Anthropology in London Day 2015

Anthropology On the Move

Monday 15 June 2015

University College London, Department of Anthropology, 14 Taviton Street, London

Accepted Abstracts

Panel 1 – Global Social Media
Elisabetta Costa (UCL)
Tom McDonald (UCL)
Daniel Miller (UCL)
Razvan Nicolescu (UCL)
Juliano Spyer (UCL)
Shriram Venkatraman (UCL)
Xinyuan Wang (UCL)

This panel is presented jointly by seven of the nine anthropologists who recently carried out nine simultaneous 15 month ethnographies on the use and consequences of social media, including two sites in China, one site in each of Brazil, Chile, India, Italy, Trinidad, Turkey and the UK. We are a combination of PhD students, post-doctoral and other staff at the Department of Anthropology, UCL. We studied platforms such as Instagram, QQ, Twitter, Facebook and WeChat. The study looks both at the nature of comparative and collaborative work for undertaking ethnographic research on new media. The research has produced ten books and over one hundred films and will be disseminated in six languages. The presentations also consider some of the substantive results of the study and their plans for its dissemination. The issue is not just the role of online communication in terms of the connectedness of our informants, but also how anthropology might transform its own connectedness both with respect to collaborative research and thinking about how our research results can reach the same global audience as those we study.

Panel 2 – Place Making on the Move
To exist is to exist in place, but how do non-sedentary communities maintain a sense of emplacement and connection to an environment? Does considering place as a mobile phenomenon that can be transported either physically or as a mentally held ideal destabilise our conceptions of it? From squatters forced to move from building to building in London, or mobile traders circulating between markets in West Africa, is it possible to continually exist on the move and remain emplaced?

The link between place, that which describes our experience of, connection to and relationship with the environments we inhabit, and subjectivity is a well-documented one. But what becomes of place-based subjectivities and identities when the subjects in question are on the move? This panel seeks to explore the relationship between movement and place-making, and examine how these concepts intersect and effect one another, giving rise to places, and subsequently subjectivities that reflect this relationship.

Additionally, what remains of the places that people leave behind? What happens when long standing places are eradicated and inhabitants are displaced? Is it possible for displaced populations to recreate meaningful places elsewhere? How do highly mobile people emplace themselves in the environments they pass through?

We are also interested in exploring whether people on the move create particular types of places: Does place-making on the move result in the creation of relatively ephemeral and transitory places? Does being on the move allow for more freedom, creative experimentation and agency in the creation of places?

Accepted Papers

The Moral Construction of Space: Homelessness, Squatting and Social Death
Stephanie Grohmann (Goldsmiths)
This paper discusses the interconnection between spatial practices and the construction of moral personhood, based on the example of homelessness and squatting activism in 'Austerity Britain'. Drawing on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork with persons who have no fixed address in the West of England, I explore the connections between spatiality, embodied cognition and the moral construction of self and other.

Because bodies are spatial objects, embodied cognition is necessarily spatial – 'human beings are spatial beings'. Moral personhood is therefore also and especially spatially constructed, most importantly through metaphors of 'inside' vs. 'outside'. This applies on the one hand to the construction of subjectivities through their location in physical space, and on the other hand to the spatial component of social relations. The example of homelessness shows that these two things frequently go together – homeless people are both 'outside' of physical dwellings and 'outside' of social relations, a condition often referred to in the literature as 'social death'. 'Social death', defined as exclusion from the moral space of territorially defined 'society', means a loss of moral personhood that goes along with dehumanisation and objectification. It frequently causes psychological trauma in the sense of an experience of 'cognitive death', and in some cases, leads directly to physical death through exposure or violence.

My fieldwork with homeless people and squatters shows that an effective way of combatting 'social death' consists in co-operation, solidarity, and an ethics of recognising one another as embodied, and thus vulnerable, human beings. I therefore conclude that squatting, as a political and ethical practice, aims not

only at the removal of an immediate material lack, but also and especially at the re-construction of moral personhood through a practical ethics of recognition.

Four Houses in as Many Weeks: Squatting, Place-making and Precarity
Matthew Fish (SOAS)
Squatting, the occupation of buildings, structures or land to which one has no legal right to occupy, often against the wishes of the legal owner, is arguably as old as private property itself. As a spatial practice it actively challenges the normative yet thoroughly normalised concepts such as 'private', 'public', 'legal', 'illegal', 'rent' and 'rights' that perpetuate not only the apparent immanence of private property, but also structure how we conceive of and relate to place, and consequently ourselves. Squatting attempts to create places 'on the move' according to a different logic, one which champions agency, autonomy and struggle.

Despite the practice being thoroughly precarious, uncertain and replete with legal and logistical difficulties (which I will discuss in my presentation) squatters nevertheless construct places which are incredibly meaningful despite their often temporary nature. I wish to explore how despite the fleeting nature of such sites, it is precisely the collective experience of struggle and precarity that imbues them with their meaning and 'place-ness', contributing to an alternative understanding of city space based on the intense experiences that squatters often go through in order to construct place and home in London. Against the backdrop of a city in which long standing places are increasingly being either eradicated or else commodified and made ever more the preserve of elites, I argue that squatting is not only a means of housing oneself, but a way of creating meaning and sustaining specific place based political subjectivities which resist neoliberal spatialisation and subjectivisation.

How Far is Far Enough? Conflicting Understandings of 'place' and 'navigation' on the waterways of London
Ben Bowles (Brunel)
London's itinerant boat dwellers ('Boaters') are required by law to move to a new 'place' every fourteen days in the course of a 'bone fide navigation'. Conflicts between the Boaters and the authorities tend to focus on their differing understandings of these terms – terms which are left undefined and open to interpretation in the legislation. The waterways authorities, first British Waterways (BW) and now Canal & River Trust (CaRT), have attempted over the years to enforce different definitions of the term 'place', typically using pre-existing boundaries or arbitrary definitions based upon distance moved. Thus they have attempted, variously, to have the Boaters move between Parish boundaries, ten lock miles (where the number of locks times the number of miles must equal at least ten), and most recently three kilometers per fortnightly move. In this paper, I use evidence from my fieldwork with the Boaters, including my attendance at a 'neigbourhood mapping meeting' to show how Boaters' understandings of what constitutes a 'place' is based upon an emic and relational understanding, rooted in what is 'spoken of' as a separate place. 'Places', for the

Boaters, are rooted in utility and in the daily life of the waterways; local amenities, facilities, locks, pubs and transport hubs are central in dividing these locations. 'Continuous' or 'Bone Fide' 'Navigation' is also, for the Boaters, not understood as a legal absolute, but rather as a personal process of engaging with the waterways, which can be affected by personal circumstances, the changing environment, and the seasons.

