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The Students of Cultural Anthropology Journal appears biannually, publishing written work from Utrecht-based anthropology students. The works published in this edition were written during the second semester of the academic year 2021-2022.

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Our mission is to empower undergraduate and graduate students of anthropology in Utrecht to feel that their work matters. As such, we work to create a collaborative and independent intellectual space for all students.

Our goals
We strive to *facilitate knowledge exchange* by creating an accessible space equipped for learning new insights and skills. In addition, it is our goal to *foster student engagement*. Students are part of every step of our publication process. SCAJ thus reflects the efforts of Utrecht-based anthropology students through and through.

Our values

We operate in the pursuit of *inclusivity* as a means to further develop as a platform. Utrecht-based anthropology students of all backgrounds are included in our publication process and thus all these students of anthropology may appeal to this platform. For this to be true, we value *transparency* in all of our teams, selections and processes. As such, we strive to ensure that there is no mystery as to how we operate.

Contents

Introduction

Another semester has passed. A semester full of academic developments, struggles, opportunities, and accomplishments for anthropology students in Utrecht. Those in their final year are soon or already embarking on their (international) fieldwork journey. And those who have recently joined this community have taken their first steps into the world of anthropology. It is an exciting time for us all.

As it has been for me personally. Though no longer a student at my beloved Utrecht University, I have continued my studies in anthropology in our capital city. As a soon-to-be visual anthropologist, I was able to spend this past summer on my very first solo fieldwork research. It is at these moments that I feel most connected to the global community of fellow anthropologists; knowing that I am following in the footsteps of all those big names that paved the way, utilizing the very same research methodologies, and finding my place in the vast sea of thinkers. Fieldwork, and the writings that follow it, help one to put the – at times dense – theory into a different perspective. It all seems to click when you are in the thick of it.

At SCAJ, we have seen this semester reflected in the submission pool of the edition you are about to read. It is always a marvel to be granted a peek into the minds of our peers. To see what subjects occupy their inquisitive minds, how they write about them, what reflections this brings forth. Their words often spark a sense of familiarity for us. But also novelty. Which is the most exciting part, I find.

This edition – as any other – would not have been possible without our contributors, whom I would like to extend my thanks to in no particular order. I thank those who submitted an assignment to us for this edition. Without your drive, we would not be able to fill these pages. Our reviewers, whose diligence and enthusiasm are always such a pleasure to witness. My personal gratitude goes out to SCAJ's core team members. You all inspire me greatly with your passion and you drive this platform to improve by the day, for which I am most grateful. And of course, what would a journal be without

readers? A final thank you to you: those who soak up the words on our pages.

Six articles have been selected for this edition, each of them uniquely intricate and enlightening. Allow me to provide you with a glimpse of what is to come.

Our journey commences with a book review of Thomas Hylland Eriksen's (2016) Overheating: An Anthropology of Accelerated Change, a central reading in Utrecht University's bachelor curriculum. Follow Ilias Baali as he dissects Eriksen's argumentation and provides insight into the complexities of a globalized world.

Caroline Suelen Spitzner scrutinizes structural violence as experienced by Haitian migrants in Brazil. Through an extensive historical analysis of colonialism, racism, and xenophobia in both countries, Spitzner exhibits the commodification of the Haitian body on the labor market.

Then, enter the mind of an anthropologist through Fiona Holdinga's personal reflection on her and her family's prejudices. Analyzed through the works of Gloria Wekker (2016) and Francio Guadeloupe (2022), Holdinga touches on topics such as racial innocence and non-action in her familial relationships.

The most extensive article in this edition comes to us from Carmen Luke. Engage with a chapter of her master's thesis, in which she examines how humans (and more-than-humans) find a sense of home in the Anthropocene world. Based on her fieldwork in the Randstad, the Netherlands, explore how Luke's participants create a home for themselves through principles of care.

Follow the trail of an email in the work of Voske Penning, Rixt Mulder, and Julia Hofland. Though emails are often assumed to be the more sustainable alternative to physical letters, the authors counter this notion as they lay out the environmental impact of this modern communication tool.

And last but not least, immerse yourself in heritage politics of the German Ruhr Valley. Author Juliana Lux employs critical heritage theory to bring to light the voices and perspectives that have often been forgotten in these discourses, as she prepares for her fieldwork in the region.

It brings me joy to observe the diversity of the articles we bring you this edition. Not only in topic, but also in format, style, case studies, and theory. I invite you now to experience it for yourself. On behalf of SCAJ's core team, I wish you happy reading.

Tamar Oderwald
Editor-in-chief

Before reading

Before you start reading the papers that have been selected for this edition of SCAJ, we feel it is important to share a few 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. Each work was checked for possible errors regarding spelling, grammar, and referencing. Any corrections were relayed back to the respective authors, who were then given the opportunity to revise their work accordingly. SCAJ's reviewers and editorial board have thus not made any alterations to the works you are about to read.

To elaborate, the papers in this edition of SCAJ have been selected by our selection committee from a broader range of submissions. This edition's committee consisted of eleven students of Cultural Anthropology from different years of study, as well as four members of our core team. During the process of selection, the committee was divided into four groups, each led by one of our core reviewers. Each group used the same set of reading questions as a guideline for the selection process. These reading questions focused on readability, creativity, originality, and structure. 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 this final selection.

The order in which the papers are published in this journal is not based on our judgement 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 papers with similar topics and lengths in sequence to each other. Other than that, the arrangement of papers is completely random.

La vie (n'est pas) en rose

An anthropological perspective on globalization

Ilias Baali

"I spent many hours reading this book, understanding the contents and carefully putting my thoughts on the book on paper. 'Overheating' has given me some clarity on how to view and deal with globalization. For my very first book review, I am very proud of the finished product and would like to recommend anyone with an interest in climate change to read this book."

In less than 200 pages, Eriksen serves the reader an *amuse-bouche* of topics, concepts, and approaches in preparation for detailed and more in-depth future publications. 'Overheating: An Anthropology of Accelerated Change' (2016) describes how the contemporary world filled with human footprints (labelled Anthropocene) views and deals with global crises in identity, economy, and environment. In this description, topics such as climate change, urbanization, tourism, inequality, and migration are thoroughly analyzed. Eriksen argues that accelerated change, characteristic for the contemporary age, have devastating and often unintended repercussions.

Anthropologists have long studied 'far away' communities and peoples. However, the world in the last hundred years has experienced exponential growth in nearly all meaningful statistics, which made looking at 'the others' using a cultural relativistic approach more difficult, if not immoral. This book gives social scientists, specifically anthropologists, a framework to reposition their perspectives on globalization and methods used in research. To provide a persuasive and holistic

perspective on the contemporary world, "it needs the view from the helicopter circling the world [macro perspective] just as much as it needs the details that can only be discovered with a magnifying glass [ethnographic fieldwork]" (Eriksen, 2016, p. 6).

Eriksen's style is highly descriptive, providing many expositions and substantiated arguments. A stunning amount of (visual) data and often troubling anecdotes are packed in what is essentially a handbook on global modernity, explaining academic topics using both formal and informal anecdotes. This underlines the complexity of the crises at hand, which might occur on a global scale, but are experienced locally. The book consists of eight chapters, starting with a foreword mainly focused on exponential population growth. After providing a conceptual framework, Eriksen covers five topics which he considers the main issues for global crises, namely energy, mobility, cities, waste and information overload, chapters three to seven respectively. Finally, Eriksen puts all topics into the perspective of clashing scales in chapter eight.

As Claude Lévi-Strauss states in the foreword, *le monde est trop plein*. The world is too full, not only population-wise, but also quantitatively in the form of services and products, and the repercussions they bring at an incomprehensible pace. Eriksen uses several concepts from various academics to describe the cause of crises in our full world, the most important ones being neoliberalism, runaway processes, treadmill syndromes, double bind, flexibility, and scale. Humans at the local scale 'live' in a double-bind, becoming more aware of their ecological footprint, changing to plant-based diets and recycling mass-produced products, while spending the summer halfway across the globe and driving motorized vehicles to get around town. The same logic applies when upscaling to politicians, often pleading for economic growth and sustainability. However, growth and sustainability cannot coexist, for growth requires sacrifice elsewhere. Eriksen argues that in a world with a global interdependent economy, where coal still equals modernity, the tourism and air travel industries expand and get cheaper each year, more than half of all humans live in superdiverse cities, and humans produce over four million tonnes of waste per day, economic growth and sustainability are contradictory and this double-bind can hardly, if at all, be solved.

With great economic growth came dependency on fossil fuels, and the ecological consequences of using this fuel source are widely known. However, Eriksen argues that this dependence restricts flexibility. If energy dependency was flexible, humans could easily divert to other means of energy, however fossil fuel standardization on a global scale has caused inflexibility. Flexibility does not only apply to energy, as 'working at home' made humans more flexible in terms of space, but inflexible in terms of time. At first, fossil fuel usage was regarded worthwhile and essential for growth, until its repercussions were becoming more noticeable than the intended effects - referring to a runaway process. According to Eriksen, overheating also implies the cooling down of places (Eriksen, 2016, p.59) . The chapter on mobility provides an uncomfortable but striking example: increased mobility causes traffic jams in modern cities all around the world, while crowded refugee camps are stuck with long bureaucratic procedures caused by neoliberal policies and essentially robbed of their time and mobility, excluded from society, and reduced to human waste in a conveniently located human landfill. Finally, globalization and the hegemonic neoliberal economic approach threaten the ability of reproduction, that is individual sustainability on a local scale, becoming increasingly difficult as the distinction between the 'urban', 'local' and 'global' came to be blurred.

Whilst I have described *Overheating* as a mere overview to what is to be published in the future, the book bundles many concepts and topics but does not feel crammed; manages to define said concepts clearly, thoroughly but understandably; follows an intelligible narrative and gave me several eureka moments whilst reading. The preface and conclusion cover the central theme of the economic-sustainability double-bind, whilst the remaining chapters individually analyze overheating processes, providing perspectives from anthropologists as well as thinkers from other fields. Perhaps the usage of commonly known facts and issues that do affect us but not severely enough to consciously point them out make the information overload relatable for the reader, at least in my experience. I was, most likely subconsciously, aware of the changes the world is facing before reading this book. However, Eriksen succeeded in translating my scattered theoretical knowledge and lived experience into an overview on globalization,

and how anthropologists can make sense of an overheated world. Ironically, anthropologist Frederik Barth noted that in social theory our knowledge is growing faster than our ability to give it sharpness and shape - perhaps this unintendedly suggests our field is subject to accelerated change (Eriksen, 2016, p. 124).

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The commodified marked body

An essay on the threads of violence of the Haitian migration in Brazil

Caroline Suelen Spitzner

"I was born and grew up in the South region of Brazil, which has seen a great influx of Haitian migrants. Their mobility cannot be reduced to one impulse or factor, but many have traveled to the South to work in the meat industry, which has notoriously precarious working conditions. As a white Brazilian migrant living in the Netherlands, I am entangled in many violent histories of global flows and colonial capitalist exploitation. Writing this essay was a way of critically approaching the many threads of violence that run through the region where I am originally from, while also allowing me to engage with the passionate and situated academic work on migration from fellow scholars from the Global South."

Introduction

In this paper, the focus of my analysis will be the Haitian experience in the Brazilian labor market. Following Paul Farmer's (2004) argument about an attention to the "historically deep" and "geographically broad", I seek to identify and analyze the different threads of violence (Vogt 2013) that circumvent the Haitian migration experience in Brazil. To compose this case study I will make use of a diverse range of materials. I will mostly follow the illuminating PhD dissertation of the anthropologist Janaina Santos de Macedo (2019), about Haitian Migration in the South of Brazil. And I will also use selected and relevant news sources from Brazilian newspapers (Conectas 2021; Ramos 2021; Réporter Brasil 2021; Sanches 2014; Santins 2017), as well as academic articles written about the Haitian migration experience (Mamed 2017; Soares 2017).

I will start with a brief explanation of Haiti's history of colonization, revolution and continued international exploitation, and demarcate the 2010 earthquake as a strong catalyst to heightened Haitian migration flows to Brazil. I will then discuss how the Haitian migrants' experiences of violence

become entangled with the colonial and racial history of Brazil, and how they become not only victims of xenophobia but suffer a particular kind of racialized xenophobia. This racialized xenophobia, as I will demonstrate, is linked to the commodification and exploitation of migrant bodies in the meat sector of the South of Brazil. In the Brazilian labor market, the markers of race, origin and gender intersect, and I will argue how different threads of violence are thus woven together in the Haitian Migrant experience in Brazil.

The histories of Haiti

Attending to the living links of power (Farmer 2004) that run through the migration of Haitian people to Brazil, I start here with history. But where do you start the history of a colonized people? This is a difficult question, both epistemologically and politically. To start with the moment the colonizers set foot in a territory – that they will come to ravage, steal and exploit- is to continue the narrative of domination, the dominant narrative of the colonizer that before their arrival there was nothing, including history. So I start here with this brief reflection and at least the mention of the fact that the island was originally inhabited by the indigenous Taíno people, who originated in South America and who did have a history, as well as the many African people that were brought to Haiti through the slave trade.

