Forum Rethinking Euro-Anthropology

21 authors, including:

Patrick LAVIOLETTE
New Europe College (NEC)
54 PUBLICATIONS **178** CITATIONS

Evthymios Papataxiarchis
University of the Aegean
26 PUBLICATIONS **230** CITATIONS

Adam Kuper
198 PUBLICATIONS **3,645** CITATIONS

Birgit Meyer
Utrecht University
119 PUBLICATIONS **3,064** CITATIONS

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

„Proměny české a polské pohraniční školy poskytující povinné vzdělávání po r. 1989. Komparativní studie" (7 AMB13PL021) View project

Interviews with Authors about New Books in Anthropology View project

FORUM: Rethinking Euro-Anthropology Q1

This forum opens up a debate about the diversity that is European Anthropology and the directions in which it is travelling. To set the scene, we contacted *SA/AS*'s Editorial Board and other prominent anthropologists, inviting them to write a short comment on the topic. We suggested they might wish to discuss 'any of the diverse anthropological debates, approaches or issues that have been generated in European universities, and that have made a contribution to your own research'. We also welcomed work/ approaches that are not necessarily 'generated in European universities' but that have been, or are handled differently, with different emphases in Europe as opposed to other parts of the anthropological world. For instance, this could include some of the thoughts about 'sociality' vs 'the cultural', or work on 'indigeneity', or on environment, post-colonialism and so on. We added a comment about being aware that 'there is nothing holding this diversity together as such; our aim is to try and gain a sense of the range of institutionally, conceptually, socially, politically, economically – perhaps even aesthetically or morally – distinctive ways anthropology has been thought, debated, and practised from one or other European vantage point'.

Appreciating that it's not easy to say much in such a short statement of 500 to 1000 words, the idea was nonetheless to generate some overall snapshot. The purview that has resulted is therefore far from exhaustive. After approaching around 35 people, the Forum below reflects the responses we got. We've divided them here into two: the first nine deal, more or less, with such issues as histories, traditions and the impacts of funding and the second ten address more specific concept statements regarding particular research projects or approaches.

In casting our net wide, we tried to convey an ethos for beginning a debate, rather than closing or directing one. The idea was simply to invite colleagues to say what was on their mind, so as to start the ball rolling for a longer and more detailed discussion over the next four years. The results, printed here virtually as they were written, are a rich start to satisfying those aims. Some threads to the commentaries are briefly summarised below. Collectively, they raise many of the key issues affecting anthropology today, not only in Europe, but all over the world. Yet there was also something that stood out as an issue of distinctive relevance to the European region, and which to our minds may form a basis for developing the debate considerably further in future issues.

In discussing *historical, institutional, and national/state differences in anthropological practice* (Eriksen, Gregory, Papataxiarchis, Cervinkova, Kuper, Hviding), several

of the contributors made comments about what makes the European context distinctive, and what should be done about it. Speaking both from personal experience and through an overview of the conditions in which anthropology is practised, a surprisingly coherent message came through here: that location matters. Even where the broad traditions of anthropology are similar between locations, differences are generated by the institutional position of anthropology; by the particular trajectories the discipline took in any given country, or even university; and by the vagaries of historical events.

Noting this, Papataxiarchis calls for an 'anthropological federalism' that embraces these differences and generates both vertical and horizontal alliances across them. That contrasts with Kuper's call for a continuation of the cosmopolitan ideals with which EASA began. Somewhat differently from either of these, Gregory suggests that emphasising the diversity of anthropologies practised in the European region provides an opportunity to turn the concept of 'Eurocentrism' upside down – to draw on a sparkling array of different national and even institutional traditions to imply that 'Eurocentrism' should stand for the opposite of singularity or homogeneity. Gregory suggests there might yet be hope to develop a 'truly transnational Eurocentric anthropology', echoing the view of some others, including Pina-Cabral, that Europe long ago stopped being European, in the earlier 20th-century meaning of the word.