The *Sadaqah* Economy: Recreating a Sacred Place in Gentrifying Paris
Carrie Benjamin (SOAS)
The Goutte d'Or is commonly referred to as 'Africa in Paris' and is one of the city's last working class neighborhoods. While the African market in the neighborhood attracts customers from throughout metropolitan France, it is the mosques that are considered the "heart" of the neighborhood by Muslim residents and visitors. In 1974 a Malian migrant opened the Al-Fath Mosque in the basement of a residential building to host a rapidly growing population of West African Muslims. Over the past 30 years the mosque has been relocated, demolished and rebuilt as a result of two waves of urban renewal projects in the Goutte d'Or. During the most recent wave, the town hall demolished the mosque to make way for a new, secular Institute des Cultures d'Islam (ICI). As the mosque's tenure came to an end, the surrounding area opened up to street vendors and beggars who have created a small economy based on the redistribution and reselling of *sadaqah* (voluntary charity) donations. In this paper, I analyze the practice of redistributing and reselling *sadaqah* in relation to ongoing gentrification and neighbourhood changes in the Goutte d'Or, arguing that this informal economy preserves the memory of the mosque. Furthermore, I contend that the memory of the mosque has marked the place as sacred, and as such it continues to draw faithful Muslims who give alms to the poor and thus catalyze these religious and economic exchanges. Finally, I question the future of this economy as the ICI nears completion and begging is slowly becoming discouraged and policed with gentrification.

Mobile Female Traders from Mali
Gunvor Jónsson (SOAS)
The Dakar-Niger railway, which stretches between the capitals of Senegal and Mali, used to be closely associated with Malian trade. For nearly a century female railway merchants, known as bana-banas, travelled back and forth with their goods on the passenger train; and in the late '80s a Malian market developed around the terminus train station in Dakar. Bana-banas acted as suppliers and middlemen for these Malian market traders and also began to sell their own goods at the terminus station, which they used as a dormitory in-between the two trains. Meanwhile, in 2009 the passenger train that the bana-banas had travelled on was taken out of service after privatisation, and the Malian market was bulldozed by the Senegalese authorities. In this presentation, I compare the emplacement of Malian bana-banas, before and after these dramatic events. I focus on the different ways the bana-banas embedded themselves in locations, nodes and networks in the environments they travelled through and briefly stayed in. The Malian bana-banas' social and commercial practices were to a

large extent carried over into new places. In this presentation I consider how the new places that were used or created by the bana-banas' shaped their activities and experiences, presenting both new limitations as well as new possibilities for these female traders. I begin the presentation by looking at the bana-banas' experiences of place-making within transport, comparing the rail to the road. Subsequently, I move on to examine the women's emplacement in Dakar during their temporary stays in the city.

Food Activism, Localism and Mobility in London
Hannah Roberson (SOAS)
This paper draws on research with local food activists in London. Motivated by environmental concerns, these activists were seeking to 'relocalise' the production of food (and other material goods), in anticipation of a future where climate change and resource depletion would make relying on one's local area and one's neighbours for the majority of day-to-day needs inevitable.

This localism was, in part, animated by a nostalgia for a settled life in place and a cohesive local identity. Yet this was ambivalent and contested in a built-up, densely populated and diverse part of London. Any nostalgia was not for the place in which activists now lived and worked. Indeed, activists, and those they encountered, often understood the 'world city' as the antithesis of an appropriate place for the small-scale, interdependent, largely self-sufficient community they envisaged for the future. Moreover, activists strongly opposed, and were keen to distance themselves from, right-wing discourses against migration. As such, they did not make claims for their own project of localism that were based on indigeneity or autochthony.

This paper explores how activists negotiated the dynamics of a project of place-making that sought to be cohesive without being exclusive, and environmental principles that resisted the mobility of food and people. The structures of activist movements and donors' requirements made processes of boundary-making essential to the food activism of the group I worked with, even as people, plants, food and ideas were highly mobile. Cosmopolitan diets were also important to activists' identity as progressive urban residents, and activists experienced everyday food and environmental activism as a form of global citizenship marked by concern for place, people and non-human species, often distant in space and time. I explore how, in this context, activists sought to cultivate affective territorial attachments and reshape the urban landscape around food-growing.

Panel 3 – Effects and Forms: Embodiment and Social Movements

Accepted papers

The Politics of Standing Still: movement and its other in Muharram rituals
Zoë Goodman (SOAS)

Anthropology's current preoccupation with movement offers a useful framework for considering the Muharram rituals of Khoja Ithna Asheris in Mombasa, Kenya. Khoja Ithna Asheris are Shia Muslims with origins in the Indian state of Gujarat, one of the myriad communities that form part of Kenya's heterogeneous 'Asian' minority – most of whom migrated by sea in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This paper begins by examining the ways in which bodily actions and orientations enable female worshipers to connect to particular geographies, histories of migration and narratives of Islam. Extended iteration of various forms of matam (breast-beating) brings tragedy and transformation, as well as places, journeys and shifting political affinities into communal religious space. What then, within this cacophony of movement, does it mean to stand still? Here I consider stillness as cosmopolitan critique, a means employed by some women to distance themselves from burdensome origins and manifestations of Islamic practice, while demonstrating their affinity to other communities of belonging. Being still in this context is bound up with notions of reflexivity and solidarity, as much as superiority, (self)surveillance and guilt – I explore some of the local and global politics that might help unpack these sentiments. In a discipline long committed to examining what is not said as much as what is, I conclude by encouraging more attention to 'being still' in our studies of life on the move.

Boxing as Bodily Autology: An ethnography of masculine praxis in an Essex Boxing Club
Pete Lockwood (UCL)
In recent sociological accounts of boxing, analysts have typically drawn attention towards the ways in which particular forms of training re-tune the body's habitus in order for it to adopt the postures and stances appropriate for the 'Sweet Science'. This process is a gradual sea-shift, where trainee boxers are turned into kinetically efficient punching and parrying boxers through iterative practices of deliberate and particular bodily movements. By contrast, this paper explores the movement of boxers as a form of bodily elicitation, following the anthropology of Marilyn Strathern and Knut Christian Myhre. Using the francophone anthropology of techniques as analytical means of considering the *effects* of particular forms of bodily movement and sensory experience, I consider how the *forms* and sensory *logics* of boxing practiced (and experienced) by my ethnographic informants in an Essex boxing gym elicit an ontological essence of their personhood: autology. Through the practice of a set of defensive and aggressive postures, boxing allows young men in Essex to embody what they claim they are: individual, self-determining and agentive subjects. The very movements of boxing thus allow boxing trainees to conceptually cast off the obtrusive alterity of their daily lives and to rediscover a default setting of individuality that is brought forth through movement; the punching and blocking of the pugilistic sport. Boxing is thus re-interpreted as an act of bodily autology: a practical form of poiesis that elicits the singular and determining self, an aspect of personhood I suggest is ontological and yet drawn forth in its most absolute form over the course of boxing training.

Embodied Learning in South Indian Dance: Imitation and sensory knowledge in Bharatanatyam apprenticeship
Jamila Dorner (SOAS)
Since Marcel Mauss' early investigations of the 'techniques of the body', anthropological studies on the moving body have shown how embodied skills or 'ways of knowing' were culturally shaped and learned in given environments. Moving beyond a reification of knowledge merely transmitted as cognitive schema, recent investigations of the learning body suggest that embodied skills result from a process of 'enskilment' through which novices learn by participating and practicing while belonging to communities of practice.

