for imagining different futures through the past (8). This paper thus explores the opposing utopias, or desired futures, for Cairo, presented on the one hand by the Egyptian state and the heritage initiatives on the other, in an attempt to add to the voices of scholar's advocating for a different view of heritage, not as something frozen, but as a force of change in an urban Egyptian setting.

Naming the Future in Urban Niger: The Scriptural Economy of the Fadas
Adeline Masquelier

In urban Niger where to be a young man is almost by definition to be un(der)employed, much of the waiting, hoping, and commiserating young men engage in is done at the fadas, informal discussion groups or tea-circles that take over the streets at night. At the fada, young men grapple with shrinking employment opportunities, confront boredom, and imagine new modes of being and belonging. Since its emergence in the 1990s, the fada has become the setting for a diverse array of activities though, at the core, it is a place of conversation where members seek relief from life's burdens, large and small. In this paper I describe the fada as a locus of self-narration through an exploration of the fada's scriptural economy—the names, signs, and symbols young men inscribe on the walls against which they sit. These inscriptions saturating the urban landscape with aspirational messages are said to enhance—rather than violate— public space while making it inhabitable. They are a critical means through which otherwise voiceless cohorts of

socially adrift young men stake claims to the city and privatizes public space. Based on research conducted in two towns, the paper sketches the geography of intimacy constituted by the fadas' transient infrastructure and trace the "biographies" embedded in the "images-texts" etched on street walls. Using the fadas' image-texts as an interpretive road map, it discusses how the names some young men give their fadas are means of securing some degree of futurity in the face of severely narrowed horizons.

Precarity for whom?

Katrine Duus Terkelsen

How does the utopian vision of the Precariat as a class-in-the-making, ready to revolt, manifest itself in the local context of digital platform work in Brussels? While per definition adhering to the Precariat, the young, male food delivery riders that I met on bicycles in the streets of Brussels did not see themselves as a part of this social class. Instead, they spoke of the flexibility working through Deliveroo – a digital food delivery platform – offered them. Although wasted on the people it was supposed to unite, the notion of the Precariat, or more precisely the concept of precarity, acted as a mobilizing metaphor for political actors that engaged themselves with the rights of independents and digital platform workers. In this paper, I describe the tension between the utopian vision of the Precariat as a social class that must organize, and the experiences of and motivations for working through digital platforms that offer working conditions that places the worker at high risk of precarity.

Negotiating Gender (and other Identities): Reactions from the field
Convenors: Sara Lei Sparre (AU), Mona Chetti (AU) and Theresa Ammann (AU)

Abstracts and participants:

Being the daughter of my father: (auto-ethnographic) reflections on field exit strategies

Abir M. Ismail

How does 'familiarity' influence the way we are perceived and framed in- and outside the field? How do these perceptions influence and shape our research process and our over-all wellbeing? Conducting research in familiar setting in terms of own culture, gender, religious and ethnic background can be both daunting and rewarding. On one hand, in the role of 'insider' I possessed an intimate familiarity with the informant's everyday lives and practices, a familiarity that has been of great assistance in explaining the social processes and the meaning hereof. On the other hand, as result of my familiarity, I was framed and categorized into familiar typologies part of the informants' horizon and worldview, something that is still hampering my field exit. In this paper, I demonstrate the complexities of conducting research in familiar settings and provide some insights that may be useful to researchers embarking on fieldwork. I discuss how my experience as an 'insider' influenced my choice with regards to the research topics, access

to and interaction with the informants, the scope of my study and the maintenance of research objectivity. I argue that the role of 'insider' is not an unswerving role, but rather an ambivalent role that requires maintenance, negotiations and compromises, a role that cannot be simplified to and conceptualized as a continuum or a dichotomy. Instead, the role of the researcher is better understood as a role that swings between insider, outsider and sometimes as halfie.

"It is impossible to create a space where everybody feels welcome" A conversation about queer orientations, community and the turn to feel left out.