Whether one agrees with any of these suggestions, or indeed of other suggestions, such as Corsín Jiménez's call for recalibrating anthropology's thinking as a 'prototype' form, what clearly comes through from the contributions overall is the sense that what the European region can offer to anthropology is its diversity – linguistic, institutional, historical, intellectual, political. Yet there is also a restlessness in the tone of many of the contributors – an impatience.

A summary of other possible issues for further debate are listed below.

- *The political and economic conditions in which anthropology is being practised, and the challenges and opportunities these present* (Corsín Jiménez, Gregory, Miller, Papataxiarchis, Hviding). Here, the current financial crisis, which is hitting the southern part of Europe hardest, is clearly presenting both enormous challenges, but also some new possibilities. As Papataxiarchis notes on his experience in Greece, while anthropology is thriving intellectually, it is severely threatened institutionally there at the moment. At the same time, Corsín Jiménez notes that the frosty environment in Spanish universities has pushed some academics out into the digital world, presenting work within Medialab/Prado, a leading 'hacklab'. Both Miller and Gregory note the enormous effect the new European Research Council's funding is having on the potential for making anthropology more visible.
- *Anthropology's language regimes, which carve deep ravines between what is known by different anthropological communities* (Gregory, Kuper, Nic Craith). This issue is relevant everywhere, but several commentators pointed out that in the European region diversity of language has had a particularly fragmenting effect. While acknowledging the political hierarchy involved in this, Gregory suggests that the dominance of English does not necessarily prevent diversity of debate.
- *The shifting foci of anthropological attention, particularly as a result of technical change* (Miller, Maguire, Ingold, Wade). Technical and biological transformation leading to questions of the reclassification, or even recalibration, of

anthropology and its bits and parts. Here, there is an underlying question of the way that technologies seem to constantly slip the knot of being somewhere in particular: indeed, they appear to have the capacity to alter locations. Wade notes that debates about race, biology and genetics are circumscribed in different ways in Europe and the USA; the science may be the same, but what can be discussed is not.

- As might be expected, *changes in the places and peoples that anthropology studies* have demanded that anthropological practice and concepts shift their goal posts (Pina-Cabral, Wulff, Siniscalchi, Dawson, Favero), and have also led to renewed reminders that anthropologists should live up to the new moral obligations that these changes have brought about (Miller, Meyer, Hviding, Cervinkova). Thoughts about the way these shifts are, or should be, affecting anthropology's relations with other disciplines, and even redefining the discipline itself, are also present (Wade, Corsín Jiménez, Kuper, Meyer, Okely).

We look forward to publishing various responses to these thought pieces and provocations in our second issue as editors in November.

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For a European union of anthropological localities

I

I am in favour of a European union of anthropological localities. I believe that it is time to conceive the anthropology that is practised in Europe in a new way, not just in respect to individuals but also, not to say primarily, in terms of the places where social anthropology is established. We should give more attention to 'anthropological localities', i.e. the venues – social, institutional, virtual and geographical – of anthropological production, instruction and conversation. We should foster these loci of anthropological synergy where our disciplinary identity is being built.

Our anthropological localities have a 'complex phenomenological quality'. They are products of an anthropological imagination, which is informed by varying epistemological traditions, interpretations of the ethnographic canon and political sensibilities, and traverses 'national schools' and ethnographic communities. This diverse anthropological imagination is often inscribed in social forms – programmes of study, projects, exchanges and public discussions. The small anthropological worlds, which many of us inhabit on the ground, provide the vital breathing space of our discipline. This is where we deal with the cognitive challenges related to our research and teaching as well as sense our professional vulnerability in difficult times.

