Students of Cultural Anthropology Journal

Colophon

Our goals
SCAJ strives to be an inclusive platform for showcasing work written by students for students from the department of Cultural Anthropology at Utrecht University and Utrecht University College. We encourage students from all backgrounds to submit their work, the only criterion being that it was written for an anthropology course. In accordance, SCAJ strongly believes in the power of knowledge-sharing. Students hold the ability to educate and inspire fellow students by displaying their work.

Our values

SCAJ aspires to be transparent when it comes to methods and processes regarding the creation and publishing of the journal. Holding into account that SCAJ is an undergraduate/graduate journal, we have no intention of pretending to know more than our fellow students in the academic field. Equality between the core team, reviewers, authors, and readers is therefore strongly emphasized. By stressing this, SCAJ aims to become an accessible platform for both writers and readers.

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Introduction

The Students of Cultural Anthropology Journal is created through the efforts of an expanding collective of students of anthropology in Utrecht, who feel that intellectual growth demands exchange beyond the format of the university classroom. We can learn so much from each other by celebrating our diversity of styles and interests. I believe that working with, rather than aside from one another is the key to the closeness this celebration requires. And, to be honest, has the necessity for closeness since the foundation of this platform ever been greater? I have observed the writing process to be a paradoxically lonely endeavor before, unknowing of the magnitude this solitude would come to embody. Presently, the distance between ourselves and our schools, our professors, and our co-students more often than not appears to be too large to bridge. This second edition of SCAJ is aimed at extending the grid of knowledge beyond the classrooms into our homes, synchronizing the movement of language constitutive to the academic pursuit.

SCAJ was founded upon the principles of inclusivity and open exchange, and we strive to ever improve in these regards. Throughout this turbulent past year, the backbone of SCAJ has undergone noteworthy developments. Whereas the first edition was solely composed of works written by students from cultural anthropology at Utrecht University, the current edition is a product of cooperation between anthropology students at University of Utrecht and University College Utrecht. UCU students are represented in the board, the review teams and the final selection. Continuous self-reflection is needed to uphold the values for which we stand, and under which we have vowed to be here for all students of anthropology in Utrecht. To be able to act upon this reflection and find fruitful cooperation at UCU has proven to be a gift to the whole of SCAJ, both personally and intellectually.

The second edition of SCAJ features eleven worthy pieces, all wonderfully written and thought-provoking in their own way. We are thrilled to see that these pieces reflect a wide variety of student writings such as essays, papers, a thesis article and a moral narrative. As you read you can, for example, allow your minds to be inspired by heartfelt accounts of fieldwork in Sri Lanka, delve into an interdisciplinary take on the construction of a white nationalist identity in an online community, join in

on a gaze in the mirror of anthropological self-reflection, and learn how to decolonize historicized national identity discourse through interpretative art analysis.

Before I give the authors the floor, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the board for their endless enthusiasm and persistent dedication. The same goes for the reviewers who were brave enough to join and lend us their critical minds for the selection process. Thank you, also, to the foundation Gezondheid & Politiek for your generosity, and to all professors who lovingly support us.

Lastly, my sincerest gratitude goes out to every single student who submitted their work. Your faith and enthusiasm continues to make this journal possible more than anyone or anything else. It takes courage to share your work. We do have some kind of personal attachment to the people about whom we write. It is the reason we pick up the pen and start writing, however tentatively, however close to the deadline. Let us cherish this together!

Machteld Nuiver
Editor-in-Chief

Before reading

Before you start reading the pieces that have been selected for the second edition of SCAJ, we feel it is our place to share a few noteworthy comments.

First, the core team of SCAJ would like to emphasize that both the content of the papers as well as the added motivation for producing the work (as quoted beneath the author's name), are completely written by the authors; the core team of SCAJ left their substance untouched.

Furthermore, we would like you to be aware of the fact that referring to the content of this journal in your own academic work might not be encouraged by professors. The works published in SCAJ are written by Cultural Anthropology students who mainly built on theory of other scholars and are not (yet) considered credible sources themselves. If you are in doubt whether to refer to a certain article or essay published here, we advise you to consult your professor.

The order in which the articles are published in this journal is not based on our judgment of their respective qualities. Rather, we have tried to organize it in a way that is pleasant to read. This means we have tried to avoid placing articles with similar topics next to each other. Other than that, the arrangement of articles is completely random.

The papers published in SCAJ do not serve as example papers for the courses offered by the University of Utrecht, nor should they be taken as being fully representative of the university's curriculum. SCAJ is an independent platform that relies entirely on the work of students. We are not tied to the university. The papers may not be copied in any format whatsoever without explicit consent from the author.

What kind of Anthropologist do I Aspire to be?

My Experience visiting The Long Neck Village

Emma Kroon

"There is nothing so strange in a strange land, as the stranger who comes to visit it."
- Dennis O'Rourke -

This story takes me back to 2018. In the spring of 2018 I travelled to Australia to go backpacking. After six months of travelling alone I took the plane to Thailand and met up with my sister and dad in Bangkok. We first travelled up North to Chang Rai and Chang Mai and later we went South to relax on Ko Chang Island. In this particular story I will take you with me to my visit in the Long Neck Tribe Village in Chang Mai and especially to my moral and emotional torment experienced after the visit.

Chang Mai is a town in Northern Thailand known for its beautiful temples, elephant sanctuaries and tribal villages. One of these villages is the Long Neck Village home to the Kayar Tribe. On a sunny morning we were going to follow a tour around the village and several temples. I woke up very excited

and full of energy causing me to run to my sister to wake her up by shaking her around. Unfortunately she did not really agree with that, so she pushed me back, turned around and waited for the second alarm. I did not give her that time so after some *'godsamme'* my sister, my dad and I got ready and we walked to the van which was picking us up at the entrance of the hostel. In the van there were already some other people, who were mostly elderly people and listening to music or something, so here I could not express my overflowing energy either. First stop were the two temples from which I remember one in particular very clearly. The temple was extremely white resulting in lovely jokes from my dad about my complexion '*Em ik zie je niet meer?*'. When walking towards the entrance of the white temple we walked across a small bridge. This bridge did not cross water, however, the bridge crossed stone statues of hands trying to grasp your feet. When walking further the entire temple was covered in white and silver dragons causing me feel very small and overwhelmed. After visiting the gorgeous temples I was already a little sunburned and tired, but now it was time to visit the Long Neck Village Tribe which gave me a full new burst of energy which this time I could share with my sister. In the van we were told that according to tradition the women wear large golden rings around their necks to protect themselves from tiger attacks. However, over time this tradition shifted from protection-based to appearance-based. The tigers were no longer a threat and the women are considered to be more beautiful the longer their neck. In the van I thought about my old geography books in high school with photos of these women and their culture. And I thought about my future bachelor anthropology and the amazing experience I was about to have to be able to meet these women in person. Maybe I was even able to do a little bit of field work myself by talking to the people there about their lives. These thoughts made me feel warm and impatient, unknowing that this experience would be the centre of my emotional and ethical impasse in my future.

When we arrived at the parking space surrounded by green and big trees we were told we could walk around the village for an hour or two after which we had to be back at the van. So my sister and I looked at each other, smiled, and stepped out of the van. We started walking across a sand road following the other people of the tour until we stopped and we arrived at the centre square of the village. At first glance the village was very small. There were not really houses around us, but instead we were surrounded by colourful stalls full with bracelets and other souvenirs. This discovery made me sad and disappointed, because I expected to see original houses and authentic culture. I

pushed away this feeling and said to myself that I would see that later. The second thing I noticed were the small children running around and the women sitting on and standing next to the stalls wearing colourful clothing matching the colour patterns of the products in the stalls. The women were wearing golden rings supporting their long necks in the same way I remembered from the photos in my geography book. This discovery made me push the disappointed feeling away even more and made me eager to talk to the women and ask them about their lives. I looked at my dad and my sister and I walked towards the stall to my left. "Hi my name is Emma, how are you? The rings look beautiful, but also very heavy" I rattled in enthusiasm to the woman in front of me. She looked back at me with confusion and here again I felt the feeling of disappointment felt before since the women in the town did not speak English. They did show us examples of the rings like the ones they were wearing to show us how heavy they were, but I could not ask them about their emotions or day to day life. The air in the village was very fresh and the atmosphere was peaceful and calm, but I could not ignore the feeling of disappointment I was experiencing. I could not explain where this discomfort was coming from and how it felt in my body. Only later after starting my bachelors anthropology I was able to explain where this feeling of unease in the summer of 2018 was coming from.

After starting my bachelor I began to do more research on the village and tribe. I discovered that the women were actually Burmese women who fled to Thailand escaping civil war in their own country. The exotic tradition and the booming tourism it causes are the reasons why Thailand gives permission for the tribe to stay. It is very hard for the people in the village to gain Thai citizenship, so resettling outside of the village or education is not really an option. I also learned that the village women earn money from selling their self-made products, like cloths/jewellery, and from taking pictures with tourists. The money you spend as a tourist to visit and enter this village is not for the people from the village themselves.

These facts about the origin and livelihood of the women are actually part of a larger debate concerning the ethical or unethical character of the village and tourism alike in general. This type of tourism, meaning visiting exotic places to find authentic culture, and my individual role of being in that village is something I started thinking about after reading an article of anthropologist Marina Gold that she wrote in 2018. In her article Gold expressed her concern about the ethical turn of anthropology which leaves the systems of hierarchies and power dynamics unnoticed. She

states that the focus on morality in this new turn would cause every discussion about themes in the discipline to succumb to a system of value (2018, 91). This totalizing system of morality would overlook the links between hierarchies. Gold keeps reminding her reader to think about the power dynamics and hierarchies that are at play in certain situations. With my visit to the Long Neck Tribe certain power dynamics and hierarchies were present that I was not aware of at that time. I was, as a white western woman, so fortunate and privileged to be able to travel to the other side of the world to visit places and then be surprised about how non-western people, or the Other, lives. This discourse is part of a larger one concerning the notions of the West and the Rest and the perception of the primitive "Other".

By reflecting on tourism of the West to the Rest I began to question my own visit more and more. Questions and discussions I experienced in my head made me embarrassed and ashamed of my visit in 2018. I felt ashamed, because I wanted to see other people and their 'strange' culture so badly. The fact that I was walking in a human zoo did not seem crazy and unrespectful to me. My shame made me angry at the fact that these presentations of authentic culture existed in this large scale and made me angry that I myself, and other people, visited them keeping the event alive. At the same time I thought about the implications it would have if the village would not be visited anymore. I wondered if the people would be able to make a living which supported the uphold of their traditions. Because of all these different questions I was torn between my thoughts and my emotions of embarrassment and anger. These emotions have been the centre of this story. However, in this last part I want to broaden this centralization, because my story is not just about my visit in the past, but it is also about my work in the future as an anthropologist.

Anthropologist Joel Robbins explains in his article from 2013 that the focus of the discipline of anthropology has shifted from the Other, as I named before in the West and Rest discourse, to the suffering subject. The Other is characterized by his primitive state and his difference from 'our' world, while the suffering subject is characterized by the notion of human suffering. To simply put it, the new focus is not on the way the Other differs from us, but on the fact that all humans suffer and experience trauma as a universal humane aspect. Robbins came to the conclusion of this shift after he gave a lecture about his fieldwork in Papua New Guinea. In his article he describes that people came up to him after the lecture and expressed their sorry for the suffering and sadness of the informants. Robbins, however, explains that this

expressed sorry was misplaced since his informants were not suffering, but they found a new language to construct their liveable world. By returning to the Netherlands and talking to other people about the Village I kept getting the same reactions of wonder, happiness for me and sadness for the people in Thailand. Sadness because of the rings and sadness because of the easy and primitive life 'The Other' lived and thus the sadness of their suffering. The people from the Village were perceived as sad, poor and underdeveloped, while I still don't know how to feel about that perception. I wish I could have talked to the women and find their hopes, dreams and wishes. Looking back at it now, the Long Neck Tribe Village makes me sad. Not because I perceive the people living there as underdeveloped, but because I wonder what it must feel like to be taking pictures with people every day and share your living and personal space with the world. I don't have any concrete answers or ideas about the visit I made in 2018. I am only able to take this experience with me to my future and ask myself the question of 'what anthropologist I aspire to be'. During the two years of my bachelors I have thought and pondered about this and still now I have no concrete answer. *What kind of anthropologist do I aspire to be?*

Bibliography
What kind of Anthropologist do I Aspire to be?

Gold, Marina. 2018. "Moral Anthropology, Human Rights, and Egalitarianism, or the AAA Boycott." In *Moral Anthropology: A Critique*, edited by Bruce Kapferer and Marina Gold, 88-103. London: Berghahn, 2018.

Robbins, Joel. 2013. "Beyond the Suffering Subject: Toward an Anthropology of the Good." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19, no. 3: 447-462.

More information on the video:
As part of the course 'Anthropology and Morality', students had to create a (M)oral narrative, using visual aids to accentuate their story and its anthropological analysis. The manuscript of this video is published above, and the video is published on the website of SCAJ. You can find the video with English subtitles by scanning the QR-code or through this URL: https://www.studentsofculturalanthropologyjournal.com/multimedia-publications

"I'm a Racist and I'm Proud of it":

A Study on Stormfront's Boundary Construction and White Nationalist Identity

Lucas Kuijl, Amber Hopewell, Adam Mikolas, Noah Moeys & Brigitte den Olden

Motivation:
"We researched stormfront because we were interested in hate and racism online. However it was all before the uprise of the black lives matter movement, which has been having a great amount of attention the last few months. We feel that especially now, we have to clarify contexts in which racism appears. This might not be a subtle form of that but we believe one must look on the fringes of society to understand the bigger picture."

Introduction

"Stormfront is like a second home to me" (De Koster & Houtman, 2008), are the iconic words expressed by Stormers (Stormfront-users) interviewed by two Dutch sociologists in the last decade. Stormfront is an online network which is the first major hate forum, created in 1996 by Stephen Donald Black (also known as Don Black). Stormfront is a website on which people can anonymously post messages to 'threads', which regard a certain topic on which they can react. Despite the number of active members declining, a lot of these threads still have new posts added every day. Herein, most of the topics regard white nationalist identity. Stormfront's users seem to have a clear idea of what they want: white people must dominate in the countries where they believe white people originate from and where their children are protected from

things that are non-white. This often leads to prejudice against and hate towards other ethnic groups.

But what does this white nationalist identity entail exactly? And more importantly, how is this identity the Stormfront users seem to share, defined? Who are 'good enough' to be part of this white-identity, and who are not? The aim of this paper is to determine how boundary construction indicates the 'white nationalist identity' of the online community of Stormfront.

The relevance of studying the online community of Stormfront has to do with the process of globalization, referring to "intensification of global interconnectedness; suggesting a world full of movement, mixture, contacts and linkages and persistent cultural interaction and exchange" (Inda Rosaldo 2002: 2). Hereby, people are increasingly in contact with other ethnicities. Thus, if you already had a problem with different cultures and races, the intensification of global interconnectedness will further affect your views. So, for these people, Stormfront can be of use when wanting to connect with like-minded people, sharing similar beliefs and ideals of white nationalism. Therefore, analyzing Stormfront as an online community, with white nationalist ideals, will help establish a better understanding of how their white nationalist identity is constructed online.

However, this research has the following limitations. First, we are limited by the timeframe we have; due to the courses deadlines, only a select number of interviews and amount of content analysis can be conducted. Secondly, as mentioned above, part of Stormfront is that people can choose to be anonymous. Because of this, people who choose to be anonymous on the website, might also be reluctant to participate in interviews. Thirdly, our analysis of the website only applies to the publicly accessible English speaking part of Stormfront, therefore excluding the most loyal and possibly radical members and local communities. Finally, multiple of our accounts were blocked because we were researchers. There are some ethical considerations that were made as well; when conducting the interviews we fully informed the participants of our intentions, the fact that they were being recorded and the confidentiality of everything they said.

Design of the study
As stated above, the research question that this paper aims to answer is: "how does boundary construction indicate the "white nationalist identity" in the online community of Stormfront?" In order to answer this question, different sub questions will be answered. Each of these subquestions regards one of the concepts that will be discussed in the literature

review. The questions will be answered through literature and website analysis and via the conduction of two semi-structured interviews.

These questions entail; firstly, "can Stormfront be categorised as a community?". To answer this question, Appadurai's notion of community will be used. The second subquestion this paper will answer is "how do people on Stormfront represent themselves?". To answer this question, their 'online identity' will be analysed. The third subquestion is "what are the boundaries to the Stormer's 'white nationalist identity'?" To answer this question, this paper will look at 'fortification', 'recruitment' and Fredrik Barth's ideas on 'boundary construction'. The research population consists of the people who use or have used Stormfront. Since most users on Stormfront are anonymous, it is difficult to get a grasp of the identity of the population. However, on the website itself, Stormfront describes its users as: "*We are a community of racial realists and idealists. (…) We are White Nationalists who support **true** diversity and a homeland for **all** peoples, including ours. We are the voice of the new, embattled White minority!*" (Stormfront 2020f).

For the content analysis, various domains will be explored. Not only will the website itself be examined, but the thread "opposing views" on Stormfront, will also be studied. This thread has been selected because in this particular thread, Stormers are forced to defend their identity against those who do not agree with their views and ideals. Moreover, the notion of boundary construction becomes clear in this thread.

As stated above, two semi-structured interviews have been conducted with (former) Stormers. To find participants for the interviews, three accounts were made on Stormfront. This way, we could send private messages to the users. Users were then selected through categorizing the member list, which is accessible when you log in on Stormfront.org itself, on who has the highest 'reputation' (which is indicated by an eleven-point system, where eleven is the highest reputation you can get). This reputation seems to be given by de moderators, to "weed out the trolls, anti-whites and undesirables" (Stormfront, 2020a). In order to conduct the interviews, we sent messages to all the high reputation-users who had been online in the past week. Since there is a restriction on the amount of messages you can send (only five per three hours), the messages were sent over the spawn of a few days, with a total of 60 messages. Through this, we got in contact with Billy Roper, a 47-year old lifetime sustaining member from Arkansas who is still active on Stormfront. This interview was recorded via Jitsi.

We also searched for people who have or had a significant role in Stormfront in news

articles. This way we got in contact with Timo Dessé, a 32-year old ex-moderator from Utrecht. While he is not active on Stormfront anymore, he used to be very active and participated in offline get-togethers as well. This interview was via an unrecorded phone call.

Literature review
Communities
In Appadurai's work on communities, he discusses the issue of imagination as a new social practice under the influence of electronic media and migration. In his book, *Fear of Small Numbers*, he connects the effects of globalization on national identity and growing uncertainty about it. Migration has resulted in the presence of majorities and minorities in states, which has led to the desire of unifying (purifying) the state on one hand and the desire to demand one's own rights on the other (Appadurai 2006, 6-13; 51).

In terms of Stormfront, we could consider it to be a nation-like community as the majority of its users agree on the need for white supremacy as a defying belief and therefore, they exclude the rest on racial basis. This belief is a part of their imagination which constitutes imagined communities such as Stormfront even though its members rarely meet each other in real life (Anderson 1983, 6). These imagined communities are then maintained through the social imaginary, as described by Taylor (Taylor 2003, 23), which is made of images, stories and legends of ordinary people (he also describes a moral order referring to the more academic thoughts held by elites). This modern social imaginary is evident on Stormfront in expressions of its users by sharing their ideas on historical and contemporary issues (often posting misleading or false information).

Online identity
Individuals' use of internet-based discussion boards allows dialogue and engagement in the construction of individual and more importantly collective identities. The possibility to create shared projects has increased with the internet (Perry, Scrivens 2016), and the proof of it might as well be the fact that Stormfront was founded in 1995, the year when the internet was still being discovered by the general public. Collective identities – as Hunt and Benford state – "are produced and reproduced in ongoing interactions between allies, oppositional forces, and audiences who can be real or imagined. While providing a sense of "we-ness" and collective agency, collective identities also create a sense of Other via boundary identification, construction, and maintenance" (Hunt, Benford 1994, 450 In Perry, Scrivens 2016, 3).

The reason behind the founding of Stormfront, was that Black wanted to protect children from the invasion of other races and wanted to offer the 'middle-class people' information, which they "cannot find in the mass media" (Schwab-Abel 1998). The alternative messaging has allowed users to connect around the same cause: "Online dialogues lend weight to individual 'injustices', turning them into collective injuries" (Perry, Scrivens 2016, 7). In this case of Stormfront it is the hate against globalization in general, because it brings upon the threats for authority and against others.

Boundary construction

On the online community of Stormfront, boundaries are created to establish the white nationalist identity they promote. This can be related to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), where Barth argues against the 'simplistic view' that differences between cultures continue to exist because of geographical and social isolation between them (9). Instead, he states that there are active flows of migrants, capital and information across these boundaries, but that this only strengthens the boundaries between ethnic groups (10). It is not because of social or geographic isolation that these are held in place, it is due to other reasons. He calls these interactions vital for the maintenance of the different cultures because social relations are maintained across such boundaries (10). It strengthens the identity of the ethnic group to be in contact with the other. Barth concludes that "cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence" (10).

In the article written by Priscilla Marie Meddaugh and Jack Kay (2009), a different aspect of boundary construction is illuminated. Instead of stimulating violence or extreme hatred, they posit that Don Black lowers the boundary by only encouraging "reasonable racism". This might make the boundary between the desired (white nationalism) and the undesired (Jews, blacks, women, and other marginalised groups which Stormers oppose) less evident, but still persistent. The argument the researchers take on is that "hate in cyberspace may prove more insidious than historical discourses of white supremacy" (253). The method Don Black employs is "quasi-scientific or pseudo-intellectual identifications of racial differences" (254), to normalise racism. While he has lowered boundaries and legitimised the use of racism, it is more accessible for the public and more people can join in.