In 1492, the first Europeans arrived on the island of Haiti, and the island was claimed by Spain. In 1665, French colonization began and sugarcane plantations worked by enslaved people from Africa were established, turning Haiti into one of France's richest colonies (Macedo 2019). In the midst of the French Revolution (1789–99), slaves and free people of color launched the Haitian Revolution and Haiti became the first country in the Americas to abolish slavery, and the only state in history established by a successful slave revolt (Ibid.). According to Achille Mbembe, "the case of Haiti marked a turning point in the modern history of human emancipation." (2017, 15). However, as argued by Paul Farmer (2004), after the revolution, Haiti's history was still marked by French exploitation, notably their crippling debt to France. But Haiti also suffered, and still suffers, under international ostracism, exploitation, as well as political instability.

Jumping forward in time, on 12 January 2010, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake struck Haiti, leaving its capital Port-au-Prince devastated and causing incalculable

devastation. This event also became a catalyst for Haitian migration flows towards Brazil (Macedo 2019). It is important to note that the Haitian Diaspora didn't just start with the earthquake and that Haitians, for centuries, have circulated through national and transnational spaces (Soares 2017). As the anthropologist Janaina Santos de Macedo (2019) has argued, the Haitians are a cosmopolitan people, and their migration fluxes cannot be reduced to "exterior" pushes and pulls, such as the earthquake. But, of course, the 2010 earthquake did affect the migration flows of Haitians. And Brazil became one of the main migration destinations.

It is relevant to note, that at the time, in the early 2010's, Brazil was seen as a welcoming nation and it was going through a prosperous period, which influenced the decision of many migrants to choose to travel south (Ibid.). Although, after 2010, Haitian migration to Brazil increased, it was only after 2012 that the numbers of Haitian migrants in Brazil became truly significant. It is worth noting that in the year 2012, Brazil had a change in legislation, issuing Humanitarian Visas especially for Haitian migrants. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, between 2012 and 2018, 60,000 humanitarian visas were issued to people from Haiti (Ibid.). However, as many have pointed out, the timing of this change is suspicious at the least, considering that, in the year 2012, Brazil was foreseeing a lack of construction workers for the megaprojects planned for the 2014 FIFA World Cup. So, from the beginning, Haitians migrants were seen for the value they could offer producing labor for Brazil.[1]

Histories of slavery: racism & xenophobia

After arriving in Brazil many Haitians were relegated to precariousness, such as overcrowded shelters and insalubrious living conditions (Sanches 2014; Conectas 2021). And they were also met with racism and xenophobia; from racially charged microagressions (Macedo 2019), to assault (Ramos 2021), and assassinations (Santins 2017). As argued by Nathani-Alexander (2020), while markers such as class may have been most salient to an individual's understanding of themselves at home, migrants often find that other markers become more salient in their receiving communities.[2] Furthermore, as Cook Heffron (2019) argues, migration may lead to new inscriptions and reinscriptions of structural oppression, integrating into a host state or

country may lead to new or repeated forms of exclusion and marginalization (Ibid.). This is definitely the case with Haitian migrants in Brazil. As Macedo (2019) describes, her Haitian interlocutors traveled to Brazil expecting to find the famous 'myth of racial democracy'; the widespread idea that because of miscegenation in Brazil there would be no racism[3] - but they instead found themselves facing layers of prejudice and racialized violence in various spheres of social life.

Thus, the Haitians migrants experiences of violence occurred before, during, and after migration. From slavery, to the continued exploitation and plundering of their territory, their difficult migration crossings, and their precarious life in Brazil, their experiences coalesced to form a constellation of violence (Cook Heffron 2019). Here, it is important to tie yet another thread of history to this constellation, for Brazil was also a colonized country. If Haiti was the first country to abolish slavery in the Americas, Brazil was the last. Slavery in Brazil, officially, lasted 300 years (1500-1888), and notably did not include any social integration plan, setting the stage for enduring economic, political and racial inequalities (Pedrosa et al. 2018). As argued by Macedo (2019), colonization, operated from the 15th century onwards by European countries, was also a form of power that constituted the partition of the world and had race as the "principle of the political body", because from it it was possible to classify and hierarchize human groups, establishing criterions of exclusion. According to Achille Mbembe, "race does not exist as a natural, physical, anthropological or genetic event. But, without a doubt, it is not just a useful fiction, a phantasmatic construction or an ideological projection" (2017, 11). Furthermore, as argued by Macedo (2019), the category 'race' corresponds to a social, political, symbolic, cultural and even economic construction that, anchored in pseudo-biological or cultural arguments, operates with great force in Brazil.

The factor of race has been highlighted as an essential dimension to be accounted for in contemporary migration studies. Alexander-Nathani demonstrates the role of race is determining of political status in a global level. Similarly, Catharine Besteman (2019) has argued that race and mobility feature as primary variables for heightened security and militarization, creating a racialized world order, and a hierarchical labor market. Besteman (2019) uses the term

"global apartheid" to denote the structures of control that securitize the global north and create violence in the global south. This transformation is driven by a racist logic of securitization that defines bodies in the global south as either security threats to or exploitable labor for the global north (Ibid.). The latter, especially, can be seen in the case discussed here, as I will demonstrate in the following section.

Labor exploitation: the meat industry

Following as well the "geographically broad" links of power that Paul Farmer (2004) argues for, I want to tie another thread of violence to this case study, one that goes from the south of Brazil all the way to the global north. Brazil is the biggest exporter of beef in the world. Even though China is the country that imports most beef from Brazil, the best meats, and consequently the most expensive ones, go to Europe and the United States (Repórter Brasil 2021). Because most cattle is raised in the Amazon -and many times linked to the illegal deforestation of the Amazon forest, the invasion of indigenous lands and slave labor – the cattle is transported from the Amazon all the way to the south of Brazil to be slaughtered and sold (Ibid.). This way, connections to deforestation can be erased and the meat can be exported to Europe and the USA –who have stricter rules about linkages between the meat and the illegal deforestation of the Amazon (Ibid.). This is a clear example of the continued plunder by capitalist-colonial extraction of the global south (Besteman 2019), a thread of violence that is racialized and also directly depletes the bodies of migrants.

Haitian migrants are occupying the jobs that Brazilians don't want to do and that are most dangerous or precarious (Mamed 2017). The meat processing industry especially lacks workers because of the strenuous working conditions and that is precisely the sector where most Haitians are hired (Macedo 2019). Particularly in the south of Brazil, where most of the meat processing industry is, recruiters tend to target Haitians (Sanches 2014). The first Haitian workers to go to the south of Brazil were actually brought from the North of the country by the owners of the meat processing plants (Ibid.). Here it is possible to observe what Wendy Vogt (2013) argues is the clearest example of commodification of migrants, the transformation of migrants into literal human cargo.

As Vogt (2013) discusses, drawing on Karl Marx's theory, commodities are objects of

utility and depositories of value, which are acquired via social and historical processes, namely, exchange. Even though migrants' bodies are not *per se* produced to be traded, because they are still exchanged and sold on the market, the supply and the demand for them are real and material (Ibid.). The Haitian migrants in Brazil are promised good salaries by the recruiters from the meat industry, but when they arrive at the meat processing plants in the south, they encounter instead precarious working conditions; they don't get registered as workers (so they have no workers' rights); they are paid less than they are owed; and they work many hours with no breaks, at times to the point of exhaustion. As Macedo (2019) points out, many times, even without the existence of *stricto sensu* slave labor in meat processing plants, the complex threads of relationships established in this branch of productive activity triggers intense exploitation, bordering on the limits of health and human dignity.

The violence and commodification experienced by Haitian migrants' takes an immediate embodied form (Vogt 2017), not only because of the exhaustion of their bodies while working in precarity, but the recruitment for the meat processing plants is also insidious. In makeshift "job fairs", usually set up by religious charities and hosted in a church or shed, the recruiters of Haitians workers check the immigrants' teeth, muscles and skin (Sanches 2014). And they will go as far as measuring their wrists and the thickness of their shins because according to one of the job recruiters, it is: "an old tradition, from the people of slavery, that those who have thin shins are good at work, and those who have thick shins are worse workers" (Ibid.) Thus, crucial to the dynamics of migration of Haitians in Brazil are, as Wendy Vogt (2013) puts it, the ways migrant bodies, labor, and lives are transformed into useful objects of exchange and exploitation.

In the case discussed here it is possible thus to note the intersection of racializing processes of migration and the commodification and labor exploitation of migrants. Threads of violence that are historically and intrinsically linked, since capitalism, according to Mbembe, was always based on racial subsidies for the exploitation of human and non-human resources, and "the birth of the racial subject – and, consequently, the birth of the black person – is linked to the history of capitalism" (2017, 179). This echoes the argument of the Haitian scholar Jean Casimir, who stated that, "In Haiti, or anywhere else in America, the

'Negro' or the 'Indian' is an invention of the West. The first is systematically manufactured as the colonial worker *par excellence*" (2012, 3). However, race is not the only marker that produces specific positions of vulnerability in migratorial processes. As Alexander-Nathani argues, categories of gender, race and class interact with one another, creating nuanced subject positions, and new forms of interconnection (2020, 16). Therefore, it is important to also point out the gendered division of labor and how it intersects with race and origin in this case study.

Labor exploitation: gendered dimension

Haitian women have also been left with the jobs usually assigned to black women in the Brazilian labor market, especially housekeeping and cleaning jobs. As argued by Mariana dos Reis Cruz (2016), in her dissertation about black housekeepers in Brazil, all the manual labor that was once performed by enslaved people - in the fields, in the mines or inside the homes- has been relegated to the lowest place in the Brazilian social hierarchy. Domestic labor in Brazil has historically been performed by black and poor women, which attests to the racialized gendered persistence of a colonial logic of labor division. It was only in 2015 that housekeepers were accorded the same legal status and workers' rights of other registered workers (Ibid.). However, this recognition of housekeepers' workers' rights came with a lot of backlash from the middle and upper classes in Brazil, who saw it unfair they should now have to pay minimum wage to their housekeepers (Ibid.). The aforementioned makeshift "job fairs" also become places where Brazilians will look for a housekeeper, expecting that they will not have to register the Haitian women as a worker and they will be able to pay them less than minimum wage (Sanches 2014).[4]

Furthermore, as Letícia Helena Mamed's (2017) research about Haitian migration and the meat processing industry in the south of Brazil shows, there is a clear gendered division of labor inside the meat processing plants as well. Men are more present in the external areas, such as the hanging and bleeding (slaughter) sectors, the weighing and transport, packaging and dispatch. Management activities and the Federal Inspection System (SIF) tend to be exclusively conducted by men. Meanwhile, women are centrally allocated in the internal area of the plant, in the scalding, cutting, deboning, offal and packaging sectors, or in the cleaning service, which is particularly dangerous.

The cleaning in the meat plants involves close contact with heavy machinery, which is associated with the most accidents (Ibid.). For example, in Mamed's (2017) study, a Haitian woman describes having one of her arms grinded in the sausage processing machine while she was cleaning. This particular case demonstrates that, as argued by Mbembe (2020), the function of contemporary powers is, more than ever, to make extraction possible. This requires precisely an intensification of the logics of fracturing and fissuring, which does not only refer to resources, but also to living bodies exposed to physical depletion. And as we see in this last case, once again, the commodified body intersects with different markers and, as Vogt (2013) argues, the use-value and exchange-value of migrant life, and, in some cases, migrant death, shifts. Migrants continuously gain and lose value in material and embodied ways through their dismemberment, disappearance, and death. Violence thus becomes crucial to profit making (Ibid.).

Conclusion

The threads of violence that run historically deep and geographically broad in the case of Haitian Migration in Brazil, demonstrate how the workings of a specific national dynamic of racialization of a colonized third world[5] country, reinscribes a migrant population in the violent pre-existent national racial-colonial grammars. Haitian migrants suffer continuous violence and death, which coalesce to form constellations of violence (Cook Heffron 2019), which intersect embodied markers of race, gender and nationality. These threads of violence, that I drew and followed through this paper, attest to the asymmetries of socioeconomic relations happening at a planetary level (Mbembe 2020), pointing to the contradictions of internal national and international relations, and the asymmetries of the contemporary neoliberal globalization process (Macedo 2019).

Endnotes

1. These humanitarian visas also exemplify the connections between economics, politics and law, and how they produce migrant vulnerabilities at the intersection of regulatory politics of citizenship and the global forces of capitalism (Vogt 2013).

2. And as Nathani-Alexander notes, "This presents a unique set of challenges to transnational subjects, as they are forced to negotiate the different meanings of the identity markers they carry as they move across borders and between different cultural groups and linguistic traditions." (2020, 178).

3. The historian and anthropologist Lilia Schwarcz (1999) shows how Brazilian national identity revolved around miscegenation, which went from being racial and disparaging, to being moral and national. Thus, the founding myth of Brazil became the myth of the three races (Ibid.), that resulted in the belief of Brazil as a 'racial democracy', and was used historically as a way of silencing the black and indigenous population, updating power relations based on racial difference (Ibid.)

4. As described by one woman looking to hire a Haitian as a housekeeper, she expected the housekeeper to work 12 hours a day, and sleep in her house during the week, but she refused to register her and wanted to pay less than the minimum wage (Ibid.).

5. I follow Spivak's discussion of how we can see "the 'third world' as a displacement of former colonies, when colonialism itself shifts to become neocolonialism" (Spivak 2010, 15).

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Ik ben toch niet racistisch?