II

The anthropological unification of Europe was initially conceived in Castelgandolfo in 1989 as a project primarily addressed to individual practitioners of social anthropology. It was also given the name 'cosmopolitanism'. Its leaders were keen to propose a theoretical framework that would secure some basics – including the ethnographic canon – and provide the means to deal with major epistemological challenges of the 'postcolonial crisis'. Cosmopolitanism in principle was the defence of a social, comparative science of human variation; or an anti-nativist doctrine; or a norm of fundamental fraternity against 'radical difference'. Cosmopolitanism in practice worked as an urgent plan of integrating the 'national ethnologies' of Eastern Europe to Western European 'social anthropology' after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

I think that this cosmopolitan project has exhausted itself. EASA has been a hospitable home. It has set networks, it supported initiatives in research and publishing, it embraced many anthropologists. In the present circumstances, however, it is important to change course irrespective of the degree of convergence between 'East' and 'West'. In order to cope with the effects that the socio-economic crisis has on our profession, we need a strategy that is more attentive to our local realities, more attuned to the emergent grassroots sensibilities, more efficient against structural inequalities, more open to the alternative, even dissident, theoretical discourses that are generated by the current predicament.

During the last 25 years there has been significant progress, particularly in the institutional grounding of social anthropology in Europe outside the historical metropoles. There have been new departments, programmes of undergraduate and postgraduate studies, PhDs and research initiatives at national and European level. Social anthropology has established new roots. Now these roots need our attention.

III

The current decade of the fiscal and socio-economic crisis has marked the beginning of a new phase in the anthropological unification of Europe. Let us call it the phase of consolidation. The challenge that we are facing now is not theoretical; it is political. We have to conserve and improve what we have achieved over the past two decades. In many places, particularly in the European South, which expanded to include a considerable part of the East, the institutional foundations of our discipline – in public universities and research centres or in publishing – are threatened by the current crisis. Everywhere neoliberal policies are undermining these foundations.

This is definitely so in Greece, where the reliance of academic anthropology on the state have made it particularly vulnerable to the destructive effects of the 'debt crisis'. The cosmopolitan identity of Greek anthropology, as it is informed by a wide diversity of intellectual backgrounds and cultivated in an international community of ethnographers of Greece, is quite safe. What is currently at stake is our institutional survival as an autonomous academic discipline. This is not just an issue of diminishing financial resources. The closure of the university to new appointments threatens our very existence. We are confronted with a lost generation of scholars, who are currently searching for a job outside Greece, in the international 'arid zone' of post-docs and short contracts. We are threatened together with the rest of the social sciences with falling standards in conditions of neoliberal 'restructuring' of higher education and with marginalisation in the audit regime. Larger epistemic inequalities related to the

practice of anthropology in a small language are added to all that. We are in retreat, moving from expansion to contraction.

On top of this we are confronted with a paradoxical situation. In difficult times anthropology matters most. The more our position as a discipline is undermined by the crisis, the more the issues requiring systematic anthropological study increase. These include inequality, poverty, the effects of austerity policies on kinship, alternative 'solidarity' economies, borders, migrations, racism, political protest and the growth of social movements. Some of these issues demand our engagement as public intellectuals, thus becoming important sources of intellectual inspiration. Engagement works as a path to critical awareness, the very same path through which some of us had 'discovered' social anthropology in the first place.

In such circumstances the structural asymmetries increase everywhere to such an extent as to become the source of division. The North–South divide has tended to come back to life! I join other colleagues from the South in arguing that our current predicament is a challenge to rethink the architecture of European anthropology in the direction of a more inclusive, multi-centric approach that resists the fragmentation imposed by the crisis and goes beyond the opposition between nativism and cosmopolitanism. This could be achieved through an 'anthropological federalism', through giving more weight to anthropological localities and establishing all sorts of interconnections between them. We should aim for greater political unity in intellectual and linguistic diversity. In this way, the ongoing project of European anthropological unification will engage more colleagues and consolidate the achievements of the last decades.

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ADAM KUPER

Join the conversation

In a splendid survey of novels featuring anthropologists, Jeremy McClancy (2013) pointed out that our people appear as characters far more often than any other social scientists. Featuring above all as fieldworkers, the anthropologist-characters are of two types: 'the anthropologist as hero' and the 'pathetic anthropologist'. But almost all are old-school, alone in the bush.