Claire Davies Rhodes combines a theory on hate used by Katherine Blee in 2004 with White nationalist thought on Stormfront. "(…) Blee suggests that hate is a "boundary mechanism" used to increase group solidarity."

(Rhodes 2013). Rhodes examines what hate means for the fortification of the group and uses this theory to observe the Stormfront community in this light. We can find a similar statement from Appadurai on this form of boundary construction; "Genocide is one of the most effective ways to build a community" (Appadurai, 2006).

Data & analysis

Can Stormfront be categorized as a community?
When analysing the semi-structured interviews and the website content, there are several comments to be made regarding how Stormfront can be seen as a community. As discussed in the literature study above, Appadurai's notion of an imagined community (Appadurai 1990) is when people share similar beliefs. In the case of Stormfront, the majority of the users stand for a white supremacist and white nationalist belief. As Dessé expressed, "Yes, Stormfront is a closed community and it took quite a while before we started organising socials" (Dessé, 2020). One has to gain the trust of the fellow forum-members before one is allowed into the inner circles of the forum. Thereby, others are being excluded from the community, thus making it closed. As Dessé also said, he organised socials to "strengthen the bonds between members" (Dessé, 2020). This shows how there were people actively unifying

the established community and excluding others, because new forum-members weren't admitted into socials right away (Dessé, 2020). This is supported by the existence of the reputation system on the website which works as a guideline for the hierarchy on the forum (Stormfront 2020b).

On the contrary, Roper stresses that Stormfront is easily accessible to a wide scale of people, since it is 'less radical' (Roper, 2020) than other fora. This makes it seem like the community is open for new members to become acquainted with white nationalist ideas. As Roper also expressed, "I use stormfront mainly as a place where a lot of right wing extremists come together so I can promote these thoughts" (Roper, 2020). One major boundary into being allowed into the inner community of Stormfront is the 1000USD admittance fee. Only if one has paid this, can one see all the fora and really participate. This distinction between insiders and outsiders is also apparent on the website, especially in the Introduction forum, which works as a template for opinions and positions of the community made for new users. It clearly indicates that the community has a hierarchy as one of the first suggested threads for users to read is the 'Everything You Were Told About Race Issues Is Probably Wrong' and therefore sets the stage for one's (needed) development and user is

given very clear instructions on what his/her next steps should be. (Stormfront 2020c)

Concludingly, two points can be made: yes, Stormfront is a community, and the inner circle of the community is closed for outsiders. However, to get acquainted with the ideas, learn about Stormfront and set some first steps in white nationalism, Stormfront is open to more people. So the inner core is said to be closed, whilst the outskirts of the forum are more accessible.

How do Stormers represent themselves?
The representation of Stormfront users varies, as the forum and its base are fairly wide. However, we have found common indicators of one's self representation on Stormfront. It is important to note that only users whose expressions were written in English on the forum, which pointed towards their affection for the majority opinion on Stormfront, were analysed. Following observations are therefore not applicable to all users. Via the data assessment of multiple threads on the 'Opposing views' forum of Stormfront, we have noticed a few indicators pointing towards the specific ways in which the users of Stormfront tend to represent themselves.

We can generally state that the enlightenment argument is used most often when the user is confronted with an opposing view on the forum as well as when explaining their position on the matter. This seems to be based on the belief of Stormers that they are more educated and that their opinion is based on the right information. Their view of mainstream media is mostly based on the argument that the Jewish minority is controlling them and therefore manipulates the majority towards Jewish opinion. This means that their reception of truth is highly individual.

The flow of argumentation on Stormfront tends to be structured, as the users answer to each other's posts and often dissolve those statements to point out the main ideas and connect those carefully to the information available to them, which allows them to picture their argumentation as impenetrable (Stormfront 2020c). They make use of comprehensible language to achieve that their message reaches its destination. Together with the structuring these indicate that users are following the guidelines and their main message, which is to keep the discussion civil and productive.

Stormers also tend to be open about their views, as can be seen in the interview with Roper, where he states: "Yes, I am [racist] and I am proud of it" (Roper, 2020) or on the front page of the website, where the community is being labelled by the administrator as "racial realists, racial idealists" (Stormfront 2020f). This

goes well with their aim to be perceived as honest and truthful. However, this honesty is debatable, since they do not use their actual names but rather chose to be anonymous.

Another aspect of their representation is also evident in this example (above) and it is the use of specific words to express themselves. Especially the composition of more words into one term is common and constitutes the dictionary of the individual and the community. This vocabulary can often seem confusing to those not included in the previous debates as is also indicated in the interview, where Roper called himself a "neofutalist".

Users also seem to repeatedly mention the heritage as a central aspect of their picture on the site. When constructing one's digital self, the mentioning of a person's roots, overall history (where users come from, family values etc.) and often Christian backgrounds are crucial. This heritage is also evident on the layout of the website which includes a history window in the upper part of the screen (Stormfront 2020f), that pictures either anniversary dates of white-cause events (or the representation of those), statements of historical figures supporting it to make sure or general achievements of white historical figures, to portray the legacy as well. The heritage is what other authors call "cultural or symbolic heritage" (Perry, Scrivens 2016, 12) is visible in the interviews as well when Roper is speaking about historical issues and the affiliation of his ancestors towards the white cause. Both the enlightenment and heritage arguments are also present on multiple personal pages of users (the "About me"; Stormfront 2020b) and their signature as a citation from the Bible or other connection to the historical issues are common among the users (Stormfront 2020d).

These arguments tend to point towards their aim to seem legitimate in providing information. This is the way to substitute for the legitimation through specification of one's offline identity and subsequent self-revelation. Enlightenment and heritage then seem to work as a cloak and a tool for justifying one's representation.

Large part of the representation of users is influenced by the reputation system which works as a sign of credibility of the user and points towards clear hierarchy on the website, therefore employing the use of a similar system of the Ku-Klux Klan (the reason for this being Don Black's involvement in this organization). Overall, we can state that Stormfront users tend to represent themselves as having the right information, being educated, open about their views, frequently employing the heritage as the main feature of their identity and connecting their views to their interpretation of historical events.

What are the boundaries to the 'white nationalist identity' on Stormfront?

A perspicuous white nationalist identity is promoted by the website. The ideal Stormer is against the following: Jews, Blacks, Afro-Americans, anti-fascists, communists, immigrants, LBTQP, racial mixing, and sometimes poorly behaving whites ("white trash"). If one hates all of the above, one is seen as a good representative of the 'white nationalist identity'. Claire Davies Rhodes talks about the theory of Katherine Blee of how hate is a boundary mechanism to increase group solidarity (Rhodes, 2013), this is very visible in the above. However, as Timo Dessé stated in his interview, this does not imply this person is accepted into the community of Stormers. The boundaries are to believe what your fellow forum-members believe, to show "'hate' to those who hate the truth".

These boundaries are created in several ways. First of all, one has to pay 1000USD for a lifetime membership. This makes a lot of private forums inaccessible for other members. Also, there are moderators active on the website. Dessé was a moderator in 2003-2006. "I fulfilled a position as moderator, where I checked posts for content ... [and] language-use." (Dessé, 2020). This certifies that the posts and people are coherent and spreading the same message. Outsiders are filtered out, like what happened to three of our profiles whilst conducting the research.

Barth's idea of social relation (Barth, 1969) posits that identity is strengthened due to lowered boundaries. Through having more people interconnecting on these fora (a 'lowering' of boundaries), the nationalist identity is strengthened rather than weakened through mixing.

This can be noted in the interviews. Online, the mixing is helping Roper establish the identity. He calls Stormfront an entry-level forum, because it is 'conservative', and therefore it is less radicalised and can be easier related to than more extreme fora. Also, when he posted a message to a public page to help us find another interviewee for our project, he titled the post "Interested in promoting Stormfront to Europeans?". This depicts that our outside views made his feeling of white nationalist identity stronger and that he took this opportunity to further construct the boundaries around this identity and belief. Interestingly enough, Roper is demonstrating different behaviour in offline situations. He is actively promoting the strengthening of boundaries by "[encouraging] people [to move] to their own areas" (Roper, 2020) in the city and state.

The notion of the white nationalist identity is something abstract. People are able to tap into it through using Stormfront, but the

more influence from outside, the stronger the boundary between what they hate and don't hate is created. As Dessé stated, "Ideologically I found likeminded people, which I did not have a lot in my immediate environment. Stormfront was a way to release the frustrations I had." (Dessé, 2020). When there were people actively protesting against Stormers, such as the AntiFA group, Dessé was frustrated, leading to an increased use of Stormfront. He used Stormfront several times a day for numerous hours in a row. The fact that Stormfront is an online community also lowers boundaries. Through anonymity, people are not required to expose their identity whilst sharing these ideas, and therefore might be more radical.

Furthermore, through employing 'reasonable racism' and 'othering', which we will talk about below. Rather than stimulating violence or extreme hatred, Don Black lowers the boundary and only encourages "reasonable racism", as is also discussed in the literature (Meddaugh & Kay, 2009). As Roper commented, "it is very much a gateway to more radical forums" and has a "very broad entry level" (Roper, 2020). This makes Stormfront more accessible for the public, and, as Roper says, "I use stormfront mainly as a place where a lot of right wing extremists come together so I can promote these thoughts" (Roper, 2020). Making the discussion about racism more

intellectual, it seems it is justified to express racism. On the website, "I don't hate other races, I just love the white race and promote it" can be seen multiple times. Roper also states: "There is nothing more basic than our desire than propagating our own genetics. We have the instinct to be with people with similar genetics." (Roper, 2020). These are examples of legitimising racism: it is something natural and realistic. "I'm a racist and I'm proud of it. I believe that anyone should be a racist if you have a race," according to Roper (2020). The idea of the forum is to have a - civil and productive - discussion, and in order to share ideas and learn from one another, 'reasonable racism' is the method utilised.

However, Dessé did find Stormfront "more extreme" than other platforms he used. For him, it was quite a step to start using and posting to Stormfront. So these views do differ amongst people.

On the 'Opposing views' forum (Stormfront 2020e), which is open to guests and doesn't require a certain reputation level to post, users are confronted with other opinions. This then leads to the fortification of the ingroup and either specifies or expands the outgroup, further establishing boundaries. On one of the analysed threads - "Why the heck do you guys make race the issue" - user "Confused White" brought up a striking question which then led to

a discussion about racial mixing. Using theories on genetics, the main discussion was around the issue of keeping misbehaving whites ("trash" or "scum") in the "gene pool" (and allowing them to breed with approved ones in order to preserve the race) or if it is better to keep them off. The final stance was that "some of them are irredeemable" but "some are okay to be bred with". This shows that when confronted with views outside the community, the community starts its opinion making process which further fortifies the ingroup.

When analyzing the forum during our content analysis, we came across a thread that was quite indicative of the tone some Stormers might use. On this thread there was a Stormer talking about why Stormers don't like Jews, Asians and educated black people in specific. This Stormer stated (Stormfront 2020f) that there was a lot of confusion about this subject because a lot of Stormers did not see the problem of these groups, since they are not violent or harmful. This Stormer was actually scared of their intellect, it seems. She states that other races who are smart can take over white countries, while, she says: "Negroes are simply too stupid to do something on a large scale like that". This was user "Slawische Wölfin". She used her own form of reasonable racism in phrases like this, by doing this she constructed a very clear image of the other and consequently constructing a clear boundary between ethnic groups.

'Othering' plays a big role in this justified racism. We have seen in the above that Stormers make a very clear distinction between an 'us' and 'them'. We can see that in every example of justified racism, especially in the website analysis above. Language like "some of them" or "some are okay to be bred with", creates a very clear distinction. Due to this distinction and this form of othering, the reasonable racism argument can now stand. Without being able to construct the 'other', boundary construction is hard to do and this justified racism simply cannot hold its ground. All in all, using boundary construction in the form of othering and intellectualism to justify racism is the tactic Stormfront is employing, and this is how the boundary to enter the discussion and forum is lowered. However, this does not mean that the boundaries around the white nationalist community are lowered. These boundaries actually become stronger and clearer with the increased 'mixing' on the forum.

Answer to research question
Using the data acquired from the analysis above, an answer to our central research question 'How does boundary construction indicate the 'white nationalist identity' on the online community of Stormfront?' can be

communicated. It can be concluded that, there simultaneously is an active upholding and lowering of boundaries to preserve the identity. The white nationalist identity is indicated through defining the 'other' (Jews, blacks, et cetera) and taking these groups down through reasonable racism and the idea of being 'enlightened' as an active Stormer. However, the entry level to the online community is broad and racism is normalized, and therefore it is more accessible for a larger public. The inner core of the Stormfront community is closed off and this fortification strengthens the white nationalist identity promoted by the forum. It is Stormers against the rest, and on the forum it is their aim to promote their ideas and recruit more Stormers.

Conclusions

Stormfront is the first major hate forum, allowing people to discuss topics anonymously, on different threads. Often, these threads are related to the white nationalist identity, and produce a lot of hate towards everyone and everything that is not of white heritage. Because of globalization, people are much more in contact with people from other ethnicities, which for some people might bring multiple uncertainties and experienced difficulties. On Stormfront, people are able to find like-minded people regarding these kinds of experienced difficulties. In this paper, the central question was how boundary construction indicates this white nationalist identity of the online community of Stormfront. By reviewing literature and analyzing the data from the conducted interviews and content analysis, the subquestions and thus the research question were answered.

The findings of this research are as follows. Firstly, Stormfront definitely is a community, and it is a relatively easy way to get acquainted with white nationalism. All one has to do is make an account on the page. However, as mentioned, the inner circle is closed for outsiders. Secondly, the users seem to represent themselves a certain way. Part of this is for example that they represent themselves as having the right information about everything and being well educated on the matters. Thirdly, the users of Stormfront seem to be using this intellectualism to justify their racism. They do this by for example portraying the 'other' or outgroup as violent, so they can use their hate speech as self-defence. This way, the boundary to enter the discussion and the forum is lowered, and simultaneously this usage of hate creates a clear boundary between the white nationalist Stormer and the 'other'. The justification creates a space for reasonable racism.

All in all, boundary construction is something the owners of Stormfront are actively upholding and lowering simultaneously. They make it clear what is the desired identity of the users, but meanwhile dissuade the use of violence and extreme hatred, and thereby make the forum more accessible for new members.

Further research on both Stormfront and boundary construction are important to obtain a better grasp of how online identity is constructed. Moreover, it is important to find out more about why people are attracted to hate forums like Stormfront. While Stormfront is the first major hate forum, since its founding many more have arisen, regarding not only hate on other races, but many more other things too. Whatever the presumed reason of the hate is, boundaries are constructed and an 'other' is created, whilst the boundaries to become part of this community might be lowered by justifying the hate one way or another. While globalization provides us with new opportunities for interconnectedness, it simultaneously seems to bring new possibilities for hatred.

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Both Sides of the Story

The Contribution of Post-War Narratives and Memories of Sinhalese and Tamil Youth in Colombo towards a Sri Lankan National Identity

Valérie van den Bemt & Esmeralda Vane

Motivation:
"In many post-war countries, there continues to be tension between different groups, which slows down the reconciliation process. With our research in Colombo, Sri Lanka, on the post-war narratives and memories of Sinhalese and Tamil youth, we want to show the importance of communication between conflicting groups and we recommend that researchers, reconciliation organisations and governments focus on both sides of the story."

"The government is corrupt", screams a Buddhist monk. The monk is around his twenties and wears an orange saffron around him. "We only want our job back, but the government used all the money from the language program[1] for their elections." Next to the monk, men and women are screaming in Sinhalese and Tamil in front of the National Institute of Official Language and Educational Training. The building is located in Maharagama[2] next to a big road. The group of protestors are blocking the entrance and policemen encircle the group to make sure that they do not go on the road or get inside the building. The policemen do not speak to the protestors. In front of the group, people are holding a large banner with Sinhalese letters. Others are holding big carton boards with Sinhalese or Tamil texts on it.

We meet a girl who is Sinhalese and from Colombo. Her name is Shivanthi. "I learned the Tamil language, because I want to talk to other ethnicities in Sri Lanka. I was not able to do that before", she says. "Now I am a Sinhala language teacher that works with the language training program." A young man comes up to us. He introduces himself as Kobinath. "I am a Tamil from Colombo. I am protesting because we cannot continue our Tamil classes for Sinhalese people." We ask him if he thinks that Sinhalese and Tamils in Colombo are divided or not. Kobinath responds: "Everyone in Colombo is mixed." When we ask him what he thought of Independence Day[3], he looks around him. "I prefer talking about this another time. There are many Sinhalese around us now", he says quietly[4].

Currently, there is a reconciliation process in Sri Lanka, where the society aims to move from a divided past into a shared future. This is because of the ethnic war from 1983 until 2009 between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority, where Sinhala and Tamil nationalism collided. This war ended when the Sri Lankan army defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)[5] (Kijewski and Rapp 2019, 845-856). The victory of the government left underlying issues, because of the army attack that caused many deaths among the Tamils. The reason for this was that the LTTE had to be fully defeated to bring an end to the ethnic war in Sri Lanka, which caused the necessary bloodshed, according to the government (Farishta and Radjai 2017, 5-6; Kijewski and Rapp 2019, 845- 856; Natali 2008, 287-288; Orjuela 2003, 198).

Now, two groups learn to see the past as "shared suffering and collective responsibility" (Fischer 2011, 415). As shown in the vignette, the previous government-funded language programs for ethnic groups to learn each other's language or the 'common' language, English. Not only the government, but also reconciliation organisations, such as Sri Lanka Unites, focus on reconciliation in Sri Lanka. The goal of these organisations and the government is a unified Sri Lanka and to remove the idea of two separate ethnic groups in the country to prevent the possibility of future conflict (Höglund and Orjuela 2011, 31; Sri Lanka Unites n.d.)[6].

However, as Rodrigo A. Carazo[7] explains, during the UN Security Council open debate on the role of reconciliation in contemporary conflicts, there is no magic wand to create peace through reconciliation, as it is a process where people build their story[8]. In Sri Lanka, there is a continuing tension between Sinhalese and Tamils, which is shown by Kobinath in the vignette and is argued by McGivering (2019)[9], who wrote an article about

the ethnic division during the Sri Lankan election in 2019.

In a meeting at the Sri Lanka Unites[10] office in Colombo, we meet Ben, a social anthropologist from Durham University who has been conducting research in Sri Lanka for his PhD. He is researching the role of cricket in the reconciliation process in Sri Lanka. As we discuss our research with him he explains:

"It is interesting to focus on the way people frame their stories. The stories will be similar, but it will be interesting to look at where people focus on in their stories."[11]

This statement of Ben can be applied to the post-war narratives and memories of Sinhalese and Tamil youth in Colombo after they experienced a 26-year long ethnic war. In line with this, Jovchelovitch (2012) argues that narratives that survive after conflict are the ones ethnic groups choose to remember. As ethnic groups frame their post-war narratives, it can affect the national identity (McGrattan and Hopkins 2017). Fischer (2011) adds that the way ethnic groups remember their past is important to the mobilisation for conflict and is crucial to address in the reconciliation process. In our qualitative, comparative research, we focused on how post-war narratives and memories of Sinhalese and Tamil youth in Colombo

contribute to a Sri Lankan national identity. To answer our research question, we will first discuss similarities and contradictions in the post-war narratives and memories of Sinhalese and Tamil youth we spoke to. Subsequently, we combine the post-war narratives and memories discussed with the idea of a Sri Lankan national identity. Finally, we discuss the role of communication of post-war narratives and memories.

Post-war victimhood narratives and memories

In the first instance, it seems that the post-war narratives of Sinhalese and Tamil participants are similar. They both focus on victimhood narratives, where they show they suffered during the war. However, Sinhalese participants focus on shared victimhood, where they believe that Sinhalese as well as Tamils suffered during the war, whereas Tamil participants focus on competitive victimhood. Here, they argue that only Tamils suffered during the war. Most Sinhalese participants argue that the LTTE was a terrorist organisation that mistreated Sinhalese and Tamils. Despite being critical of the government, Sinhalese participants viewed the end of the war as a necessary political action that saved the citizens of Sri Lanka from the LTTE. Here, the soldiers of the army are seen as heroes who sacrificed their lives for their country. However, most Tamil participants

portray Sinhalese and the army as perpetrators. Some Tamil participants focus on Sinhalese domination as the start of the war, where Tamils were mistreated by Sinhalese and the government. Other Tamil participants focus on their mistreatment by the army during and at the end of the war. Tamil participants also believe, in contradiction to Sinhalese participants, that there was no victory at the end of the war. This shows that Sinhalese and Tamil participants hold different victory and defeat narratives. Both Beckwith (2014) and Auerbach (2009) argue that, as a result of conflicting victory and defeat narratives, remobilisation is possible and building blocks for another conflict can be established. These narratives result in another barrier to the reconciliation process. Besides this, it is interesting to note that each participant focuses on specific historical events of the war. This is in line with what is argued earlier that people frame their stories. We argue that this is, in accordance with McGrattan and Hopkins (2017), to match their victimhood identity. Jacoby (2015) argues that a victimhood identity can be created when individuals of a group see themselves as victims and believe there is a 'we' that has been wronged with which they identify. The post-war victimhood narratives Sinhalese and Tamil participants hold are thus included in their victimhood identity.