Marie Bjerre Odgaard

This paper takes its point of departure in a string of conversations with a self-identified queer woman in a bright room on one of the central hills of Amman, Jordan. The conversations took place as part of an on-going Ph.D. project on non-binary and queer bodily experiences, ethics and community in Amman.

In the conversations, the author and conversation partner not only draw on "being themselves" but on many forms of being that our questions, thoughts and opinions are inspired from (and limited by). This includes intersections of "being" a woman, an artist, a researcher, younger or older, Arab or European, straight or queer. "Beings" also include the people around us, and locations such as streets, homes and places we dream of being (in).

To move between the registers of being and knowing is important for how we perceive the fields we are researching – and whether we perceive them to be gendered, aged, racialized or sexualized. Movement also has importance to how we are present in the field, the extent to which we allow ourselves to move away from "straight-forward" knowledge of contested and politicized topics. Oftentimes, to allow yourself to be moved means to sense the boundaries of what is –to feel that you do not belong in your own body with ease (Ahmed 2006). During the conversations, examples of not belonging and feelings associated with them were used to ask existential questions about human desire, sexuality and community – and to explore statements like "it is impossible to create a space where everybody feels welcome", as the queer woman in the bright room on one of the central hills of Amman put it.

> ## Distributing choice: when care explodes the liberal chooser
> Convenors: Andreas Birkbak (AAU), Katy Overstreet (AU) & Astrid Oberborbeck Andersen (AAU)

Abstracts and participants:

Who cares about publics? Lessons from the issue handlers

Andreas Birkbak, Assistant Professor, Techno-Anthropology, Aalborg University Copenhagen

While the notion of the public is central to modern political life, recent work in anthropology (Cody 2011) and science and technology studies (Marres 2007) has emphasized the need to discuss publics in the plural as a variety of materially and culturally situated phenomena. Some of this work draws on the pragmatist political philosophy of John Dewey, which insists that publics always organize in response to specific issues – and never as an abstract frame for politics. However, attending to emergent, issue-oriented publics is still mostly a negative proposition in the sense that it highlights a need to be wary of procedural and institutionalized approches to public engagement (Marres 2012). In this paper, I try to push in a more positive direction by arguing that the notion of care offers a way of thinking about publics that supports the pragmatist approach and helps it develop more nuanced empirical analyses of actual publicity practices (Mol 2008; Mol et al. 2010). One of the consequences of focusing on activities of caring for publics (Birkbak 2016), I propose, is that the ongoing work of professional 'issue handlers,' such as journalists and politicians, needs reexamination. Most importantly, a logic of care offers a way to study the orchestration of publics without undercutting imperfect and ever-evolving practices with impossible Enlightenment ideals about the public sphere. Drawing on my ethnographic fieldwork at the newspaper Politiken and in relation to issue-oriented political engagement on Facebook, I zoom in on a journalist and a politician. Both 'issue handlers' are engaged in concrete, experimental attempts at connecting publics and issues, something which involves multiple 'goods' that are neither compatible nor separate, which also means there is no clear choice between them. By redescribing publics as situated in ongoing tinkering, the paper aims to show how public engagement is less a question of a (liberal) choice between public or private interests and more an ongoing investigation of what public goods can be realized in specific situations.

Caring to Doubt: Exploring the decision-making processes of families contemplating HPV vaccination

Stine Hauberg Nielsen, PhD fellow, Department of Anthropology, Aarhus University

Before the Danish government decided to introduce the human papillomavirus (HPV) vaccine into the national state-funded vaccination program in 2009, the vaccine had already been declared a medical breakthrough and a miraculous cure for cancer. While participation in the vaccination program is voluntary, the HPV vaccine promises to protect against HPV infections that cause up to ninety percent of cervical cancer incidences in Denmark, sounding like an obvious decision. Do you want to protect your child from cancer? A question to which there most likely exist only one answer, implicating that a failure to vaccinate is an abandonment of care. However, during 2013-2015, following an initial high uptake, HPV vaccination coverage drastically declined in Denmark. What happened? Did Danish parents stop caring about protecting their children from cancer?
Based on on-going ethnographic fieldwork, I examine the decision-making processes of families contemplating HPV vaccination. Attempting to catch their uncertainties and doubts 'midair', I explore how they are pondering different options, voicing their hopes, frustrations, disillusionments, and how their decisions are continuously shaped and reshaped in the midst of it. Until recently, the HPV vaccination coverage remained low. However, more and more girls are now getting HPV vaccinated again, contrasting last years' decline. Danish healthcare authorities celebrate the

development as indicative of parents deciding yet again to trust the HPV vaccine and its protection against cervical cancer. Does that mean parents decided not to trust the vaccine?