McClancy's book appeared just two years ago, but some notable works in the genre have been published since. Lily King's (2014) *Euphoria*, a best-seller now being made into a Hollywood movie, is an acute and entertaining novel based on real and imaginary adventures of a lightly fictionalised Margaret Mead, Reo Fortune and Gregory Bateson on the Sepik. Flawed heroes, they come to a bad end. Mischa Berlinski's (2007) *Fieldwork: a novel*, is about another doomed ethnographer,

this one working among hill tribes in Thailand, but her experiences ring true. Andrew Beatty judges that Berlinski has invented:

> what, to my knowledge, is the first convincing fictional portrait of an ethnographer in the field […] he has given us, imaginatively, a genuine taste of the fieldwork predicament: the fascination and boredom, the chafing moral adjustments, the addictive curiosity, the incremental risking of self.[1]

The narrator of Tom McCarthy's (2015) wonderful *Satin Island: a novel* is not a Malinowskian hero, on the loose on a remote island. He is doing a study of cyber Europe. And in contrast with most fictional anthropologists, his big problem is not the fieldwork but rather the writing up. He works for a global entrepreneur of ideas who demands that he produce The Great Report. 'The Book. The First and Last Word on our age […] It's what you anthropologists are for, right?' The anthropologist tried to put him straight. 'Your version, I said […] vision, I mean, depiction – then striking upon the right word – *characterization* of the anthropologist […] it might have been an accurate one a century ago. But now there are no natives – or *we're* the natives'.

What then would 'The Book' look like today? I recently sat on a panel judging the 2015 BBC 'Thinking Allowed' ethnography prize. The winner was Ruben Andersson's (2014) *Illegality Inc.*, which deals with the boat people sailing from Africa to Spain, and the surveillance regime the EU has set up to keep them out. It is methodologically sound, academically respectable, very well written, but what marks it out is that it speaks to a larger debate, recasting the conventional narratives and so undermining received ideas.

Apparently, and not surprisingly, *Illegality Inc.* is selling rather well, but perhaps not so much to anthropologists. That is just a guess, but I do have some evidence. When I am invited out to give a talk I sometimes play a rather sad game. I ask if anyone in the audience has read five journal articles published this year. The response is usually rather embarrassed, and embarrassing. So what do anthropologists read? Old stuff they happen to be teaching? Blogs? Student essays and drafts? Bits and pieces directly relevant to current research? The consequence – perhaps the cause – is that few of us are engaged in interesting conversations.

There may, however, be a good reason for the fact that there are many conversations going on, with little overlap between them. Cutting-edge social research is necessarily interdisciplinary in inspiration. Anthropologists no longer think that they are all working on a common type of society (primitive, tribal, pre-literate and so on). Consequently, there is no predetermined audience for an ethnography.

So who are you writing for, and what can you tell them? Those are crucial questions. Your answers will suggest how you should formulate what you have to say, what to put in, how to set it in context, and where to place it once it is written. Plus, as EASA members will know very well, there may be a tactical choice of a language to write it in. All obvious enough. Yet, surprisingly often, these questions aren't even asked.

But there is an earlier, even more critical choice to be made. Where to go, and what to look for? This is a momentous decision, not quite up there with getting married or having children, but one that may change your life. An impetuous choice based on superficial looks, or easy money, or mere convenience is not to be recommended.

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1   See more at: http://aotcpress.com/articles/fieldworksfictions/#sthash.Q22o9eyD.dpuf

Pseudo-parental guidance and charismatic advisers should be treated with caution. ('Shifting tectonics, new islands and continents forming: we need a brand-new navigation manual', the anthropologist's boss advises, seductively and dangerously, in *Satin Island*). The really important decision is about what discussions you want to join. I hope that the cosmopolitan forum of *SA/AS* will host the liveliest conversations of European anthropologists.

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CHRIS GREGORY

The case for a Eurocentric anthropology?