Fiona Holdinga

"Being an anthropology student it probably comes as no surprise that I really enjoy writing. From poetry to academic papers, I write quite a lot and most of it ends up barely seeing the light of day when I have finished it. Mostly, I don't mind. But sometimes I write something that I think could also benefit others, and this is what let me to submit this piece. Namely, I think that the exercise of critically analysing your personal position in terms of race and racism is incredibly educational for all human beings. Hopefully this piece inspires others to do the same!"

Al mijn hele leven woon ik in Nederland. Voor mij betekent dit dat ik ben gewend aan een tegenwind die eindeloos lijkt te zijn, zomers gevuld met natte tenten en koude blikjes knakworst, het jaarlijks-uitkijken naar programma's als Wie is de Mol en Boer Zoekt Vrouw (en het nabespreken van al die afleveringen met mijn 90-jarige oma), het vieren van Pasen, Sinterklaas en Kerst, en één keer per jaar geheel in oranje tenue proberen om al mijn niet-langer gewenste spullen te verpatsen. Het betekent ook een hele kleine familie die vooral bestaat uit oudere witte vrouwen, met eigenlijk als enige uitzondering mijn vader. Ik weet niet anders dan dat hij altijd weg is, omdat hij voor zijn werk als elektrotechnisch-monteur in de scheepvaart de hele wereld over reist. Van een maand in Rusland tot een aantal weken in Vietnam of een half jaar in Canada – hij is er een die leeft om te werken.

Nog steeds zien we elkaar hooguit een aantal keer per jaar, en bestaat ons contact vooral uit WhatsApp-berichten en af en toe een telefoongesprek. Ik heb onze relatie als vader en dochter dan ook altijd lastig gevonden, vooral naarmate ik ouder werd en meer ging nadenken over de uitspraken die hij regelmatig deed en nog steeds doet. Als voorbeeld

onderstaande situatie van een paar maanden terug:

Het is een regenachtige maandagavond, en ik ben pasta aan het maken terwijl ik luister naar één van mijn favoriete podcasts. Ik roer met een pollepel door de pan van de spaghetti en daarna door de koekenpan met de pastasaus, om te zorgen dat er niks blijft plakken of aanbrandt. Ondertussen dwalen mijn gedachten af naar de dingen die er zijn gebeurd die dag, en ben ik wat aan het dromen tot de podcast ineens stilvalt – mijn telefoon gaat. De oproep die binnenkomt is een videogesprek van mijn vader. Hij is net aangekomen in Kenia voor een nieuwe klus, en ik heb hem al even niet gesproken. Ik zet mijn telefoon rechtop tegen de muur neer zodat ik ondertussen door kan gaan met koken en neem op: "Ja?" "Nou kerel, hoe is het ermee, doe je?" hoor ik hem vragen terwijl ik ondertussen test of de pasta al gaar is. "Ik ben aan het koken, spaghetti. Hoe is het daar?" antwoord ik kort. "Moe, het zijn erg lange dagen. Er lopen hier ook echt alleen maar van die zwarte rond, van die zwarten apen weet je wel? Echt pikzwart, met van die grote Zoeloe lippen!" zegt mijn vader met een lach en glimmende ogen. Zoals altijd raak ik geïrriteerd en schaam ik me voor zijn uitspraken, maar toch kies ik ervoor er niet op in te gaan. "Juist. Eigenlijk bel je niet echt op een handig moment; ik moet nog heel veel leren want ik heb morgen een tentamen. Ik spreek je later wel ja?" antwoord ik snel terwijl ik de pan spaghetti afgiet. "Is goed kerel! Succes en stuur maar een berichtje als er wat is." Ik hang op, stop mijn telefoon in mijn zak en schep snel mijn avondeten op.

Het zijn opmerkingen waar Gloria Wekker waarschijnlijk aardig wat felle woorden voor heeft, alleen al zijn positie als welgestelde witte Nederlandse man. Enkel is dit betoog juist een kritisch zelfonderzoek, dus richt ik mij nu hier op mijn eigen positie. Mijn reactie in deze en soortgelijke situaties is namelijk al een aantal jaren vaak zo goed als hetzelfde: ik ga er niet op in wanneer mijn vader een racistische opmerking maakt, doe alsof ik het niet heb gehoord. Wanneer ik deze houding kritisch analyseer met behulp van Wekkers' (2016, 78) etnografie, schrik ik wel even. Ik ben zowaar één van die personen die een 'optionele waarde' aan ras toekent, voortkomend uit een diep gevoel van ongemak en vooral angst – ik ben toch niet racistisch?

Vooral door het ontdekken van deze specifieke vraag in mijn gedachtes kijk ik eens goed naar de bovenstaande situatie en wat er nou gebeurt. Ten eerste zie ik mijn vaders racisme inmiddels als een soort vast 'onderdeel' van hem en wie hij is; ik schrik er niet dusdanig meer van en lijk het hem toe te schrijven als een eigenschap van zijn persoonlijkheid. Ten tweede zie ik hem, toch lichtelijk tot mijn eigen verbazing, nog echt als een ouderfiguur, en iemand waar ik dus op lijk. Qua uiterlijk, maar – en hier zit het punt van ongemak – ook qua innerlijk. Ten derde merk ik een onderliggende machtsstructuur die zich uit in de 'ongemarkeerde' categorieën van mannelijkheid en witheid (Wekker 2016, 69), met nog een extra gevoel van onderdanigheid door mijn positie als dochter-van. Door de term 'ongemarkeerd' beschrijft Wekker de onzichtbare, vanzelfsprekende machtspositie die mannelijkheid en witheid volgens haar bezitten in de samenleving.

Oftewel, aan de hand van Wekkers' etnografie is het vrij duidelijk hoe ik met een situatie als deze om moet gaan: ik moet accepteren dat ik een witte huidskleur heb, en dus automatisch een onzichtbare machtspositie bezit alsmede een onderliggende 'normaalheid' en 'onschuld' die problematisch is omdat ik hierdoor ras kan ontkennen. Kortom, ik moet accepteren dat ras zich nou eenmaal bevindt in het Nederlandse culturele archief en het niet langer, al is het onbewust, negeren vanuit mijn eigen gevoelens van angst of ongemak. Daarbij komt wel het feit dat ik, als vrouw-zijnde, een bepaalde ondergeschikte positie ervaar die het soms lastiger kan maken om juist te handelen in dit soort situaties. Al zou ik dat slechts een bijkomende 'uitdaging' noemen.

Vervolgens kijk ik via de etnografie van Francio Guadeloupe (2022) naar mijn positie. Om te beginnen bij mijn status als Wit persoon: in de kapitalistische orde heb ik een welgestelde positie waardoor Guadeloupe (2022) mij als conceptueel 'Wit' zou beschrijven, ongeacht mijn huidskleur. Hier tegenover staat 'Zwart': mensen die worden onderdrukt en/of uitgebuit (Guadeloupe 2022, xx). Verder zie ik mijzelf aan de hand van Guadeloupe als actor, als belichaamd persoon die zich altijd bevindt in een bepaalde context met bepaalde keuzes (Guadeloupe 2022, xxvi). Het aspect van menselijke agency is een belangrijke term in zijn theorie; hij stelt dat we moeten ophouden met het 'doen' van ras in onze

samenleving en nam zelfs de stap om het te bestempelen als een religie (Guadeloupe 2012). Een godsdienst die we moeten deconstrueren en vervangen voor een vorm van atheïsme, omdat we pas van racisme af kunnen stappen als geprivilegieerde mensen erkennen dat Zwarte mensen en hun geschiedenis ook horen bij wie wij zijn als mensheid - en we dus 'ophouden' met ras (Guadeloupe 2012).

Als ik dan via de bril van Guadeloupe kijk naar de beschreven situatie, zou je haast kunnen stellen dat ik, met de agency die ik uitoefen in het continu ervaren en (her)vormen van de Nederlandse samenleving, er bewust voor kies om ras niet te 'doen'. In mijn positie als antropologie-student ben ik me namelijk wel degelijk bewust van het racisme wat zich bevindt in de wereld, en herken ik het zeker in de directe uitspraken van mijn vader. Ook weet ik dat ik niet per se 'niet' racistisch ben, onder andere vanwege mijn witte huidskleur en welgestelde achtergrond, en heb ik geaccepteerd dat het een proces is waar ik waarschijnlijk de rest van mijn leven mee bezig zal zijn. Met andere woorden: elke keer dat ik niet inga op de racistische uitspraken van mijn vader kies ik er (weliswaar half onbewust) voor om niet aan ras te 'doen', terwijl ik me er tegelijkertijd wel degelijk bewust van ben dat het bestaat en racisme zeer problematisch is.

Samengevat zijn er dan ook twee verschillende antwoorden mogelijk op de ongemakkelijke vraag die ik diep in mij blijk te hebben. Vanuit Wekker is te stellen dat ik niet direct racistisch ben in de zin van bijvoorbeeld problematische uitspraken, maar er wel aan bijdraag door me dan te verschuilen achter een gordijn van witte onschuld. Vanuit Guadeloupe doe ik dat juist niet, maar kies ik ervoor ras niet actief te 'doen' en draag ik zo bij aan een samenleving die accepteert dat dit een onderdeel is van de mensheid en probeert een echt einde te maken aan racisme. Toch, desondanks het feit dat ik comfortabeler word afgebeeld in de theorie van Guadeloupe, denk ik dat we beide perspectieven nodig hebben voor een wereld zonder racisme. We hebben Wekkers' kritische vergrootglas nodig om te zien dat we wel degelijk racisme hebben zitten tussen onze blikjes met knakworst in, en we hier zeker wat strenger naar mogen kijken en handelen. Om vervolgens, als we dit bewustzijn hebben gecreëerd en onze posities hebben erkend, met Guadeloupe's verrekijker een stap te kunnen zetten naar

een mensheid die niet meer aan ras hoeft te doen.

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Promises of care

Sustain*ability* in the homes of residents living in the Randstad, the Netherlands

Carmen Luke

"Accelerated anthropogenic ecological and climatic changes and their disparate effects on human and more-than-human lives have increasingly become apparent. Given that these changes directly result from human activities, people have started to question what it means to be human. Accordingly, this excerpt intends to exemplify how aspiring anthropologists can trace objects' phenomenological meanings and concurrently how this may enable or constrain one's ability to feel at home in their (dilapidating) home – planet Earth. Everybody deserves to feel at home, marking this an important field of inquiry. The participants for this thesis consisted mainly of anthropologists – the same anthropologists that hopefully find ample inspiring content in SCAJ for their future academic endeavours, potentially assisting in the battle against further ecological degradation."

At unease living within the anthropocene

The following quote, posted in a forum for contemporary philosophers in the New York Times, eloquently describes how one can see the world living in the Anthropocene. As such, its writer captures how the Anthropocene not only poses a challenge to national security, commodity markets or 'our way of life' overall, but that the greatest challenge may be to the sense of what it means to be human living in the one and only (dilapidating) home we know, planet Earth.

> *Now, when I look into our future — into the Anthropocene — I see water rising up to wash out lower Manhattan. I see food riots, hurricanes, and climate refugees. I see 82nd Airborne soldiers shooting looters. I see grid failure, wrecked harbors, Fukushima waste, and plagues. I see Baghdad. I see the Rockaways. I see a strange, precarious world. Our new home (Scranton 2013).*

Roy Scranton is not the only person posing questions surrounding the ability of civilization to sustain itself in the coming decades, nor is he the only one to believe that the climate-influenced collapse of societies is either likely, inevitable or already unfolding. Many people are seeing the collective home dilapidate from within the comforts of their own home – whether from behind a screen filled with distressing claims on climate change somewhere far away, or from their garden close by. A participant with whom I got acquainted during my Master's thesis research is Avery, who volunteers as a sustainability coach for the organisation KlimaatGesprekken[1] (climate conversations). She coaches groups of people and gives them tools to live in a manner that respects planetary boundaries, also regarding their home interior and exterior. Moreover, she shows people how to have a good, effective and positive 'climate conversation' with others. In our first interview, she explained her motive to join the organisation:

> *I can remember that I noticed very clearly that the first signs of climate change were just there [in our back yard]. That there were flowers or plants or trees in our garden blooming at crazy times or something, you know? That in the winter it was just really warm all of a sudden. (…) I can also remember my parents and I noticed that there were far fewer birds, for example. Or as a child, I remember going to the field in the back very often, because there were lapwings and so on, and I loved watching and listening to them. Well, they are just not there anymore, you know?*[2]

These changes Avery described may be subtle and essentially non-threatening, but to her, they point to a larger truth, namely that climate change is unfolding, and that it entails a crisis. "*It is already happening, hey!*" – she stressed during our interview while highlighting some of the current climatic events ongoing in Africa and Australia. "*This is not climate change 'anxiety'*" she continued, "*this is a realistic fear for events currently unfolding*". She described this as a reality that may be hard to face, but as I found during this research, it is also a reality that some do not wish to look away from. As opposed to Avery, many of the participants do not need to notice subtle changes in their garden to realise the urgency of the problem, as they are engaged with the climate change crisis in a variety of manners – which may be through their personal interests, academic

endeavours, or in their profession. These crises are not something they engage with occasionally, but rather, they play a considerable role, simultaneously shaping their lives.