My preliminary analyses point towards, not a successive progression of trust, doubt, and trust again, but towards interminable experiences of doubt. These interminable experiences of doubt come to form an integral and interactive condition of HPV vaccination, expressed through different potentialities connected to caring for your child and the wider community: "How do I keep my child safe?" "What if she gets sick from the vaccine?" "What if she gets cancer?" "What if she infects somebody else with HPV?" "What if we make the wrong decision?" These and other concerns seem to intersect within the specific technology of the HPV vaccine, reflecting contradictory, yet, coexisting logics of care concerning health, illness, parenthood, and citizenship that come to inform and transform the families' decision-making processes.

To know or not to know - genetic testing and the formation of surveillance life in Denmark
Ayo Wahlberg, Laura Louise Heinsen & Helle Vendel Petersen

Rapid developments within the fields of medical genetics, biomarker research and population screening have led to the identification of increasing numbers of otherwise healthy 'at risk' individuals. This means that more people than ever before are participating in lifelong surveillance and prevention programmes because of an identified high risk for developing a serious disease – from cancer to heart disease and diabetes. Today, in the field of hereditary colorectal cancer in Denmark alone, more than 40,000 identified healthy individuals with an increased risk of cancer are (or will be from the age of 25) enrolled in a surveillance programme – and the number is still growing. What this group of healthy individuals has in common is lifelong regular interaction with a healthcare system that has traditionally been geared towards treating the acutely and chronically ill. Indeed, so much so that we may now speak of a parallel group of 'at risk' persons enrolled in secondary prevention programmes within hospital settings.

The literature on care in medical and health settings has for obvious reasons focused on the care of those who have been diagnosed with a condition or are in the process of seeking such a diagnosis to help explain embodied experiences. In this paper we will explore what care might be in situations where individuals are asked whether they would like to know whether they have a genetically elevated risk for colorectal cancer and how decisions to pursue genetic knowledge and lead a surveillance life are produced and shaped. These persons are asked to make a choice about whether to be genetically tested or not following genetic counselling. Those who are confirmed to have a genetically elevated risk are enrolled in a lifelong surveillance programme involving surveillance colonoscopies every second year to detect and remove pre-cancerous and abnormal polyps in the colon or to catch tumours as early as possible in order to improve prognoses and to minimize the invasiveness of treatment. For individuals living with a hereditary risk of colorectal cancer (and their family members), colonoscopies are regular and tangible reminders of a serious disease that possibly awaits them. Are these healthy, yet 'at risk' persons, in need of care? If so, who should care for them? Themselves, fellow 'at risk' persons, loved ones, general practitioners? And, if these persons are not ill (yet) just what is it that needs to be cared for?

Landscapes of Emergent Orientations: Gathering away from Choice

Pierre du Plessis

Annemarie Mol's contrast between a logic of choice and a logic of care emerged from her engagement with healthcare settings in the Netherlands, at a time in which the concerns of the clinic were increasingly displaced by a liberal discourse of patient choice. Resisting the universalizing and naturalizing discourse of choice, Mol offered care as an alternative logic – which does not dismiss choice, but stresses how in some contexts what is at stake is not an individual, modern, rational human making a choice, despite its supposed universality. Instead, a logic of care emphasizes a more distributed collective that simply doesn't fit the liberal actor model.