A remarkable fact of recent developments in Science and Technology Studies is that anthropologists have begun to study the laboratories of natural scientists but have not turned the anthropological gaze onto themselves. Until ethnographic studies of the functioning of anthropology departments in France, Germany, Finland, Japan and other countries are done, 'symmetrical anthropology', as Latour (2013: 290) calls it, remains unrealised. If the gossip and rumours that circulate in the corridors are any guide, then one suspects that the results of a truly symmetrical anthropology would not be a pretty sight to behold. Academic institutional politics, shaped as it is by squabbles over the distribution of research funding and big-man struggles for prestige and status, is but a minor variation on the wheeling and dealing that generations of political anthropologists have described in their ethnographies from various parts of the world. A comparative ethnography of anthropology departments would reveal that there are winners and losers, high points and low. It would also reveal the existence of a wide range of national traditions, each with its own theoretical language, academic politics and institutional sources of funding.

My vantage point is that of Australian anthropology, whose institutional structure and theoretical language was initially shaped by those trained in the British Social Anthropology tradition. That has changed slowly over the years. Today it is shaped by scholars trained in the American Cultural Anthropology tradition and the US market model of funding. The product is an institutional system that contains the worst

elements of both national traditions as Australian governments have slashed university funding and partially implemented ill-thought out policies to deregulate the market for student fees and academic salaries. The heyday of Australian Anthropology was in the 1960s and 1970s when the ANU was established and generous government funding enabled anthropologists from around the world to conduct original research in Melanesia, Indonesia and Aboriginal Australia; this path-breaking work quite literally changed the terms of anthropological debate. Specialist research in the broader Asia-Pacific continues today but in a radically changed political and economic environment where the bottom line, rather than the pursuit of truth, has become the prime concern of university administrators.

The problems faced by Australia-based anthropologists today is a familiar one found the world over, but the situation obviously varies from nation to nation. Regional universities in the poor countries of the world – I am familiar with anthropology departments in central India where Hindi is the lingua franca – have always been starved for funds and have never had money for long-term fieldwork at home, let alone study abroad. Japan has had the funds but the intellectual product of this research is locked up in a script that is inaccessible to those in the dominant English-speaking tradition. This is also true to some of extent of the national traditions of Europe. English speakers know something of the French tradition via the many agenda-setting texts have been translated into English, but relatively little about those national traditions expressed in German, Finish, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Spanish and other European languages. There is a sense in which there has never been a transnational 'Eurocentric' anthropology; we have instead a range of contrasting national anthropologies where ideas have flourished here, been stifled there. Anthropology is an English-speaking centric discipline where the terms of debate over the past century have been shaped, for the most part, by the dominant English-speaking British and the American traditions but enriched greatly by the input of scholars from non-English speaking traditions.

Herein lays the significance of the new agenda that the new co-editors of *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* propose. As I see it they want to change the terms of debate by turning the meaning of the word 'Eurocentrism' upside-down. They seek to do this by exploring 'the multiple intellectual, institutional, and historical threads that currently make up the practice of social anthropology by those trained in, or currently working in, European universities'. The establishment in 2007 of the European Research Council (ERC) has already transformed the politics of research funding in Europe. I am personally aware of at least four major research grants that senior anthropologists have managed to win. These grants will not only enable European-based scholars to continue to work overseas, they are also funding fieldwork in Europe, a site where the global financial crisis and the Euro crisis have radically transformed *social* relations in many urban areas and widened the gap between the rich and poor everywhere.

The prominence the editors give to the word *social* in their 'manifesto' is significant in this respect. Research funding is a necessary but not sufficient condition for good scholarship. We can be certain too that generous ERC funding will not last forever; but four years should be enough time for the incoming editors to set new terms for debate that has the study of 21st-century social relations between people at its core. Anthropology needs different points of view grounded in different national traditions. English will remain the dominant mode of discourse, but there is hope for a truly

transnational Eurocentric anthropology yet one that exploits the best aspects of the national traditions on which it is based.

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DANIEL MILLER

What difference might the ERC make?