This assessment of the climate crisis encompasses the making of an 'ordinary crisis', meaning that what was first considered a state of emergency gradually progressed into a permanent feature of everyday life (Vigh 2008). During the interview, Avery clarified that environmental change had always interested her, but that it gradually became "the only important subject, so to speak". Environmental crises are frequently depicted in politics, policy, and popular culture as 'intermediate periods of chaos' in which the social order 'collapses' in on itself, only to be 'recovered' once the crisis has passed (Vigh 2008, 8). However, in long-term or chronic crises, this interstitial period of disorder can change from a discrete occurrence into a defining feature of the social landscape, forcing individuals to rethink the material, practical, and traditional meaning of everyday life as may currently be the case for the environmental crises. To some, the collective home – planet Earth, may seem to be dilapidating, and in order to counter this, renovation might be needed.

Neoliberal renovation

One way in which humans have approached renovation has been through sustainability discourses and practices, which are largely shaped by Eurocentric understandings of what nature entails. These understandings are underlined by the idea of the division of nature and culture, as profusely illustrated and problematized by various scholars within anthropology and social sciences (Gaard 2011; Ingold 2000; Kohn 2007; Moore 2015; Plumwood 2002; Tsing 2001). The dichotomy not only presumes a hierarchical difference between nature and culture, but also, among other things, implies that culture, or humanity, contributes to the degradation of nature, as it stands outside of nature itself. As a social sciences scholar herself, Eden has also become aware of this divide during the course of her Master's degree. During our first interview, we discussed the various emotions that may be evoked when she thinks about nature and climate change. She explained to me: "*Sometimes, for example when I walk in a national park, it makes me very sad. [I think to myself]: 'why do we have to separate this from 'the rest'?*"[3]

The problematization of the divide further relates to Raj Patel and Jason Moore's (2018) conceptual analysis of capitalism. As they

elucidate, capitalism has both manufactured and maintained the conceptual binary separation between humanity and nature. By conceptualising nature as a separate, external, and commodifiable entity, it allows for capitalist flourishment and overall economic expansion. Meanwhile, the Eurocentric dichotomy does not allow for the consideration of humanity's dependence on the ecological system, and therefore, has arguably been at the root of many of the ecological crises we now face (Miéville 2015; Wright 2013). As Eden continued to discuss her emotions regarding the separation, she said something similar to this assessment: "*This separation is exactly why we ended up in this situation – the separation between culture and nature brought us to this situation [of climate change]. So now, in order to protect nature, we have to continue separating it from culture*". Shae, who is also a Master's student in social sciences, similarly expressed during one of our interviews how she thought that (neoliberal) capitalism has allowed for capitalist flourishment and overall economic expansion, but also how it *"essentially brought on predominantly negative things."*[4] She elaborated: "*Yes, you can worry about the economy, because no country can run without an economy – at least that is what they always say. But then I thought, well, no country runs without a world – without an ecology, either*". What Shea seemed to point to is indispensable and boils down to the fact that human beings *are* nature – and without 'nature', there will be no culture either as they are undifferentiated. As such, it seems that humanity should move beyond the technocratic 'neoliberal renovation' that has dominated the discourse surrounding climate change mitigation and sustainability if there is any hope of finding a way out of this predicament.

Humanity's one and only home

I explore this fundamental shift towards the realisation of our dependency on the ecological system, and as such on the current crises, through the categorization of planet Earth as humanity's home. By referring to a publication of Bredekamp (as cited in Nitzke & Pethes 2017), Solvejg Nitzke and Nicolas Pethes call attention to the fact that throughout history, many photographic depictions of the globe have marked a sense of humanity's superiority over planet Earth and its nature by marking the achievements of human culture (e.g., roads, skyscrapers, cities). Paradoxically, human-culture-permitted Apollo missions enabled

humankind to capture planet Earth in a manner that revealed its fragility and need of 'protection' rather than conquest or colonisation, namely through the capturing of 'The Blue Marble' (see figure 3 in the appendix). This image of planet Earth, taken from forty-five thousand kilometres out in space by the crew of Apollo 17 in 1972, fundamentally altered the understanding of the Earth as our home planet (Petsko 2011). According to Nitzke and Pethes, this shift in understanding proved to be vital for newly founded ecological movements (2017). Essentially, imagining planet Earth as a home can "result in a rather terrifying perspective on an existential conflict between the planet and the species that calls it its home" (Nitzke & Pethes 2017, 16-17).

While not everybody may identify planet Earth as their home, Eden also expressed that she felt that planet Earth should feel like home, but that at the moment, it does not feel like the home it should be: *"All the time I have the feeling that this is not how it should be – this is not how our home should be. It is also a home for all the other species."*[5] I proceeded by asking: *"So it is essentially everyone's home?"* To which she answered: *"It is everyone's home. Yes. But because we deal with it in this way now, we have caused that it is not like [home] anymore, and in that sense, we have taken away the home – even from other species – as well as from [beings] within our own species"*.

Seeing planet Earth as home, and thereby as fundamental to humanity's existence, brings forth a humble reminder worded by Vick, who is a self-proclaimed nature lover and Master's student, as:

> *Obviously, Earth will be here when we are gone. (…) You know, like the whole like 'save the planet' thing is – I mean it will be fine, like, Earth is resilient. But like there are so many other species that will not be fine, or that will not be here – and humans might be one of them. As a whole, I do think [planet Earth] is very resilient. But I think that we are a huge interruption because we are not very good at acknowledging our interdependence.*[6]

Similar to the American legal scholar Jedediah Purdy (2015), Vick reminds us that even if nature – or planet Earth – would continue, one cannot deny human agency in regard to the climatic changes that shape the ecology. In his *book After Nature: A Politics for the Anthropocene*, Purdy articulates how the collective imagination of nature both

heavily shapes nature, as well as how nature then significantly shapes humanity itself. He scrutinises how humanity should act, or collectively imagine nature, as we are causing the dilapidation of the one and only home we have ever known to inhabit (Purdy 2015). Correspondingly, how we have shaped nature would eloquently be classified by Anna Tsing as a state of 'capitalist ruins', and Eden and Vick seem to agree that indeed, we live in, and live on, ruins. However, by using the analogy of the matsutake mushroom, which paradoxically seems to thrive in heavily logged forests, Tsing proves what she calls 'the possibility of life in capitalist ruins' (Tsing 2015).

Even though Tsing and Purdy cannot agree on whether it should be an assemblage of agencies or predominantly human agencies that redirect humanity's course out of this predicament, the collective home seems to be falling into ruins and the question remains: how is one ought to act living in the midst of these capitalist ruins when you have yet to find the mushroom of hope? This entails having to imagine the possibility of life in capitalist ruins, or – the possibility of feeling at home when living in the Anthropocene. Henrik Vigh also reminds us that the experience of crises does not necessarily lead to passivity. Rather, he underlines the possibility of human agency, not so much as a question of capacity – as we all have the ability to act – but as a question of possibility; that is, to what extent a person is able to act within a given context (2008, 10-11).

Direction through disconnection

Andy, a Master's student with a profound interest in philosophical enquiries, often finds himself questioning the 'given context'. During our first interview, he vouched: *"It is all just kind of ridiculous. (…) The fact that we have come to this point of – just this grand human massive society, these massive structures. (…) There is an absurdity to it which I find very catastrophic at times*."[7] During the interview, Andy examined what he called a certain sense of "absurdity" with regarding how humanity relates to its surroundings. This absurdity, to him, comes down to how the capitalist system does not allow one to see the interconnectedness of human and more-than-human beings that dwell on planet Earth alongside each other. This absurdity makes him question how, then, to 'act accordingly' in the midst of the current epoch. To Andy, acting accordingly does not

entail feeling disconnected from the rest. Rather, it entails feeling connected.

The idea that nature could be seen as something separate and disconnected allowed for the idea that humanity was in control. Historically, there has been a prominent need for this conquest and control, which has also seemed possible since 'the ordinary' has been depicted with nature as 'moderate' and 'orderly' since the nineteenth century. Many of those assumptions were based on the relative climatic stability of the era that nourished human civilization, namely the Holocene (Ghosh 2017). However, the current climatic changes and new understandings of planet Earth, leading us to believe that the Holocene has been displaced by the Anthropocene, disrupted this worldview and brought humanity to the awareness of the elements of agency and consciousness that humans share with many other more-than-human beings, even with planet Earth itself (Nitzke & Pethes 2017). This may be considered one of the 'uncanniest' effects of climate change, for these changes are not merely strange in the sense of being unknown or alien; their uncanniness lies precisely in the fact that they point to something humanity had turned away from; humanity's dependence on nature, its connection to planet Earth – its one and only home (Ghosh 2017; Wright 2013). This makes the climate change crisis in a certain sense a cultural crisis, and thus a crisis of the imagination (Ghosh 2017; Purdy 2015). Eden analysed:

> *There is this control that people want to have over literally everything – how everything looks, where it should be, where it should not be, what is economically beneficial or profitable, and what is not. (…) We should just let planet Earth be the chaos that it is. It really is just one big chaos, but it is a dynamic chaos, you know. And now, this ongoing dynamic chaos, so to speak, is being disrupted by humanity. It is essentially a sort of control that we are exercising all the time – and I very much hope that we can let go of this control at some point.*[8]

Essentially, Eden is (re)-imagining planet Earth and nature in a way that does not entail human domination and control – this image of Earth possibly entails how Eden feels it should be, namely: a (chaotic) home for both human and more-than-human species rather than human-dominated and controlled capitalist ruins. As I asked Eden if

she tends to find beauty in chaos, she answered: "*Well, can you not tell by the look of my home?*" In the next section titled 'Homely Homes', I use the appearance of Eden's home as a springboard to reflect on how one, given the context of the Anthropocene, then curates their home in a manner that feels homely.

Homely homes

We are sitting inside, around a candle-lit table with wine and snacks in the eastern part of Amsterdam. Eden's home, or as she often jokingly refers to: her bezem kast *(broom closet), is no larger than seventeen square metres. As a response to Eden's question about whether her vision of chaos as an illustration of surrendering human control becomes apparent in the appearance of her home, I look around. I would not classify her home as chaotic myself, but I see where she is coming from. It is filled with plants, vintage furniture, artefacts, books, and the like. Given the small space it is confined in, it is – in a certain sense – filled to the brim. By the same token, it looks very organised, and given the small space it is confined in, it better be. Although it is organised and tidy, her home most certainly does not look sterile, but rather filled with warmth, love and carefully picked effects.*[9]

As outlined in the previous chapter, Eden expressed that planet earth should be home to both human and more-than-human species. However, within the given context, planet Earth does not feel as such, considering the immense and disparate (human) control effectuated, concurrently leading to the dispossession of planet Earth as a home to both human and more-than-human actors. That planet Earth is *"not how it should be*", leads to a certain sense of discomfort – or – unhomeliness. *"I don't feel at home anymore with the way we've made planet Earth, and that's a bit what gives me this uncanny feeling"* – Eden continued. At heart, it seems that there is a discrepancy between the world Eden lives in, and the world as Eden imagines it should be. Discussing this uncanny feeling and how the world 'should' look instead led to Eden's question regarding how I perceived her home in relation to this. She added:

What is really something, though, is that you can still make your home into a space where you can – well not

prevent the uncanniness or unhomeliness – but where you can distance yourself from it a little. You can still create a situation in your own home in which you are yourself, a situation that just feels right. You know?

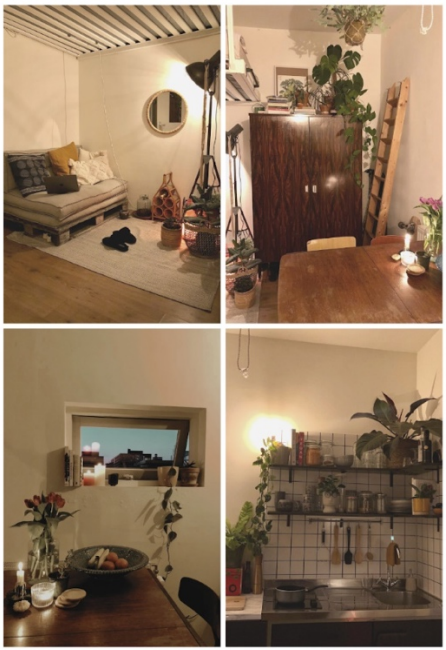

Fig. 1: Eden's studio apartment.

Above, pictures of Eden's home are included, depicting the organised chaos she detailed during our interview. Eden's account of creating a home that feels right, namely a chaotic one, is consistent with a significant stream of phenomenological research on the home that describes the experience of 'being-at-home' in the world. Generally, phenomenology seeks to understand the outside world as it is interpreted through human consciousness as it focuses on individual, lived experiences, while always acknowledging those experiences as existing intersubjectively (Desjarlais & Throop 2011). Understood in a phenomenological way, home is considered a state of 'being', which might not necessarily be defined by a physical location (Mallett 2004), but rather focuses on practices and the diverse ways people 'do' and 'feel' at home (Jackson 2005; Ingold 1995). Essentially, phenomenologically inclined inquiries in the anthropology of the home attend to the dialectical relationship between the self and the object in the intentional making of the home, thereby including bodily or sensory experiences as well as the meaning attributed to them (Jackson 1996). By approaching the home in this manner throughout the following section, I add to the understanding of what it constitutes to be a human living in a home, in the Anthropocene.