The victimhood identity also comes back in their social memory. It becomes clear that post-war memories are formed by post-war narratives, which confirms Santos' (2001) and Hamber and Wilson's (2002) statement that memories are the products of past narratives. Sinhalese participants show their shared victimhood identity by having shared commemorations supported by the government, where they commemorate the army heroes. These commemorations are shared, because the Sinhalese participants experience a fear of going back to war against a minority as a social memory. Tamil participants do not acknowledge the commemorations of Sinhalese and the government. They do not agree with commemorating the army and their victory or with the restrictions placed on them around commemorating the LTTE. Tamil participants feel excluded from the commemorations of the government and Sinhalese, which feeds their competitive victimhood identity. This is in line with Fischer (2011) who argues that selective remembrance causes tension over the truth and the true memory in post-war societies. As McGrattan and Hopkins (2017) argue, it is confirmed that social memories of ethnic groups are selective. Furthermore, current experiences of ethnic discrimination recall competitive victimhood narratives from the war

and feed the victimhood identity of Tamil participants as well. The fear of being categorised and treated differently becomes part of their social memory. This shows that the victimhood identity of Sinhalese and Tamil participants differ.

The contribution to a Sri Lankan national identity

It is striking that the victimhood identity Sinhalese and Tamil participants hold is related to their Sri Lankan national identity. The victimhood identity Sinhalese participants hold is a shared victimhood identity that focuses on the unification of all Sri Lankans, which has shared national narratives and memories. This is connected to the Sri Lankan national identity promoted by the government. Most Sinhalese participants focus in their description of a Sri Lankan national identity on unification. However, in this process, they unconsciously connect the Sri Lankan identity with the Sinhalese identity and acknowledge Sri Lanka as a Sinhala-Buddhist country. This shows that most Sinhalese participants unconsciously still have some kind of Sinhala nationalism. By unifying the ethnic groups they want to forget the differences and focus on the future of Sri Lanka. This is in contradiction to the idea of a Sri Lankan national identity Tamil participants hold. Tamil participants value diversity in the Sri Lankan national identity, where they can represent their Tamil language and perform their Hindu religion. However, this idea seems rather idealistic, as they point out that they feel that Sri Lanka is a Sinhala-Buddhist country and focuses mainly on Sinhala nationalism. This relates to the competitive victimhood identity they hold, where they believe they were and still are suffering from the war. We argue that this feeling of Tamil exclusion and the unconscious Sinhala nationalism of the Sinhalese participants can reinforce Tamil nationalism and can hinder the reconciliation process.

With the exclusion Tamil participants feel and the unconscious Sinhala nationalism of Sinhalese participants, we argue that there is the possibility of being trapped in a cycle of violence. We argue that this cycle started at the beginning of the war, where Tamils also believed in Sinhala nationalism and Tamil exclusion. Despite both ethnic groups wanting to live in a peaceful united country, the post-war conflicting victimhood narratives and memories keep this cycle going and can eventually counteract the reconciliation process. As Fischer (2011) argues, conflicts are fed by distorted histories and, to prevent the return to violent conflict, facts and histories should be managed during the reconciliation process. This is confirmed in our research where we observed that communication between

Sinhalese and Tamil individuals about the war brings participants closer to a Sri Lankan national identity. This shows that communication is important.

However, communication turns out to be difficult between Sinhalese and Tamil participants. Both point out that they barely communicate with each other about the war. Therefore, they do not always receive both sides of the story. A factor influencing this is the language barrier, where Sinhalese participants are not always fluent in Tamil. This language barrier results in segregation of (social) media, education, living situations, workplace and politics. This results in receiving different post-war narratives and memories. Although Sinhalese participants acknowledge and accept the post-war narratives of Tamils, it became more clear that they did not receive the complete narratives and opinions of the Tamils in Colombo. Where most Sinhalese participants believe that the LTTE are terrorists, some Tamil participants view the LTTE as freedom fighters. Above this, most Tamil participants deny Sinhalese narratives, which shows that the first two steps of Auerbach's (2009) reconciliation pyramid to achieve peaceful relations (see appendix 1), narrative acquaintance and acknowledgement, are barely achieved. Overall, this shows that most Sinhalese and Tamil participants are still at the bottom of the reconciliation pyramid. However, there are also Sinhalese and Tamil participants, especially those related to reconciliation organisations (e.g. Sri Lanka Unites), who are further into the reconciliation pyramid of Auerbach (2009). This is because they have the opportunity to communicate with the other ethnicity about the war. It becomes clear that Sinhalese and Tamil participants who communicate with the other ethnicity are more critical towards their own post-war narratives and memories. Furthermore, for Tamil participants, it positively influences their Sri Lankan national identity. This shows the importance of communication between conflicting ethnic groups and confirms the importance of Auerbach's (2009) reconciliation pyramid to achieve peaceful relations.

To shortly answer our research question: 'how do post-war narratives and memories of Sinhalese and Tamil youth in Colombo contribute to a Sri Lankan national identity?', we argue that post-war narratives and memories of Sinhalese participants in Colombo positively contribute to a Sri Lankan national identity, whereas the post-war narratives and memories of Tamil participants in Colombo negatively contribute to a Sri Lankan national identity. Here, communication turns out to be the key factor in reconciling both ethnic groups and

eventually create their Sri Lankan national identity.

Recommendations: both sides of the story

After answering our research question, we have two practical and two theoretical recommendations. First, it became clear that the Sinhalese and Tamil participants struggle to communicate about the post-war narratives, memories and the idea of a Sri Lankan national identity. It also became clear that participants who do communicate, acknowledge the other side of the story and are more critical towards their own opinions and narratives. We argue that it is important to acknowledge the different post-war narratives and memories for a better reconciliation process. This is why we support reconciliation organisations to promote communication between the two ethnic groups and create a safe place for youth from all ethnicities to communicate with each other and understand each other better. Focusing on each party's point of view might help youth to reflect on themselves in relation to the Other, which creates an opening to communication across social groups and leaves a feeling of mutual understanding.

Second, it became clear in our research that the language barrier results in less communication between Sinhalese and Tamil participants. This is why we recommend Sinhalese youth to learn the Tamil language to reduce prejudice when there is a language barrier and to expand their communication possibilities.

Third, we realised that topics other than post-war narratives and memories can also affect a Sri Lanka national identity, such as culture-sharing, the influence of the older generation and the presence of other minorities in Sri Lanka. We recommend researchers to focus on these topics as well, to provide a holistic view on the reconciliation process of Sri Lanka.

Finally, when we look at the literature of the Sri Lankan ethnic war, we realised that researchers often share one-sided stories of Tamil suffering or Sinhala nationalism. We believe that this is because most researchers study one ethnicity or conduct research mainly in the South or North-East of Sri Lanka. We argue that our research is relevant, as it provides a balance and focuses on Colombo, a city where both ethnicities come together. With our comparative research, we focused on the story of Sinhalese participants as well as Tamil participants, which provides a balance in the different post-war narratives and memories of the participants from Colombo. By providing both sides of the story, we contributed to more knowledge on the effect of contesting narratives and memories on reconciliation

processes in a post-war country. For further research, we recommend a focus on both opinions of conflicting ethnic groups and to find a balance in their narratives to avoid one-sided stories. We believe that researchers play an important role in the reconciliation process in post-war societies, because they can give a voice to conflicting groups and at the same time objectively show both sides of the story

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Footnotes

1. A program that provides training in the Tamil, Sinhala and English languages.
2. Maharagama is a suburb of Colombo city, Sri Lanka.
3. Independence Day is a Sri Lankan national holiday celebrated annually on 4 February to commemorate the country's political independence from British rule in 1948.
4. Participant Observation at a protest against the cancellation of the language programs and informal conversations with Shivanti, 26-year old Sinhalese woman from Colombo, and Kobinath, 24-year old Tamil man from Colombo - 6 February 2020.
5. The LTTE was a Tamil militant organisation that was based in North-Eastern Sri Lanka. It aimed to secure an independent state of Tamil Eelam in the North and East.
6. Sri Lanka Unites. n.d. Accessed May 11, 2020. https://srilankaunites.org/
7. Rodrigo A. Carazo is currently Costa Rica's representative to the United Nations.
8. United Nations. 2019. "Reconciliation Must Evolve to Reflect Growing Complexity of Today's Conflicts, Participants Stress during Day-Long Security Council Open Debate." Last modified November 19, 2019. https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/sc14024.doc.htm
9. McGivering, J. 2019. "Sri Lanka election: Unity hard to achieve in divided country." BBC News, November, 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-50452577
10. Sri Lanka Unites is a reconciliation organisation, focusing on youth, we corporated with in our research.
11. Meeting with Sri Lanka Unites and Ben at the Sri Lanka Unites office about our research - 12 February 2020

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Appendix

Appendix 1 - Reconciliation pyramid of Aurerbach: a narrative based framework
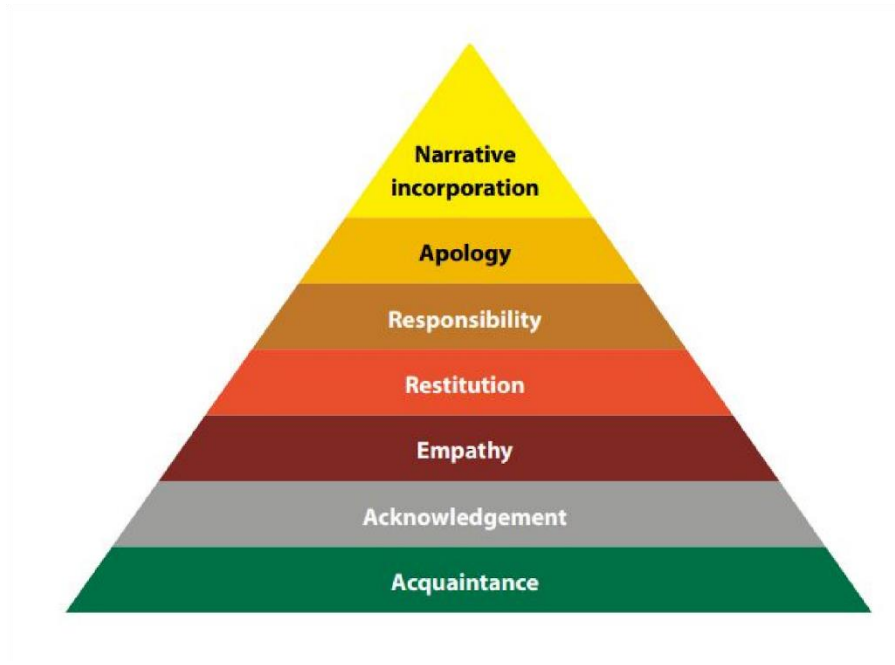
Walking on a tightrope:

How Singapore's LGBTQ movement "Pink Dot" navigates illiberal pragmatism

Rachel Lum

Motivation:
"This piece reflects my keen desire to interrogate contexts—both local and global, to illuminate alternative understandings of queer issues amidst a western-dominated LGBTQ canon."

Introduction

In a 2003 article in a *Time Asia* magazine, Singapore's former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong stated that in the government's bid to shed off the nation's authoritarian image, the government will attempt to "remake" the nation into a "vibrant, cosmopolitan and leading global city" (Oswin, 2014, p. 419). Gay civil servants will be openly employed and innovative, creative and economic policies will be pursued (Oswin, 2014). Yet, despite this, a paradox is seen to remain. Singapore's government continues to criminalize sex between consulting adult men by retaining Section 377A of the penal code. Today, pro-LGBT advances in laws remain absent. Such legislations are mainly attributed to the city being a conservative Asian country where the majority remains largely heterosexual (Chang, 2014).

Where freedom of expression is limited and anti-LGBT laws continue to exist despite efforts to repeal it, Singapore has faced international pressures for its strict laws (Wang, 2016). Western liberal institutions in Singapore and international non-governmental organisations have denounced Singapore's strict legislations as barbaric, draconian and essentially hindering progress for the nation (Jerusalem & Yang, 2017; Wilkinson, Gerber, Offord, & Langlois, 2017). It is unfortunate that Section 377A continues to discriminate and affect the LGBTQ community but amidst these obstacles, progress for the community does exist (Mosbergen, 2015). In this paper, I argue that to understand Singapore's progress and attitude towards LGBTQ people based solely on legal frameworks such as Section 377A is narrow and reductionistic (Wilkinson et al., 2017). By highlighting that the universal recognition of LGBTQ rights is a form of neo-colonialist Western imperialism, this paper aims to shift the focus away from Western hegemonic epistemologies and towards alternative understandings of queer subjectivities in the non-Western context of Singapore. In my analysis, I will be using the example of Pink Dot—Singapore's inaugural LGBTQ-affirming rally, to illustrate how queer subjectivities and articulations in Singapore strategically and creatively navigate the nation's socio-political and legal restrictions to push for equality.

A "global gay" identity?

The Stonewall riots of New York in 1969 was known by many as an act of resistance that sparked the modern LGBTQ rights movement. This movement helped to push for the reversal of anti-discriminatory legislation in multiple countries (Priborkin, 2019). In countries such as Canada, Australia and Western Europe, many considered the riots as a legacy whereby LGBTQ communities who have existed in the shadows for a long period had the opportunity to outwardly show their identities and exert demands for equality and justice (Priborkin, 2019). Today, with several LGBTQ Western communities progressively succeeding in their political and legal battles, increasing assimilation has resulted in LGBTQ rights being commonly used as a global marker of modernity—a yardstick for socio-economic progress and democracy (Ali, 2017).

Over these past few years, LGBTQ rights have been unquestionably regarded to as international human rights. This is evident on the global scale where international bodies such as the United Nations has strongly called for LGBT equality through its Free & Equal campaign (Wilkinson et al., 2017). In 2015, the

International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) published its tenth edition of its annual report, featuring a world map (Figure 1). It presents a division of the world based on LGBTQ rights, to help organisations and governments advocate for laws to protect queer communities globally (Ali, 2017).
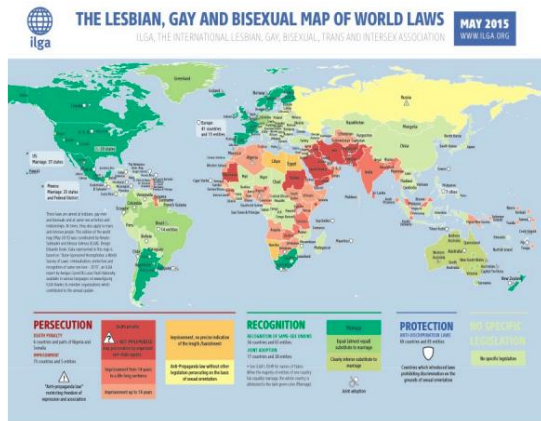

Figure 1: ILGA's world map according to presence of LGBT rights and laws (Source: ILGA, 2015)

The growing inclusion of LGBTQ rights in conceptions of nationhood —mostly in Western contexts— has been described as homonationalism by Jasbir Puar in her text *Terrorist Assemblages: Homationalism in Queer Times* (Dhoest, 2020). Puar describes homonationalism as a critique. Puar posits that the accepting, friendly and tolerant attitudes towards LGBTQ people have been increasingly regarded as a desirable characteristic for contemporary nations. In doing so, many nonnormative LGBTQ people are excluded. In particular, ethnic and religious minorities deemed "hostile" to LGBTQ communities are othered (Dhoest, 2020). She illustrates how often, "Muslims are framed as the villains here" and this polarization also extends to other non-Western cultures and regions such as Northern Africa and South-East Asia (Dhoest, 2020, p. 156). Within the discourse of modernity and progress in international human rights debates, an Orientalist thinking continues to perpetuate. Those countries recognizing LGBTQ rights are deemed modern while those not are deemed un-modern or pre-modern. This notion is often used as a justification for intervention by Western LGBT movements to develop the "other" states (Ali, 2017). According to Chang (2014, p. 312), "the West is configured as an archetype of inevitable progress while the East is Orientalised as a backward and undeveloped wilderness for gay rights". For instance, a White professor from Yale University criticised how the Yale-NUS educational institution in Singapore has not yet helped to reverse the legislation of Section 377A. He found it bizarre and frustrating that the nature of the liberal arts has not reversed and does not belong in the illiberal state of Singapore (Jerusalem and Yang, 2017).

This notion of a Western-centric "rights" discourse being universally applicable is also

consistent with Altman's 1996 thesis on a "global gay" identity (Lazar, 2017). Altman argues that with globalization and Westernization, non-Western gay and lesbian identities are "copies of the Euro-American originals" (Tan, 2015, p. 983).There is an assumption that Asian queers are located within the normative Western narrative of gay liberation, where experiences are centered around "coming out" and political engagement supposedly follow a universal trajectory of legislative developments (Lazar, 2017). This discourse is problematic as the visible dominant ways of being queer and gaining LGBTQ+ equality significantly excludes and discriminates the nonnormative and diverse ways of constructing queer subjectivities and achieving equality in various contexts. Instead of using an essentialist lens, there is a need to acknowledge the existence of a plurality of sexual subjectivities that are meaningfully constructed in response to local contingencies and resources. This foregrounds the agency of queer individuals which Mepschen, Duyvendak and Tonkens highlighted in *Sexual Politics, Orientalism and Multicultural citizenship in Netherlands*. Queer individuals might choose to pursue forms of sexual emancipation and freedom that do not follow a modern and normative construction and trajectory (Mepschen, Duyvendak and Tonkens, 2010).

Through understanding this, I argue that Singapore has been vulnerable to dominant human rights and anti(homophobia) discourses. The Orientalist notion underpinning rights discourse has often drawn negative comments such as being repressive and backward (Chang, 2014). However, using a Western-oriented gay rights discourse to criticise Singapore's attitude to homosexuality is narrowly reductionistic as its local context is more complex and multifaceted. Rather than following a normative trajectory that is characterised by a "liberatory" approach in recognition and rights, queer individuals in Singapore utilize an adaptive and innovative curatorial strategy to navigate the legal situation present in the nation state (Tan, 2011). This juxtaposes the overt and confrontational public forms of queer articulations that Western contexts are familiar with.

Illiberal pragmatics: Understanding Singapore's context

During the early period of British colonialism in Singapore, concerns by the British about widespread homosexuality among male migrants emerged. The colonial governance wanted to regulate forms of sexual behavior and moral conduct. In 1938, the colonial legislation in Singapore imposed the British amendment of criminalizing sex between male homosexuals as Section 377A of the Singapore

Penal code (Obendorf, 2013). This legislation has continued into Singapore's postcolonial independence and statehood today. The current parliament's justification for the retention of this legislation was the consideration that Singapore was still a majorly conservative Asian society. Singaporeans should stand behind protecting the larger interests of society such as the traditional core nuclear family structure than to place emphasis on individual rights (Chang, 2014). From a moral and cultural standpoint, the government argues for the prioritization of Asian values of Communitarianism and Neo-Confucianism over dominant Western liberal values and pressure from the international community (Chang, 2014).

However, understanding the government's attitude towards the LGBTQ community in Singapore requires one to look beyond the legal landscape. In the early 21st century, the strive to become a global city with a flourishing knowledge-based economy has modified Singapore's attitude towards homosexuality as it seeks to appear open-minded to attract global capital and talent (Yue, 2012). The government has attempted to loosen restrictions on LGBTQ establishments, employment in civil service and censorship. For the sake of the economy, the government started to "appear" more tolerant of homosexuality (Offord, 2011). In this way, Singapore incorporates queer individuals into the concept of nationhood through "illiberal pragmatics"— a term coined by Singaporean scholar Audrey Yue (Chang, 2014, p.315). Yue describes this strategy as an ideological compromise between the benefits of a Western model for economic growth, and a resistance to Western influences diluting indigenous values and national identity (Chang, 2014). Singapore's government "appears" to be tolerant of queer individuals yet a lack of general acceptance towards queer individuals remains. As emphasised by Singapore's leaders, queer individuals "will be left alone but homosexuality is not encouraged and is no more than a marketplace commodity" (Oswin, 2019, p.46). As Tan (2015, p.981) emphasises, " as long as the state remains vested in regulating sexuality, nothing sexual can ever be apolitical." The Singapore government thus plays a role in setting the contours of homosexuality in Singapore not just through legislations, but rather at the intersection of the political, cultural and economic spheres.

With the state's strict panoply of regulations and policing, what does this mean for queer Singaporeans? Wang (2016) mentions how Singaporeans have been assumed to passively conform to strict state regulations. While it is common to perceive those living in

states where homosexuality is criminalized as "faceless victims without agency", I argue that the assumption that queer Singaporeans are uniformly disempowered individuals without meaningful lives is condescending and an oversimplication (Ali, 2017, p.15). By using an example of Pink Dot— Singapore's annual LGBTQ-affirming event, I illuminate how queer Singaporeans strategically navigate the socio-political and legal context of Singapore.

Pink Dot

It is 16 May, 2009. 2500 Singaporeans gather at Hong Lim Park in Singapore for the first Pink Dot event— an event for LGBT Singaporeans and allies to gather and celebrate the freedom to love. Given the government's illiberal pragmatics approach, economically-motivated social liberalisation has encouraged the utility of Hong Lim Park, a public space where individuals can organise collective mobilisations as long as it does not breach racial and religious-sensitive topics (Lazar, 2017). This gave an opportunity for the queer community to organise collective mobilisation. While Pink Dot was organized with the underlying goal to repeal Section 377A, what is interesting is that Pink Dot was first marketed as "NOT a protest nor a parade, just a simple call for open-minded Singaporeans to come together to form a pink dot...the pink dot is a celebration of diversity and equality..." (Pink Dot SG, 2009, para.2). This is a strategic approach of Pink Dot organizers to frame the event as they navigate Singapore's circumscribed legal and socio-political configurations. One of Singapore's law professors, Lynette Chua, refers to this strategic approach as "pragmatic resistance", a unique way of circumnavigating an illiberal pragmatic governance (Lazar, 2017). Gay activists are seen to push boundaries while simultaneously, toeing the line. They adjust and modify their form of activism in tandem with the state, which does not involve directly confronting it or undermining it (Offord, 2011).