Right now European anthropology is undergoing a revolution, or at least it should be. The European Research Council is giving out grants worth up to €2.5 million each. In addition, new digital media have made tasks such as communication and dissemination much easier and cheaper. After years complaining about the lack of resources, we really don't want to look this gift horse in the mouth. We will have little excuse if Europe does not become a leading force in the discipline of anthropology as a result. I would argue that we should not use such extended resources merely to do more of what we currently regard as 'anthropology'. Instead we should re-think what anthropology is. Because, as with any discipline, all past anthropology is partly a result of the constraints under which it was created. It is a highly individualistic profession partly because in most cases only individuals were funded for ethnography. So what would or what could anthropology have been if it had always commanded such resources? Based on my current experience of having such a grant, I want to suggest a few of the many possible answers to this question.

First, resources should be used to secure our foundational strength. We have always committed to carrying out not just qualitative research but classic ethnographies of at least 15 months. This is something other disciplines can't or won't do – and secures a depth of scholarship that is otherwise endangered. I would define ethnography as a commitment to holistic contextualisation such that we do not have to prejudge the factors relevant to our topic.

Second, these resources should ensure that finally we can actually be comparative and collaborative. Something this discipline has always promised but rarely delivered on. My own ERC project consisted of nine simultaneous 15-month ethnographies. All nine of us studied the same topic during each month of fieldwork and on return we have written under the same chapter headings in our nine respective monographs. It was not just the money. It was also the new media that allowed us to be constantly in touch, making this level of collaboration and continual comparison now possible. We are also committed to two volumes that are directly comparative in content. All eleven volumes will be launched under the *Why We Post* website in February 2016.

Where possible, let's repudiate the presumption of individualism in anthropology as mere constraint.

Third, our topic, which was the use and consequences of social media, lends itself to extending the discipline's intellectual ambition that in some ways was constrained by a focus on kinship. Instead, we should have always been defined by the more general topic of all human modes of sociality and social order. Ambition of this scale is facilitated by this level of collaboration and comparison.

Fourth, when applying for such grants we should ask for much more money for dissemination than in the past. In this case my point may not be general, because our increased commitment to popular dissemination is linked to the fact that our topic of social media is one with clear popular appeal. In such cases we should include a responsibility to inform non-academic as well as academic audiences. Ideally all our material should now go Open Access. It is a scandal when we publish work that people cannot afford to buy or read in the countries where we work. We may have more resources, but they do not. If need be, we should subsidise the production of publications in order to make them free online (but NOT by subsidising commercial publishers). As well as books and journal articles, we should create extensive and highly accessible websites including more visual materials such as YouTube videos, acknowledging that this is now much simpler and easier to produce. We can now also afford to create MOOCS [Massive Open Online Courses], free Open Access university courses that can be taught anywhere, including under-resourced universities outside of Europe.

Fifth, we should use this money to translate at least the more accessible materials into the languages of the place where we worked and ideally also other major languages. A key determinant of the future of anthropology will be how it becomes established in the emerging universities of regions such as Africa, China and India. A topic such as social media can be used to suggest that as well as traditions related to the study of indigenous and tribal studies, we have the potential to give depth and breadth to the understanding of any contemporary social development. Anthropology in these emergent economies should incorporate this future-orientated ambition and commitment. For this to be accepted, we need to clearly describe in non-academic language the original insights that come from our scholarship and make these available in the languages of this emergent world. In this way the improved resources of Europe can be used to help secure the global development of a future anthropology. Ideally, anthropology should always have been a global subject of researchers and not just the researched.

Finally, I obviously acknowledge that most people don't and won't have such grants, but for those who do, this is a privilege that could benefit us all.

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BIRGIT MEYER

Towards a broader horizon

Anthropology is the forum par excellence in which the limits and possibilities of communication and contact across cultural difference are experienced and thematised.