Curare

Emery – a self-employed activist with a background in political philosophy and gender and postcolonial studies – informed

me during our first interview that she (quite literally) has difficulties feeling 'at home in the world'. Given her activities as an activist and her scholarly endeavours, climate change leaves a prominent mark in her life. She described that climate change feels like an emotionally heavy process, and that it contributed to a burn-out over the course of last year, a time during which she felt profound trouble feeling 'at home'.

> *In the past year, a big question for me has actually been: how can I really feel at home somewhere? In the past 4 years, I have moved a lot, and I had to move again when I was experiencing a burn-out. When I would come to this new place, I felt very much like: but, I need a home. To me, the fact that I was burnt out was also a sign of not being rooted. And this does not necessarily mean a physical place, but also simply that I was not rooted in my 'being' as such. (...) [The climate change crisis feels very emotionally intense] and moving all the time was also very symbolic of that – really being all over the place all the time. So for me, it was a very active question: how can I feel at home in my place, in my home?*[10]

Emery explained that a prominent question for her was "how to create a womb feeling" in her home. This analogy took me by surprise, but it opened me up to some of the most intriguing concepts for my thesis. "I like it when you see that there has been care" – Emery explained. *"In order to achieve that, I bought a new rug, for example. (...) There are a few other things, like cute candles, spiritual artefacts, and nice candle holders, and I also work a lot with fragrances and essential oils. I do that with care for myself."*

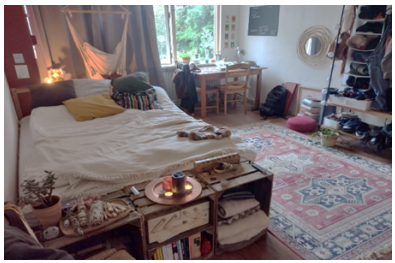

Fig. 2: Emery's room with fragrances, candles, and the newly purchased rug.

In a way, the curation of her home is guided by principles of care. As such, I consider it valuable to understand curation closer to its original meaning of curare – to cure, or more generally, to care for (Saxer 2017). On the one hand, to cure means to heal and to make better, which in this context relates to the care that Emery wants to give to herself, considering the uncanniness of living in the

Anthropocene. On the other hand, to cure also means to cleanse or preserve, thereby preventing a raw substance from rotting and infecting its surroundings (Saxer 2017). In a broadened yet specific sense, it signifies attending to – or taking care of – wider material environments, and in the context of climate change, this might relate to caring for herself through the caring of all other beings, also those residing *outside* her home.

The purchasing of (new) products or the engagement with spiritual artefacts, which are also depicted in the picture of Emery's room above, seem to be part of Emery's process of curating a home with care for herself. However, it also entails another delicate undertaking, namely *"a substantial ethical consideration"* – as worded so by Emery herself. In order to further clarify, she gave an example:

> *For me, [spirituality] is a very important aspect of my life and something very felt. But it is also a slippery slope between cultural appropriation and having 'your spiritual journey' while also having white privilege and not being able to fully acknowledge the accompanying violence. That consideration is very important to me, because it may not be linked to the climate crisis at face value, but to me, the climate crisis is also very much about deeper causes; about the erasure of Indigenous cultures and about white supremacy, and appropriating, or using certain traditions and rituals accordingly.*

This further relates to curation in a form that attends to – or takes care of – both herself, and concurrently the broader material environment within the given context of climate change. While some effects may be invited, others might subsequently be avoided as they do not signify curare. "*I need things around me to support me in this [emotional] journey, and for me it's very much about connecting with nature, and about connecting with myself*". What supports Emery may subsequently be regarded as spaces that accommodate an enjoyable connection rather than an exploitative one.

Home(ly) delivery

To expound on this, I follow Ghassan Hage (2017) as he cogently approaches being able to feel at home in the world through the etymological roots of the word "domestication". Essentially, domestication is a mode of struggle to make beings and

things partake in the curation of one's home, thereby creating homely spaces. This relationship is set and understood to be one of 'mutual benefit'. Yet, paradoxically, it is a relationship that entails domination, control, and exploitation (Hage 2017). Emile Benveniste's tracing of the etymological roots of the word 'domestication' allows further understanding of this paradox (Benveniste as cited in Hage 2017, 89-94). Domus, the Latin word for home, has implicitly been linked to 'domestication', and as such has been recognised as 'bringing into the home'. Benveniste elucidates this link, but also notes that 'Domus' itself shares its roots with 'domination'. This makes domestication not just any kind of homeliness, but rather, homeliness obtained through domination. However, the function of domestication is to ensure that the domination is presented in such a manner – a homely manner if you will – that represents a relationship of 'mutual benefit'. Domestication is therefore not simply the dominating of things and beings in a manner which allows value extraction, but also one which allows this value extraction to be delivered in a 'homely' manner (Hage 2017). In order to feel at home in the world, 'nature' must be extracted in a manner that may inherently be through domination, but which is delivered in a 'homely' manner. However, as the Anthropocene potentially highlights the general unbeneficial relationship humanity holds with Earth's ecology (and essentially with ourselves), certain value extractions may not feel so homely anymore.

The struggle to make beings and things partake in a 'homely' manner became further apparent during my interview with Emery. She explained that she predominantly tries to purchase products second-hand, while "sometimes I just need to buy it new" given that certain products are difficult to acquire second-hand. Similar to the new rug and spiritual artefacts, she considered it to be an ethical consideration. However, it was also during this conversation that phenomenological reasoning became apparent:

> *Over the past few months, I have sometimes bought things new. However, very often, I also returned them to the shop because I thought: this is not good. When I put it on or used it, I really had the feeling that… I just saw images of children in sweatshops or dead fish in a river. I just saw it. I am very visually orientated, so I*

literally saw it in front of me. And it really makes me think, I cannot do this just for my pleasure.

Attending to the dialectical relationship between Emery and objects in the intentional making of her home captures how she relates to those objects, and thereby how it impacts her 'being' in the world. By including the bodily or sensory experiences she described as well as the meaning she attributes to them, they demonstrate how the domestication of certain products in her home does not represent a relationship of 'mutual benefit' and thus are not delivered in a 'homely' manner. These bodily and sensory experiences should not be trivialised. In fact, perhaps one of the most influential contributions of phenomenology to contemporary anthropology is evident in the apparent emphasis on embodiment. It considers the body not only as an object that is available for scrutiny, but rather as a locus from which, and through which, one can actively experience the world (Desjarlais & Throop 2011; Ingold 2011; Jackson 1983). Emery continued:

I find it beautiful when I feel that [connection]. (…) Sometimes it might be a bad feeling to have, but I find it very beautiful - because it shows that I am connected with the people who made my clothes, for example. And that is not something that I know rationally, but that I really feel in my body. So, I am also very grateful for that. However, that does not always make life easier, because it is very hard to always feel connected to everyone, as there is a lot of oppression in this world, and a lot of pain and damage, and you really feel that all the time.

Many other participants worded quite similar reasonings. For example, Ellis, a Master's student in geology and environmental sciences elucidated how she feels connected with those that made her laptop in exploitative circumstances, or how she feels connected with microscopic oceanic creatures that have become endangered due to the current climatic changes. As such, the action of bringing a laptop into her home, or anything that she would consider contributing to climate change, becomes quite the ethical undertaking – making her contemplate whether or not to invite those objects into her home accordingly.[11] Or take Eden for example, who explained during the sensory image elucidation method that

seeing a gas heater makes her feel considerably uncomfortable as she can basically "see the exploitative fossil-fuel industry" through the flame in front of her eyes.

Daring connection

This further relates to Andy's conviction regarding how we ought to act in these crises, namely by *feeling* connected. This connection, as argued in the previous chapter, seems to be something that capitalism has prevented humanity from feeling and is arguably the root of the crises in which humanity currently finds itself (Miéville 2015; Wright 2013). Accordingly, this connection is something that might make our homes feel unhomely, as the connection – rather than disconnection – reminds us of exploitation, suffering and violence rather than a relationship of mutual benefit, caring or curing. Emery added:

> *So [when I do choose] animal products, for example, it shows that it does not actually do that much to me. And then I actually feel sadness, because it shows me a disconnect. If I do choose those things, it shows me that I do not feel connected to the animal industry, or that I do not feel connected to plastic production, and the plastic soup in the ocean. And sometimes, I can feel a little less guilty about it, because I really do believe: yes, I am part of a toxic system [which I cannot escape] as there are very few alternatives. But then there is sadness, that I feel so disconnected, that it is not part of my "being", as it does not hurt me if I consume something like that.*[12]

Accordingly, I consider how one's desires, dispositions, and visions of feeling at home in the world may be materialised in the phenomenological and aesthetic aspects of the home. Emery, Ellis, Eden and Andy in particular wish to curate their homes in a manner that attends to care, both for themselves, but also for the broader environment (which might not even be considered mutually exclusive). Specifically considering planet Earth's limited natural resources, orientations towards the future play a significant role and thus carry a relationship with one's actions in the present (Bryant & Knight 2019, 11). However, whilst contemporary notions surrounding climate change often regard the future, it has also become apparent how participants' curation of their homes does not solely consider the

future ecology of planet earth. Rather, their actions also concern dealing with more present crises, the crisis of bringing objects into their homes that *presently* inflict violence, exploitation and control. As such, their actions may not be intended only to mitigate a dystopian future, but rather, their actions may be seen as acts of care, protection and nurturing beings that reside in, but also outside of their domestic sphere, now *and* tomorrow.

Considering this, it seems that objects are carefully selected, or curated, based on whether or not participants want to invite them into their homes. In a sense, the curation process entails including objects that are experienced as 'homely'. 'Homely', then, entails care rather than violence, nurturing rather than exploiting and healing rather than suffering. Through a phenomenological approach to my participants' homes, I have been able to capture the richness of their lives, what matters to them, but also what concerns them in direct and incisive terms. This, in turn, allowed me to reconfigure what it means to be human, to have a body, to suffer and to heal, and to dwell among others within their own home, but also the collective home – planet Earth.

Endnotes

1. Home - KlimaatGesprekken.
2. Avery, interview, 11th March 2022.
3. Eden, interview, 4th March 2022.
4. Shae, interview, 23rd March 2022.
5. Eden, interview, 4th March 2022.
6. Vick, interview, 21st February 2022.
7. Andy, interview, 23rd March 2022.
8. Eden, interview, 4th March 2022.
9. Eden, interview, 4th March 2022.
10. Emery, interview, 15th March 2022.
11. Ellis, interview & sensory image elucidation, 5th March & 2nd April 2022.
12. Emery, interview, 15th March 2022.

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Appendices

Fig. 3: The blue marble.

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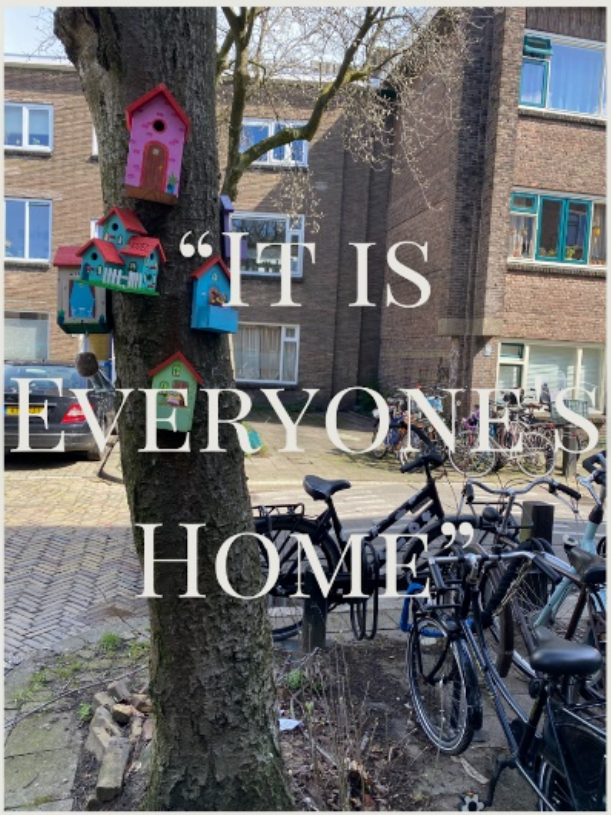

PHOTOGRAPHER: CARMEN LUKE

RESIDENTIAL AREA IN UTRECHT & QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW WITH EDEN ON 4TH MARCH 2022.

The trail of an email

Infrastructure and fault lines

Voske Pennings, Rixt Mulder & Julia Hofland

"Dear Miriam invited me to submit my work if I had written something interesting the last year, and I thought about this paper. I really liked our subject for the assignment and I thought it would be fun to share it with the Cultural Anthropology community!"

Introduction

"We do not realize that twenty emails a day throughout the year is the equivalent of driving 1000 kilometers with a car." This is what Jaqueline Cramer, professor of Sustainable Innovation at Utrecht University, explains in an interview on the Dutch public radio (Radio EenVandaag 2019). Her statement illustrates how pollutive daily communication actually is, in contrast to what the general view nowadays is. Since the arrival of the internet, emailing has become one of the most common forms of digital communication. Either for communication between students and professors, employers and employees, businesses and clients, advertisement, or alike. The main explanation for this is because this way of communication has practical advantages in comparison to sending physical letters. Emailing is considerably faster and easier, and it enables us to contact different relations around the globe as long as access to the internet is available. Additionally, it does not require any paper and envelopes and an email does not need to be shipped by trucks emitting CO2 emissions. However, this does not mean that using email is a significantly more sustainable

way of communication. Being an email user often goes hand in hand with having a full mailbox, and this is an aspect that is part of a problem which is important to consider. A full inbox is not something that floats in the air, but it requires in fact a much larger infrastructure.