Following Mol's example, I begin this paper from my own fieldsite in the Kalahari Desert, Botswana, and explore what is at stake there. The skill of tracking and the way of being in the landscape it entails have often been understood by placing a liberal actor at the centre of a geographical terrain that is to be navigated: it is through the actor's individual wits and skills that the right choices are made and the tracking successfully culminates in a kill. While this analytic proved useful in resisting narratives that dismissed other forms of knowledge as 'primitive' or even 'non-scientific', it did so by assuming that the human in the centre of the landscape was the same of Western modernity – a liberal, rational, choosing actor, clearly separated from and moving in its environment. Furthermore, this model imagined tracking as almost exclusively associated with hunting. But for my interlocutors, hunting is no longer allowed even if they continue to track as a way of noticing landscape doings and in their own travels about the environment. This allowed me to pursue a different understanding of the kind of tracking and wayfinding as I learned about Kalahari landscapes with my interlocutors. Even before the hunting ban, gathering was a better analytic to think about the kinds of movements with the landscape they engaged in and how those movements coordinate. In gathering while walking through the Kalahari, wayfaring has less to do with individual choice, and more to do with the kinds of assemblages of movements that make up a lively, dynamic environment. Like Mol's logic of care, this logic of gathering escapes the liberal actor and its rational and Euclidean relation to abstracted space. Instead, it focuses on more-than-human gatherings that are less-than-intentional, but more-than-random, not-quite-choices enacted through careful engagements of a multitude of entities and processes that make up emergent orientations with which landscapes materialize and are navigated.

Is care enough?: legacies of care and choice in American agriculture

Katy Overstreet, PhD

Founding father, Thomas Jefferson, imagined smallholder farmers as the foundation of democracy in the United States of America. This vision of farmers was based on European notions of patriarchy; it placed the male head-of-household as a hard-working and rational decision-maker that would uphold the moral values of the new nation. This vision persists, particularly in more conservative discourses that emphasize how the American Mid-West or America's "heartland" is the stronghold of "core" American values including honesty, piety, hard work, family, rurality and independence. American farmers are expected to be economically rational and technologically progressive. In other

words, American democracy was placed on the shoulders of the white male liberal chooser and that legacy remains a powerful discourse to this day.

Based on my research with dairy farmers in "America's Dairyland," I will tease out this legacy of the liberal chooser in relation to the increasing emphasis on care among consumers, state agencies, agricultural marketing organizations, and farmers themselves. As ethical consumerism and concern over animal welfare has grown over the past few decades, farmers are ensnared in an ontological tangle of rational choice and cow-care. They are expected to both produce ever larger amounts of food in order to "feed the world" while also caring well for the cows on their farms. And farmers do care for their cows in multiple senses; they provide the conditions for living and describe a felt affection for their bovine charges. Yet dairy biotechnologies aimed at making cow bodies more productive frequently cause painful and chronic illnesses among dairy cows. And yet care, it is held, goes hand-in-hand with production. Care, it seems, may not be the saving grace that many feminist scholars hope it will be. Instead, I argue, care might in fact perpetuate not only the ethically-questionable manipulation of cow bodies toward production but also the patriarchal legacy of white Christian America.

Images of care: the roles of choice and experimentation in the treatment of uncertain gut trouble
Camilla Brændstrup Laursen