I regard anthropology as the 'queen' among the disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Based on grounded theorising, it is able to throw light on the complexities of inter-human and inter-cultural encounters in our heavily entangled globalised world. Anthropology is the practice of informed 'translation' that places centre stage misunderstandings and incommensurabilities as well as surprising moments of understanding. Since I made a transition from a chair in cultural anthropology at VU University Amsterdam to religious studies at Utrecht University, I started to cherish anthropology even more than before, and re-invented myself as an anthropologist against the broader horizon of the humanities. From this standpoint, I will propose three areas in which anthropologists in Europe, wherever they are based, could engage more deeply and systematically.

One, I have the impression that across Europe anthropologists, exceptions granted, tend to be locked up in their own discourse. Indicative of this trend is the popularity of ontological perspectives that stress the ultimate alterity of the Other, or a heavy theoretical investment in quite opaque, abstract reasoning (for instance, under the ambit of 'French' philosophy). This happens often at the expense of pondering bigger issues of our time that demand transdisciplinary collaboration. What does doing anthropology – as knowledge about being human – mean in a broader sense, beyond one's specific research site or theoretical hang-up? What does it mean to be human at a time when the possibility to draw sharp distinctions between persons and objects, and between persons and animals is eroding, when nationalist-populist identity politics mobilise citizenship and human rights in ever more exclusivist ways while actual diversity calls for the opposite, when the prominence of the notion of the anthropocene denotes a tipping point that erases the long-maintained nature–culture opposition? In principle, anthropologists have much to say about these processes on the basis of their specific, situated research, but as yet they seem to lack visibility and input in broader scholarly arenas and in public debates. Anthropologists should cultivate much more than is the case now their ability to engage in conversation and collaboration with scholars across various disciplines, including the more usual interlocutors (from sociology, political science, history, literature, religious studies, media studies) as well as so far more unlikely ones in the sphere of the neuro-sciences and life sciences.

Second, in our ever more diverse world, European societies themselves may well be described as post-colonial contact zones shaped by colonial legacies and global in-equalities, fuelling migration of people from dis-privileged areas into, especially, cities. Anthropology is the discipline par excellence to throw light onto the complexities of being and belonging in our ever more diversified world. Religion is a particular case in point. Far from vanishing with modernisation, religion is a salient force that is central to people's identity and by the same token a source of tensions and conflicts, as recent commotions around blasphemy and related issues about which people take offence show. Anthropologists offer important insights into the dynamics of religious plurality, often on the basis of specific case studies. However, to fully grasp current religious dynamics in a deep historical perspective, more intense conversations with scholars from religious studies, theology, Islamic studies and history are indispensable, as I now experience day in, day out.

Third and last, our world of global entanglements and interdependencies calls for a critical reflection about the division of labour in the production of knowledge between the so-called systematic disciplines that strive to make universal claims, on the one hand, and expertise built in the framework of area studies, on the other. Operating

on both sides, anthropology is the appropriate intermediary to challenge the masking of Eurocentric knowledge as universal. It can play a crucial role in opening up a space for critical, trans-regional and transdisciplinary approaches to knowledge production in past and present, helping to profile post-colonial critiques to 'provincialise Europe' (Chakrabarty 2000) and the articulation of 'theories from the south' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2011) in larger arenas of scholarly and public debate.

In short, in my view the critical knowledge offered by anthropology is indispensable to grasp the implications of intensified diversity, with all problems and possibilities ensued, that characterises life in Europe and beyond in our time. Hence, the need to do what we are good at as anthropologists against a broader horizon.

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TIM INGOLD

Dropping the social

When we set about creating a new department at the University of Aberdeen, in Scotland, one immediate question we faced was what to call it. We were building a programme of teaching and research in social anthropology, not in biological anthropology or archaeology. Should we then have called ourselves a department of social anthropology? Or were we to be, quite simply, a department of anthropology? We chose the latter option, for three reasons.

The first reason was intellectually the most trivial, but it has undoubtedly had the greatest practical impact. Quite simply, anthropology begins with an A. In these days of alphabetically ordered drop-down lists, it helps to have one's subject placed near the top, so you don't have to scroll down to find it. And of course it put clear water between us and sociology, which is placed way down.