This paper will explore embodied learning in the South Indian dance form Bharatanatyam with a focus on imitative learning in relation to sensory knowledge. Through a micro-analysis of the types of instructions, feedback, activities and bodily responses between teachers and disciples, I will examine: How do Bharatanatyam practitioners learn their bodily skills? How does imitative learning take place in the dance class? Which senses are at stake while learning by *mimesis*? During my fieldwork in Chennai where I have used the apprentice-style method to learn Bharatanatyam in a local dance school, I have observed that *mimesis* was a mainstay of Bharatanatyam *enskilment* and that the senses of vision and audition played an important role.

Building on Greg Downey's work on the ways of scaffolding imitation in the Brazilian martial art Capoeira, this paper will investigate imitative learning in the context of South Indian dance. In addition, drawing on the anthropology of the senses, it will explore how the senses are conceptualized and fine-tuned in South Indian dance apprenticeship. Ultimately, by examining Bharatanatyam *enskilment*, this paper will discuss the role of the senses in imitative learning and – in regard to the nature-nurture debate on skills – the role of 'nurture' in imitation considered a hallmark of human learning and knowledge.

Reaching Forward to Draw in the Future(s): experimentation and uneven time in the UK climate justice movement
Ellen Potts (UCL)
Under the spectre of catastrophic climate change, the UK Camp for Climate Action set up fleeting 'future homes' annually from 2006 to 2010 which mixed low-impact living and sharing of skills, information and resources with direct action against climate change perpetrators. From 2010 to 2013 and beyond, climate activism in the UK has diffused into multiple interlinked projects often fused with other campaigns, particularly around austerity and social justice, such as in the case of the group Fuel Poverty Action (FPA).

The paper draws on ethnographic material from participation in Climate Camp and FPA to examine the interwoven practices and socialities in the UK's climate justice movement, which hold at their heart a spirit of experimentation along with an openness to change in response to reflexive scrutiny, linking to experiences of time and struggle as intertwined and highly uneven.

The material suggests that indeterminacy is at the heart of these struggles for change, the flipside of which is a particular experience of time - not as a linear chain of events, but rather as a constant (though uneven) opening up of possibility and actuality, the boundaries between which blur and at times collapse altogether. In this context, the conditions for social change from the ground up – experienced by activists as on-rolling processes of revolution – appear promising.

Such worlds sit within a broader framework of mutuality – the responsive property of an immanent relationality that emanates from and connects more or less autonomous subjectivities – itself suggestive of worlds fertile with possibility. Indeed, prefiguration – the term used by activists to describe a fusion of means and ends – is effectively the expression of mutuality over time, in which activists reach out and draw in possible/actual futures.

Aesthetic Social Movements in México and Argentina
Jose Ignacio Gonzalez-Acosta (Goldsmiths)
Generally, governments and institutions have lost their ability to generate citizen participation, and to face social problems in contemporary society. At the same time, the emergence of social movements with an 'aesthetic' character has shown to be a constructive vector for the creation of new systems of sociability, communication, and community. These movements have been capable of generating ample participation within society, and a profound involvement within their members, by appearing attractive to them and generating within them a sense of belonging. They appear to be based on the ecology and emergence of aesthetic communities, which have spread in recent years with factors such as the expansion of the internet, social media networks, and the liquid forms of sociability they provide. On the other hand, they have also been propelled by the consequences of adverse social conditions deriving from the crisis of globalization and the capitalist political and economic models currently being implemented in 'modern' nation states.

Manufacturing Futures: The Role of 'Open-Access' Making
Elizabeth Corbin (UCL)
Born from the wake of innovation and crisis is the forging of a new frontier –a trans-Atlantic convoy of creatively-inclined industrialists, armed with numerous well-versed manifestos of entrepreneurial spirit and vigour, employing open-source and open-access rhetoric to cast alternative pathways for education and employment at a time when precarious labour rises in correlation with increased limitation of resources.

From making to the made, this self-titled 'Maker Movement' has been identified as having worldwide impact. Spanning ten years, the rapid expansion of the Movement has ran in parallel to the surge in supply and demand for open-access means of making. It is both a reactionary movement symptomatic of flexible free-market instability, increasingly precarious labour and globalised capitalism; and a remediation for such symptoms spurred on by advanced technologies, open-

source information and design, anti-censorship advocacy and peer-to-peer communities.

The Movement has played a significant role in not only the creation of new landscapes for making and manufacturing, but also in the generation of new ways in which a person comes to understand the material and social world. The Movement privileges a specific kind of making; with a certain set of tools and materials. As a result, novel networks of technical, material and social relations arise and develop as people find ways to engage with these distinct mediations.

As a key player within a widespread cultural re-focusing of making, how has the Movement's definition and unique configurations of making connects to wider economies of practices, manufacture and educational (re)formation? The research, a timely inquiry into a contemporary cultural phenomena, explores how, for a collection of materials and a community, the Movement's positioning of open-access making functions as a provision for the cultivation of knowledge, power, and social modes for being towards the cultivation of material-human relations and ultimately the development of unique Nature/Cultures.

Panel 4 – Subjects and Subjectivities

Accepted papers

'Behind Every Successful Black Guy there's a White Guy in the Corner': Migration, Exploitation, and the English Premier League in Jamaica
William Tantam (Goldsmiths)
This presentation looks at the support for English Premier League (EPL) football clubs in Black River, a rural town in Jamaica. Football is both transformational and transformed as it travels, and this presentation embeds the sport within a context that has been 'globalized' for more than five centuries. Support for the EPL in Jamaica has grown significantly along with widening access to the internet and 'cable' television. Theorists on football support have focussed particularly on the interactions between 'global' football teams and 'local' supporters, offering the term 'glocalization' for understanding the intermingled processes of homogenization and heterogenization. I argue that football supporters in Jamaica use the English Premier League as a way to explain their experiences as migrants in terms of global economic inequalities.

I focus on one particular EPL football match that I watched with participants, which was also a leaving party for a couple of the men who were migrating to the USA. Alongside data gathered watching EPL football, I incorporate my experiences with the men on the amateur football pitch and while socializing with them at the bar and on the street corner. In particular, I highlight the continued precariousness of Jamaican seasonal migrants who are reliant on 'H2B' visas to the USA, where they are employed in low-wage, low-prestige jobs. While their individual migration histories were specific to each of them, looking at international football offered them one way to make sense of their experiences

in terms of global inequalities of wealth and potential. In the same way that 'black' football players were seen as being economically exploited by 'white' others, the men felt that Jamaicans' labour was exploited for the benefit of other states.

Mobility, Unintelligibility, Uncertainty: Frontiers of precarious manhood in Istanbul
Janine Su (UCL)
My ethnographic research follows single young men occupied with the pastime of 'hassling' visiting foreign women in the touristic Sultanahmet district of Istanbul. I examine this phenomenon through the notion of mobility at its intersection with the performative structures of manhood in Turkey. Specifically, I aim to highlight the ambiguities that emerge from a slippage between normative or 'sedentary' frameworks of manhood and those relating to the 'nomadic' paths taken by my informants.