Pink Dot couches its message in the theme "freedom to love" and frames the event with a family-friendly branding . Being strategic in their branding is important in helping the event to not come across as overt and confrontational to the current legal structure and cultural configurations. In Skyler Wang's qualitative study with Pink Dot volunteers, one of his interviewees, Michael explains that the event could not use a Western-liberal rights discourse (Wang, 2016). Michael emphasises:

> You see our slogan is 'supporting the freedom to love' and not 'supporting the right to love'. This is important because it affected how we did our videos and how we worded our [Facebook] updates... In

our celebrity campaign videos, there were only personal anecdotes, stories about their LGBT friends and stuff. No anger, no politics.(Wang, 2016, p.10)

Refraining from using "rights" in their branding and framing is crucial. "Rights" can suggests that the Singaporean government has deprived citizens of something entitled, representing a direct confrontation to the current legal system. Promoters and organizers instead recognized that it is more pragmatic to use the term "freedom" as it is perceived to be more neutral and nuanced, enabling Pink Dot to appear less overtly political (Wang, 2016). Besides being cautious in its language, Pink Dot organizers attempt to align to the communitarian ideals the government upholds. The event promoted the basic human need to love and be loved, where queers did not deviate but are just like ordinary members of families (Lazar, 2017). The event also encouraged families to participate, strongly positioning itself as "pro-family instead of being pro-gay" (Wang, 2016, p.10).

The colour pink was also a strategic move in framing the event. Pink is indeed an iconic colour associated with homosexuality but it brings legal and cultural legitimacy to the event too (Wang, 2016). Pink is the colour of identification cards of Singaporeans and also representative of the Singaporean flag consisting of red and white. The event wanted to remind the public that this is not a socially divisive event but rather, it is meant for Singaporeans from all backgrounds. Acts during the event also featured queers and allies from various backgrounds and races, signifying the multi-racial nature Pink Dot strives for.

It is not solely the organizers and promoters that recognize how a non-confrontational event to achieve equality is beneficial. Rather, these sentiments are revealed across the LGBTQ community in Singapore. In an ethnographic study for his dissertation, Singaporean Tan Kok Kee reported how his informants recognised that there is no use to be confrontational. By "waving pink banners and marching down the street", people get irritated and counters the effect any resistance queers hope to bring (Tan, 2011, p.142). Furthermore, protestors will be brought to police stations as criminals who nobody would want to associate with.

Since starting in 2009, Pink Dot has grown from 2,500 to 28,000 attendees in 2015 (Ng, 2017). As Pink Dot grows in numbers year after year, activists creatively attempt to push the socio-political boundaries while toeing the line. Over the years, this has not been made easy especially with a rise in homophobic movements that directly target Pink Dot, such as the Wear White movement launched by Islamic

religious teacher Ustaz Noor Devos in 2014 (Ng, 2017). Moreover, big organizations funding Pink Dot have been prohibited in 2016 from sponsoring the event unless they are controlled by a Singaporean majority (Ng, 2017). Yet, these obstacles did not mean it was the end for Pink Dot. Rather, it motivated the mobilization of innovative approaches by volunteers, organizations and participants to further nudge political boundaries.

To be seen, heard and loved

In response to the aforementioned challenges introduced, Singaporean entrepreneurs came together in 2017 to organize a sponsorship drive, "Red Dot for Pink Dot" whereby 100 local companies were stepping in to replace foreign companies as sponsors (Han, 2020). In the 2018 event when Pink Dot celebrated its 10th anniversary, Pink Dot ambassadors started to list 10 declarations, calling out for bolder changes and goals. That year, in 2018, also saw an interesting scene. Official photos taken from an aerial point of view were released whereby the words "WE ARE READY" was boldly illuminated amidst the crowd. Han (2020) foregrounds how this represented a clear message directed to the government, that it is time to repeal Section 377A and to implement laws against discrimination faced by the LGBTQ community. Having built an event that has grown in numbers across the past decade has seen support and solidarity from the community. Going forward, Pink Dot plans to become more driven and purposeful in achieving equality for the community. Even with the global pandemic happening this year, Pink Dot has adapted to the circumstances and conducted a livestream event. The organizers wanted to remind the community that support for the LGBTQ community and the freedom to love must continue to persevere even without a physical gathering (Channel News Asia, 2020).

Today, Pink Dot champions the record for having the largest number of people attending an event in Hong Lim Park in Singapore. It has even inspired surrounding Asian countries to replicate a similar event (Tan, 2011). Achieving greater equality is still the underlying goal for Pink Dot which requires both time and effort to materialize. Promoters believe that Pink Dot will serve as a stepping stone to a campaign for freedom and to push for better equality— an effort that is better than nothing at all (Tang, 2016). Through recognising the illiberal pragmatics approach of the government, queer individuals possess agency to make use of that opportunity to push boundaries yet toe the line, aiming to achieve progress and equality in ways that are meaningful to them and their local contexts.

Conclusion

The assimilationist discourse of homonationalism easily raises critiques of queer Singaporeans being complicit to legal apparatuses and lacking agency (Lazar, 2017). However, this reductionistic and essentialist lens does not account for a contextualized understanding. Using a dominant western narrative and understanding of sexuality excludes variegated contexts where ideas of community are constructed through different interests, means and changing relations to identity politics (Curtin, 2018). Recognising that Singapore adopts an illiberal pragmatics approach located at the intersection of .

institutional regulations and cultural values has helped to inform the articulations of queer subjectivities and collective movements. Pink Dot is seen to be organized with the strategic balance of activism and conservatism. Hence, without disregarding that discrimination against queer communities in Singapore still remains, this paper importantly illuminates how queer Singaporeans are not merely passive conformists. Instead, through the example of Pink Dot, queer Singaporeans reflect that they have been navigating political and cultural values through innovative means towards achieving inclusion and equality

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How Singapore's LGBTQ movement "Pink Dot" navigates illiberal pragmatism

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Forced to Reconsider
The Multifaceted Impact of a Virus in a Globalized World
Fiona Holdinga

Motivation:
"I have submitted this paper because I feel like there are already a lot of papers on Covid-19 from academic departments like biology, physiology, and medicine but not many yet that use a social perspective to theorize about the impact of this pandemic on our perception of normality and our behavior in society."

Introduction

Right now (time of writing Spring 2020, red.), the Coronavirus has affected almost 200 countries and territories (Worldmeter.info, n.d.). As it sails around the world and glides from country to country, it is almost impossible to ignore the intensification of transnational connectedness and the increasing complexity of social organization. This global crisis is handled in various ways in different local contexts, but the most striking fact is that human mobility has come to a stand-still. Train stations and airports, usually liminal spaces focused only on leaving and arriving somewhere, have become empty symbols of the mobility we used to have. Up until now, theories about contemporary globalization have tried to explain the unforeseen and unintended consequences of the increased mobility, interconnectedness, and accelerated change of the world today, and the way this can be experienced on multiple levels

of social organization. However, not many scholars seem to have taken into consideration that this acceleration can suddenly come to a halt. What happens when the entire world is put on pause?

This essay explains the various consequences that the sudden global decrease in mobility, caused by the Coronavirus, has for local and global processes of experience. Through discussing various domains of perception on local scales and connecting them to more global scales, it is made clear that this is a time of reconsideration. A lot of activities that we used to take for granted, and as normal parts of daily life, have been curbed, ultimately creating gaps in our daily routines and forcing us to re-think who we are, where our loyalties lie and what our position is in this time of sudden pause. Firstly, the various gaps that this mobility crisis creates in the daily routines of people are discussed, and the resulting increased online interaction is explained. Secondly, the collaborative sense-making emerging from this is related to our personally conflicting perceptions of the nation-state, creating inconsistent feelings of loyalty and trust, and thereby threatening the legitimacy of states. To conclude, it is explained that all of these de-normalizing experiences together make us reconsider our position in the world, ultimately

demanding us to alter the programming of our habitus.

Perceptions of interconnectedness

Across the world, the Coronavirus seems to revolve around the obstruction of human mobility and the restraining of social actions. As about 20% of the world population is under some form of 'lockdown' (Davidson 2020), we face a decrease in mobility for the first time in decades. Many of us can no longer simply go to the grocery store or go for a walk in the park, which often obstructs the various activities that we have become accustomed to in our daily routines. Therefore, this decrease in mobility has various consequences for our understandings of reality on different scales. On local scales it influences ways in which we experience various forms of interconnectedness, and on more global scales it is a crucial time for the effective operation of the nation-state.

First of all, the obstructed mobility makes us more aware of the way in which we experience flexibility, defined by Gregory Bateson as 'uncommitted potential for change' (1972:497 in Eriksen 2016). People living in cities were already significantly less flexible concerning food, by relying strongly on supermarkets. As these supermarkets are now dealing with extreme health measures and nervous customers who have forgotten that

toilet paper is not a measure against becoming infected, they become de-normalized. For most of the urban citizens, this is a wake-up call of our decreased flexibility regarding food; what happens when the grocery stores close? Other than frequent trips to the grocery store, another example of a privileged activity that is taken for granted would be Aihwa Ong's concept about flexible citizenship (2006). Suddenly, people are no longer able to work in one country and live in another; they have to choose, usually resulting in the country that their passports say they belong to. Obviously, this creates a decrease and sometimes sudden stop in flexible citizenship, forcing people to reconsider their loyalty to a country or government. Another example would be the flows of people that move around the world, or the 'ethnoscape'. Being part of a concept from Arjun Appadurai where he explains his theory of the New Global Cultural economy (1990), the ethnoscape is one of the five different types of building blocks that, according to Appadurai, together make up imagined worlds; understandings of reality, build on the experiences of people and the recollections of things, with a clear historical context. The ethnoscape includes the impressions of people, or groups of people, as they move across the world and people experience their presence (Appadurai 1990). However, touristic hotspots that used to be overheated with tourists, to use Eriksen's phrasing (2016), have now started to cool down completely. Thus, with global mobility largely obstructed, the ethnoscape has come to a halt; it still exists, but it is not active, creating a gap in our imagined worlds and therefore understandings of reality. To conclude for now, we have less flexibility when it comes to moving for work (business), for leisure (tourism), or need (migration and food intake). The Coronavirus cancels many of our plans, forcing us to cope with these uneasy gaps in our understandings of reality.

This is where the second local consequence comes in: an increase in the importance of online networks, in order to fill the gaps that now exist in the routines of our daily lives. Interconnectedness becomes more visible than ever, and the internet becomes our new focus. Not only are we online to keep up with the constant source of information regarding the latest updates of the virus, we are also online to connect to friends, family, and even colleagues that we would normally see face-to-face, and to share our experiences of these suddenly empty daily routines. Jürgen Habermas' notion of the public sphere (1989) is also evident in this increasing online sociality through the forming of public opinions on social platforms. For example, as mentioned earlier, not all countries and territories are in a state of

lockdown. This causes some people to, against the advice circulating on the internet and the news, still go outside and enjoy the close company of other people wherever possible. Evidence of this activity has started various hashtags to circulate on social media, urging people to stay home, and thereby exercising group-influence. People are video calling with each other, posting and commenting about their feelings on Facebook and Instagram, creating 'online parties' through apps, and finding new ways to perform their routines online by working and studying through digitalized means. More than ever, social media is a crucial source of capital that helps us to maintain a variety of relationships.

Perceptions of the nation-state

This increased use of social media during the pandemic is also a form of collaborative sense-making, a social practice where like-minded people try to realize some sort of internal cohesion (Moscovici 1973); in this case through sharing their ideas, views, and opinions of reality through social media and the internet. However, during this quest of collaborative sense-making truth has become a battleground. As we are flooded daily with the latest graphs and statistics about the number of people who are infected with the virus, the number of people who have died due to the virus, and expert predictions of

how the trends of the virus will continue, facts matter more than ever. Truth production has become an important social and political project, and the lack of transparency that existed before this pandemic has reversed to almost too much transparency. As the public is engulfed in new facts about the virus every moment of everyday, and live-blogs with the latest Corona-news are circulating the internet 24/7, it is almost impossible to not know how many people are infected or have passed away in your country, without feeling completely isolated from the world. This collaborative sense-making in combination with the continuous new information about the spread of the virus, also creates changes in the way citizens perceive professional sense-makers such as politicians and journalists.

This is the political side of the truth production, where a contestation of power is actively happening. In the current pandemic this is visible between the rulers across the world and the way they handle this crisis. For example, last week, the Dutch prime minister announced that the Netherlands will not be going into lockdown because, according to experts, this will not work in the long run. However, as a lot of countries surrounding the Netherlands *are* going into lockdown, this creates conflicting feelings about which professional sense-maker to believe. We are showered with information

and facts about the virus, but at the same time we have to choose which ones we believe and internalize, often resulting in a paradox. On the one hand, we are feeling more loyal to the state because we are all experiencing this together, resulting in intensified feelings of nationalism, and we want to be able to trust and depend on our leaders in this frightening time. On the other hand, there is an increasing uncertainty about this loyalty the longer the pandemic lasts; questions arise about the capability of the state to handle this crisis, about the accurateness of the way they are handling it, and if they can really take care of us and make sure we will emerge from this pandemic relatively unscathed.

From the point of view of the state itself, this seems to be a crucial time that can either repair or completely destruct their connection to the nation. Appadurai already talked about this, calling it the 'crisis of the hyphen' (1996), and discussing the different problems that emerge. As he stated, the nation has to deal with flows of people who do not belong to the nation but come to live there, undermining the influence of the nation. On the other hand, the state has to deal with a population that is increasingly diverse, and who cannot easily be made into a nation as they are also increasingly mobile (Appadurai 1996). However, because of the obstruction of mobility as a result of the Coronavirus, the nation has a temporary 'break' from the flows of people who do not belong to the nation, and the state is experiencing the same from their citizens being increasingly mobile. Resulting in a 'paused' crisis of the hyphen, this seems to have various effects across the world. In the Netherlands for instance, we saw the prime minister directly addressing his citizens for the first time in decades. After his speech, which was watched by 7 million people, a survey stated that the general trust in the prime minister had more than doubled from about 30% to 68% (Winterman 2020). Conversely, a recent survey of American citizens indicated that 60% do not trust the ability of their government to accurately deal with the crisis, and the confidence in their professional sense-makers is declining (Montanaro 2020). Thus, this 'pause' has had very different outcomes on the legitimacy of states so far, their right to exercise authority, and if this is accepted. In the case of the United States, the state sovereignty is increasingly contested from below (Loughlin 2006), as their citizens lose confidence in the ability of the state to look after their well-being during this pandemic.

Conclusion

When doors are invisibly barricaded, when you are not allowed to see other people, and when

people are hoarding random items with feelings that their life depends on them, it becomes clear that the experience of the Coronavirus is creating a life changing time for urbanization. The obstruction of mobility causes various decreases in flexibility and a heightened awareness of such as our daily routines are disrupted. To make up for these gaps in our everyday lives, people turn to the internet. Here, they are faced with new possible routines and new feelings of connectedness as they try to make sense of the situation together, but with underlying uncertainties about trust and loyalty. As the nation-state is dealing with a temporarily paused crisis of the hyphen, a new crisis of trust has emerged; people across the world are feeling increasingly internally contested about where they belong and who they should trust.

This can all be related to the concept of habitus, created by Pierre Bourdieu. As a system of dispositions, one's habitus is shaped through previous experiences, resulting in the structuring of new experiences accordingly (1997). This way, habitus shapes people's thoughts and behavior and helps us make sense of the world and our position in it. It is essentially about deep founded values and beliefs that we are not really aware of, and don't question as they seem self-evident; Bourdieu calls this 'doxa'. During a global crisis like the Coronavirus, it seems as though we gain a fraction of insight into this doxa. As I have explained, we are confronted with the gaps in our routines; we become aware of these previously self-evident values, experiences and actions, and start to reflect on our position in the world. In a way, this pause on mobility allows us to go back to the essence of our understandings of reality. We are all reprogramming our habitus to fit these new lifestyles, and it will be most interesting to see which insights come out of this.

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Living impact of plastic water bottles

Emma Timmerman

Motivation:
"I want to submit this particular paper, because I learned how to combine a broad
range of ethnographic literature in the detailed description of the chain of a water bottle wherein a lot more actors are involved and I'm quite enthusiastic how many actors I did have involved and how I structured this paper."

Introduction

Everything we do has consequences. Nowadays, we are becoming more aware of the consequences our actions entail. This is highly visible in the commodities we consume. Plastic water bottles for instance.

Bottled water is everywhere and its consumption is substantial. The global average of bottled water consumption per person is 50 litres each year (Dunmade 2017, 471). This global consumption entails many concerns including many actors situated in the supply chain of bottled water.

In this paper, I'll address consequences of the supply chain of plastic water bottles and the impact on the livelihoods of the people involved in the whole chain. The production and consumption of bottled water has several social, economic and environmental implications in which many actors are involved (Dunmade 2017, 471). Among these actors, there are a lot of different interests involved which can result in various frictions, considering environmental frictions for instance.

This paper will give insight in the (potential) socio-economic fault lines on the bottled water trail; which include bottled water extraction, manufacturing, infrastructures, and lastly the final disposal of plastic bottles.

The problem getting lot of attention in media lately, is that of plastic water bottles ending up in landfills, instead of drop-off depots (Foolmaun & Ramjeeawon 2011, 564). This is considered an increasing environmental problem. This problem is highly visible for us, but we should not forget that there are many other frictions alongside the trail of plastic water bottles.

Therefore I'll try to address the more invisible frictions in the bottled water supply chain. I'll analyse how sustainability in the bottled water trail is lived and how people adopt and maybe reject this trail. With this I want to investigate what contradictions, frictions and contestations the supply chain engenders.

Before I'll address the first actors involved, plastic water bottles will be embedded in the discourse of sustainability. Secondly the first step in the process of water bottles will be explained; the extraction and processing of raw materials. In the third section, I'll describe the manufacturing process and how manufacturers cope with growing environmental awareness. After that, infrastructures alongside the trail will be explained and how people react to this. In the last section the disposal and the last step in the supply chain of plastic water bottles will be addressed.

Sustainability and plastic water bottles

Global supply chains are a clear example of mega infrastructures. The management of global supply chains can be named as ''the distribution of goods & services through global networks to maximise profit and minimise cost,'' (Henig 2020, 9 March). Western companies often chose to move to Asian countries, where labour is much cheaper. The supply chain is in this way fragmented within different countries worldwide.

Through these complex global supply chains, we as anthropologists try to give an analytical perspective by giving meaning to how sustainability is lived. Chains therefore are a useful device to scale things up and scale things down. We're able to go beyond the metaphor that things are only local and global. In this way we are able to connect the dots and unpack the connections, and put a finger on possible fault lines.

With this, I want to highlight the backward part of the globalization process of global supply chains. In this paper this entails the global supply chain of plastic water bottles. By addressing this backward part, addressing all actors in the chain, you also show the fragility of

globalization. The fragility becomes visible when one of the actors in the supply chain system is left out. All over the supply chain there are many other trails of people who make the production of bottled water possible, but they are often not explicitly mentioned; they are the backyard of the globalization process, the small scales at the very bottom (Knowles 2015, 236). But without them, globalization would not be able to happen.

On first sight you have larger global processes, capital, policies, ideas and 'problems' but this is always being localized. Global supply chains have effects where people along the trail have to manage with. That's where anthropologists come in, to mediate and explore from the smallest scales what is put into practice and translate this to the bigger picture. This is what I will do for the supply chain of bottled water.

Since the introduction of bottled water, there has been a lot of discussion about possible environmental impacts. In this debate about environmental impact there are different scales involved and within these scales a lot of different interests which can cause possible fault lines. Therefore, these scales must all be included.

Including all scales can be done by scaling up and scaling down. That's what sustainability is about. Sustainability is about flexibility and ensuring appropriate fit (Schouten, Moriarty 2004, 3). And for flexibility, the experience of all actors are needed, from community to government, from private to public (Schouten, Moriarty 2003, 3). But scaling up also may shake the status quo in a country's water supply structures. Interests may be threatened. International agencies may see their interdependence threatened and may be reluctant to work towards harmonization. Governments may feel bypassed when responsibility is transferred to communities. That's why in the process of scaling up and scaling down, different interests must be addressed and continued to be negotiated (Schouten, Moriarty 2004, 3). I'll address these different scales in the supply chain of plastic water bottles where I'll begin at the beginning of the chain with the extraction and processing of raw materials: oil and water. Important to note is that sustainability covers all things, not only climate change, but that it's part of a bigger picture you're not always able to see. We should think holistic in ways in which the whole is created and integrated.

Extraction and processing of raw materials
Oil extraction
The trail of plastic involves extraction of crude oil (Wong 2010). It is estimated that up to 4 % of the world's annual oil production is used to produce and manufacture plastic products

(Wong 2010). The refinery process will not be taken up, people will be highlighted, and with this the actors involved in the extraction process, wherein different case studies will be named.

Oil extraction has boomed in several African countries (Ferguson 2005, 378). Ferguson (2005) explains that this investment in oil has been concentrated in secured enclaves, often with no or little economic benefit to the wider society (Ferguson 2005, 378). The national grids are abandoned which goes along with the intensive exploitation of enclaves.

These enclaves are also visible in Equatorial Guinea. Appel (2012) shows that enclave construction not only forces dispossession on many local residents as Ferguson (2005) showed, but that these enclaves also symbolize the lack of access to many services (Appel 2012, 441). She explains that these privatization forms produce new forms of violence. So instead of only dispossession of local people, enclaves can also be a form of violence. ''Life in oil is a form of slow, confusing, and ultimately unknowable violence'' (Cepek 2018, 15). Local people are disentangled from responsibility to their own lands. Appel (2012) calls this disentanglement a form of violence.