The aim of this paper is to exempt the idea of emailing from its assumption that it is a sustainable way of communicating. This will be done by explaining how emailing, as a digital product with high energy needs, is related to high CO2 emissions. By doing this, we will track the process of sending an email from sender to recipient and thereby look at additional, most of the times overlooked, non-durable consequences of the emailing process and its fault lines. In order to do this, the used concepts and theories in this article will be explained by the theoretical framework. Followed by an in-depth look at the functioning of the email system. By discussing the large data centers that are needed to send a single email, this paper will try to demonstrate that the process of emailing involves a high amount of energy, and that this high energy demand causes friction on a local level. Thereafter, the fault lines of this mailing process will be analyzed by using a case study of the data center debate in Zeewolde. By scaling up and down, this paper investigates infrastructures on a broader level. Through using these different perspectives, this paper aims for a better understanding of how the infrastructure of email is experienced at a local level, along with a better comprehension of the concepts and theories used in the theoretical framework. Lastly, the paper will end with the conclusion, in which a brief overview of the aim of the paper is given in conjunction with a summary.

Theoretical framework

Sustainability is a concept that was introduced in the 20th century (Checker 2011, 215). Especially from the 1950s onwards, when there was an increase in urbanization and energy consumption (Eriksen 2016). In order to meet these increasing demands, nature had to make way for human actions. As a result, natural resources started to get depleted and consequently, a general awareness about the causes and consequences of global warming started to arise. People became increasingly aware of the imbalance between humans and nature. Checker (2011, 215) and Cox and Cox (2016) explain this by arguing that natural phenomena began to be referred to as

natural disasters due to the negative impact it had on human life. Most natural phenomena were suddenly regarded as problematic or disastrous as soon as it started to expose the vulnerability of people and society. According to Millhauser and Morehart (2018, 135) this led to the need for more balance between people and nature, which subsequently caused an accelerated change in the field of sustainability (Eriksen 2018 in Henig 2022).

To this day, sustainability remains an important but a difficult concept to define, as sustainability requires more than just managing nature and its resources. According to Henig (2022), sustainability is not a monolithic category and it can better be considered a floating signifier. A floating signifier functions as a word or concept that has no agreed upon meaning, and it absorbs rather than emits meaning (Henig 2022). The concept is therefore socially constructed because it depends on the context in which the concept is used. According to Wikan (1995, 635) sustainability requires 'replenishment and growth of cultural and social as well as material'. Therefore (non)-governmental organizations started to get involved in sustainability, with the aim of creating a sustainable and resilient system in society (Millhauser and Morehart 2018, 135). According to Millhauser and Morehart (2018, 134), due to the fact that changes in the environment are uneven, the causes and consequences of land degradation are related to local political-economic structures. Therefore, the term sustainability must be studied from a holistic point of view, as it can be defined differently with respect to unequally distributed moments, places and populations.

According to Henig (2022), there are two conceptions of sustainability: sustainability and its capacity to pass on a livable earth to future generations; and sustainability in which the status quo is being sustained over time. The latter conception will be further discussed in this article due to its relevance to the case study about Zeewolde's data center. By sustaining the status quo over time, one must consider sustainability in the context of a short-term fix. It is about the ideologies of sustainable progress and development that eventually result in displacing the problem instead of fixing it. This is often done by using technological fixes, such as emailing, which replaces the analogical communication in order to save trees and ink (Checker 2011). Henig (2022) continues arguing that this concept of sustainability is an attempt to find

balance between economic growth, social equity and environmental protection. In addition to this, Cox and Cox (2016) refer to a society that uses this concept of sustainability as a society that has a 'resilient system': the fragility of a society is being conserved just long enough so that it can bounce back from a catastrophe. A society can therefore be resilient for a long time, whilst destroying its resource base at the same time (Cox and Cox 2016). Henig & Wiegink (2022) call these drawbacks fault lines. Fault lines refer to paying attention to the process of the tension of what sustainability really is (Wiegink 2022). Fault lines are an attempt to understand what happens in practice. It is a way to understand what the cracks in the system (of sustainability) are, so you can eventually re-ensemble (Henig 2022). These fault lines are at first sight frequently not visible to the naked eye. When talking about sustainability, the climate crisis and climate change is often referred to as 'sustainable economy,' or as 'sustainable energy system.' In the context of climate change, this usually means changing our energy, transportation and other systems so that they contribute less to the warming of the planet (Tso 2021). These changes can occur, for example, in global infrastructures of trade, traffic, oil, energy, pipelines and the internet (Henig and Wiegink 2022). This exemplifies that climate change and sustainability are prominent factors in infrastructures around the globe.

Modern societies are made of all kinds of infrastructures, which are mutually connected and interdependent systems (Henig and Wiegink 2022). Larkin (2013, 328) defines infrastructures as "built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space". Infrastructures are therefore not only material, they also facilitate relations between things (Larkin 2013, 329). An anthropological perspective on infrastructures helps to understand how infrastructural networks organize everyday life across different scales; from a scale on an individual level to a scale on a global level and vice versa.

Anthropology tries to maintain a holistic view, and by looking at infrastructures it focuses also on contingency: the ways in which forms of infrastructure can offer insights into other domains such as practices of government, religion, or sociality (Larkin 2013, 328). Infrastructures are socio-material systems that make things disappear by moving them elsewhere and make things appear in other parts of our lives.

This paper will investigate more about the infrastructure and the commodity chain of internet data. The definition of 'commodity chain' we use in this paper is: "the distribution of goods and services through (global) networks" (Henig 2022). The Internet remains a difficult commodity to define, but it is still a thing that can be accessed, used, distributed and even bought.

Email chain and arising fault lines

Although sending an email takes a few seconds, a lot of steps are taken before an email goes from one person to another. Many intermediate steps and security measures are intended to ensure that as few unwanted or harmful emails as possible end up in the digital mailbox. In the paragraph below, the chain of this sending process is extensively examined whilst using up and down scaling methods to explain the steps of the chain of sending an email.

1. Converting the email

The trail of an email starts at a micro level by firstly opening your email provider through an app or in your browser, on your phone, laptop, computer, tablet or alike. Then, one starts composing an email via an email program which under the technical name is called: Mail User Agent (MUA). As soon as the send button is pressed, the sending process has started. At that time, the sent email from the sender is divided into two categories by the MUA: the header and the body. The header contains information about the sender, the date and time of sending, the subject of the email, and the name of the recipient. Below the header is the so-called body of the e-mail, which contains the content of the email message. The header includes not only the text, but also attachments such as documents, images, and the like (Strato 2022).

2. Checking the email via a MTA

Continuing, the MUA connects to the mail server of the email provider (Strato 2022). This is often done automatically via a mail client such as Microsoft Outlook or Gmail. A mail server has a program, the Mail Transfer Agent (MTA), that is permanently online and receives and sends e-mails. The MTA is the basic software of a mail server. Before your email provider's MTA sends the email, its message is checked. The email provider checks the email for spam, malware and whether a message does not exceed the allowed size of MegaBites. If the provider finds defects, the sender will be notified and

the email will not be sent. However, if the email meets the requirements, the MTA stores it.

3. MTA finds the recipient's mail server

Next, the MTA looks up the addressee's mail server in the Domain Name System: the address list of the Internet (Strato 2022). If the corresponding server is found, another check on the address data is performed. When detected, problems are returned by the MTA to the sender. If everything is correct, the MTA of the sender forwards the mail to the MTA of the receiving mail server. However, this does not just happen. The email is being split up. By dividing the email, several advantages emerge due to the fact that short emails that are low in MegaBites are more easily and quickly sent. By dividing an email into smaller pieces, different data paths can be used to reach the intended mail server. Subsequently, the divided packets of mail use the paths with relatively little traffic, so that the email can be sent as quickly as possible.

4. Internet nodes

This is where the chain reaches a macro level point. From here on, the email has reached the data center. By continuing to scale up, the data traffic between the MTA mail servers is made possible by the use of internet nodes (Strato 2022). Countless data is sent via these nodes, making them an essential part of the internet infrastructure. Within these nodes, email providers continuously exchange messages with each other. The divided packets of an email go through these distribution nodes to the mail server of the recipient and are reassembled there into the original message.

5. Second check at the receiving MTA and delivery of the email

By scaling down from macro level back to micro level, the mail has now arrived at the recipient's mail server. Before the email is delivered to the recipient, the MTA of the receiving mail server also checks the incoming email (Strato 2022). Again, the contents of the header and the body are checked. When the content of the mail is considered incorrect or does not meet the capacity of the recipien's email provider, the message is not delivered and is sent back to the sender via previously named channels. However, if the content is considered correct, the Mail Delivery Agent (MDA) then sends the message to the recipient's email inbox.

6. Email stored on the recipient's mail server

Lastly, as soon as the recipient opens his mail program, the MUA in use gains access to the MTA of the mail server (Strato 2022). The content of the email is checked again for spam and malware, this time by the recipient's mail program. Finally, the email in the recipient's inbox can then be opened and read.

Fault lines

In this part of the paper the fault lines that arise during the process of emailing will be discussed. These vary from pollutive data centers to land degradation. In addition to these fault lines, the social friction surrounding data centers will be discussed.

Pollution

The first major fault line that should be recognized whilst analyzing the process of emailing is the fact that it does have a negative impact on the environment (Rong et al. 2016). The main reason for this is that the internet nodes are discussed before collectively stored in large-scale data centers as an assembly point for different internet networks. These centers have a high energy demand, due to their large scale and extensive energy needs (Rong et al. 2016). In their report on The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) provided a framework for understanding which aspects of data centers have the most prominent share in energy demand (Zhang 2021). Generally, Greenhouse Gas Emissions (GHG) for data centers are divided into three types of scopes. The first scope refers to natural gas (for heating and fuel cells), diesel (for backup generation), and refrigerant (used in cooling centers). The second scope pertains to electricity purchases and consumption. Lastly, the third scope has to do with indirect Greenhouse Gas Emissions, including emissions from the IT equipment of customers in the data center (Zhang 2021). It is not easy to indicate the degree of environmental impact caused by data centers. Patsavellas and Salonitis (2019), researchers at Cranfield University, did research on the carbon footprint of manufacturing digitalization. There is a notable absence of peer-reviewed published work regarding the potential emissions of the impending fourth industrial revolution, which will involve the industrial internet of things and the generation of large volumes of data which are destined to be transmitted to Cloud Data Centers (Patsavellas and Salonitis 2019). However, many different popular news

sources present claims on how pollutive data centers are. For example, digital infrastructure company Dgtl Infra states that "data centers consume ten times to fifty times the energy per amount of floor space, compared to a typical commercial office building." (Zhang 2021). So even though there is a lack of scientific information on how pollutive data centers are precisely, it is clear that they are energy intensive systems.

Scaling down to fault lines that arise on a more individual level, the problem arises of the pollution that spam emails create. In recent years, online spam has become a major problem for the sustainability of the internet. Numerous companies send advertisements into our mailboxes, resulting in spam mails, which in turn means that more data centers are needed to store all these mails. A remarkable 78% of all incoming emails are spam (Berners-Lee and Clark 2010). Despite the fact that these spam messages account for a smaller amount than a normal email, because most of the time the spam email is dealt with quickly, it still contributes to more unnecessary pollution. A general email arriving in a mailbox has a big carbon footprint, because it takes more time to deal with (Berners-Lee and Clark 2010), thus resulting in using even more energy. Composing an email and typing on your computer or phone, the device uses electricity. When you press send, the email goes through the network, and it takes electricity to run a network. The email is then going to end up being stored on the cloud somewhere, and those data centers use a lot of electricity (Moss 2019).

Extraction

Another arising fault line has to do with land degradation and the materials required to make data centers, as well as the materials used for devices such as a computer or phone, that are full of rare earth elements (REE), which are needed to send emails. These minerals are critical components for electronic devices. Take for example Indium, which is a key ingredient for displays in mobile phones and computers (Haque et al. 2014). On a global scale, demand for rare earth elements is ever increasing, leading to rapid growth of production and consumption (Huang 2016). These rare earth metals are currently extracted through mining, which causes extreme damage to the environment whereas the mining process produces toxic and radioactive chemicals (Huang 2016).

Friction and resistance

The problem of data centers being energy-intensive affects the social and political life of those who live close to the centers. The second fault line describes how the build of a data center causes friction and resistance. A case where people recently showed resistance against data centers is the plan of a new data center in Zeewolde. The Mother organization of Facebook and Instagram Meta showed interest in building a hyperscale data center in this small town (Ipenburg 2022). Since this data center is not placed yet, this case is especially interesting to display the fault lines of internet infrastructure. The local debate whether data centers are beneficial is still ongoing and has therefore been prominent in the media the past few weeks. Despite intense lobbyism done by Meta and local representatives, the initiative is currently on hold because of the resistance of local inhabitants. The local citizens worried amongst other things about the amount of energy and water that the data center would use and what would happen with the central heating. Additionally, there are worries about the impact on the landscape and people are also critical towards its economic advantages (RTL Nieuws 2022).