My informants typically left their home towns and villages as adolescents and gravitated to
Sultanahmet upon arriving in Istanbul. Their trajectories prompt me to distinguish between 'migrant' and 'nomad', which I do through the notion of 'place identity'. These are mediated through sıla and gurbet, concepts that dichotomise dimensions of 'home' against those of 'exile' and presume all migrants to be in mourning for the place left behind. Noting the conceptual link between gurbet and manhood through the notion of 'the outside', I observe that my informants reject this dichotomy; instead, they are intent on transgressing new physical and experiential frontiers. This triggers additional registers of social precarity that oblige mobility and generate unintelligibility, both of which are contained in garip, a concept that can translate into both 'strange' and 'stranger'.

The young garips who make up the ethnographic centrepiece of my study aspire to manhood on terms they set for themselves rather than on those dictated by normative sociability. In Sultanahmet, whose liminal environs are rich in opportunities for adventure and poor in institutions to claim normative manhood, relationships with foreign women, which might lead to marriage and visas for international travel—i.e. continued mobility— consequently become sites of psychosocial and spatiotemporal ambiguity, with potential consequences for their relationships to the category of 'man'.

Everyday Aspiration in a Girls' Madrasa: Shifting Boundaries and Changing Horizons
Hem Borker (Oxford)
This paper is based on my DPhil research that explores the everyday lives of girls in madrasa Jamia-tul-Mominaat, an exclusive girls' madrasa in Delhi to understand their experience of becoming educated Muslim women. Drawing on 12 months of ethnographic fieldwork, I argue that the imagination and aspiration that constitutes the experience of becoming an ideal Muslim woman presents a

very unique story of what girls *make of* madrasa education.

In line with the theme of 'Subjects and subjectivities on the move', I focus on the unfolding of young women's lives as they journey from home to madrasa and beyond. Bringing together the concepts of community, piety and aspiration I highlight the fluidity of the ideal of perfect Muslim woman - the changing life trajectories of madrasa students both emerging from and altering the boundaries of the aspired ideal. I examine how education becomes a site where the meaning of what constitutes an ideal Muslim woman is negotiated in the everyday lives of madrasa girls. At one level, girls value and adopt practices taught in the madrasa as essential to practice of piety (amal). At another level, there is a more tactical aspect to cultivating one's identity as a madrasa-educated Muslim girl.

By highlighting the everyday tensions, ambiguities and negotiations that madrasa education brings in its wake, the paper uncovers significantly new understandings of girls' Islamic education, understandings that diverge significantly from the madrasas and even girls' parents. It demonstrates the manner in which madrasa education in girls' madrasas is contributing to the construction of a new kind of 'educated Muslim women' in India.

Female Genital Cutting as Always Distant: Chagga Narratives and Memories
Mary-Anne Decatur (SOAS)
In the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania, the practice of female genital cutting has largely ended in Chagga communities, but remains pervasive in Maasai communities. Chagga community members are comparatively affluent with better access to education, and Chagga people hold prominent positions as NGO employees and healthcare providers working to end female genital cutting in Maasai communities. This paper draws on fifteen months of fieldwork to explore how these Chagga people speak about female genital cutting as existing in othered places and othered bodies. Maasai people were positioned in these discourses as exoticized, recent migrants to the Kilimanjaro region, despite their long history in the area interconnected with Chagga people. Female genital cutting in Chagga communities was predominantly conceptualized as a historically distant practice of the past. The hypothetical persistence of female genital cutting in certain Chagga communities was always described as occurring someplace more rural, less affluent and less 'modern' than the speaker's own town or village.

Building on this conceptual distancing of female genital cutting from Chagga people's lived present, the paper contrasts Chagga elders' memories and narratives of the meaning and intended purpose of female genital cutting in their youth to contemporary and earlier ethnographic accounts from anthropologists such as Sally Falk Moore and Otto F Raum. In these ethnographic accounts from the 1910s to 1970s, Chagga people were described as understanding female and male genital cutting practices as parallel rites integral to initiation into adulthood. Chagga elders now remember the two practices as fundamentally different. For most elder Chagga community members, male genital cutting has become clinic-based and decoupled from initiation rites and the practice of

female genital cutting, while elder Maasai community members continue to see the practices of female and male genital cutting as strongly complementary rites, inherent to initiation, community membership and adulthood.

Dragon Boats and Demon Cities: end time prophecy and the global flows of the demon possessed
Ryan O'Byrne (UCL)
The end of the world is nigh. Everyone knows this. Under the water, there are demon cities. This is an increasingly common view among Evangelical Christians in Acholi South Sudan. One only needs to pay attention to the wickedness of the world to see how these are connected. This is because, in return for the souls of the innocent, satanic powers flow up from the underwater cities of the demon world to those who sell their kin and clan for prestige and profit in the world above. In this way, evil is repaid with status, power, and wealth.
How can we make sense of this? How can anthropology understand worlds in which our subjects move not only between place and time but between different dimensions of thought and existence? How can we understand global flows of wealth and power without understanding cosmological flows of evil, especially as these simultaneously narrate vast colonising networks of cosmologies, monies, power, and ethics? After all, evil is all around us. Even under the water. This paper is about the cosmic movement of manifold, contradictory, and largely invisible flows of people, power, spirits, and wealth between not only different times and places but also multiple dimensions. It is about those who engage in these movements and those who devote their lives to obstructing them. It is about the real and the unreal, the dead and the undead. It is about the movement of indigenous cosmologies into the centre of our analysis and, perhaps, the radical redefinition of reality itself.

Embodied Ghosts of Phantom Lynchings: An Anatomy of El Alto's Hanged Puppets
Martyn Wemyss (UEL)
This paper examines the socio-symbolic meanings of hanged puppets in the neighbourhoods of El Alto from three perspectives. Firstly, with Foucault, from the perspective of the 'political dream of the leper'. Secondly, with de Sousa Santos, as materializations of juridical capital. Finally, with Zizek, as the nightly statutes of 'Shadow Law'. Throughout, the paper addresses issues of materiality and embodiment with regard to non-state law, drawing on fieldwork conducted in El Alto and elsewhere on the Bolivian high plains.

Panel 5 – Migration and Diaspora

Accepted papers

'The Salsa Factor': Music as an Unifying and 'Legitimising' Discourse among Transient Undocumented Latino Labour Migrants in Israel

Moshe Morad (88FM/IBA)
This paper is based on research among transient undocumented Latino labour migrants in Israel. The Tel Aviv Central Bus Station area has been for the last 20 years a transient home for many undocumented labour migrants, Africans, Filipinos, Romanians, Turks, etc. Nowadays it is mostly populated by refugees and labour migrants from Africa, creating a fascinating ethnoscape, but also a social and political conflict with Israelis who live in the area.

Back in 2005 there were also many labour migrants from Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia, most of whom were later deported. Just like the other labour migrants, the Latinos suffered from discriminating employment conditions, police raids, and even terrorist attacks in the bus station area, but they were 'privileged' in one main area– Salsa music.

Salsa is very popular in Israel. Many young Israelis travel to South America after their army service and become Salsa aficionados. In a complete contradiction to their daytime cheap-labour status, at nights the Latino migrants became guests of honour in Tel Aviv's Salsa parties.