Oil extraction itself can also be a breeding ground to fuel violence and resistance, visible in Nigeria's oil-rich, but impoverished Niger Delta (Obi 2010, 219). In the Niger Delta, oil extraction fuels conflict between Niger Delta people, and those regarded as the exploiters and beneficiaries of the oil resources in the region (Obi 2010, 219). This case study of Nigeria is an clear example of the resource curse wherein ''countries rich in oil [...] do not always enjoy rapid development equally in all sectors,'' (Weszkalnys 2008, 477). They're rather the victims of violence caused by oil extraction, wherein they are not getting a piece of the cake.

Comparing these different case studies shows that when there's oil available for extraction in a country, local instances do not necessarily always benefit from this availability. It also shows that fossil fuels and political systems are tightly interlinked (Wiegink 2020, 17 February).

Water extraction
The source of the water used in plastic water bottles is a well (Dunmade 2017, 475). When this water is pumped up, it is either stored in a storage tank, or it is pumped through a number of biological treatment devices.   In   the United States there are different effects of water extraction. Rooy et al. (2002) explain the different effects of this water extraction. Because of the extraction there's firstly a drop in the aquifer. Besides you see that it causes wells to dry up desiccate and at the same time salt water

can intrude. Lastly the extraction also has an effect on species and plants and their habitats.

Private citizen activist groups oppose the draining of their water sources. They fear for the depletion or the contamination of their local water sources and the environment. But we see that the consumption of millions of bottles water collides with the establishment of these local water resource protection plans put in place to conserve local water resources. The groups are therefore pushing legislators to create stricter water protection laws, while contradictory bottled water companies continue to tempt local community leaders with task dollars and new jobs for the area with their bottling facilities (Rooy et al. 2002, 269). Manufacturers also increasingly have to deal with laws addressing environmental restrictions.

Manufacturing

The bottled water industry is very dynamic: numerous bottled water companies compete in this market (Ferrier 2001, 118). The basic challenge for them is to keep pace with ever growing consumption. I'll describe how manufacturers use branding, to let consumers identify with the water bottles they buy and how manufacturers have to take into account environmental considerations while they remain maximizing profit on the lowest costs.

Branding

Bottled water is a clear example of the power of branding to make commodities a meaningful part of our daily lives. It is a competitive market, companies therefore need to develop diverse marketing strategies. With this we'll look at a higher scale involved in the supply chain from locals resisting at extraction sites to the manufacturers who are the brain of branding. In the next paragraphs I'll explain some marketing strategies with the help of branding.

A strategy is creating branding practices that appeal to 'nature' (Hawkins 2009, 183). In many advertisements for bottled water brands attach new values to water other than drinking. In these examples health comes from accessing purity; that is by going back to water's source like mountain spring (Hawkins 2009, 190). With this branding, companies valorise bottled water as something natural.

Another key point of branding is the complete disavowal of the industrial mediations of extraction, bottling and transporting water thousands of kilometres around the world (Hawkins 2009, 190). Companies intensify the qualities of nature and they displace the realities of packaging and production processes. Bottled water marketing has to deny the links between drinking and disposing.

Environmental consideration

The choice of bottled water packaging materials increasingly takes environmental considerations into account (Ferrier 2001, 118). This is because there is an increase in environmental consciousness of consumers of plastic products. Also there is the emergence of stricter environmental laws have pushed companies that have to invest in more sustainable activities (Papen, Amin 2019, 125). Whether it's crude oil or the water shortages experienced in villages near water extracting sites in developing countries; there's growing awareness that manufacturers need to offer more environment friendly products (Rani et al. 2012, 3).

This is because the manufacturing process of plastic releases toxic chemicals which can cause cancer (Douglas 2012, 244). Besides, bottled water consumption has an intensive use of energy. Their main aim remains to maximise their profit but because of the growing awareness and strict laws, they have to reduce their carbon footprint to include the needs of their consumers. This increase in environmental consciousness of consumer of plastic products, such as bottled water, and the emergence of stricter environmental laws by cities, have pushed companies to consider reducing the environmental impacts of their products as one of their main objectives, in addition to minimization of their total costs (Papen, Amin,

2019 : 112). These environmental considerations are also quite visible in the transportation process of plastic water bottles.

Infrastructures

Destruction natural environment

The pumping and transportation of water from its source to the bottling plant can lead to the destruction of the natural environment (Rooy et al. 2002, 281). Rooy et al. (2002) explain that with the expansion of bottles there's greater intrusion of industry and trucking into once natural areas with rural roads. Thereby, the trucks would affect traffic in small rural towns in the United States and destruct local roads and undeveloped areas.

Resistance

Hiroshi Kanno, of the Wisconsin water activist group, explained that if a permit to bottle water from nearby Big Springs was issued, there would be an increase from about four trucks per day on local roads to about 900 trucks each day (Rooy et al. 2002, 282).

Infrastructures are often associated with development and a promise for integration and modernity. But they mean different things for different people and they can also mean multiple things for one individual. Besides, meaning of infrastructures also changes over time. Thereby new infrastructures can be seen

as something good by providing new possibilities. Harvey & Knox (2012) refer to this as the enchantment of infrastructure. They explain new infrastructures as the production of promises to produce a sense of social good to local people. At these moments, infrastructures are moments of enchantments while people do not necessarily get to move faster, or promise social good with the production of new infrastructures. They conclude their article with ''Infrastructures can dazzle with the possibilities they hold [...]'' (Harvey & Knox 2012, 534). Infrastructures can be blinding. The projects of infrastructures do not always deliver enchantment but it keeps people enchanted.

You see that infrastructures and with this the transportation of water and plastic; plastic bottles, is more than only a technical part of building roads and vehicles, politics play a big role too (Henig 2020, 10 February). You see this politics also in the great resistance against infrastructures because of the impact they have on the natural environment in which resistance groups state that they're not part of the authentic (Wiegink 2020, 24 February). You see also a lot of resistance in the debate on the growing plastic 'soup' in our ocean in the final disposal of plastic water bottles.

Final disposal of plastic water bottles

Waste is one of the main problems of sustainability. It contains a big part of our daily life, while most of the time we don't think about it. That while we are one of the constructers of the problem of waste.

The increasing number of plastic water bottles constitutes an environmental problem when used bottles are not disposed properly. They may end up in landfills for instance.

Landfills and recycling

Plastic water bottles disposed into landfills cause contaminations that are harmful to both the environment and the human body (Papen, Amin 2019, 110). That's why governments in for example Mauritius try to force the bottle water industry to use recycled materials in manufacturing plastic water bottles, by imposing strict environmental laws. Economic reasons are thereby also important. One of these economic reasons is the lower price of postconsumer recycled. This is also a huge problem to the flourishing tourism industry in Mauritius. Foolmaun & Ramjeaawon (2011) explain that over 100 bottles are generated annually in Mauritius and the only disposal route is through landfills. On Mauritius there's no segregation of waste and that's why they end up in water bodies and on bare lands. Without intriguing politics in this problem of waste,

reducing plastic bottles in landfills becomes difficult to achieve.

But even when recycling is a legal requirement, for instance in the Netherlands (Bing et al. 2014, 119), there is still the problem that generally out of every six bottles of water used, only one of them is sent to the recycling bin. The others are still end up in landfills or oceans. You need consumers to take waste seriously and need them to connect more with the waste. We need this before consumers will make the decision to separate all their waste properly. Because waste is 'not in general' it is only 'in particular'.

Conclusion & discussion

The supply chain of plastic water bottles contains the whole globe and has different impact on different scales. It's extraction involves people's lives. In the examples I showed that locals are not always involved in the extraction process and that they can experience forms of violence, slow violence but also violence as a resistance against the oil extraction while not getting a piece. There are consequences on every scale. Environmental restrictions have come into play to reduce environmental impact in the production process of plastic bottles, but also in the waste it produces at the end of the chain. Manufacturers

have to respond to consumers who become more aware of these environmental impacts and also try to keep the profits as high as possible. The infrastructures also have to deal with different laws and politics. They have impact on local infrastructures and also the environment. They create possibilities of development which will not always be true for locals, which has been called disenchantment. Plastic bottles are visible at the end of the chain in landfills where they are harmful for both the environment and the human body, also law and politics are involved in this last stage of plastic bottles. Legal requirements are the first step, but the implementation in the heads of people is another thing.

Frictions concerning this global supply chain of plastic water bottles are not unambiguous, they contain different outcomes in different spectres. It's not only about the impact on the environment, people or economics. It's about the interplay, the intertwinement between all these different actors and that's of most importance to keep seeing and not generalizing problems. Keeping the holistic view central.

It's really important to view these frictions with a broad view to connect all the dots, and understand all points of view in this ongoing chain in the discourse of sustainability.

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Bobbin lace as a work of Art, Technology and Practice

Small-scale theoretical and empirical study of 'bobbin lace'
A conversation with Yvonne Scheele-Kerkhof

Ana Bajt

Motivation:
"In my view, the following essay gives a good insight into one of the fields of arts and crafts that is universal and at the same time specific, traditional and yet contemporary, artistic, complex and highly personal - the making, or growing, of the bobbin lace. In the essay I aim to intertwine the theory regarding the making and the growing of the objects with the first-person narratives of Yvonne Scheele-Kerkhof, a well-versed practitioner of lace making and an artist; once again I open the question of what is art and what is an object of material culture, using bobbin lace, a rather unknown field of arts and crafts, as a case study."

Introduction

Bobbin lace is a fabric made by a lacemaker. The name for this type of handmade lace comes from the bobbins, the tools that are used to make bobbin lace, which are at least 10 cm long shaped sticks with a thread wound around a shank. Along with that, a pillow, a thread and a grid drawn on a piece of paper to specify the pattern and the design of the lace to be made are used to make bobbin lace. With more than half of a millennium lasting tradition, lace in general is, has been, and most probably will be, worn and used, made by hand or mass produced, in different geographical locations and times. Bobbin lace in particular is one of the two most important categories of handmade lace that has been preserved so far (needle lace being the other type). Up until the present time, bobbin lace, techniques, patterns and designs have been circulating among people of different cultures, changing in its purpose and

appearance, colours, the degree of popularity and, after all, its overall status and symbolism. Weaving and plaiting the thread which is being wound on the many bobbins used by the lacemaker, results in a piece of fabric, so delicate and fine. "A piece of art!", one would perhaps say. The question I here ponder upon is whether or not, or rather - the extent to which one can conceptualize a piece of bobbin lace, as a piece of art? Does it belong to the world of art or that of material culture? In this small-scale ethnographic study I explore the nature, purpose and contemporary relevance of bobbin lace from a rather anthropological point of view. Using relevant anthropological approaches and concepts described in the following section, as well as first-hand narratives of one of the lacemakers, Yvonne Scheele-Kerkhof, I aim to discuss the overarching question of the study - where on a spectrum from 'art' to 'material culture' is one to position bobbin lace.

Approaches and methods

The study of bobbin lace is greatly inspired by the narrations of one of the most known lacemakers and connoisseurs of bobbin lace in the Netherlands and beyond, Yvonne Scheele-Kerkhof. In the lace-making world, Yvonne is a well-established artist with a reputation for being exceptional and one of a kind in her craft. She is also an informant to my study, for she is

very knowledgeable of the history of bobbin lace and the practice of making it.

Fig. 1. Yvonne Scheele-Kerkhof, lacemaker and an artist.

Bobbin lace and lace in general have been present in Yvonne's life for a few decades now. Although it started off as being her hobby, and never became her full-time occupation, Yvonne wrote several books on the subject and gives lectures on bobbin lace making in the Netherlands and abroad. She has been teaching, studying and making her own lace since the late 1970s and sees it as something that enabled her to be creative, as well as "*something that's a routine, that stays in your life*". Interesting to note is that she primarily fell in love with the bobbins in the window of an

antique shop in England where she lived, rather than the lace *per se*. She became curious about the purpose of the bobbins and the wide range of techniques forming various types of lace, which keeps her enthusiastic about the craft.

At first, I intended to spend a day or two with Yvonne in her studio, observing her at her work and possibly partaking in the activity of making lace myself too. In this way, I would possibly get a more genuine and real account of the practice and the lacemaker involved in it, taking into account some other elements surrounding the lacemaking, such as the features of the studio and the working environment, for example. Moreover, I intended to use a method similar to Karen Strassler's 'photo-elicitation' (2010) to initiate a conversation with Yvonne about her works, the intentions and thought processes behind them, as well as the meanings and significance of her collection of bobbin lace and bobbins. Moreover, as I have been taking classes of bobbin lace making myself as a child, the idea of taking up bobbin lace again seemed quite exciting. However, due to the unforeseeable events of the present times, namely the pandemic outbreak of coronavirus, I decided to confine myself to the close surroundings of my room and have an online call with Yvonne instead. For that purpose, I prepared some leading questions that facilitated the flow and cohesiveness of our conversation about bobbin lace, her as a lacemaker, the practice of making lace and its conceptualisation as a piece of art.

The narrative of Yvonne is central to my study as I believe that analysing a craft without a craftsman would turn out to be rather incomplete. After all, it is the craftsman that does the craft, the artist that does art and a person that, along with others, contributes to a culture. Hence, the approach to the study of bobbin lace is rather individual, focusing on the practitioner's own understanding of bobbin lace and lacemaking. The individual approach is emphasised over the more institutional one, which would, for example, rather consider the positioning of the bobbin lace in museums and markets. Although Clifford also rightly asks "How are "antiquities," "curiosities," "art," "souvenirs," "monuments," and "ethnographic artifacts" distinguished - at different historical moments and in specific market conditions?" (1988, p.221), I believe the nature of this study to be more introspective and isolated. Undoubtedly it is a specific system of value that determines "the commercial, aesthetic, and scientific worth" of an object (Clifford, p.222) and a greater context could be taken into account when discussing the classification of bobbin lace. However, I am, by choice, rather interested in Yvonne's own understanding of

bobbin lace and use her narratives to discuss the subject.

Although the approach I undertake is a more personal one, I find it interesting and important to make a link between the personal narratives and some core theoretical writings on the topic. Hence, for the purpose of the study, I rely upon the thoughts and frameworks proposed by scholarly writers in the field, namely Ingold, Clifford, Morphy and Perkins, who discuss, *inter alia*, modality of 'making' and 'growing' objects, the pathway between the dichotomous art and culture, and the conception of art within anthropology respectively. Furthermore, I myself contribute to the discussion by proposing some additional ways and tools for thinking about bobbin lace as a piece of art or an object of material culture. In fact, my goal is not to give the exact answer to the question of whether bobbin lace is a part of one or the other, but rather to stimulate the reader to contemplate on the subject him or herself.

Positioning of 'Bobbin lace' between Art and Material Culture

In his 'Art-Culture System', James Clifford (1988) proposes a scheme with which one may classify objects as authentic, inauthentic, artifacts or masterpieces. Although the system was designed to address the issue of classifying non-Western objects, I believe that it could also be applied to the Western context of art and culture. For the purpose of this study, I will be focusing on the upper and inner part of the scheme, on the so-conceived dichotomy between Art, being 'original and singular', and Culture, 'traditional and collective'[1]. Clifford observes that along this art-culture path, objects move in two directions - from art towards culture and *vice versa*. Due to this motion, one could presume that the distinction between art and (material) culture is anything but a clear cut, let alone the classification of objects into one world or another. The same goes for bobbin lace. Whilst absolute categorization of an object is, in my view, impossible and even unnecessary, the discussion of where to position the object on a spectrum from 'art' to 'culture' is still intriguing and important. To do so, I propose, similarly as Ingold in his essay 'On weaving a basket' (2000), to look into some of the features of bobbin lace and approaches to producing it. By analyzing its form (the technique and the design) and its formation, one can understand the difficulty of classifying such an object and appreciate its uniqueness, complexity and, after all, its beauty.
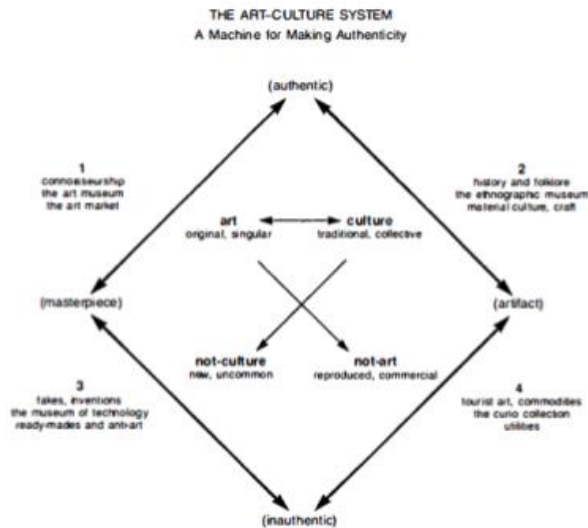
THE ART-CULTURE SYSTEM
A Machine for Making Authenticity

Fig. 2. The Art - Culture System by Clifford James

Form as the main feature of bobbin lace: technique and design

When contrasting artifacts and organisms, Ingold (2000) writes that the difference between the two arises from the fact that we presume a division between the form and the substance in the case of artifacts (and not so in the case of living things). The form, or the specification of the design, is hence considered as one of the two main elements that constitute an artifact - or a piece of art, for this purpose. However, because Ingold's study of baskets and weaving does not conceptualize an object as having an aesthetic, or artistic dimension, the analytical model he uses must be adjusted to fit his narrative. Hence, I build upon his conception of 'form as equivalent to the design' and propose to differentiate (1) technique from (2) design, which can be considered as two constituent elements of 'a form' of bobbin lace, or perhaps any other object - be it art or artifact. Differentiating the technique or the pattern of lace that is "internal" (the making or weaving - the process) from the design that is "external" (the image produced, e.g. Chinese motives, as we will see later on), one opens the possibility for considering bobbin lace not only as an object of material culture, or an artifact, but also as a piece of art. In the next section, I explain how this particular outlook, viz. acknowledgement of 'pattern' and 'design' as two separate elements, enable us to distinguish lace as a part of material culture from lace as a piece of art.

Bobbin lace as cultural heritage

Yvonne's lacemaking journey started in England by learning techniques, to become familiar with some of the many types of lace such as Torchon, Bedfordshire and Bucks Point. She started off by working simple, repetitive patterns forming a strip. Later on, in the Netherlands, she got acquainted with Duchesse lace and learned a different technique, which, according to her, results in making pictures, or what she calls

"painting with threads". In fact, this technique is typical for one of the two groups of bobbin lace making, that is lace made with non-continuous threads (Duchesse, for example). Another one is lace with continuous threads (see Fig.3, pattern on the left).
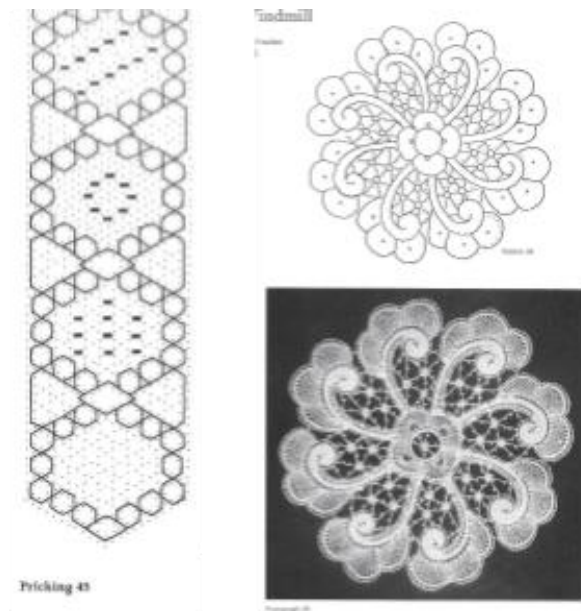

Fig. 3. Examples of lace patterns: a repetitive strip and Duchesse

Initially, lace patterns were made by artists, painters in particular, and later on knowledge of technique, patterns and overall designs were passed down from one generation to another. Education on making lace started being prevalent in orphanages and convents, which further encouraged lacemaking, contributing to the preservation of the material culture or heritage of a particular place. The technique to be used to work the lace is commonly dictated by a pattern consisting of dots where a lacemaker, after twisting and crossing the threads, sets the pins to keep the threads in place. Hence, the emphasis is placed on the execution of the internal form, namely the technique of interlacing threads into a lace, and while it does require a great deal of knowledge to work it, it does not require from the lacemaker to be creative in the making, since the pattern is there to guide her. For example, the design of a traditional type of lace can be worked in a strip that is repetitive in its pattern or recognized by its floral design, as is common for Duchesse lace. The designers of many traditional patterns and designs of lace are often anonymous as the patterns have been circulating for many years or decades from one lacemaker to another.

The way in which the lace is made can be deemed as analogous to Ingold's conception of weaving a basket (2000). Contrasting it, again, with living organisms, Ingold says that whilst "[t]he form of the shell is internally specified in the gastropod's genetic inheritance and revealed in its growth; the form of the basket is externally specified in the mind of the weaver, as part of a received cultural heritage and revealed in its manufacture" (Ingold, 2000 p.5).

However, as this study concerns not only lace as an artifact but also lace as a piece of art, it is important to point out here the significance of the pattern for the execution of the practice. The pattern is a piece of reinforced paper placed on the pillow. It specifies the internal configuration of the threads, or the pattern, the way in which threads are to be interlaced, and, hence, the overall design of the lace that comes into being once it is finished. Analysing the practice of making bobbin lace, one could say that the extent to which the pattern is strictly followed, differentiates lace as a piece of art from lace as a piece of material culture.

When it comes to the more traditional patterns, "the mind of the weaver" (Ingold, 2000 p.5), or the lacemaker, in fact follows the pattern to make the lace. Hence, the pattern can be deemed as an important element that takes away some degree of creativity of the maker to influence the execution of the design. The paper pattern is a medium, or a tool for lacemaking, that is indispensable for the execution of the lace design that was passed on to the lacemaker - the pattern is to be followed and no deviation from it is needed, nor desired. Hence, the final result of the lace is externally specified in the mind of the lacemaker "as a part of the received cultural heritage", albeit its execution is, out of pure necessity, facilitated and guided by the pattern that is pinned on the pillow defining the overall technique to be used. The emphasis on the form, both the internal (technique) and the external (design) is shared by Ingold (2000) who stresses that "it is the form of the artefact, not its substance [threads], that is attributed to culture." The use of techniques for working a lace is received and preserved as cultural heritage.