How to care for something uncertain? How to manage a kind of suffering for which neither cause(s) nor cure(s) are known yet? This paper explores how Danish patients and health professionals approach the challenging task of managing medically unexplained gut trouble or irritable bowel syndrome (IBS), a disorder recognized to affect 11-16 percent of the Danish population (Krogsgaard et al. 2013; Rasmussen 2015). Based on, as of now, 10 months of ethnographic fieldwork in two Danish outpatient gastroenterology clinics and in the homes of 18 people diagnosed with IBS at these clinics, the paper offers two images of care: The supermarket and the exploratorium. While the first image particularly highlights the role of choice in care, the other highlights the role of experimentation. In her influential book, The Logic of Care: Health and the problem of patient choice (2008), Annemarie Mol distinguishes between a "logic of choice" and a "logic of care". I will discuss the images of IBS care in relation to these logics, arguing that a "logic of choice" still prevails in Danish gastroenterology clinics where treatment options are presented as products on supermarket shelves, but that choice and care may intertwine. However, if the abilities to control circumstances and consider one's possibilities are preconditions for choice, where does that leave people whose diseased bodies are unpredictable and the possibilities for managing them are at the same time endless and limited, yet definitely not ones whose usefulness can be calculated through thought? Providing the image of the exploratorium, I will emphasize how gut troubled people's efforts to alleviate suffering might not simply be understood in terms of individual responsibility, will, preferences and selectable "lifestyles" but rather in terms of being called to pragmatically experiment in a subjunctive mood (Whyte 1997; 2005), as well as in relation to what Max Weber once termed "Lebenschancen" (life circumstances or chances) (1999 [1922]). While the experimentation that I describe resonates with what Annemarie Mol calls "tinkering" (2008; 2010), I wish to also direct attention to something that she does not explore much, namely the human lives lived outside hospitals and the social possibilities that mark out paths of action.

Voting as the exemplary ethical act: sovereignty, subjecthood and the alienation of choice
Convenors: Matthew Carey (KU) & Frauke Mennes (KU)

<u>Abstracts and participants:</u>

Kamikaze voting? When the South votes Lega Nord
Laust Elbek

In 2007, something strange happened on the Italian island of Lampedusa. Angela Maraventano, a restaurant owner and daughter of a local fisherman, became the island's deputy mayor. Her election was remarkable for one reason alone: she represented Lega Nord.

Now, Lampedusa is located closer to Africa than mainland Italy and is Italy's southernmost piece of territory. The existence of Lega Nord, in turn, is predicated upon strong anti-southern sentiments in the northern parts of Italy (hence the party's name). Specifically, the political rhetoric of Lega Nord is superimposed on the so-called 'southern question' (la questione meridionale); i.e. an age-old discursive construction of the provinces south of Rome as 'inferior,' 'backward,' and essentially 'pre-modern' - in contrast, of course, to the efficient, modern, and progressive nature of the North. In Lega rhetoric, the south is generally portrayed as the lazy client of the wealthy north, and until quite recently, the party even had an openly separatist agenda advocating the proclamation of 'Padania' - an independent state consisting of the country's 11 northernmost provinces.

So, the question that Angela Maraventeno's election raises is this: what makes people on Lampedusa vote for a party that, from the very first paragraph of its statute, appears determined to work against their own best interest? Are we dealing with a kind of fatalistic 'kamikaze voting'? Perhaps a freakish form of false consciousness - an act of internalizing and thus reproducing one's own subjugation? Or is it simply that Angela Maraventano is known by many locals as una donna con le palle ('a woman with balls') who is able to fight for Lampedusa - regardless of an unusual ideological stance? Does the strong anti-immigration policies of Lega Nord have any role to play in all of this - after all, Lampedusa is one of the places most seriously affected by boat migration across the Mediterranean Sea? What sort of logic - if any - is behind this?

Based on fieldwork on Lampedusa, this paper reflects on a political reality ostensibly in conflict with itself, namely when people in Italy's 'deep south' vote for their own declared enemies, Lega Nord. In this manner, I will attempt a perilous exercise that is most likely destined to fail: making some sort of sense of modern Italian politics.

Choosing the "Gold card"

Annika Harrison

The local elections for the position of ward leader was coming up and there was no doubt in the mind of current leader U Maung Oo that he would continue in this position. He had done a lot of good for the people here and he was the right man for the job. Others that I talked to were not as impressed by him, and a number of rumours circulated about him. That he had made illegal land deals, that he was in charge of a whorehouse and that he sometimes asked young girls for sex in exchange for a favour, a letter of reference or a SIM card. He was not a popular man in the area, and as I became more in doubt of his chances of winning the upcoming ward leader elections, he almost only seemed more certain that he would.