In this paper I show how Salsa music became a unique identity factor, both creating and maintaining a sense of artificial 'pan-Latin' identity among labour migrants from different Latin-American countries, and at the same time creating a cultural interface for interaction with the hegemonic society, and a source of cultural pride and respect. I also pinpoint social and cultural similarities between Salsa and popular-yet-marginalized Israeli 'Oriental Music', and show how musical discourse can create a unique relationship of acceptance, respect, and social and cultural interaction, between the 'underdog' undocumented migrant and the hosting society.

Gentrification and High Status Immigration in a Jerusalem Neighbourhood
Hila Zaban (SOAS)
This paper deals with the Baka neighbourhood in Jerusalem and its processes of gentrification, combined with high-status immigration of Jews from Western countries, particularly the United States, France and the UK. The main research question asks how changes in Baka's population influence and reflect spatial and cultural changes in the neighbourhood. Although based in Jerusalem, a city with a very unique character, this research is really about the urban experience in a neoliberal era. The Baka case-study also shows how gentrification processes are not only led from below but are also influenced by municipal, governmental and planning authorities. Moreover, the role of the State in encouraging the high-status immigration of Western Jews by any means possible is deeply affecting the local space where these immigrants choose to settle, and in this case – Baka. The ethnography reveals the links between Baka's gentrification and spatial and cultural changes. Such changes are reflected in the housing market, the religious sphere, modes of development in local services and trade and the pattern of public participation in neighbourhood affairs. Baka provides an example of the slow, dynamic and complex nature of certain types of gentrification. It is also a case-study that combines gentrification, immigration and religion, which has not

been studied much, although it exists in many other places.

Caminantes del Mayab: migration, tourism and Maya identities in the Yucatán Peninsula
Claudia Giannetto (Goldsmiths)
Through the lens of film practice and performance, my research focuses on Yucatecan Mayans, addressing the phenomenon of short-term male migration to the tourist centres on the Mayan coast (*Riviera Maya*).

Leaving the traditional work in the cornfields, indigenous migrants arrive in the Caribbean cities of Quintana Roo in their late teens and work underpaid in hotels, private homes, and construction. Their minimum-wage salaries help support their family in the countryside while their ancestral history and cultural practices become key tourist attractions. For many migrants the process of adaptation to the new conditions of life in the city is slow and difficult: language problems, structural racism and discrimination prevent their full integration into *mestizo* and urban society. Likewise, the return home produces identity bewilderment whilst imposing on the community a comparison with the external cultural models brought by migrants.

As indigenous people participate in the deterritorialized social space of migrant circuit, where local identities and cultural practices risk being disassociated from their place of origin, how is community imagined and sustained among the Maya? How do migration and tourism alter and redefine what it means to be Maya in contemporary Mexico?

By examining the link between transnationalism and circulation of commodities, people and ideas within the local context of the Yucatán Peninsula and the national context of the Mexican nation-state, I interrogate Appadurai's 'nature of locality, as a lived experience, in a globalized world'. I also address recent anthropological concerns with tracing the multiple meaning and cultural logics of modernity, exploring how people engaging with globalization and modernization projects generate new ways of understanding and constructing what it means to be modern within local contexts.

These issues have been explored through a combination of traditional ethnographic and participatory research methods, and staged by indigenous actors in a filmic experiment of cultural self-representation.

'Identity on the Move': Multiple belongings and identity amongst migrants in the UK – An ethnographic case study of Bhutanese refugees in Manchester
Nicole I. J. Hoellerer (Brunel)
Stuart Hall argued that in our postmodern Western world, new ethnicities emerge, in which identities are somewhere-in between, rather than stable and collective expressions of the self. Identity has become, as Hall stated, a matter of political significance, and is reworked on the media and public discourse. For

migrants and people on the move, identity and belonging are not fixed concepts, rooted in a common history or origin, but are re-worked, contested and hybrid, and individuals employ multiple identities and belongings depending on the environment and context in which these questions arise. My own PhD fieldwork with a group of Bhutanese refugees, who arrived in the UK via the Gateway Protection Programme – the organised resettlement of refugees in protracted refugee situations – explores how recently arrived migrants 'play' with notions of identity and belonging, and readily adapt and apply them depending on the situation in which they find themselves in. For my informants, it is not only the physical move from one space (refugee camps in Nepal) to another (an urban centre in the UK), but also a move from one or many identities to others, establishing and maintaining notions of belonging, whilst settling down in an urban environment in the UK.

Positions of Foreignness in Migrant Narratives: Speaking Back to/as Britishness?
Špela Drnovšek Zorko (SOAS)
At a moment when the rights of migrants and their descendants to stake a claim in the cultural and political life of the United Kingdom is once again being hotly debated, it becomes even more urgent to ask how individuals locate themselves and their stories within a wider narrative of belonging and cultural difference. Based on fieldwork interactions and interviews with specific interlocutors who migrated from the region of the former Yugoslavia, this paper explores how individuals position themselves in relation to British social life via concepts such as 'freedom' or 'diversity', particularly in conversations about gender and 'ethnic' or cultural difference. I aim to show how such positions are narrated within the boundaries of a collective 'we' which are continually re-drawn, by invoking sensibilities attributed to experiences of life outside Britain as well as experiences of a self-defined foreignness within it.

Crucially, my interlocutors' perspectives do not lock them into static positions of either critique or endorsement – rather, by articulating a viewpoint which maintains a sensibility of the stranger while simultaneously upholding the ability to speak, they momentarily re-define supposedly British ideas of 'tolerance,' 'democracy,' or 'progress'. By focusing on individuals with varying migration trajectories and self-ascriptions of belonging, I also ask how such 'speaking back' can take multiple and divergent forms, even in throw-away or casual references. In other words, how can we relate the movement of individual subjectivities to the broader movement of the very reference points by which ideas of Britishness and foreignness are fixed? And under what conditions can we read such individual, fleeting redefinitions as political?

The Place of Ambivalence: Undocumented Youth and Contradictory Belonging in Canada
Francesca Meloni (Oxford)
Drawing on long-term ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Canada, this paper explores how undocumented immigrant youth reinterpret the process of place-

making and elaborate ambivalent forms of belonging. While scholars have often examined undocumented children as living 'betwixt and between', in an interminable liminality, the experience of my fieldwork adds further nuances to these claims. This paper argues that youth reinvent ambivalent, contradictory and revocable forms of belonging which lay both *within* and *beyond* three social spaces: the state that denies political membership and access to services to undocumented individuals; their family networks which are based on transnational ties; and the network of peers met at school, with whom they establish affective relationships. However, by not fully belonging, youth do not simply embody discourses of exclusionary policies which reject them as entitled members of a community. By forming their belonging in ambivalent terms, youth also protect themselves from being hurt by their deportability, and by the ways others (immigration policies; school administration; teachers; their peers) construct them as excluded, or partially excluded, from the social and political community. This paper points to the need to understand youths' lives and structural ambivalence within complex forms of belonging and relationships of inter-dependence, beyond the lens of 'incorporation', that is to say, through discerning whether or not they assimilate or remain liminal to the host society, and beyond the lens of 'resistance', that is to say, through examining their agency as stemming solely from political resistance.