Apart from being concerned about the environmental impact of the data center, people are also afraid of what the data center will do to their landscape (Ipenburg 2022). In an online clip from the National Dutch Channel (NPO) a local inhabitant expressed his disapproval: "The agricultural land is highly nutritious and very productive. It is now being sacrificed." (Ipenburg 2022). Nikkie Wiegink (2022) explained how place attachment plays a role in community initiatives related to energy generators. Place attachment is when people attach certain value to the landscape surrounding them (Wiegink 2022). In the case of Zeewolde, people are attached to the landscape since the land can be used for agricultural purposes. Besides this, for some, the large-scale data centers ruin the aesthetically pleasing view of agricultural land. "I do not want such a large-scaled building", is something a woman said to NPO (Ipenburg 2022). Whether the data center will be placed or not is still an ongoing debate. The case of Zeewolde shows how locals refuse to welcome the center because it pollutes the landscape, amongst other reasons, in a literal and figurative way.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to exempt the idea of emailing from its assumption that it is a sustainable way of communicating. In order to do so, the paper first explained that sustainability should be considered as a floating signifier, because its meaning depends on the context in which the concept is used. Thereafter, it is explained that sustainability is a prominent factor in infrastructures, because in the context of climate change, changing our infrastructures contribute to the amount of CO2 emitted.

Next, this paper has tracked and followed the trail of sending an email from its sender to the recipient. In this trail, connections, interdependencies and causations related to the different parts of the email chain were elaborated. Then, rising fault lines within this chain were mentioned and discussed. The first discussed fault line regarding sustainability showed that data centers, where our emails are stored, have a high energy demand, therefore impact the environment negatively. Spam mails and the electricity required for storing and sending emails contribute to an increase in this energy demand. Furthermore, the extraction and mining of materials needed for devices to send emails with are highly pollutive to the environment. The discussed fault line about friction and resistance from the locals, which showed that the presence of data centers conflicts with locals' place attachment, because it replaces nutritious agricultural ground and also negatively affects the environment. Moreover, the large-scale data centers are not considered to be aesthetically pleasing.

To conclude, with the introduction of email, people considered it as a new and more sustainable way of communicating, since it reduces the use of paper and ink. However, the opposite has been analyzed in this paper. Fault lines arising from the use of emails in daily communication suggests that with the building of data centers to be able to maintain data needed for the process of sending emails, debates about pollution and local resistance arise. The case and its fault lines discussed in the paper represent the conception of sustainability in which the status quo is being sustained over time, discussed earlier in the theoretical framework. This paper examined how emailing, which is often seen as a form of sustainable progress and development, eventually results in displacing the problem instead of fixing it.

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Problematizing heritage discourse

Or finding ways to pluralize pasts/presents/futures of the Ruhr Valley and beyond

Juliana Lux

"My motivation to publish this paper is rooted in the underrepresentation of deindustrialization studies in anthropology so far. Further, thinking about the silences in these studies and in everyday heritage production allows us to step outside of a heteronormative white male mindscape. Ultimately pluralizing the past and allowing for new and more open constructions of a "we" in the present and in the future. I want to raise issue to the importance of diversified mindscapes and the consideration of memory in the present lived experiences we research. This paper was written before I started my fieldwork in the Ruhr Valley. I am thankful for the opportunity to publish this piece in SCAJ."

Introduction

"Dieses Land braucht wieder mehr Kumpelkultur!" - "This country needs more buddy culture again!" (IGBCE 2018), was the call of mining union president Michael Vassiliadis after the closing of the last mine, Prosper-Haniel, in Bottrop in 2018. Inspired by this quote I am set to do ethnographic research on collectivity and identity in the West German Ruhr Valley, a post-industrial region between the rivers Emscher and Ruhr. The quote and the notion of post-industrialism alike make reference to a past that somehow survives or is called to survive until today. Heritage, memory – and even nostalgia – come to mind, especially in light of what has been dubbed "industrial heritage" (cf. Wicke et al. 2020) or "Industriekultur" (cf. Brownley Raines 2011).

I understand heritage as both a descriptive of a selected material world and a reference to immaterial cultural legacy, this needs to be considered within a discussion of memory (processes). Looking at cultural heritage we are faced with a concept that has to be seen as linked to the idea of cultural

archives (cf. Wekker 2016) and nostalgia as (progressive) emotion (cf. Smith and Campbell 2017). Linking cultural archive and heritage allows us to highlight the exclusionary characteristics of heritage that are evoked in ideas of authenticity and reflect on so-called heritage regimes. Considering nostalgia leads to considerations of emotion and identity, as well as imaginations of the future within heritage discourse.

In order to limit my scope, I will refer to industrial heritage as a form of heritage that I will encounter throughout my fieldwork in the post-industrial Ruhr Valley.

Based on the assumption that we have to consider time, and therefore the past, as in flux, the past necessarily influencing the present, I want to give insight into the idea that heritage is never to be seen in the singular or merely as a carrier for memory. Moreover, we have to consider its entanglement with power structures and ask what or who is represented in heritage(s). I will therefore give an introduction to the concept of heritage, considering industrial heritage in particular, and subsequently explore the politics of heritage. Further, I will look into the potential of heritage in discourses of the future, when we incorporate the notion of nostalgia. Lastly, I will give an outlook on how heritage might surface in my research and argue for pluralized heritage discourses.

Defining and problematizing "heritage"

"Heritage is, in everyday parlance, used to refer to the objects, practices, knowledge, and environments that sustain cultural worlds across generations" (Geismar 2015, 72); it can be material or immaterial and is linked to a process of preservation (Kuutma 2013). "Heritage is about the regulation and negotiation of the multiplicity of meaning in the past, and it is about the arbitration or mediation of the cultural and social politics of identity, belonging, and exclusion" (ibid, 2), therefore directly impacting the lived experience of individuals, in a stratifying way.

While the UNESCO with its "World Heritage Convention"[1] makes claim to what is to be seen as material, and since 2003, intangible cultural heritage (Sansi 2016, 69), this only provides a selective framework. Heritage discourses[2] and formations that are subsumed under the UNESCO world heritage are part of an official heritage discourse that needs to be considered in light of possible counterhegemonic heritage (cf. Astor, Burchardt, and Griera 2017, 128f). Claims of universal world heritage can

therefore never be universal, especially considering the origin of heritage production as a product of Western scholarship (cf. Kuutma 2013, 2; 7).[3] Seeing as "all heritage work essentially starts from the premise that the past is contested, conflictual, and multiply constituted" (Meskell 2012, 1), anthropologists recognize a multiplicity of contesting heritage discourses. As Van de Port and Meyer (2018, 1) suggest, heritage "makers" try to "canonize culture, to single it out, fix and define" its essence, which further has to be authentic (ibid, 13). Heritage makers, therefore, go against the understanding of culture largely shared in anthropology (as unbound and dynamic, cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1992). While deconstructing memory and heritage discourses is enticing, we have to consider the way heritage is understood by individuals and impacts their lived reality.[4]

Making sense of this gap between academic conceptualization and lived experiences, Van de Port and Meyer (2018, 5) assume "fabrication does not necessarily stand in opposition to the real but brings it about, in ways that may go beyond the acts and intentions of the makers and users". Further, they suggest that heritage formation, based on authentic essence, becomes real through a particular aesthetic. Assuming an understanding that individuals access the world through mediations, we are left with questions of persuasion. "Heritage is not given naturally, persuasion is necessary" (ibid, 23). This is initially done by heritage makers and through later processes of "personal and collective practices of intense self-persuasion" (ibid, 24).

How this process of self-persuasion plays out in industrial heritage and problematizing the idea of persuasion of authentic essence will be explored in the following sections.

Industrial heritage – only material?

"Industrial heritage, historical culture and regional identity are deeply interconnected in all regions/cities undergoing structural transformation from an industrial past to a post-industrial future" (Berger 2020, 1). While the extent to which transformation processes and subsequent heritage formations took place depends on the region (cf. Kirk, Jefferys, and Wall 2012; Wicke 2020, 4), the legacy of industrialism has been concluded under the term "industrial heritage", as a reference to a collective past.

Here the TICCIH Nizhny Tagil Charter for Industrial Heritage[5] offers an approach to

industrial heritage that predominantly considers materiality. Heritage studies on the other side take immaterial heritage into account:

> *Despite the unevenness of industrializing and deindustrializing processes, one cannot overlook the commonalities and transnational influences in the economic and cultural performances of coal- and steel-producing regions. Think of the machinery, terminology, work process, environmental transformation, labour migration, timing, sound and smell (Wicke 2020, 4).*

This is an approach to heritage I will follow throughout my research in the Ruhr Valley.

The Ruhr Valley and industrial heritage

Comparatively to other cases, the restructuring following de-industrialization in the Ruhr Valley has led to a "blossoming" industrial heritage (Berger 2019; 2020). After the coal crisis of 1959 (Berger and Golombek 2020, 199), the economic transformation was met by "vehemently defending its identity, which had been forged during the time of industrialization" (Leboutte 2009, 762). Important to note is that both Berger (2020) and Leboutte (2009) observe that among the agents defending the identity were established regional actors (ibid, 761), who took up the industrial heritage discourse that originated in grassroots initiatives and incorporated it into mainstream and touristified narratives (Wicke 2020, 7). The (identity) transformations following de-industrialization processes show that "[i]ronically, the more heavy industry disappears, the stronger [the] imagined community rooted in coal and steel seems to become" (Berger and Golombek 2020, 211).

Aside from aspirations to community that are found in immaterial heritage, the preservation of former industrial sites has been taken up with such an effort that industrial heritage is "virtually inescapable to any local or traveler in the region" today (Wicke 2020, 7). From the UNESCO world heritage "Zeche Zollverein"[6] in Essen, and yearly "Industriekultur" festivals[7], to a general touristification of industrial heritage in bike paths and preservation projects (Berger, Wicke, and Golombek 2020), industrial heritage has become an important factor for the region.

The Ruhr Valley's industrial heritage discourse has to be considered critically for its exclusionary characteristics, an "extraordinarily homogenous mindscape"

that draws on generalized perceptions of class, gender, and ethnicity among others (Berger and Golombek 2020, 211). Berger, Wicke, and Golombek (2020) even consider industrial heritage to be the main reference point for the region's identity (ibid, 76),[8] calling for a critical inquiry into diverse narratives in heritage formations in the Ruhr Valley (and in general).

The politics of heritage

Aside from the idea that heritage discourses can be strategically mobilized (cf. Astor, Burchardt, and Griera 2017, 139),[9] we have to be attentive to heritage as "discursive construct or practice" that selects particular parts of the past "as critical to the essence of social identity" (Astor, Burchardt, and Griera 2017, 128). I have discussed the perception of heritage as an essence before in this paper, but this section aims to dive deeper into the politics of heritage and what is expressed through them. Understanding public heritage processes in light of "value formation" allows us to look at them as processes of "objectification, exploitation, commoditization, and profit" (Geismar 2015, 73). Heritage regimes, stratifying different narratives, and their origins have to be considered accordingly.

Heritage regimes

In pluralistic societies, the public discourse on heritage, a process of value formation entails positioning different (at times overlapping) heritage narratives in a hegemonic order (Van de Port and Meyer 2018, 6). Claims to heritage as the essence or truth of culture can then either be incorporated into hegemonic or counterhegemonic discourse (Astor, Burchardt, and Griera 2017, 128), giving them a voice to different extents.

Moreover, "a close reading of the language of heritage, specifically the UNESCO conventions embody older paradigms of cultural history and traditional art historical-value systems" (Meskell 2002, 568). While the UNESCO conventions are not the ultimate scale for heritage formations, it needs to be emphasized that heritage selection and preservation, especially official world heritage, originates in a European (academic) project urging to "safeguard" heritage (cf. Testa 2021, 16). Adding on to this, we have to consider that "modern heritage regimes formed through European nation-states were domesticated globally in the nineteenth century through imperial networks" (Geismar 2015, 74). While suggesting that immaterial heritage cannot be localized, this also means that hegemonic

heritage discourses were spread through imperial systems. Considering today's societies to still be conditioned by layered historical racisms (or cultural archives), we have to explore the selective heritage discourse as structured by the same racist, gendered and classed notions. This would entail that heritage regimes and discourses are inherently exclusive and narrowly narrated along assumptions of belonging originating in Western values.

Public spheres and the cultural archive

The notion of heritage regimes allows us to think about heritage as a form of political expression, something that is entangled with political and social dimensions, rather than just being an object of politics (cf. Geismar 2015, 72). Considering heritage within a regime structure then asks for an inquiry into who is represented? Who is left out? Who is the heritage for? And why?

The questions above are linked to the idea of ownership, which has been critically discussed in debates on heritage in anthropology (e.g., Meskell 2002; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006; Kuutma 2013; Geismar 2015; Van de Port and Meyer 2018). Property relations of heritage as "social and political" (Kuutma 2013, 4), have to be understood through a power critical lens. For this, I want to refer to the notion of cultural archive (Wekker 2016, 20) to explore 1) the historical backdrop of heritage discourses and 2) the idea of hegemonic and counter-discourses that impact contemporary discussions and are a result of the colonial and racist past.