Bobbin lace as a piece of art
At the same time, by using unique and original designs and techniques to make bobbin lace, or deviating from the prescribed pattern, the understanding of bobbin lace may shift from solely being a part of material culture to include the elements of an artistic piece. In his writings, Morphy thinks of art objects as those ''with aesthetic and/or semantic attributes (but in most cases both), that are used for representational or presentational purposes'' (Morphy, 1944: 655). Similarly, according to Yvonne, lace becomes art when one creates something new, rather than copy what has been done before. "*I think that what I do is art, at least that's what people say, I mean, it's easy to say it for yourself but that's what people say.*" In their writings on art from an anthropological point of view Morphy and Perkins (2006:12) observe the making of art as "a particular kind of human activity that involves both the creativity of the producer and the capacity of others to respond

to and use art objects, or to use objects as art". With that, they point out the same aspect of what art is as Yvonne does, namely the general social recognition of an object as a piece of art. Social validation, therefore, is required for a bobbin lace to be considered as art. Moreover, Yvonne says that "*a lot of lacemakers copy what has already been done and I try to create something new*". Hence, a new creative approach, that does not yet take place in the culture and amongst people, is an important element that differentiates a piece of art from the world of a larger context of material culture. Yvonne tells me "*I get inspiration through books or I look around, because whenever you look around, you realize that there's lace in everything.*" Hence, inventiveness and imagination contribute to the creation of an artistic object. For example, Yvonne tells me that she is currently working on a piece of bobbin lace of which the design was inspired by the works of Klimt, the Austrian symbolist painter. "*Of course it's totally different*" she tells me "*but that's how I do it*". Another strong influence on Yvonne's lacemaking is Chinese art and culture, with which she got acquainted whilst living in Singapore. "*I met quite a lot of Chinese people who were interested in textiles and embroidery, seeing that I thought "oh I could translate that into lace too". You need to use your imagination, make a picture in your mind and that is what you want to produce on your pillow*" she tells me. The influence of Chinese art and culture is reflected in the designs for Yvonne's lace that she works and creates herself, which makes her work original and exceptional. Hence, one may view those works as pieces of art, which build on 'culture', or rather intertwine the elements of different cultures, in an object of an artistic nature.

Fig. 4. Creativeness in imagining, designing and making of bobbin lace - all by Yvonne. Inspiration from Chinese culture. Bobbin lace as a piece of art.

Furthermore, Yvonne emphasized that when she works her own designs on the pillow, she often adjusts the technique throughout the process. "*I've got the design and then I think about how to work it /.../ I get a picture in my mind - it comes to life in my mind - and that's what I try to work on my pillow; the pattern is more like a base, because I can also change it while I work on it*". Hence, the lacemaker has more leeway in working a bobbin lace. Having agency, or originality, differentiates the maker

as an artist from a craftsman. Yvonne, as an artist, stresses that she does her own patterns, "*creates new stitches, new combinations*" and works in her own technique that can be viewed as a build-up, or a mix of the techniques she has initially learned. The combination of old techniques of lacemaking to create something new is also reflected in the works of Yvonne's acquaintance Pierre Fouché, a renowned visual artist and lacemaker based in South Africa, as she exemplifies. By combining techniques and making use of techniques of other textile crafts (e.g. macramé) to create a desired image, along with the novelty in the design or the image (its overall "external" look) bobbin lace, as a piece of fabric, becomes a piece of art too.

Fig. 5. Combination of techniques by Yvonne (bobbin lace, embroidery, felting) and Pierre Fouché (lace and macramé)

'Making' and 'growing' of bobbin lace

Considering the above, it comes to me that the process of making lace with bobbins in itself could be further looked into. Just like Ingold (2000), one could challenge the presumption of 'making' lace with a different view of 'growing' it. Ingold encourages us to switch from understanding 'weaving' as a modality of 'making', to 'making' being a modality of 'weaving'. Weaving here is synonymous to growing - by weaving a basket, a basket grows. In my view, by introducing the term 'growing', or perhaps rather 'creating', the discussion on the nature of lace is stirred away from being a part of material culture towards the recognition of an object as a piece art. Once the analysis is focused on the process of interlacing threads, similarly to what I have been describing above, the role of the craftsman becomes more prominent and significant. Here I ask myself whether the narrative of 'making lace' makes a piece of bobbin lace an artefact, while 'growing' it (or 'creating' it) emphasizes its artistic nature?

It is the preservation of the techniques of interlacing, but mostly the designs of lace that make one think of bobbin lace as a part of material culture. Along with that comes the purpose for which the lace was made. Doilies, for example, are used by some as a piece of decoration and by others to protect surfaces or bind flowers in a bouquet. Moreover, Duchesse lace is worked on tablecloth to bring lightness

to it. The wearing of lace in the past was also an important sign of wealth and prestige, as one can see from the many portraits of noble men kept and displayed in the Rijksmuseum, for example (see the example of Hugo Grotius). As a part of fashion, designs of lace nowadays still play an important decorative role, although they are often mass produced. The production of artefacts is oftentimes oriented towards the end product, namely the artifact in its final designated form, fulfilling its purpose and occupying a particular role.

Differently, understanding objects as being 'grown', the craft switches its focus towards the process of working it, rather than solely appreciating its final look and utility. The core of Ingold's proposition is, hence, to "understand making as a modality of weaving" (Ingold, 2000: 339). In other words, it means that it is now the 'making' that is an expression of 'weaving'.

Hence, 'weaving' is the primal cause of action and the 'making' comes afterwards, almost as a side effect. Certainly the creation of the end product, in our case bobbin lace, is important, but strong emphasis is also placed on the technique, skill and time that a lacemaker dedicated to it. The process of interlacing - growing or creating - is equally, if not even more important for the craft than the end product. By emphasizing the process of interlacing threads, and especially the innovativeness brought to it, one is more able to appreciate a piece of bobbin lace as a piece of art. It is harder to speak of lace as having an artistic dimension if many can be found with the same pattern and design. Even more so if the lace was mass produced, mechanically (although we now speak of lace in general and not of bobbin lace, made with bobbins by individuals, in particular). When dealing with a piece of bobbin lace from which the traditional designs and patterns cannot so easily be discerned, one might be more inclined to treat it as a piece of art and appreciate its innovation and creativeness. In the words of Myers, "Art has been supposed to transcend (if not criticize) use value, opposing the latter by being a domain of freedom and creativity" (2002, p.294).

Fig. 6. The making or "growing" of the bobbin lace. The use of many bobbins for working on a single piece of bobbin lace reflects the complexity of the craft and the knowledge of the technique required to interlace the threads, follow the pattern and actualize the design.

Tools for making and creating Bobbin lace: Bobbins and Threads

As emphasized by Yvonne, another important element to lace making are the tools that are being used, especially the bobbins but also the threads. One could argue that the bobbins in particular are those elements involved in making lace that drag the object closer to the world of material culture than that of an art one. As Yvonne informs me, bobbins can be made out of wood, bone, ivory and plastic, taking different shapes and having different decorations that vary not only from one country to another, but also within a country, depending on the
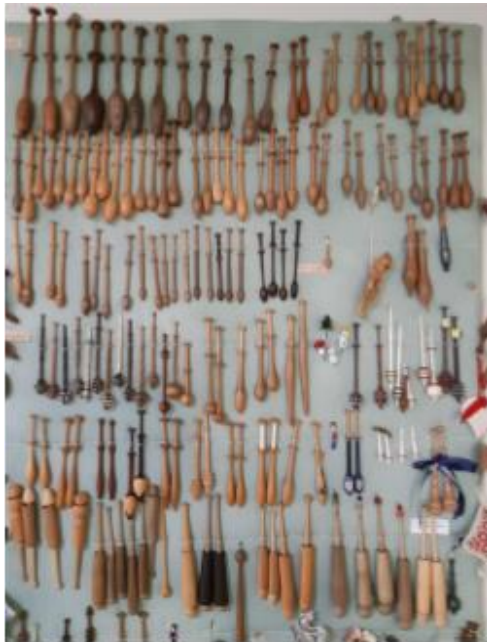

Fig. 7. Personal collection of the bobbins.

traditions of lace making and heritage.

Yvonne herself has a large collection of bobbins that she has collected throughout time from all over the world, when she, or her husband, were traveling and living abroad. Whatever the destination, she would know "*that lace will be made where we're going*". Hence, the bobbins, and also threads of different kinds (cotton, silk, linen) tell us more about the cultural embeddedness of bobbin lace. On the other hand, however, notwithstanding the context in which, and the tools with which the bobbin lace is made, the object may still be considered as an element of art, and the bobbins themselves a part of material culture.

Conclusion

In this essay I have discussed some of the core elements, tools and approaches one can use and apply to the analysis of bobbin lace. In this study I aimed to discuss in what ways a bobbin lace can be both seen as a piece of art and an object of material culture. As there are many approaches that can be taken when making bobbin lace with regards to employing different techniques, patterns and designs, bobbin lace should be understood within all three dimensions of an aesthetic, technology and practice. Whether put on a dress or used as wall decoration, bobbin lace can be conceived as a self-contained piece of fabric, having its own

agency or self-established right. Most of the time, the study treats lace as a body, a singular entity, flowing between being a piece of art or that of material culture. It is being evaluated as both a cultural artifact, scientific in its technique, as well as an artwork with an aesthetic importance. Utilitarian in its nature, one can think of artifacts not only as being made, but being made with a particular intention to serve a certain function. Hence, the function, or the purpose of producing lace, can also be understood as contributing to the material world of a culture. Moreover, the execution of the design, with regards to the extent to which the pattern is pre-designed and strictly followed, can be viewed as an important element for the discussion on the nature of lace. In addition, innovative designs and dexterity in working them makes lace a piece of art and the lacemaker an artist in his or her own right. Tying my findings back to the framework proposed by Clifford (1988), one can see how bobbin lace as art is much more singular and original, whilst when considering it as a part of material culture, it is deemed as rather traditional and shared

among a collective (with its status or shared purpose). In my argumentation I have oftentimes presumed a bobbin lace to be a thing in itself, however one can also view lace as a decorative element to a piece of clothing. Whilst the bobbin lace as decoration has not been discussed in depth in this study, analyzing it within such a context, how it works along with other objects, may be interesting for further research in the field.

Note: All the visual materials used in the above study were obtained from Yvonne Scheele-Kerkhof and were used for the purpose of visualisation of her narratives with her full permission. The paper was reviewed twice by the lacemaker herself in order to verify the information provided on her behalf, and to reaffirm the overall authenticity and truthfulness of the content of the study.

Footnotes

1.   At this point we should acknowledge that by utilizing only the upper part of the scheme, lace, or bobbin lace, used in the study is inherently deemed to be authentic.

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Colonialism's Creation of Black-on-Black Violence

The Origins of Contemporary Postcolonial Intra-African Ethnic Conflict

Malaika Chidzero

Motivation:
"I am passionate about understanding and sharing knowledge about contemporary issues of conflict or injustice that are often not recognized as having colonial roots. Growing up in South Africa I witnessed some of the direct legacies of colonialism. However, since taking a course on Decolonizing Anthropology, I had recently been prompted to reflect on the more hidden legacies of colonialism that exist in the world. With this submission I hope to increase people's understanding of such issues (this paper addressing just one of many) which exist in a world that many may view as having already moved on from colonisation."

Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* presents an account of the existence and advocacy of violence used by the colonised subject against the colonist ruler. Violence is presented as a necessary means towards the political and mental liberation of the black man as a subject of colonial rule. But what happens when this violence pits the black man against his own people and exits the sphere of the colonist versus the colonised into the colonised against each other? In the first chapter, *On Violence*, Fanon gives light to the idea that the colonised subject will exercise his aggressiveness against his very own people and that this is the "period when black turns on black" (Fanon, 1963: 15). This issue of intra-African violence and conflict is one that persists, even in a postcolonial context. Many cases of contemporary African conflict can be traced back to colonial times and the influence of colonialism on African ideas of belonging, ethnicity and religion (amongst others). The manner in which the rule of the colonist succeeds in turning the black man against himself will be explored

throughout this essay in reference to colonial and postcolonial cases of intra-African conflict. First, an account of the conflict between the colonist and the colonised will ensue before looking at how this opposition may have led to "black-on-black" conflict. The specific case of the Herero-Nama Genocide in South-West Africa under German colonial rule and its creation of structural violence will be presented. Following this, an exploration of the postcolonial intra-African ethnic conflict in Kenya which focuses more on matters of symbolic violence will take place. Finally, an examination of possible approaches towards conflict management regarding issues of contemporary intra-African rivalry will ensue.

The Arrival of the White Man

Fanon mentions that the arrival of colonist forces is what brought violence to the colonised and that such levels of violence did not exist prior to this arrival. He further notes that "[the colonists] do not disorganize a society, however primitive it may be, with such an agenda if [they] are not determined from the very start to smash every obstacle encountered" (Fanon, 1963: 3). The prevalence of such violent tactics from the colonist is necessary to note here because it informs the appropriateness of the response of the colonised people. The initial response on the side of the colonised people is to combat the disorganization of their society, being done by the colonist, through the very violence that was imposed upon them. The colonists on the other hand, maintain the determination to remove all obstacles they encounter – it is through this agenda that violence perpetuates itself from both ends. Instances of colonial state violence against the colonised people include cases of exploiting, pillaging, raping and murdering of the colonised subjects, all in the name of establishing colonial power and economies. The colonised people, naturally, resist by meeting these forces of violence with violent forces of their own. The colonist then somehow manages to turn this violence instilled in the black man against himself.

In a more immediate sense, colonial powers produced black-on-black violence by putting Africans in positions of state and political power, thus granting them control over their own people. Think along the lines of African military officials and police reinforcing colonial laws and state orders amongst their own kind. For example, the German colonial state using the military in Namibia (then South-West Africa) against the Nama-Herero resistance (later turned genocide). In this case, two groups of native people from South-West Africa, the Namaqua and the Herero, rebelled together against German colonial occupation. The case turned to one of genocide as the

German general at the time, Lothar von Trotha, ordered the killing of any and all Nama-Herero who stood in the way of German occupation. Many others died in concentration camps or of dehydration in the desert (Ochab, 2018). The conflict of this genocide is concerned with "black-on-black" violence because the military forces that were used to suppress the Herero-Nama resistance were those consisting of many officials and soldiers of South-West African descent – thus repressing their own people and perpetuating the structural violence introduced by the colonist, amongst the colonised people themselves.

What the Colonist Left Behind

In a less immediate sense, the colonist contributed to ongoing intra-African conflict through the introduction of concepts such as religion and ethnic differentiation – it is such conflicts of ethnicity and religion that remain prominent in postcolonial Africa. For example, in their research on postcolonial ethnic conflict, Robert Blanton and co-authors mention that when the European powers imposed formal territorial boundaries throughout the continent of Africa in 1885, this marked the beginnings of ethnic conflict in postcolonial Africa (Blanton et al., 2001: 473). Their research presents the specific example of how the British and French imperial rule created fundamentally different systems of ethnic stratification which left contrasting legacies for postcolonial ethnic conflict. It is stated that ethnic conflict should be more frequent and intense in former British colonies because their style of indirect colonial ruling left traditional patterns of social organisation in place (Blanton et al., 2001: 475). In former French colonies on the other hand, ethnic minorities were left without the mobilising structures that were necessary to organize a challenge to the postcolonial state. This is because of the French strategy of administrative centralisation which led to an attack on traditional social institutions (Blanton et al., 2001: 475). Either way, with the end of colonial rule came a new genre of former colonies in Africa where colonial borders remained intact – thereby transforming them into fragmented states which provided a breeding ground for the postcolonial intra-African conflict that we see today. The origin of the violence that occurs as a result of this conflict is often one of ethnic concerns, thus indicating the existence of symbolic violence due to the fact that ethnic relations are a largely symbolic matter.

In terms of former British colonies, Kenya is a fitting example to look at the legacy of imperial rule and its contribution to contemporary ethnic conflict. In her article *What's Tearing Kenya Apart? History, for One*

Thing, Caroline Elkins takes us through the effects of British imperial rule on Kenya. This East African country has been considered a model of economic and democratic progress since the downfall of its dictatorship in 2002. However, around the time of this article's publication, Kenya had been moving towards a civil war fuelled by ethnicity (Elkins, 2008). Something that Elkins says can be partly blamed on Britain and its imperial legacy. The immediate cause that was responsible for this crisis is the sensitive ethnic balance that exists in the country – a tension created by Britain's notorious *divide and rule* imperial policy which "turned fluid groups of individuals into immutable ethnic units" (Elkins, 2008), namely the Luo and Kikuyu ethnic groups. What remains is an ethnic rivalry between these groups that is still prevalent today as a rivalry that defines Kenyan politics (Kiruga, 2018), thus proving contemporary ethnic conflict as a colonial phenomenon.

Potential for Intra-African Conflict Management

Before considering the possibilities of managing intra-African conflict, a more intricate understanding of ethnicity should take place as this is the stem from which most of the contemporary conflict grows. In his paper on ethnicity and conflict in postcolonial Africa, Victor Azarya explains that what makes ethnicity such a powerful instrument is that it can be used to achieve other goals but is also appreciated as an end in itself. It is "mythic" and "symbolic" in character but it is this combination of myths, symbols, memories and values that leads to a strength of ethnic ties and communities (Azarya, 2003: 3) that can largely be held responsible for the conflict created. It is also mentioned that ethnicity is constantly being modified as conflicting parties stress certain components of it over others. Azarya states, in reference to anthropologist Clifford Geertz, that even though the particular combination of ethnic elements may change from case to case, there should be a general acceptance of those components as basic elements of ethnicity (Azarya, 2003: 3). In other words, no matter how different two forms of ethnicity may be, they should still be considered within the same realm thus allowing management of ethnic conflict to be understood and take place. You may note that the term conflict "management" is used here in place of conflict "resolution". This is because conflict is regarded as something of natural order as long as scarcity of resources exists – a prevalent issue in the case of former colonies that suffer from a postcolonial lack of resources due to the actions of colonialism. The general existence of conflict cannot be terminated (i.e. resolved), but it can be

contained and managed in such a way that it does not lose control and result in further violence (Azaryna 2003: 4).

Needless to say, intra-African conflict cannot be understood without considering the influence and effect of the colonial rule on ethnic divisions and the postcolonial effects thereof. It should also be noted however, that ethnicity does not automatically lead to violent conflict in a postcolonial era. Instead, it is also a result of the power that is used, or abused, by contemporary African states – for example with the issue of resource allocation that many African states still experience. As Andreas Wimmer states in his book *Facing Ethnic Conflicts*, it is only when African people are individually or collectively marginalised and persecuted on ethnic, religious or racial lines by politicians, that they will rise up and challenge their governments by violent means (Wimmer, 2004). In other words, although ethnic conflict may already be pre-existing, there are other factors – such as state power and government policies – which further spur the tensions that create violent conflict. Ultimately, intra-African conflict management should come from a place where a deep understanding of the colonial past is considered in order to pinpoint what the true stem of the conflict is. From this, conflict can be approached by means of assessing state and power dynamics in African countries and how these fuel issues of intra-African conflict.

Conclusion

The arrival of colonial forces in Africa was one that delivered, and was confronted by, extreme violence. This violence first occurred between the colonist and the colonised subject as the latter realises that the only means to refute violence is to counter it with more violence against the former. As Fanon put it, "the colonized subject discovers reality and transforms it through his praxis, his deployment of violence and his agenda for liberation" (Fanon, 1963: 21).

In addition to this, the colonist applies a tactic – whether intentional or not – of turning the colonised people against themselves. They did so by means of structural state power – as noted in the case of the Herero-Nama genocide – or by means of creating symbolic boundaries that persist in many former colonies (as noted in the case of the Kenyan Luo-Kikuyu ethnic rivalry that still exists). The result of this is years of structural and symbolic violence occurring between colonised people which has manifested itself into postcolonial intra-African conflict that continues to linger. Issues of ethnicity occur to be the most prominent in cases of contemporary African conflict as a result of the divisions imposed amongst the colonised subjects during imperial times. In

terms of looking at conflict management, an understanding of the colonial history of violence and how this pitted Africans against each other is of great importance. Contemporary issues of intra-African conflict and violence cannot and will not be managed without understanding the historical implications of the colonial era. The presence of the colonist is ever-present, no matter how subtle, and the existence of postcolonial intra-African conflict is one of many issues which proves that the goals of decolonization have failed to set up a future for Africa in which the influence of the colonist no longer needs to be taken into consideration.

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The Socio-political life of Second-hand clothing economies:

Questioning Sustainability of a SHC Supply Chain

Yoeke Hofland

Motivation:
"This paper might deal with an interesting topic (second hand clothing) that probably everyone partakes in to some extent, as all of us are students and most of us are at least slightly environmentally conscious."

Introduction

"I really love second-hand, I think it's better for the environment, and I've liked fashion my whole life" states shop owner of The Real Deal in the Jordaan (I Amsterdam 2020). The second-hand market is growing. (Linnenkoper 2019). Shop owners of second-hand clothing stores perceive second-hand shopping not merely as "a good deal", but also as a manner to "live responsibly", making "the city […] an incubator for a second-hand fashion scene that's changing the way people shop, dress and live" (I Amsterdam 2020). The overall market of second-hand clothing (SHC) is growing faster than that of 'fast fashion' with "more second-hand shoppers than ever" (Linnenkoper 2019). In the Netherlands, thrown away clothes often end up in those containers from charities like the Salvation Army (Demkes 2019). When we choose to donate our old garments as a moral practice, our relation with this piece of clothing ends, but we never really know if this piece of textile

actually ends up being 'a good cause'; or if consuming used clothes is actually a 'sustainable' practice.