This paper explores the voting behaviour in a neighbourhood in Mawlamyine in southeast Myanmar. I show here how boundaries and complex relationships between inhabitants are shaped through local political agendas, rumours and exclusionary practices. I demonstrate how some residents are progressive in improving their own situation but simultaneously reproduce their own marginalization in joining political parties who are part of that process. Others also cast their votes counterintuitively but in accordance with ideas about gender and rightfulness.

Minority Citizenship and the distance of Denmarks nærdemokrati
Heiko Henkel

One of the most widely cherished and often-mentioned characteristics of the Danish political system is the perceived proximity of politicians - all the way 'up' to ministers and even the Prime Minister - to ordinary citizens, sometimes called *nærdemokrati*. Many (ethnic) Danish acquaintances have told me of moments in their lives where they made use of this proximity (*nærhed*) and contacted a minister or other influential politicians in a particular case (such as speeding up applications for residency permits or in relation to voicing their opinion regarding political '*mærkesager*'). This stands in marked contrast to the experiences of many of my non-ethnic-danish interlocutors, who, for the most part, experience the Danish political system and its cast of actors as exceedingly distant. The paper will develop this observation - and a few exceptions pointing to possible instabilities in this constellation - in order to think more broadly about the political ethics of majority - and minority citizenship.

Money to choose – local narratives around electoral choice and vote buying in rural South India
Frauke Mennes

In many of today's democracies, the practice of 'vote buying' is well entrenched. In India's recent elections, media reported numerous instances of vote buying. In a Western ideal type of democracy, this can be interpreted as a disenfranchisement; people giving up their right to vote. This discourse however is little instructive when considering the narratives that are locally produced around the idea of choice, voting and democracy. Based on fieldwork in rural South India, I explore the practices of vote buying and local narratives and moralities surrounding this practice. How do people perceive their own rights to 'choose' or their supposed right to ask for concrete material benefits in return for

their vote? How do others perceive these choices? I am furthermore interested in the moral obligation that is created through the reception of a monetary sum and the accompanying promise to vote for the giver's political party, as the execution of these promises in effect non-trackable through relatively well enforced voter anonymity. As this anonymity leaves once more a space for a choice to be made, I will consider other factors that influence electoral decision making, like the outsourcing of electoral choice to 'respected' persona as well as past performance and campaign promises by political parties. Finally, I attempt to draw wider conclusions on the 'vernacularised' democracy (Michelutti, …) and the ways in which concepts of subjectivity and personhood are placed herein.

Votarem: Fighting for a Choice

Mark Hau

In the Western world, voting is considered an almost quotidian exercise in democracy. However, after more than a thousand people in Catalonia were injured by police violence in 2017 during an attempt to vote in an unsanctioned referendum on independence, it would appear that Spain is different. Statistics tell us that two-thirds of Catalans want to vote on independence from Spain. What can ethnography tell us about what voting actually means for independence supporters as an ethical pursuit?

Using data obtained from fieldwork with Catalan independence supporters in the left wing ERC party, I analyze how activists see the fight for a referendum as an ethically motivated and existential struggle to exist as a people.

In the collective struggle for a referendum, Catalan activists effectively constitute the very political subject for which they seek recognition. Since no institutional framework exists for determining belonging in a stateless nation such as Catalonia, there is a traumatic freedom to being a Catalan nationalist. This has important social, cultural and ethic consequences for Catalan national identity. As they say in Catalonia, 'Whoever wants to be Catalan, is Catalan'. Choice is everything.

Because of this broad and non-ethic national identity, the desire to vote has become an key element of national identification, as Catalan independence supporters resist the category of 'Spanish' imposed on them. Their defiant cry of '*Votarem*!', We will vote, shows how in Catalonia, voting is not simply an ethical pursuit; voting is being.

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Making the good choice

Convenors: Katrine Mandrup Bach (AU) & Anders Sybrandt (AU)

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Abstracts and participants:

Freedom through Submission: Danish-Muslim statements on choice, destiny, and liberation

Johannes Renders

What 'makes sense' to say (and do) about freedom, as Danish Muslim? How do the uses of freedom rooted in Islamic discourse relate to liberal notions of freedom-as-choice dominating public debates? In this paper, I outline some of the main points from my freshly submitted dissertation. Combining ethnographic fieldwork and discourse analysis, I analyze a range of statements on freedom originating in Muslim environments, moving between foundational texts, interviews, social media posts, field notes, sermons, interventions in news media, and the like.