Panel 6 – Mobility, Connection and Infrastructures
Prompted by current debates about the cognitive and moral limits of acceleration and speed, anthropologists are paying attention to the emerging values of speed in a globalized economy premised on the promise of connectivity. Emerging out of ethnographies about roads, call centers, ageing nuclear energy plants, port facilities, waste treatment systems, fish markets, ship breaking yards, and rust belts or ghost towns, the smooth surface utopias of speed and connectivity come to be questioned more intently. This is especially acute when the people within these sites of engagement experience with some forensic wonder what happens when the 'machine' breaks down and they have to wrestle back for themselves a 'working order' out of breakdown and deterioration. While such studies develop theory on the network of infrastructures and the techno-political assemblages that manage and regulate our connected world, there is less attention paid to the work of repair, maintenance, neglect, and sabotage of infrastructure and its canalizing social effects. This panel aims to bring a modest ethnographic testimony to what happens to people when such infrastructures are disrupted, destroyed, or otherwise brought to a grinding halt.

This panel invites ethnographies that delve into the forensics of infrastructural failures: as when the very materiality of broken connections – along roads, in ports, through routers – compels people to engage with failure as an analytic object. How do people in a variety of contexts repair, neglect, or abandon broken technologies and infrastructure? Although the contexts of contributions may range considerably, from decaying road infrastructures, to financial disruptions caused by 'fat fingers', we aim to examine comparative instances of broken connectivity and the forensic wonders that such accidental happenings or

processes conjure, towards generating new perspectives on the variable temporality of infrastructural sociality through the lenses of disjunctive speed and broken connectivity.

Accepted papers

Changing Temporalities of Progress in a City Built of Sand
Jasmin Immonen (Goldsmiths)
The paper will argue that youth practices of self-expression in a settlement town near Lima suggest alternative temporalities to the Peruvian national narrative of 'moving forward', *salir adelante*. The research was carried out in a school in the settlement town of Pachacutec, formed by migrants occupying land in the desert mountains surrounding Lima, and by government re-settlement policies in the 1990s. The modernist discourse of *salir adelante* based itself in a linear logic of 'progress' and implied upward social mobility through 'hard-work' and 'learning values'. In Pachacutec, 'progress' was materially expressed in the removal of sand in order to build houses and roads. Yet the absence of legal land-titles and infrastructure problematized the nature of citizenship of the inhabitants, translating in the official discourse into a need for moral improvement and 'responsibility'. The space where the obstacles to progress happened was 'on the street'. Hence, the flipside of the narrative of *salir adelante* was that it created its own opposition: the people who did not 'move forward'. Caught somewhere in the middle in the vertical line of 'progress', the youth in Pachacutec appropriated the liminal domain of 'the street' in their acts of self-creation as a form of mobilising 'respect'. The school counterculture valued 'having fun' during class-times and in social media. On Facebook, a consumer discourse of 'enjoying the moment' was celebrated, along with friendships and fantasies of love. The created spaces of fun signalled the time to be enjoyed was in the present. Social media also allowed voicing criticism over relationships and the wider nation-state. Through their practices of self-creation the youth made the distant close, thereby attesting the insecurities evident in the narrative of 'progress', but also creating distinctions between them and those deemed as 'not fun'.

The Emergence of New Imaginaries Linked to Mobility and Infrastructure, Casablanca
Christiana Strava (SOAS)
In December 2012, Casablanca inaugurated its first tramway line, adding to a list of hypermodern architecture and infrastructure projects that were taken on to prove the city's identity as truly modern. Futuristic looking, glossy red tramcars slithered silently through the city's once traffic congested boulevards, linking its most destitute neighborhoods to the lush, expensive areas hugging the city's beaches. While conducting fieldwork in one such marginalized area, as well as using the tramway myself just months after its inauguration, I became interested in the ways in which this expensive flagship project attempted to create a new narrative about the city's fragmented identity.

Working with and complicating Marc Auge's concepts of 'non-place' and 'supermodernity', in this paper I would like to look at how the tramway helped

spark a constellation of ideas and imaginaries about belonging, displacement and the future. Considering the space of the tramway both as a material and a conceptual space, I will explore some of the ways in which everyday inhabitants appropriated the space and developed new performative registers in response to the tramway's highly regulated environment.

Based on ethnographic material gathered during fifteen months of fieldwork that combined participant-observation with multi-media methods, this paper will explore the emergence of new imaginaries linked to mobility, be it spatial or class based. The main questions guiding this paper are: How does infrastructure come to embody and foster new imaginaries about upward socio-economic mobility? And what happens when infrastructure both disrupts and is disrupted in return?

An Ethnographic Study of the Social Life of a Road, in Shenzhen, Southern China
Ximin Zhou (Manchester)
My PhD project focuses on the ethnographic exploration of a road from different spatial and social perspectives. Between September 2013 and September 2014, I carried out an ethnographic research on Shennan Road, a 30km-long road located in the centre of a coastal city called Shenzhen, in southern China. The use of audio-visual methods as research tool was an essential part of my fieldwork. The subsequent audio-visual materials also make up the final film that will complement the textual thesis.

The presentation I am proposing touches upon the theme of moving bodies from the perspectives of individuals and the collective. I intend to present some ethnographic materials to illustrate how the state of being on the move substantiates the road as a liminal space for different temporalities to take place. I thus present on a series of ethnographic descriptions of the everyday journey between home and workplace made on the road to illustrate how one's past, present and the future becomes created. With the support of visual materials in forms of moving and still images, I wish to bring attentions to the relationship between the moving bodies of bus and car passengers and the changes in mental states stimulated by the external environment which passes by as if it is a scroll of films. In other words, it is about the embodiment of movements as much as the internalisation of external movements. The second part of the presentation, I go further by reminding us of the collective aspect in the experience of waiting for and traveling on buses on Shennan Road. It is a shared experience as various emotions make up specific auras temporalised and spatialised on the day. On that account, I wish to demonstrate that traveling together with others is a heightened experience of awareness *of* and *with* others.

Somali Pirates, Filipino Seafarers and the Unpredictable Values of Speed
Olivia Swift (Goldsmiths)
Shipping has been the lifeblood of global trade throughout history. Even today, 90 per cent of world trade goes by sea. Given the significance of shipping to

global connectivity, scholars have used ships as sites with which to examine the limitations of immateriality and 'time-space compression' thought to define the contemporary capitalist era. A far greater body of literature focuses not on shipping itself but on the ever-present piracy that is typically seen as a force of subversion that diverts capital accumulation and flow. The figure of the pirate, it seems, holds an endless appeal as an abstraction with which to think through the logics of both market and state. Rarely does scholarship about piracy consider the human interactions that take place during pirate attacks or the effects of such incidents on crew-members and their home communities. This paper draws on a series of interviews with Filipino seafarers and their families affected by Somali piracy in an attempt to describe two interconnected processes: i) how and whether piracy disrupts the labour needed to maintain global trade and ii) how the values of speed and connectivity in global circuits of trade split into ransom and insurance payments as well as a wider industry geared towards minimising, or at least managing, the risks and effects of piracy. In so doing the paper argues that rather than a force of subversion, it is more useful to think of piracy as something that unpredictably disrupts the flow of capital and of human lives in ways that create alternative circuits of value and modes of understanding labour.