Ann Stoler (2002) refers to the colonial archive, as serving "as a string metaphor for any corpus of selective forgettings and collections", accordingly "the cultural archive is rather a 'system of statements', those 'rules of practice', that shape specific regularities of what can and cannot be said" (ibid, 96). Gloria Wekker (2016) develops the concept of the cultural archive further, as something that might be entangled with the colonial past, but goes beyond it and simultaneously expresses racialized memories, knowledge and affect and the power relations embedded within them (ibid, 19). Both conceptualizations lead to the observation that today's societies are deeply engrained with racisms from the past. We still draw from past racist views, and while they have changed, the cultural archive remains "a way of acting that people have been socialized into, that becomes natural, escaping consciousness" (ibid, 20).

If we consider official heritage discourse in connection to the cultural archive it becomes evident that heritage discourses and their exclusionary practices are very much connected to racist practices. The power relations that permeate postcolonial societies do not stop at expressions of heritage.[10] "Ancient sites are purified through the march of time and the cultural amnesia that accompanies temporal passing" (Meskell 2002, 571), therefore leaving out parts that seem dissonant to a homogenous telling. Accordingly, a critical perspective on heritage cannot stay away from postcolonial theory and must ask; how is this perception of heritage entangled with a colonial/racist past? How does it reproduce the past? This would allow heritage discourse to go beyond an exclusionary essentialization of culture and accept negative heritage (cf. Meskell 2002) as part of the past.

Aside from considering the historical backdrop that actively excludes or includes particular narratives in heritage discourses, we have to consider the power relations that give value to it and determine who deserves to be listened to, and who is not. This refers back to how belonging is expressed in hegemony. If heritage is understood as the essence of a culture, the essence must refer to something that is publicly available, a public arena that can be essentialized in a way. In highly stratified societies this seems to be a complex task, seeing as there is a "multiplicity of competing publics", where "counter-discourses" can make room for "discursive contestation" (Fraser 1990 in Leurs and Ponzanesi 2014, 155). Stratified societies are:

> *"societies whose basic institutional framework generates unequal social groups in structural relations of dominance and subordination. [Full] parity of participation in public debate and deliberation is not within reach of possibility. […] It follows that public life in egalitarian, multi-cultural societies cannot consist exclusively in a single, comprehensive public sphere" (Fraser 1990, 66-69).*

I assume that essentializing culture within discourses of heritage will most likely cater to hegemonic discourses of the past, leaving no room for counter-publics. Especially considering heritage as "a project of ideology" that draws on present exclusionary understandings of the past (Kuutma 2013, 11).

Heritage as nostalgia – or: how heritage has to be considered in imaginations of the future

Inspired by the exclusionary characteristics of heritage that surface in the cultural archive,[11] I want to explore the potential of considering heritage as a form of nostalgia.[12] The notion of nostalgia will allow me to consider the potential of heritage in imaginations of the future, emphasizing the need to pluralize heritage narratives.

While nostalgia has been considered as an inaccurate notion in the past, due to its connection with emotion (cf. Campbell et al. 2017, 609), I consider this feature of nostalgia to be the most promising in understanding how individuals make sense of heritage in terms of emotions and affect (cf. Campbell 2017, 609). Nostalgia "as the longing (Gr. algia) for home (nostos), […] that no longer exists – or never existed" (Legg 2004, 100), is closely linked to the notion of loss (Smith and Campell 2017, 614). In thinking about heritage formation as a process curating the past destruction and loss come up as well (cf. Kuutma 2013, 2). The difference in framing references to the past as nostalgia or heritage then lies in their potential to be understood as either emotional and inherently political (nostalgia) or as a "professional practice of conservation, management and museulogical curation" (Smith and Campbell 2017, 615) and therefore politically neutral (heritage).[13] Rest assured both notions entail an inherently particularizing and exclusionary perspective on the past.

Understanding the political potential of heritage through the lens of nostalgia (as the emotional capacity to reference the past) opens up new ways to think about the potential of heritage discourse. Stefan Berger identifies nostalgia as influencing imaginations of the future, which can have the potential to shape current and coming discourse and narratives. The past as alterity and motor to think about futures (Berger 2021, 96-97) is also connected to heritage discourse and formations. Kuutma summarizes the issue in the following way:

> *But [heritage formation] involves an ambivalent implementation of the category of time, where the preservation and celebration of past elements of reified culture […] are implemented by cultural politics in order to address the concerns of the present, perhaps with a view to the future (ibid 2013, 12).*

Assuming that heritage discourses are not only carriers of the past but have the potential to shape imaginations of the future makes it necessary to think about ways to pluralize heritage discourses. This can be achieved through attentiveness to counter-publics, reflection on the respective cultural archive, and explicitly incorporating dissonant heritage into hegemonic discourses. De-romanticizing nostalgia, as tangible (progressive) emotion toward heritage, and incorporating heterogeneous approaches to the past that include painful memories can serve as a first step.[14]

Back to the drawing board: making sense of pluralized heritage in the Ruhr Valley

Before looking at heritage on the meta-level I gave a small introduction to so-called industrial heritage and the homogenous mindscape of the Ruhr Valley. Industrial heritage has even been accused of "representing a reactionary yearning for a return to an unattainable past and a lost working life" (Smith and Campbell 2017, 615). But how is this homogenous mindscape connected to heritage, the cultural archive, and nostalgia?

The homogenous mindscape in the Ruhr Valley, particularly in narratives of deindustrialization and transformation, takes male-dominated industries and male *White* workers as a reference point (cf. Berger and Golombek 2020, 205-211). So-called guest workers, female workers, and intersections of race/ethnicity with gender are left out of common narratives (Mattes 2019). If these counter-publics are mentioned, it is usually restricted to positive narratives of success and integration, rather than struggles and exclusion (Berger and Golombek 2020, 209-211). Accompanying practices of othering such as medical tests to apply as a worker,[15] the term "*guest*"worker, signaling a constant state of arriving (cf. El-Tayeb on othering 2011, xxv; Dogramaci 2015), and segregated housing practices by mine companies (Lucassen 2006, 30ff) are the discriminatory backdrop that is easily overseen in narratives that overly focus on success and positive transformation.[16] Connected to a German archive that suppresses or explicitly forgets complicity in the invention of scientific racism (cf. Eigen and Larrimore 2012) or a colonial past (cf. Schwarzer 2015),[17] the heritage discourse in the contemporary Ruhr Valley seems to be largely limited to an exclusive *White* heteronormative narrative.

This limitation does not allow for diverse and dissonant representations of the past,

therefore limiting possible imaginations of the future. A focus on industrial heritage in connection to post-industrial nostalgia as a longing for the lost working life erases intersectional experiences that were clearly part of history. As I focus on collectivity, I cannot ignore the practices of exclusion inherent in imaginations of it. Being attentive to diverse narratives and considering to whom I am giving a voice will therefore be a crucial part of reflexive fieldwork. I aim to incorporate an understanding of the present as layered or sedimentary, therefore informed by the past. Pluralizing the past in this approach is paramount. Further, attentiveness to initiatives like Frauen/ Ruhr/Geschichte[18] or Migrations-geschichten[19] and clues to dissonance besides commonality will be paramount for a diverse representation of the past/ present/future in my research.

Conclusion

Rounding up my thought on heritage, and the Ruhr Valley in particular, I have to admit that my aim in this paper was twofold. I wanted to explore the notion of heritage and problematize it by looking at it through the cultural archive as well as nostalgia; as ways to in- and exclude narratives or voices and make sense of the emotions of heritage as a motor for the future. In this way, I wanted to test out the limits of heritage discourses for diverse representations and argue for the pluralization of discourses on the past/ present/future. This has led me to consider counter-publics as a possible source of dissonant heritage. Secondly, I aimed at reflecting on heritage discourse within the post-industrial Ruhr Valley as a means to broaden my perspective on my upcoming research. This has led to explorations into a largely forgotten or ignored past, which does not find representation in the homogenous mindscape conveyed in notions such as the Kumpel or Kumpelkultur. A call for more Kumpelkulur/ Buddyculture, anchored in such an exclusionary, classed, gendered, and racialized past needs to be considered critically. We have to ask: what imaginations of the future are implicit in a call for more Kumpelkultur and industrial nostalgia?

My explorations into critical heritage theory have left me with one last, not new, thought: Intersectionality and plurality matter! Though even this is not without its limits, it is important to listen to and give voice to diverse perspectives on the past/present/future. Only through being attentive to this in our research will we be

able to overcome exclusionary heritage discourses.

I leave with the lyrics to a critical perspective on "*Guest*"workers. Exclusion and emotion, as well as an aspiration for equal participation in society, are expressed in this song:

Es kamen Menschen an – Cem Karaca (1984)

Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen
Doch es kamen Menschen an

Man brauchte unsere Arbeitskraft
Die Kraft, die was am Fließband schafft
Wir Menschen waren nicht interessant
Darum blieben wir euch unbekannt

Gastarbeiter - Gastarbeiter

Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen
Doch es kamen Menschen an

Solange es viel Arbeit gab
Gab man die Drecksarbeit uns ab
Doch dann als die große Krise kam
Sagte man, wir sind schuld daran

Gastarbeiter – Gastarbeiter

Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen
Doch es kamen Menschen an

Ihr wollt nicht unsere Kultur
Nicht mit uns sein - ihr wollt uns nur
Als fremde sehn - so bleiben wir
Unbekannte dort wie hier

Gastarbeiter - Gastarbeiter

Es wurden Arbeiter gerufen
Doch es kamen Menschen an

English translation

Workers were called
But people arrived

They needed our manpower
The power to make things on the assembly line
We humans were not interesting
That's why we remained unknown to you

Guest workers – guest workers

Workers were called
But people arrived

As long as there was plenty of work
They gave us the dirty job
But then when the big crisis came
They said it was our fault

Guest workers – guest workers

Workers were called
But people arrived

You don't want our culture
You don't want to be with us – you only want to see us
As strangers – so we remain
Unknown there as here

Guest workers – guest workers

Workers were called
But people arrived

Endnotes

1. https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/.
2. With heritage discourse I am referring to both material and immaterial heritage (cf. Geismar 2015, 73). The notion of discourse allows heritage to be considered as something that is negotiated and dynamic. Further, the notion of discourse implies a multiplicity of heritage(s) that is constituted through hegemonic and counterhegemonic strings.
3. For further reading on universalism and World Heritage, see Tucker and Carnegie (2014).
4. Here I want to refer to Van de Port and Meyer's (2018) critique of constructivism, essentially stating that deconstructing concepts and ideas in academia will not erase the impact on the lived experience as individuals will still try to make sense of their reality through reference to the concepts (ibid, 3-6).
5. https://ticcih.org/about/charter/.
6. https://www.zollverein.de/.
7. https://www.extraschicht.de/home/.
8. The authors emphasize that this was brought about by a lack of older historical narratives that could have been incorporated into heritage discourses (ibid, 84).
9. Astor, Burchardt, and Griera (2017) are referring to the Catholic heritage discourse in Spain that predominantly surfaced during moments of disruption and aspirations to secularism. The discourse was then pushed by certain actors and implemented to preserve Spanish Catholicism. At other times these actors incorporated narratives of others, deactivating the Catholic heritage discourse (cf. ibid).
10. For my position I have considered heritage formations outside of the Euro-American context. But considering the origin of heritage discourses in so-called Western academia, we have to ask in how far the label of "heritage" (and its connection to ownership and value) has been imposed from a Western perspective. Further, "[w]hile seemingly uncontroversial, 'heritage' occupies a positive and culturally elevated position within many cultures, yet we should recognize that not all individuals, groups or nations share those views, or have the luxury of affluence to indulge these desires" (Meskell 2002, 558).
11. While I aim to explore the notion of nostalgia in conjunction with heritage it is important to note that Wekker also considers nostalgia in her work. Nostalgia in her White Innocence (2016) is linked to the cultural archive in way that it expresses a longing for the Golden Age. This entails a romanticized representation of the past that excludes aspects of loss and violence (cf. ibid, 5-6).
12. This is especially interesting for my upcoming fieldwork as I will explore later.
13. I cannot go without saying that the political potential of both heritage and nostalgia is often connected to conservative or reactionary agendas (Smith and Campbell 2017, 615; 623; 624).

14. As a quick side note I want to refer to the German notions of "Erinnerungskultur" and "Vergangenheitsbewältigung". Both are approaches to memory that incorporate dissonate narratives and try to use them as a way to prevent past experiences of violence and loss from happening again, by considering possible learnings from history (cf. Meskell 2002; Ammann 2010).
15. https://www.br.de/nachricht/anwerbeabkommen-tuerkei-gastarbeiter104.html. This article is focusses on Bavaria. There is little literature on the degrading medical tests, but there were conducted nationwide as part of the Anwerbeabkommen (recruitment agreements) for workers from abroad. Another example is Dogramaci (2016) who discusses the constant state of arrival from guestworkers in photography and gives photographic examples of the medical examinations.
16. This carries on until today in narratives of 1st, 2nd, 3rd generation. Or in the strategic forgetting of practices like "Türkenklassen", segregated Turkish school classes for Turkish guestworker children that were focused on the idea that the students would "go back home" (cf. Ferda Ataman in https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2019-03/ferda-ataman-integration-migrationrassismus/seite-2?utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ecosia.org%2F).
17. Even more striking is the fact that violence and structural racism, as in the case of the genocide of the Herero and Nama at the beginning of the 20th are still not officially recognized by German state officials and their institutions (cf. Schwarzer 2015; Kössler 2012).
18. https://www.frauenruhrgeschichte.de/.
19. https://migrations-geschichten.de/60-jahre-anwerbeabkommen/.

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