Drawing from various discourse theories, involving mainly Foucault, Laclau, Althusser, and Žižek, I detail how the commitment and submission to Allah's Decree regulates the various articulations of freedom. In this approach, 'Islam' figures as the master-signifier retroactively attributing meaning to empty signifiers such as destiny, liberation, will, peace, and so on. Freedom in particular becomes something individuals can/must at once exercise, surrender, and achieve. In line with recent literature on the matter (Mahmood 2005; Fernando 2014; Furani 2018), I argue this happens through a voluntary, cultivated relinquishing of the will to Allāh as Ultimate Authority.

The Islamic discourse entails a challenge to liberal notions of freedom-as-choice pervasive in the Danish public sphere. Building on recent work, I look into the efforts to counter-act the shaping of the liberal Muslim subject (Fernando 2010; Fadil 2017; cf Laidlaw 2014), concentrating on the religious notions that allow for a reconfiguration of Danish narratives on freedom. In order for Muslims to successfully articulate the notion in their own terms, they must unhinge the signifier from the chain of discourse gradually established in Danish language use and woven into institutions and practices. I discuss the various counter-discourses Danish Muslims employ to create the conditions enabling the Islamic discourse to introduce its truths in the public sphere, latching onto established narratives while eluding a liberal purview. Ultimately, this allows bypassing and contesting liberal associations of freedom with self-sufficiency, individualism, autonomy, democracy, choice.

Ethical Boundaries: Doing morally acceptable business

Jazmin Mølgaard Cullen

This paper is based on fieldwork among anthropologists, and people claiming to work anthropologically in the consultancies they own and work in as well on material from participation in various networks and conferences on the anthropology of business and organizations. Fieldwork was carried out in four consultancies (three in Denmark and one in New Zealand) which are comparable in size and what they offer. They all had between 7-15 employees, and all of them provide a variety of solutions in terms of creating change in organizations, co-creation, new internal procedures, new products, and the engagement of citizens. They at times worked for private clients and NGO's, but all them primarily for the public sector.

The paper investigates anthropological consultants' needs to take a moral stand against what they feel is an immoral logic of pure profit maximization while at the same time helping companies increase their revenue by making better products and services. These anthropologists seek to justify their affiliation to their clients by making sense of their work as a way to move 'beyond capitalism'. Their work is, they state, 'for the people' not for the profit alone. 'The people' often signify the customers of their clients and in some case the people working for the client. The moral axis is

constituted by an immoral pole of ruthless profit maximization, and a pole of morally justified empathy with the human lives whose conditions can be improved by consultants.

The anthropologists feel morally obligated to create more meaningful and helpful encounters between companies and 'the people' that are their employees and customers. They take it upon themselves to be empathetic towards the people affected by their client's strategic decisions and feel they may be the only ones in their industry equipped to do this work. The paper takes its starting point in concrete cases where anthropologists reflect on companies and projects that are morally perplexing to them. These cases show the difficult work of anthropologists reflecting on their own moral value and a need to position their work in relationship to the moral axis of anthropology. This is expressed by a very anthropology. This is expressed by a very high level of self-scrutiny and a constant need to compare the moral value compare the moral value of their own work to that of others in a form of moral ranking activity where the anthropologists feel the need to explicate how and why they are closer to the positive pole of meaning, empathy and 'the people' and further away from the immoral 'other' pole where profit trumps all other justifications. The paper shows how this is done by vilifying certain consultants and the companies they work for – such as Phillip Morris – thereby simultaneously positioning oneself as the 'lesser evil'. In effect, this allows the anthropologist to come to terms with the moral dilemma of working for profit while distancing themselves from the logic of profit maximization that constitutes a basic condition for their services. The anthropologists thus gain legitimacy in relationship to both themselves and each other by demonstrating allegiance to the morally defendable pole of the moral axis, conforming to certain explicit values of who they chose to work with and how they chose to do their work.