China Urban Transport and City Tourism
Rui Su (Middlesex)
Urban transport is important to China, which is increasingly becoming a global economic and political powerhouse. The economic-social transmission speeds up the exchange of materials and information across urban contexts, including cities in China. Tourism with people on the move helps to understand how urban transport delivers travellers from their home to the other city destinations.
As well as attracting the tourists, city is interesting to other users. The multifunction of city is a key driving force that brings a range of users, including such businessmen, students, athletes, sub-urban day-trippers, and other visitors crowding for the cultural heritage resources and for the shopping. These city users with interests, priorities, owned resources and power relations help to create new urban activities and urban experience for the city, which become attractive and competitive in the inner-urban competitions.

However, the intensity and complexity of city cause a range of urban issues, such as increasing population, traffic, safety, pollution and waste. These issues may not just damage the image and identity of city as tourist destinations. Rather, they directly affect the sustainability of city, as a place for people to study, to work, to live, to entertain, and to do business.

The case study is conducted in a Chinese city of Nanjing, a distinctive context due to recent major changes in China's economy, society, politics and governance, and the city's rich cultural heritage resources. The examples of metro, rail and road have demonstrated the functions and problematic issues of urban transport in Nanjing tourism development.

Kazi kwa Vijana, Pesa kwa Wazee *(Jobs for Youth, Money for Elders)*: digital

versus analogue ways of connecting, knowing and moving in a rural African village
Gemma Aellah (LSHTM)
In 2010, the World Bank approved funding to support the first component of Kenya's national youth empowerment programme, Kazi Kwa Vijana. Set against the context of a "youth crisis" and with memories of post-election violence and rioting fresh, the component aimed to simultaneously improve the employability of youth, their moral character and the country's infrastructure through short-term temporary work projects such as road-building. By October 2011 the World Bank had cancelled a million dollar funding boost for the project, amid ongoing scandals of corruption and mismanagement. This paper explores one example of the programme in action – a small road-building project in a rural village in Western Kenya- and the ambitions and experiences of 'youth in crisis' who were supposed to complete it. It places it in the context of the highly politicised nature of road building as a statement of political power and/or marginalisation; and within wider tropes of intergenerational differences in modes of connectivity, moral authority, opportunities for making-a-living that rural 'youth in crisis' experience and debate. As a satellite field site for a transnational medical research station, roads to and through this village have a profound effect on its potential connectivity and how it can be known to the rest of the world. The way that the temporary 'unionisation' of youth as a workforce and as a political category engendered by the programme bled into other domains such as their approach to being a willing labour pool (as human-landing catchers) for a global malaria programme will be discussed.

Panel 7 – Intangible Music and Tangible Musical Instruments
Identity has often been allied to place, but local communities of musicians and musical instrument makers increasingly operate across boundaries. International festivals and organisations, and in on-line communities, often bolster local revivals. This has implications for the contemporary concern to protect and sustain tangible and intangible cultural heritage, a concern championed by UNESCO and by numerous academic and artistic associations. Flows and networks value, encourage, and challenge the regional specificities of instrument production through knowledge and practice gained in physical and online international arenas. One effect is that sustaining instrument production as part of the tangible heritage may need to allow for developments that contrast inherited materiality. Another is that tangible instruments are taken up and used by musicians operating in new locales; musicians, as creative beings, develop new repertoires that may reflect new artistic preferences and embody diverse spiritual and cultural practices.

This panel explores three case studies: the international jew's harp revival, asking whether the virtual connectedness brought initially by festivals and a print journal and more recently by online communities has impacted on geographic mobility; European bagpipers, enthusiasts, dancers and instrument makers for whom physical reunions at international events form vital 'live experiences' of intense knowledge exchange that bolster both local and cross-

border activities; and the global marketplace for shakuhachi, a once Japanese flute that now has a global presence, bought and sold online in ways that set in motion digital circulations of images, recordings and vocabularies intended to convey the sound, appearance and 'feel' of specific instruments.

Accepted papers

The Imagined Community Incarnate: Virtual Connectedness and Co-presence in the International Jew's Harp Revival
Deidre Morgan (SOAS)

> There is something about the Jew's harp that attracts more than usual affection for the instrument and everything about it. Other instruments have fans, enthusiasts, aficionados; the Jew's harp attracts zealots and fanatics. The explanation, I believe, is in the fact that the more irrational any behavior is, the more tenaciously one clings to it. – Ferderick Crane, 1982

As editor Frederick Crane suggested on the opening page of the first issue of the jew's harp journal *VIM*, the jew's harp inspires the kind of devotion that galvanizes people at an international level. During the early stages of the jew's harp revival in the 1980s, contributions to *VIM* arrived from the USA, Germany, the UK, France, and Russia. Since 1984, the Congresses of the International Jew's Harp Society have likewise attracted attendees from around the world. Not surprisingly, the connectedness of this transnational scene has only increased since the advent of social media, YouTube, and crowd-funding sites, and jew's harp enthusiasts are now interacting with each other at an unprecedented rate both online and in person. However, in this paper I argue that the international jew's harp revival has, from the very beginning, been predicated on 'virtual connectedness. Long before the Internet, jew's harp enthusiasts were bridging geo-political divides by creating a network within which knowledge, instruments, and events could be mobilized. But can virtual connectedness actually have an impact on geographic mobility? Using examples from the jew's harp revival's past and present, as well as its online dimensions, I will demonstrate how virtual interactions help support the development of social capital, which in turn can be leveraged into opportunities for increased mobility and co-presence. Building on contemporary 'cyberethnographies', I use an ethnographic approach to understanding the processes of social engagement in both its on- and offline spheres.

Moving Matters: Caring about Instruments and Circulation in the Transnational Shakuhachi Scene
Joe Browning (SOAS)
Issues of materiality shape the movements of people, instruments and ideas that have, since roughly the 1960s, helped produce a transnational musical scene centred around the shakuhachi. This paper traces the ways in which, as it moves across geographic borders, this Japanese bamboo flute is positioned at the boundary between inert matter and lively, agential object. Shakuhachi makers

care, variously, about controlling and responding to bamboo, scientific accuracy and intuitive craft, acoustic laws and the bamboo's 'voice'. Players relish, variously, the challenge of 'wild', unpredictable instruments, the consistency of precision-made flutes and the surprise of shakuhachi that seem to 'sing' on their own. Such ambivalence over material agency helps to animate the global marketplace for shakuhachi, objectifies broader fascinations both with cultural difference and shared musicality, and thus signals different kinds of value and desire within the scene. And, as shakuhachi are increasingly bought and sold online, it sets in motion digital circulations of images, recordings and vocabularies intended to convey the sound, appearance, and 'feel' of specific instruments and so lend substance to virtual economies.