Taking Amsterdam as an example of many other wealthy European/American cases, second-hand shopping is considered an environmentally/ethically conscious way of sustainable consumption (Demkes 2019). To what extent can second-hand clothing be considered 'sustainable'? As global pollution and climate issues are of growing importance, sustainability research will often consist of an environmental viewpoint. However, sustainability also embraces societal aspects like social equity and economic growth. As the practice of used clothing consumption is regarded environmental-friendly by itself, I am more interested to elaborate on sustainability-related questions of social equity and economic growth and provide anthropological insights on this second-hand clothing chain. How do different localities frame the second-hand clothing stream that travels globally? What are the impacts socially, economically and politically? By following a SHC commodity chain from a point where it is produced (the Netherlands) along a transnational road of re-use, trade, tailoring and consumption, I want to shed light on some local impacts and perceptions of the other possible end of the chain in Africa on a street market in Kigali

(Rwanda) in comparison to second-hand shops in Amsterdam. Export and import of second-hand clothing obviously holds unequal transnational relations, just as it offers questions of economic sustainability and (in)dependence. I aim to illustrate the diversity of perceptions and values attached to used clothing and how this material is related to identity; used clothing as a necessity or dependence as well as a means of agency and global citizenship.

While tracking the afterlife of clothing, I wish to briefly indicate how there are many sideroads and alternative routes in globalization that remain out of sight and emphasize the complexity and discontinuities of seemingly 'linear flows' from economic hegemonies in the north-west, to more fragile economies in Africa or Asia, or the other way around (Knowles 2015). How are different localities interrelated within a global market frame? This implies questions of ethics and accountability towards (charitable) distribution companies and governments, but also agency and responsibility in terms of dealing with this excess material within domestic markets (Eriksen 2018). By 'humanizing' this supply chain, social, political and economic relations and connected livelihoods come to the surface (Knowles 2015, 232).

The significance of (second-hand) clothing

Clothing holds an associative significance and power, while materializing connections between global economies, social and political relations, and daily lives. The ways in which it is valued and perceived are diverse and context specific (Hansen 2004).

"Subjective and social experiences [...] of dress give rise to considerable ambiguity, ambivalence, and, therefore, uncertainty and debate over dress", as it *"readily becomes a flash point of conflicting values, fuelling contests in historical encounters, in interactions across class, between genders and generations, and in recent global cultural and economic exchanges"* (Hansen 2004, 372).

The SHC market is heterogeneous, both in its composition of products, variation of quality and condition, and its perceptions. Actors (traders, tailors, consumers) have no control over what enters the supply chain of SHC (Crang et al. 2013). The material journey and related livelihoods show different ways of valuing used products like clothing through an "art of making do with what there is" (Crang et al. 2013, 22). However, there is contextual variation in which the re-use of old clothing is either a necessity or a possibility, thus a question of choice (Reno 2009). This is where agency comes to the fore (Eriksen 2018). To an extent, unwanted leftover clothes are 'imposed' on other countries, implicitly pushing localities elsewhere to appropriate mainly Western fashion, making SHC a cultural economy (Hansen 1999).

Contributions to globalization

The ongoing significance of globalization in many cases emphasizes the multitude of relationships between localities in a variety of forms (Hansen 1999; Knowles 2015). A certain 'hegemony' of economic processes rooted in a north-west position form a discourse of standardization and homogenizing (Knowles 2015; Norris 2015). However, alternative economic interventions undermine an idea of continuous flow and homogenization. As Knowles (2015) conceptualizes, an idea of 'mainstream globalization', a visible and 'formal' hegemonic approach to globalization, the alternative routes of 'backroad globalization', the rather invisible, fragile, and marginal forms of globalization, remain in many cases out of the analytical radar (239). Yet these two influence each other deeply (Knowles 2015, 235). Where 'mainstream' trails of clothing might end, 'backroad' trails of SHC might continue. Through commodity chains like clothing, be it flip-flops (Knowles 2015) or second hand clothing (Hansen 2008), it

becomes evident that globalization contains more plurality and fragilities than is generally assumed (Knowles 2015, 240).

Initiating the second-hand clothing chain

In the Netherlands there is an excess of donated used clothes to charitable institutions like the Salvation Army or commercial collection companies (Baden and Barber 2005, 7). Part of the SHC remains in a local cycle of going to thrift shops within the municipality (Demkes 2019). Other clothing goes to recycling factories owned by commercial reclamation merchants that scan all the clothes (Baden and Barber 2005; Demkes 2019). Here it gets categorized, graded, and baled. Quality garments usually get redistributed to fashionable second-hand 'vintage' shops or markets within the Netherlands. Some clothes that are in an unwearable condition or consist of materials that are hard to reuse, either partially gets recycled for another purpose or ends up as waste and gets burned. The remaining recyclable or re-wearable SHC usually gets shipped into containers and exported all over the world, overseas by boat and inland by truck (Baden and Barber 2005, 6-7).

The SHC trade reverses the common direction of commodity flows. As newly manufactured items are often produced in low-income countries and then distributed towards richer countries, second-hand clothes are distributed from richer to lower-income countries (Brooks 2013, 11). SHC are approached through a certain frame of ethics among 'the global north-west', providing funds for charity, saving on resources and reducing environmental damage (Brooks 2015). However, over 60% is sold and exported to global markets, often through the liberal market and without any ethical qualification (Brooks 2013; Hansen 2008; Norris 2015, 185).

Crisscrossing the global market: import and export dialogues

European and American individuals' intentions of consuming and producing used clothes as 'a good deed', are limited to the extent that this material meets business on trans-local levels. This goes along with a certain "out of mind, out of sight" mindset (Norris 2015, 183). The paths of these discarded textiles are influenced by spatial taxes, valuations, and demand; deciding what gets recycled as material for new textile fabrication, or reprocessed as second-hand clothes (Crang et al. 2013, 18). After exportation and within the transnational market, there is a junction of formal SHC trade, new clothing trade, and informal SHC distributors.

Europe and the US mainly hold an exporting, thus profitable, position in regard to global SHC trade. As SHC holds some

controversies and marginal connotations in its international perceptions, not all economies are welcoming towards SHC (Norris 2015). The degree of governmental corruption and economic independency within a nation have significant influence on SHC being exported to those countries (Baden and Barber 2005; Patrigde 2011). Nations with fragile domestic economies and no hard laws are easily infiltrated by international clothing trade (Crang et al. 2013, 19). With few other options, it is hard to refrain from such 'imposed' markets (Patridge 2011). The 'corporate morality' of charities in this matter is hard to qualify in transnational practices (Rajak 2011). Ethical and sustainable responsibilities have a limited reach, as part of the whole trade takes place in global 'backroads'. In addition, impact on or improvement of social life are not prioritized concerns over business (Patridge 2011; Rajak 2011). As a reaction to protect one's own exporting markets, multiple governments have implemented import regulations on SHC. To the extent that Rajak (2011) argues for an upcoming discourse of social corporate responsibility and 'governmentality', governments show notions of corporate thinking as a means to sustain domestic markets (Patridge 2011). Consequences for economic development, democratization, and politics of agency still

remain largely unaccounted for (Crang et al. 2013; Norris 2012).

Distribution through Africa, Rwanda

Import of SHC mainly happens within Africa or Asia (Baden and Barber 2005); in part via charitable organizations and commercial clothing banks from Europe and the US, but also by local (informal) traders that collect bales from illegal markets in Asia (Brooks 2013). Since these backroad imports often remain unaccounted for and therefore complicated to track down, a lot of the redistribution- and trading network continues to be formally undocumented (Baden and Barber 2005).

There is some controversy surrounding SHC in African countries. In East Africa, USAID states that SHC industry offers work for over 350.000 people, additionally supporting about 1.5 million people's lives (Essa 2018; Brooks 2015). However, this same providing market is being held accountable for domestic textile industries to collapse in the '80s and '90s after opening up Africa to the liberal market, removing protecting taxes and quotas (Essa 2018, Hansen 1999). Responses to feelings of powerlessness in this economic regard may trigger a certain resistance (Eriksen 2018). Governments of some East African countries, like Rwanda, implemented higher taxes on used clothing imports in 2016, intending to slowly

diminish this 'imposed' industry (Essa 2018). However, this has made used clothing inaccessible and too expensive for most citizens. In addition, South African countries that formerly had implemented bans on SHC imports have shown that this implementation does not save domestic textile industries (Brooks 2013; Hansen 2008). There is yet another factor within the national frame: cheap and newly produced Chinese clothing imports (Essa 2018; Fioretta 2019; Hansen 2008). It is thus complicated to state whether SHC has either been restricting or sustaining the national economy (Baden and Barber 2005, 12-13).

Although this governmental intervention seems to be questionable in its effectiveness, it still holds significance. It embodies not only an attempted claim of economic and political agency, but it also addresses an identity related issue framed as 'dignity': "We ultimately make decisions for ourselves" (Essa 2018). Wearing and making a living of used clothes from economic hegemonies like Europe and the US, as a necessity, indicates colonial connotations in this somewhat unequal relationship (Hansen 1999, 345). From an European or American context, consumers and thus producers of SHC see clothing donations as beneficial for the environment and 'helping those in need', either in local communities or elsewhere. However, there seems to be a common unawareness that the main part of one's donations eventually gets exported to accessible economies in Africa for profit, without further moral considerations (Brady and Lu 2018).

Street markets in Kigali

Imported SHC eventually gets distributed per bale across multiple national borders. Local traders then bring second-hand clothes into street markets (Hansen 2008). It is on the level of consumption where it gets locally interesting. In Rwandan capital Kigali, local SHC (informal) import provides jobs in repairment and distribution (Brooks 2013, 4). In addition, SHC offers citizens an affordable way to play with fashion (Hansen 2004). Yet those opportunities should not downplay the fragilities and multiple challenges localities continuously face, often making SHC a necessity rather than a choice. In a context of relative poverty, it offers an affordable and accessible option for people as well as a remaining informal opportunity for work (Crang et al. 2013).

The implementation of import taxes has resulted in discrepant perceptions (Essa 2018; Brooks 2015). Local textile producers see it as a gesture of governmental support for Rwanda's economic development (Essa 2018). SHC traders see it rather as many people losing their only way of providing for one's family. Some local manufacturers and SHC traders direct at

Chinese import of newly produced clothes that are cheap and affordable (Brady and Sheng Lu 2018). Instead of the now unaffordable SHC fashion, Chinese clothing thus fills a rather competitive position in relation to domestically produced products, forming another threat to national economic independency and sustainability (Brooks 2013, 6-7). Moreover, the sustainability of livelihoods through SHC markets on the long run is insecure. "Chinese fabric is not very good, it really won't last longer than a single washing. But it's cheap, so people buy it" (Fioretta 2019, 91). As a result, newer SHC imports are often of lesser quality, making a part of the clothing bales useless and unsalable (Baden and Barber 2005, 12). This not only forms a threat to the future of the SHC market; it simultaneously undermines the whole environmental idea of used clothing being sustainable. In addition, there is a concern that these taxes will lead to more illegal SHC smuggle, which will result in a loss of governmental capital (Brady and Lu 2018). In sum, SHC economies in Kigali and Rwanda in general offer multiple insecurities to livelihoods and the national government, while simultaneously being held accountable as a threat to sustainable domestic economic development.

A second-hand trader in Kigali market clarifies that he is not against legal programmes that prioritizes domestic products over used ones from foreign countries, but he has a problem with the restricted freedom to choose (Essa 2018). Governmental import taxes and foreign corporations indirectly undercut both second-hand markets and domestic industries, restricting people in their access to multiple options. In this regard, second-hand street trading might hold political notions. The now mainly informal market possibly facilitates an opportunity to marginalized citizens to claim certain power by avoiding formal economies of domestic industries and foreign productions that try to monopolize each other (Norris 2015). Taking place in 'global backstreets', SHC may be seen as a form of 'globalization from below' (Norris 2015, 184). Street level perceptions thus allows us to a humanizing approach on macro-level supply chains like SHC, that trigger us to value their local consequences in cultural and political terms (Hansen 2008).

Conclusion
Where the market and consumption of SHC are considered an environmentally conscious alternative to 'fast fashion' in places like Amsterdam, in other contexts this environmental aspect or even the option to choose is not always present. In many cases, used garments 'just end up there', be it legal or illegally, and people 'have to deal with it'. In

Rwanda's capital Kigali, this has resulted in different forms of identity politics and economic consequences. By making use of the material presence of SHC, creative reactions have been given to make the best out of this material situation.

Attempts to frame and solve problems concerning market flows that are bigger than the nation, can be problematic from a single local point of view (Baden and Barber 2005, 11; Hansen 2008). The connection between European countries or the US and African countries is shown by the material presence and stream of used clothing material on a macro-level. Although the routes SHC takes globally are hard to document and thus to qualify as ethical and responsible, the eventual destinations like Rwanda emphasizes certain unequal economic and power relations. The informal SHC trade in its turn reflects some economic hardships and attempts to agency on a more individual level. Even though there are some political interventions and creative social adaptations to break through these issues, inequality and limited development remain evident.

Identity politics and values associated with second-hand material transform over time and different players on the global economic- and political stage continuously change too (Crang et al. 2013; Fioretta 2019; Norris 2012).

This makes it complicated to rebuild relations more equally and economically sustainable if there are limited options.

On the one hand, the size of the SHC market and circulation shows that the energy and resources that have been put into the process of making these clothing do not immediately go to waste and is sustainable in that matter. On the other hand, excess of this material ends up in many different places, often the economically fragile countries, restricting development of domestic economies or forcing implementations of import bans which harm the sustainability of international relationships, without holding export countries or clothing-producing corporations partially responsible. Yet because the routes that SHC takes, are complex and almost impossible to track down, full responsibility or ethical trade is almost impossible.

There are thus multiple fault lines to SHC that are valuable to be further evaluated and researched. Despite SHC's contributions to maintain international inequalities and certain limits to local economic development, there are also some enlightening flipsides. It gives people certain opportunities in a variety of situations: a more environmentally conscious way of consumption as a move of political agency; or an alternative way to make a living when there are formal restrictions (Baden and Barber 2005).

SHC also shows how people are able to adapt in creative ways: a way of 'slow fashion' and expression; or a source to claim political or economic power in relation to existing hegemonies through governmental intervention (Hansen 2004).

In sum, there is still a lot we do not know about globalization as it seems bumpier and more fragile than it is usually framed, just like there are many aspects of sustainability that need more attention. The whole of the second-hand clothing 'chain' emphasizes these humane insecurities and challenges.

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When Silence is the Expected Answer

Maintaining Personhood in the Last Phase of Hospice Care

Sam van der Lugt

Motivation:
"In this piece, I tried to make the mundane but invaluable intricacies of hospice work salient. These intricacies can truly make a difference by giving a voice to people's last silent days of life."

 "Which one do you want?" Nurse Rachel inquired. In either of her hands hung one of Anne's[1] T-shirts: one black, the other white with colorful flowers. Anne stared back vacantly. The three of us waited in frozen anticipation until Rachel broke the silence: "Let's go for the flowers. It's a sunny morning, and you like color."

During my three months of participatory fieldwork in a hospice, this was no rare occasion. The very last phase of life is often marked by a breakdown in communication, despite attempts to slow this process down. Dementia, breathing difficulties, pain, and weakness can all result in questions from caregivers being met with silence. In this paper, I show how palliative care aims to retain personhood in the face of such a stark decline. Anne might not have responded to Rachel's question, but she did answer.

Personhood, more aptly described in its verb form as *'personing'*, is a relational term that manifests itself through *inter-action* (Buch, 2013)[2]. That is to say that the 'person' is not

an a priori given, existent independently of its entanglement with the surrounding world. Instead, a person is a node in sympoietic systems, that enacts itself through an iterative process of intentional inter-action. 'Intentionality' here refers to what Merleau-Ponty terms the 'Intentional Arc', which shapes our perceptions by "[projecting] around us our past, our future, our human milieu, our physical situation, our ideological situation and our moral situation, or rather, [by ensuring] that we are situated within all these relationships." (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2012, p. 137). One's past inter-actions shape one's current attitude and relations in the world, which further shapes one's future inter-actions. Personing consists of continuously letting one's so far of inter-actions meaningfully spill over and manifest themselves in future relations[3].

Say, Anne stood in front of her wardrobe on a sunny morning, a couple of years before the onset of her cancer. She felt the heat of direct sunlight warming her skin. This feeling reminded her of how her mother took her on extended walks through luscious botanical gardens as a child. This association with a narrative based on past inter-action makes her flowered shirt jump out to her. During breakfast, perhaps her husband mentions how he thinks she looks great. Over time, he starts to recognize her tendency to dress according to

the weather. It is also possible that later that day, she gets fired from her job. This would also color the shirt's significance and impact how likely Anne is to wear it the following week. Anne, her surroundings, and the shirt's significance continuously co-evolve through inter-action.

More often than not, personing happens without a second thought. Anne simply walks to the wardrobe and takes out the flowered shirt, makes herself breakfast, and kisses her husband goodbye before going to work. However, sickness and old age can pose difficulties for personing. Gradual physical and mental deterioration can make it hard to relate to one's surroundings through personing, and can, therefore, result in a loss of personhood (Buch, 2013). The goal of care is to prevent this from happening (Buch, 2013; Taylor, 2010). It does so in care collectives: the totality of the patient, medical doctors, care workers, friends, family, and technologies that are geared towards maintaining the relationship of personhood between patient and surroundings (Mol, 2006).

Studies in elderly care show how the bodies of care workers and technologies can be mobilized to act as extensions of the patient's personing actions (Buch, 2013; Pols & Moser, 2009; Pols, 2010; Winance, 2010, Willems, 2010). When Anne just came into hospice, she was unable to get out of bed on her own. She would not have been able to get her flower shirt out of

the wardrobe by herself, but she could ask Rachel to get it for her. Through expressing her intent to get the flowered shirt (based on her *so far* of *inter-action*), she appropriates Rachel's act of grabbing the shirt. Grabbing the flowered shirt is still a *personing inter-action* for Anne. It allows her to relate to her environment as a person in a flowered shirt on a sunny day. Similarly, Anne could still have breakfast with her husband when he visited the hospice, but this was only possible if she took enough painkillers and sat in a specific chair with armrests. Without the painkillers, she would not be able to enjoy her breakfast in the same way as before she fell ill, and without the armrests, she might fall out of her chair. With these technologies, however, she was able to have breakfast with her husband, and, therefore, relate to him as she used to. Tinkering with the environment of the patient, in these cases, allows them to maintain their relations that are constitutive of their personhood (Mol, 2006).

This, however, becomes more difficult when communication breaks down. At some point, it was no longer possible for Anne to ask Rachel for her flowered shirt. The care collective's response to this problem marks a fork in the road for the loss of personhood or the prevention thereof.

Norwood (2009) shows why euthanasia is an effective means to maintain personhood.

Firstly, euthanasia ensures that physical death takes place before communication deteriorates. Without clear communication, one cannot even receive euthanasia. Moreover, *personing* is strengthened through euthanasia talk, which puts the patient at the center of extended meaning-making discussions with friends, family, and doctors. They talk to their kin about what will happen after their death, ask for their favorite last meal, and negotiate the ideal time of death with their doctor. The dying person is as *inter-actively* engaged in the relations constitutive of their personhood as ever.

Death by euthanasia, especially when it takes place at home, surrounded by and *inter-acting* with family and friends, creates an uncanny contrast with the sterile, anonymous hospital bed. When communication breaks down while the patient is subjected to the medical gaze, personhood is quickly lost (Seale, 1998). The patient appears to be a broken token of the universal human body, desperately in need of fixing (Gawande, 2014; Mol & Law, 2004). Death is a failure of fixing that should be 'locked out of sight,' severing the dying from meaningful relations and causing 'premature social death' (Seale, 1998, p. 102). There is little opportunity for *personing inter-actions* left in the hospital. The surroundings are neutral and intended for everyone. There is little co-evolution of patient and surroundings, what

Strathern & Stewart call *personscapes* (2011, p. 393). When the patient cannot respond to questions, busy medical specialists will stop asking them. Universal hospital gowns replace flowered shirts. Standard hospital meals replace familiar breakfasts with spouses. Most importantly, all care becomes unilateral instead of iterative. The *so far* of past *inter-actions* cannot spill over and manifest itself in the care one receives. The patient no longer relates to the surrounding world as someone who puts on a flowered shirt or has breakfast with her husband. The relation to the surrounding world is one of a body-object, passively waiting for tools and hands that fix them or leave them to decay, much like a car in the corner of a garage. The patient is not in *inter-action* but merely *acted upon*. When choosing a treatment for the body is the only agency a patient supposedly has, one can wonder if there is a patient left at all when they cannot choose (Mol, 2006).

Death in hospice often provides a middle path, in which a sense of functional personhood is maintained through the construction of narratives surrounding the dying person's past *inter-actions*. This can be seen in Rachel holding up the t-shirts and choosing the flowered one. Rachel knew it was highly unlikely for Anne to respond to questions, but she still asked. When she was met with silence, Rachel had to find an alternative way to conclude which shirt was best

suited. Maybe she had once seen Anne sunbathing in the garden in the same flowered shirt. Maybe Anne told Rachel about her memories of walking through the botanical garden as a child. Maybe it was mentioned in Anne's personal file folder that she likes to dress according to the weather, or Rachel assumed Anne would like the flowers because Anne had particularly colorful and animated traits. Either way, Rachel constructed a narrative of which choice Anne would have made based on *inter-actions* she knew Anne had at earlier times. This is not an application of garments to an anonymous human body. It is a *personing* action that allows (Rachel's perceived) Anne's *so far* of situated *inter-action* to manifest itself in her future relations. She can still relate to her environment as a person in a flowered shirt on a sunny day. When her son comes by for a visit, he sees her in that shirt. This can foster a sense of recognition of his mother's situated personhood. By facilitating these *personing* acts, vital relations between patient and surrounding world, son and mother, body and garments, and personscapes are maintained.