The chapter maps how the anthropologist's moral economy divides up their world in positive and negative poles and places on them a demand to position themselves in relation to this axis in a way that makes them feel less compromised working within a 'capitalist sphere'.

Participatory theatre as embodied storytelling among Afghan refugees
Julie Nynne Bune

What if we could unmake our choices? Or simply revisit the choices we made that did not get us where we hoped? This paper will provide a glimpse into an on-going fieldwork among young adult Afghan refugees in Denmark and reflect on how participatory theatre as methodology creates an event where informants and anthropologist together explore and play with the meaning of choices. Participatory theatre was developed by Augusto Boal (1979) as a part of Theatre of the Oppressed. As a method, it aims to engage participants in sharing stories of conflict and oppression through performance. Participants construct scenes in small groups which they perform for the rest of the group. Other participants can then step in and act out different strategies for action. In this sense participatory theatre works to challenge the given.

I present the framework of the participatory theatre workshops in this paper and reflect on how this method can create an insight into the speculations and feelings of our informants about the choices they made or didn't make. In participatory theatre participants work with a 'what if' and experiment with alternative choices and alternative stories that extend beyond the category

'refugee'. Refugee experience is often told in terms of the grand stories of 'the escape' or 'the asylum system'. In the workshops we look into what kind of stories are important in the everyday lives of young adult afghans living and working to establish a good life for themselves and their families in Denmark.

Finally, I will touch upon a methodological discussion about my choice as a researcher to engage in a collaborative project and bring together 10 afghans with very different backgrounds. How does engaging in this project affect their lives?

Subsistence Solidarity and the Extension of Trust: Complementary Moral Economies of Organic Farming in Northern China

Anders Sybrandt Hansen

The widespread phenomenon of unsafe food on the Chinese market has been argued to be both symptomatic of moral disregard for the well-being of strangers, and productive of social distrust. In response to the ongoing food safety crisis some agricultural producers have turned to organic farming, and this talk discusses the moral reasoning of farmers based on ethnographic fieldwork at one such organic farm in northern China. While the business model of the farm is shown exactly to hinge upon building up personal trust in customers, turning strangers (shengren) into associates (shuren), the entire project of organic farming and attendant visions for the future countryside is undergirded by strong expressions of abstract solidarity with conventional farmers framed in the language of moral economy (Thompson; Scott). Engaging with theories of Chinese relational ethics (Fei; Stafford; Yan), I argue that crosscutting solidarities that do not fit the equation of physical and social distance with moral distance make up an important part of the moral landscape of contemporary China.

Local Turn Interventions: An Economy of Peace after War

Christian Gade

Peacebuilding has in recent years undergone a "local turn," as local peacebuilding mechanisms are promoted and used increasingly. The choice of local mechanisms may, however, to some extent be a pseudo-choice as external Western actors influence the formulation of local culture behind the scene.

This presentation introduces the term "local turn intervention" to denote any peace engagement that is presented and sold as local but which, counter to appearances, has in reality been shaped by external actors. The empirical focus is a local turn intervention in northern Uganda, where local and external actors have collaborated to handle the many land conflicts that emerged after the civil war when people began to return from the internally displaced persons camps. In this local turn intervention, the front-stage collaboration between local and external actors does not look interventionist, as the external actors appear merely to be supporters of the local turn as donors. Behind the scene, however, the external actors are influencing the representation of the local culture in an intervention of tradition where the external actors pursue their own agendas and values through the back door, while the local actors also engage actively in local/external collaboration for strategic reasons. The main argument is that the local turn intervention represents a particular

economy of peace after war, which is founded on the mutually beneficial "exchange" of the external actors' economic capital with the local actors' social capital, and on the difference between front-stage and back-stage collaboration. The presentation is about material layers of choice in the sense that the re-invention of tradition takes a materialized form in the creation of different culture documents that are used as guidance in the peacebuilding process.