With these complexities in mind, I argue that, especially amongst shakuhachi players and makers outside Japan, concern for materiality is reflexively tied to concern for the instrument's travels on the world stage. This manifests, for example, in debates over makers' use of alternative materials (wood and plastic), mechanised construction methods and new instrument designs, and in discourse that frames the instrument's capacity to reconfigure players' bodies and minds as at once distinctly Japanese and globally relevant. Attending to such issues reveals, I suggest, connections between materiality and 'globalist projects' that matter both inside the shakuhachi scene and well beyond.

An International Community – Bagpipes Across Europe
Cassandre Balasso-Bardin (SOAS)
'Could you shoot a video message from UK bagpipers to show people here that we are not alone in this cruel world?' This Facebook message sent from a Belarusian piper and event organiser in Minsk to me, a London-based piper and ethnomusicologist, illustrates the infrastructure of the international bagpipe network, where digital resources are today used to create a sense of belonging and community. Since the 1960s, bagpipe revivals have emerged across Europe, led by enthusiastic and passionate individuals. Local associations have created archives, music schools and festivals. Despite the flurry of activity, revivals remained largely local phenomena, leading to a sense of isolation for some communities, hence the comment from Belarus above. In 1976, a French folk festival for the first time gathered European bagpipers, enthusiasts, dancers and instrument makers. This was for some years the only time of the year where makers and musicians from across Europe met, shared experiences and forged international friendships. The Internet has made communication much easier, so that bonds created at such festivals now continue in the worlds of social media. Physical reunions, however, remain vital, as these 'lived experiences' are moments of intense knowledge exchange. Drawing on my decade of involvement in the community as well as ethnomusicological and anthropological theory, my paper examines how international meetings remain essential to local communities, helping to forge bonds while asserting the validity of both local and cross-border activities. I showcase a festival that led to the creation of the International Bagpipe Organisation in 2012, using this to explore the continuing need for international connectedness among the world's local bagpipe communities.

Chipmusic: Musician Networks, Fields of Power
Marilou Polymeropoulou (Oxford)
Digital musical processes and practices are affected by internet and mobile communications, enabling the inter-connection of social agents in various locations transcending national boundaries. Musicians use the internet to find collaborators, to listen to music, and also, to promote and circulate their musical creations. Currently, there is a significant number of online communities that are also active in physical realms. In this talk, I centre on one such example, chipmusic.

Chipmusic, also known as chiptunes and 8-bit music, is electronic music characteristic of the sounds of low-technology 1980s computers. The network of chipmusicians, the chipscene, emerged online during the 1990s. Today it is a geographically dispersed, transnational network of musicians, who originate from and reside in more than forty countries worldwide.

In my presentation I will firstly discuss briefly chipmusic and chipmusic-making instruments. Secondly I will outline the tools and the mixed methods approach that I developed in order to visualise the chipscene network: combining ethnography and social network analysis, and developing a method that can be universally used to visualise networks based on ethnographic and computational data. And finally, I will analyse the findings of my research, derived from the analysis of the network as well as ethnographic information. I will mostly focus on the need for connectedness in the chipscene network, which has an effect on musicians' social conduct in digital and physical places. For example, avoidance of topics that could destabilise the network is common, whereas incidents of drama and conflict are often found to unify chipmusicians.

Panel 8 – Debt, money and social mobility
This panel aims to explore anthropological angles on debt. It illuminates the moral and political contestations over 'inclusion' as everyday life is financialised and as efforts are made to 'bank' those who might formerly have gone 'unbanked'. Papers might include: how the financialisation of everyday life creates new regimes of value, affects home ownership, intensifies transnational migration (as indebted people from countries affected by the crisis leave home to earn repayments).

Accepted papers

Narratives of Movement, Narratives of Debt
Ana Gutierrez (LSE)
This paper considers debt as a powerful and effective ingredient that influences the movement of people around the world. This paper addresses the narratives of debt that women, from different parts of Latin America, used to give coherence and meaning to their decisions, projects and identities as migrants in

London. I look at the conjunction that exists between structural forces that 'pushed' women to migrate to the UK and the personal economies behind their dreams and aspirations. Through the analysis of women's narratives, I explore how debt is a dynamic and complex force that is inextricably linked with the capitalist economic inequality that persists between the developed and underdeveloped world. Furthermore, I argue that it is also a resource that allows people – especially those trapped in the middle of wider economic forces – to (re)construct ideological notions of social status and class.

Beyond Mortgage Debt: upholding care economies between Barcelona and Ecuador

Maka Suarez (Goldsmiths)

Many Barcelona-based Ecuadorian migrants had built houses in Ecuador before defaulting and losing their Spanish houses following the burst of the housing bubble. Houses in Ecuador were financed by remittances and became part of a larger transnational 'care economy' responsible for supporting thousands of extended families from abroad following Ecuador's financial collapse in 1999. According to Spanish mortgage law, a house is not the sole collateral to a mortgage debt and individuals cannot declare bankruptcy. In fact debtors are liable with all present and future assets, making Ecuadorian homes a financial target for collection agencies in order to extinguish outstanding financial obligations in Spain. In conversation with recent anthropology of debt concerned with care economies, the possibilities opened up by credit to the urban poor, and critical analysis of indebtedness, this paper documents how transnational economies of care were secured by Ecuadorian migrants through negotiations with their country's government in order to safeguard their Ecuadorian houses in an attempt to protect solidarity and kin relationships.

Money From Nothing: Mediated Capitalism in South Africa

Deborah James (LSE)

The credit/debt revolution worldwide has been seen as intensifying the power and profit of capitalism and acting to the detriment of householders. Yet in the case of South Africa, forces of state and market have intertwined to create a redistributive neoliberalism, providing a context in which brokers and intermediaries insert themselves into the interstices of the system. People of all sorts make money 'from nothing' by charging commissions or adding interest at every point in the value chain. Over a century of the country's rapid transition, spaces have continually opened up for such figures, who have played a key role in establishing the current credit/debt landscape. In an era when the race-based separation of the population into discrete spatialised territories was proceeding apace, traders and commercial operators relied on agents who bridged the gap between the white-owned world of increasingly formal business and the rural/township world of economic informality. Often these chameleon-like figures were difficult to classify or pigeonhole since they assumed the features of those employing them (or those to whom they were representing their employers). Agents then set up on their own, always relying on the profits to be made from 'selling on tick'. The paper provides a set of cases to illuminate and

explore this situation; illustrating how difficult it is to separate 'bad' from 'good' protagonists; 'perpetrators' from 'victims', or 'benefactors' from 'beneficiaries'. Many who lend money borrow it as well; borrowers are also lenders.

Collateral Kin: Debt and Kinship in Indian Microfinance
Sohini Kar (LSE)
Microfinance is often celebrated for producing empowered, entrepreneurial women through access to credit. Commercial microfinance institutions (MFIs) in India, however, require women to have male kin serve as guarantors for their loans. While husbands serve most frequently as guarantors, brothers, fathers, and sons are also mobilized. In the absence of male kin, women also resort to producing fictive kin to fulfill this role. This paper examines the narratives of 'good' and 'bad husbands and wives, mothers and sons, as women seek out male kin to be guarantors. In doing so, I examine how the seemingly unbacked microfinance loans financialize kinship by collateralizating on these familial relations.