It is important to note that these narratives are not fixed. The iterative process of intentionality persists. For a large part, this is because the hospice inhabitant can still communicate, even if that communication does not consist of verbal answers to questions such

as 'what shirt do you want to wear?'. Taylor (2010) describes how she maintained a strong connection through communicating with her mother, despite severe Alzheimer's disease. Research collective XPERIMENT! (2010) shows how nurses can even engage in processes of mutual consent seeking with comatose patients. Explicit verbal expressions make way for increasingly subtle embodied semiosis. Say, Anne started to fidget and speed up her breathing after Rachel put on her flowered shirt. Rachel might conclude that the shirt has grown uncomfortable for Anne's dry, thinning skin, or that Anne does not have the presumed positive associations with the shirt. Rachel would then change the shirt and see if the fidgeting would stop. If so, the narrative about the shirt would change, and Rachel would be less likely to offer it again. This way, the narratives used are continuously adjusted in a process of trial and error, which serves as an alternate form of iterative intentionality. They are tools that enable *personing*, and, as tools in the care process, they are subject to continuous tinkering to improve their efficacy (Mol, 2006).

A great deal of communication is necessary to make this process of shaping care based on continuously evolving personal narrative of *inter-action* play out smoothly in a care collective that includes over 60 volunteers, around 15 nurses, management, personal GPs,

family, friends, and a myriad of technologies. Similar to what Lopez et al. (2010) describe in their research on Telecare, this communication mostly consists of documenting and discussing *inter-actions* inhabitants have. As the main facilitators of care, especially volunteers and nurses, engage in this communication. There are always at least two volunteers present at the hospice, accompanied by a nurse. Most communication takes place in file folders and during 'handover' (*overdracht*) after 4-hour volunteer shifts.

There are two general file folders: one for announcements and changes in the hospice, and a kitchen folder. The latter includes daily, monthly and yearly household chores and a list of all food and drink preferences of the inhabitants. These culinary narratives of preference enable all 60 volunteers, for instance, to know that Mr. Bakker from room 2 wants black coffee with two cubes of sugar around 9.30AM every day. If Mr. Bakker refuses his coffee a couple of days in a row, however, this statement is removed (or adjusted to three sugar cubes). The most important file folders, however, are the personal ones. The first thing encountered when opening these folders is a brief life history with family matters (e.g., "Mr. Bakker is in an open relationship with two lovers, he does not talk to his son"), background ("Mr. Bakker lived in France for a large part of his life,

but recently moved back to NL"), diagnosis ("Stage 3 lung cancer with early signs of dementia"), and behavioral tendencies ("He is mostly calm and gentle, but gets anxious about his pain medication, likes autonomy"; "He is religious and likes it if you read from the Bible"; "He wants to be addressed as 'Mr. Bakker'"). Then, there is a section that includes significant changes such as requests for euthanasia or switching rooms, followed by detailed accounts of the inhabitant's medication and its efficacy. The most important part of the personal files, however, is the final 'report' section. Here, a volunteer writes down any notable *inter-actions* the inhabitant had during their shift: "Mr. Bakker had little sleep at night. His friend accompanied him. Tried to go to the toilet multiple times, but was unsuccessful. At 5.30AM, he had painkillers and a croissant. This seemed to calm him down." At the start of every shift, during *handover*, the volunteers read the reports from the past couple of days. The finishing volunteers also update the starting ones in detail about all notable *inter-actions* the inhabitants had, how they experienced their shift, and what is yet to be done ("It was a quiet morning. Everyone was asleep, apart from Mr. Bakker, who sat in the garden and seemed a bit uneasy. He has a visitor now, who would like to have coffee. Also, the laundry needs to be done.").

Altogether, this means that the inhabitants' *inter-actions* are meticulously documented and discussed. This process enables all volunteers and nurses to build up narratives of how inhabitants relate to their environment over time. These narratives can then be used as tools to maintain these relationships through *personing*.

There are limitations to this creation of narrative. Sometimes, the hospice inhabitants have little time to build up a rigorous track record of *inter-actions* in the hospice before their communicative capacity deteriorates. Some patients, for instance, cannot talk when they move into the hospice, or a volunteer might go on vacation and only meet the inhabitant in their last days. In these cases, the few available bits of information about the inhabitant might become too influential. Racial bias or assumptions based on family relations, for instance, might take center stage. This can lead to discomfort when family or friends do not recognize the inhabitant in *personing* actions based on these aspects. If Rachel, for instance, had less experience with Anne and depended on her superficial traits, she might have assumed Anne liked to wear black regardless of the weather. She might also have done Anne's hair differently and put a channel on the television that Anne never watched. Her son would walk into the room later that day, and see

his mother lying in bed, looking different than usual, and watching something foreign to her. The *inter-action* between Anne and her son would have been different. He would not recognize her as much, and their relation to one another would change.

It is essential to notice how, in the above example, Anne's son plays an important role. This raises the question whether hospice care is for Anne or for her son. That question, however, is misleading in itself. In the picture in which the patient is subjected to an essentialized medical gaze, which I described earlier, there is no ambiguity. The patient is a physical body, and care unilaterally flows from the hands of doctors to that body. Care is clearly for the patient. But in hospice, care is not so much directed towards a physical body, but towards personhood (which includes but also extends beyond care for the body). Since the person is a node that enacts itself through relations towards other nodes in sympoietic systems, good care cannot afford to be unilateral. It has to flow across the entire system. The care collective is itself such an open and sympoietic system. In the care collective, hospice inhabitants, family, friends, nurses, volunteers, technologies, and surrounding landscapes relate to and establish themselves in *inter-action* with one another in manifold ways (Mol, 2006; Winance, 2010). Care allows the collective to maintain its essential relations. Care for the collective is care for the patient, and care for the patient is care for the collective. Good care can be caring for the patient, but it can also be enabling the patient to care for others. Caring for Anne's son is caring for Anne, and caring for Anne is caring for her son. Janelle Taylor (2010) demonstrates this when she describes how she allowed her demented mother to take care of her. When Janelle visited her mother, for instance, her mother told her that she looked tired and should take a nap. Janelle then took a nap on her mother's sofa. Is Janelle here the *cared for*, being ushered to the sofa for a nap, or is she the *caregiver* in allowing her mother to facilitate this nap? A clear-cut distinction cannot be made. This instance of good care bilaterally serves to maintain the relationship between Janelle and her mother. Similarly, Rachel's dressing of Anne in her flowered shirt is a tiny part of maintaining the relationships within Anne's care collective. It enables Anne's *so far* of *inter-actions* to meaningfully manifest itself in her relationship with her surroundings. Recognizing Anne with her flowered shirt in her bed is a *personing* act that simultaneously establishes Anne and her son through their relation to one another. Care that maintains personhood based on *inter-action* flows through the betweenness of collectives: the '*inter*' of *action*.

Caring for multifaceted relationships in an open and complex sympoietic collective is by no means straightforward. Caregivers do not care for the collective from the outside, as doctors operating a body. They are themselves entangled in this collective. One cannot retreat to the transcendent space of a lab to see what blood test results imply for the next step of care. Tinkering needs to happen based on narratives from within.

This makes choosing a suited course of action difficult when care needs to "choose between various *goods* ... [with] complex relations between them" (Mol, 2010, p. 228). In the words of Janelle Taylor (2010, p. 51), the goal of good care is to '*keep the cares together*.' That is, to maintain the multifaceted relations to one's surroundings. Sometimes, however, the *goods* of these facets can present themselves in contradictions. In their last days of life, a hospice inhabitant can signal that they do not want to wear a shirt. They pluck and push everything away from their body. On the other hand, the blatantly nude vulnerability of the dying body can be a disturbing sight for their visiting family. What is good care for the relations in the collective here? Is it allowing the inhabitant to *inter-act* with their surroundings without unnecessary discomfort, or to create the possibility for undisturbed *inter-action* between inhabitant and family? Both are essential relations, and there is no clear answer.

Hospice care collectives muddle through these ambiguities together and create the circumstances for *personing* despite them. They try to '*keep the cares together*' as long as possible. Even when the hospice inhabitant cannot talk themselves, they piece together bricolages of narrative that allow the inhabitant to fulfil their function within the collective. Anne's function in her care collective remained the same. She was still a node shaped by and shaping the entirety of her *inter-actions*. Anne's *inter-actions* still *made a difference* for her husband, her son, and Rachel. At the same time, what Rachel or Anne's son and husband did *made a difference* for the narratives used to *person* Anne. From Anne's perspective, I do not know whether donning the flowered shirt truly *made a difference* to her. If it did, she could not communicate this *felt personhood*. Still, the function of Anne as a relational node engaged in iterative intentionality and co-evolution, a type of *functional personhood* (grounded not in the phenomenology of the individual, but that of the collective), remained in place. Her son still *inter-acted* with her as Anne, his mother. At times, this *functional personhood* remains so strong that it can outlive the physical body. When Anne passed away, her family asked if volunteers could put on her favorite music and

light candles in her room. "This is what Anne would have wanted."

When questions are met with silence by default, the answer is not to stop asking. The answer lies in the realization that this silence contains the opportunity to keep *personing* alive. Persistent asking, tinkering with narratives, and mobilizing every available asset in the collective can maintain, nourish, and even strengthen its internal relations. I believe this is the reason the table in the hospice's staff room never ceases to be covered by a blanket of cards from family, thanking the hospice workers for *"providing invaluable care"* and *"making the unbearable bearable"*. A week after her death, one such card arrived from Anne.

Footnotes

1. To maintain anonymity and consistency, all names are pseudonyms. For the same reasons, Anne's and Mr. Bakker's characters are bricolages of multiple hospice inhabitants present during my field work. Anne's story is guided by the trajectory of a specific inhabitant, but certain details are filled in based on events pertaining to others.
2. I split 'Interaction' to draw attention to its composite parts. Interaction entails the necessary betweenness of action. This action is simultaneously dependent on and constitutive of the relations between actors and their surrounding world.
3. The terms '*sympoiesis*' ('*making with*') *and 'so far'* are inspired by Haraway (2016, p. 58 and p. 2-3, respectively). *So far* connects to her wider ideology of '*SF*', including, among others, *'so far,' 'string figures,' 'speculative fabulation,'* and *'science fiction,'* drawing connections between the totality of past events and their role in manifesting the future.

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Geheugen en Nationale Identiteit:

Perspectieven op de Braziliaanse Geschiedenis

Malìn van Weerdenburg

Motivatie:
"De reden dat ik juist dit essay instuur, komt voort uit het feit dat ik me binnen mijn studie steeds meer bezighoud met thema's als postkolonialisme, afro-diaspora, intersectionaliteit en representaties van het zwarte lichaam. Het essay is gebaseerd op eerder onderzoek voor mijn bachelor. Voor mijn scriptie analyseerde ik o.a. werken uit de tentoonstelling van Rosana Paulino en keek naar uitingen van *black feminism* in Brazilië. Daarnaast denk ik dat het essay een interessante invalshoek heeft door het argument van Wekker (2016) toe te passen op de Braziliaanse context."

Inleiding

Brazilië is een land met een grote afro-bevolking, wat voortkomt uit de geschiedenis van slavernij. De Braziliaanse nationale identiteit is voor een groot deel beïnvloed door het idee dat verschillende 'rassen' (inheems, zwart en wit) harmonieus met elkaar samenleven. Dit idee is gebaseerd op de ideologie van de *democracia racial* (raciale democratie) uit de jaren '30. Echter, hedendaags visueel artieste Rosana Paulino (São Paulo, 1967) laat met haar werk zien dat binnen het narratief van de nationale geschiedenis van Brazilië het perspectief van de zwarte persoon nooit volledig is opgenomen. Dit narratief is namelijk altijd verteld door diegene die traditioneel gezien aan de macht stond: de witte man. Dit roept vragen op: wie behoort wel en niet tot de natie, de imaginaire identiteit? En wiens perspectief wordt verteld? Aan de hand van een analyse van het werk van Paulino zal ik een

antwoord zoeken op deze vragen en nagaan: moet het narratief van de nationale geschiedenis worden herzien, om het gevoel van behoren tot dezelfde natie te bevorderen?

Perspectieven op een collectief geheugen

Wanneer het gaat over nationalisme en het gevoel hebben te behoren tot één natie is een nationale identiteit van belang. In Brazilië is het idee van *brasilidade (Braziliaans-zijn)* – de nationale identiteit – mede sterk beïnvloed door een veelgeciteerde ideologie: de mythe van *democracia racial* (*raciale democratie*). Dit is een ideologie geïnitieerd door de socioloog Gilberto Freyre in de jaren '30, die sprak over een 'harmonieus samenleven' van verschillende 'rassen' binnen de landsgrenzen (Eakin 2017). Er werd gewezen naar de Verenigde Staten, waar rassenscheiding een sterk gesegregeerde maatschappij vormden. In tegenstelling tot de VS werd de eigen samenleving in Brazilië gezien als maatschappij waarin de *fazenda* (voormalig plantagehuis) een plek was waar de zwarte slaven in harmonie samenleefden met het witte gezin. De ideologie is in de jaren erna veelvuldig gepromoot door de Braziliaanse staat. Echter, de ideologie justificeerde het hiërarchische systeem van slavernij en ontkende het altijd verborgen racisme, voortgekomen uit dit systeem. Bovendien, wat opvalt is dat de ideologie geschreven is vanuit het perspectief van een witte socioloog, Gilberto Freyre, wiens familie eigenaar was van een *fazenda*. Nu kunnen we ons afvragen, was dit 'harmonieus samenleven' net zo 'harmonieus' geweest wanneer het was beschreven vanuit het perspectief van de zwarte Braziliaan?

Dit is een van de vragen waar visueel artieste Rosana Paulino (1967) zich mee bezig houdt in haar werk. Zij laat met haar werk zien dat er binnen het narratief van de nationale geschiedenis geen ruimte is geweest voor het incorporeren van het perspectief van de zwarte Braziliaan. Eén van haar bekende werken is *Parede da memória (Wall of Memory* - 1994, 2005):

Parede da memória, 1994/ 2005 (Pinacoteca de São Paulo 2018, 25).

Parede da memória, 1994/ 2005 (Fotografia da autora).

De installatie bestaat uit kleine borduurkussentjes waarop familiefoto's zijn geportretteerd. Het zijn elf foto's die elkaar afwisselen en zich herhalen, waardoor ze een hele muur vormen van portretten. Paulino speelt hierbij met het concept van geheugen, het lijkt op het spel van *memory*. De foto's zijn portretten uit de familie van de artieste en door de installatie brengt ze een persoonlijke familiegeschiedenis naar voren. Echter, kunnen we dit doortrekken naar het collectieve geheugen. Binnen het narratief van de nationale geschiedenis van Brazilië zijn zwarten onderdeel van een 'uitgewiste geschiedenis' (Lopes 2018, 196, eigen vertaling). Paulino brengt de zwarte familie, die in het narratief van de geschiedenis onzichtbaar is gemaakt, naar een podium. Zo laat de artieste zien wie nog meer behoort tot de *Wall of Memory* – het

collectieve geheugen – maar wiens perspectief nooit is gehoord.

Een ander werk van dezelfde artieste, *Assentamento* (*Settlement*, 2012, 2013), stelt de objectivering van de zwarte persoon binnen de wetenschap aan de kaak. De installatie gebruikt enkele foto's van de Zwitserse wetenschapper Louis Agassiz die in 1865 naar Brazilië kwam om 'pure rassen' te fotograferen (Antonacci 2014):
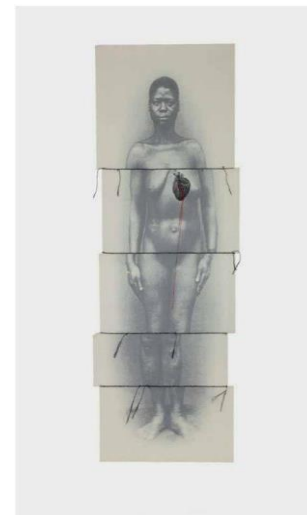
Assentamento, 2013. (Pinacoteca de São Paulo 2018, 117).

De foto is gebruikt door de wetenschap zonder de naam en identiteit van de vrouw te vermelden. Door de vrouw op ware grootte af te beelden en haar een hart te geven, geborduurd met levensechte aders, bekritiseert Rosana Paulino de dehumanisering van deze

mensen binnen de koloniale wetenschap en verandert zij 'geobjectiveerden' in actoren, die hun eigen geschiedenis vertellen. Zij brengt als het ware de zwarte persoon naar voren binnen het culturele archief van de natie. Daarmee geeft zij zichtbaarheid aan een deel van de bevolking wiens stem is uitgewist en wiens perspectief in een patriarchale, eurocentrische samenleving tot op de dag van vandaag niet wordt gehoord.

Bovendien laat Paulino zien, door de foto te verknippen en deze met grove, geborduurde lijnen onjuist aan elkaar te naaien, dat de Braziliaanse maatschappij deze personen nooit volledig heeft opgenomen. In dit proces van incorporatie heeft de afro-Braziliaanse bevolking namelijk niet dezelfde sociale positie verkregen als de rest van de Brazilianen, een feit dat sterk terug te zien is in de huidige maatschappij. Het feit dat Rosana Paulino deze verhalen naar het museum brengt, een publieke plek die traditioneel gezien wit is en tot de elite behoort, zorgt ervoor dat zij zichtbaarheid creëert voor verhalen vanuit een perspectief dat de nationale geschiedenis probeert uit te doven (Silva 2018).

Het argument dat dit essay probeert te maken, is dat het denken in termen van inclusiviteit, en daarbij het loslaten van termen die laten zien waar het onderscheid vandaan komt, pas kan wanneer het perspectief van de

Ander – de historisch tot zwijgen gebrachte – naar voren is gekomen. Dit zien we terug in het werk van Rosana Paulino: de artieste benadrukt ideeën van raciaal denken binnen de Braziliaanse maatschappij om een alternatief narratief naar voren te brengen op het verhaal van de nationale geschiedenis. Paulino biedt in haar werk een podium voor de zwarte Braziliaan om zijn en haar stem te laten horen en te laten zien dat ook deze personen deel uitmaken van de gedeelde geschiedenis. Hiermee sluit ze zich aan bij het argument van Wekker (2016), die stelt dat het belangrijk is om juist te laten zien waar ras en racisme het onderscheid maken om vervolgens verhalen naar voren te laten komen van andere perspectieven dan vanuit de witte man in de Nederlandse samenleving.

Guadeloupe (2009; 2012) stelt echter voor om te stoppen met het denken in termen van 'ras' en 'racisme', omdat dit juist het *doen* van ras in stand houdt. Echter kan er pas over inclusiviteit worden gesproken en kan het maken van onderscheid worden gestopt, wanneer het narratief van de nationale geschiedenis wordt herzien. Bij het herzien van dit discours, is het van belang om te kijken naar welke machtsstructuren hierachter zitten en vanuit welk perspectief deze 'officiële' geschiedenis is geschreven. Pas wanneer bestaande machtsstructuren onderuit worden

gehaald en de mogelijkheid is geweest om andere verhalen naar voren te laten komen, kunnen we – als samenleving – gaan werken aan de inclusiviteit, en stoppen met het 'doen van ras'. Ik sluit mij, daarom, via een analyse van het werk van Rosana Paulino aan bij het argument van Wekker (2016).

Conclusie

Binnen het vormen van de nationale identiteit speelt het narratief van de gezamenlijke geschiedenis een belangrijke rol. Echter, laat het werk van Rosana Paulino zien dat er binnen het hegemoniale narratief van de Braziliaanse nationale geschiedenis geen ruimte is geweest voor het incorporeren van het perspectief van de zwarte Braziliaan. Doordat de officiële geschiedenis nooit is beschreven vanuit dat perspectief, kunnen wij ons afvragen hoe inclusief het idee van *brasilidade* – de nationale identiteit – is. Om over te kunnen gaan op een meer inclusieve samenleving zal het discours van de nationale geschiedenis moeten worden herzien, waarbij juist onderscheid moet worden gemaakt op het gebied van ras om andere perspectieven naar voren te halen. Want pas als er ruimte is voor álle stemmen, is er sprake van een inclusieve samenleving.

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**Decolonizing Anthropology:
Epistemology, Theory & Practice**
UCU

**Anthropology and Sustainability:
Contemporary Fault Lines**
UU

Medical Anthropology
UCU

Etniciteit en Nationalisme
UU

Notes on the selection process

The papers in this edition of SCAJ have been selected by our selection committee from a broader range of submissions. This committee consists of nineteen students of Cultural Anthropology from different years of study, including four members of our core team. During the process of selection, the committee was divided into four subgroups all including one member of our core team. Every group used the same set of reading questions as a guideline for the selection process. These reading questions focused on readability, creativity, originality, structure, grammar, and references. However, every reviewer was given the freedom to deviate from these reading questions. We believe that the ability to discuss freely allows for dynamic analyses, providing more valuable insights than rigidly conforming to any guideline. Every group read a number of fully anonymized papers, of which they made a selection fit for publication. Afterwards, the four members of the core team discussed the results and considerations of their respective selection groups to make the final selection.

WE HOPE YOU ENJOYED THIS NEW ISSUE OF SCAJ

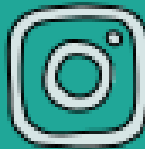INSPIRED TO SUBMIT YOUR OWN WORK *OR* INTERESTED IN JOINING OUR SELECTION COMMITTEE FOR THE NEXT ISSUE?

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