The second, more serious reason was that we felt we were speaking for a discipline, not a sub-discipline. With this, we wanted to signal our rejection of the traditional view that anthropology can be neatly segmented into sub-fields. National traditions vary in the number of recognised sub-fields: there used to be three in British anthropology (social, biological, archaeological), compared with four in North America (including anthropological linguistics), but recent years have seen the emergence of many more, with the addition of visual, medical, environmental, historical, and any number of other varieties. Several attempts have been made to put these into some kind of order and to draw up a comprehensive list, partly to satisfy the demands of funding bodies, but no

two lists are alike, and all lead to absurdities. Surely, if anthropology stands for anything, it is for the idea that human life cannot be sliced up into discrete layers, for separate study by different disciplines.

This leads to the third reason. The fracturing of the discipline, we believe, has seriously weakened its voice, and in seeking to counteract this, our aim has been to promote a vision of anthropology as the study of human being and becoming, as it were, 'in the round'. This is not, however, to imagine the human as a thing of parts – biological, psychological, social – that have simply to be stuck together again in order to recreate the whole. Far from reassembling the pieces, our task is rather to undo the logic that led to their division in the first place. Just as all life is biological, there is a sense in which all life is social too, for every living being is formed and held in place within a matrix of relations with others. Taken in this sense, there can be no anthropology that is not social. We are for an anthropology that seeks neither to reduce the social to the biological, nor vice versa, but to get rid of the distinction. We invite our colleagues, not just in social anthropology but in biological anthropology as well, to join us. No more social, no more biological: we are all just anthropologists!

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MÁIRÉAD NIC CRAITH

Diversity and singularity in European anthropology

The new editors of *Social Anthropology* have thrown down the gauntlet. Defining the journal as a key forum for research carried out by anthropologists trained or currently working in European universities, they query the European dimension of this anthropology. They ask whether there is anything distinctive about European anthropology, given the diversity of anthropological practice in Europe, as well as the impact of historical events, multilingualism and institutional conditions on that practice. In their quest for singularity in European anthropology, the editors are engaging with a process that has been one of the key challenges for the European Union. How does one identify the unifying threads in a diverse continental mosaic? How does one brand the 'unity in diversity'?

From an anthropological perspective, the 'unity in diversity' motto raises many interesting questions. I have argued elsewhere (Nic Craith 2012a) that this slogan can be interpreted as an attempt to bring together, recognise and legitimise the full range of European cultures. In the case of this journal, one could reasonably argue that unless the contributors engage not just with the wide range of anthropological traditions in Europe, but also with that diversity in the different languages of Europe, the quest will have barely begun. An interesting barometer of that engagement could be the number of references in this Forum piece to publications in languages other than English (see Kockel's commentary (1999: 96) on Goddard *et al.* 1996).

'Unity in Diversity' raises an issue of power. To what extent is the quest for singularity in European anthropology an appropriation of the field from the different

institutions in which it is practised? Can it be argued that the quest is an appropriation of power to the centre – and in a region as ill-defined as Europe, can there be a centre? Reflection on the field is always worthwhile. However, in the field of languages in Europe, the acknowledgement of different speaking publics has also resulted in a hierarchical approach to language status – with those speaking a 'procedural' language (i.e. English, French or German) at the top of the scale and speakers of immigrant, non-European languages close to the bottom. Is there a danger that our response to the quest for unity in diversity in European anthropology will inevitably result in the 'ranking' of different anthropological practices in Europe according to language or publishing outlet, and can that be avoided?

An additional complication in the case of Europe's linguistic diversity has been the issue of conceptual clarity. How does one distinguish between language and dialect? This tension can also be applied to the anthropological field. Does the quest for singularity in European anthropology engage only with 'proper' anthropology or will our discussions include anthropologists who breach disciplinary boundaries and stray into areas such as cultural studies or comparative literature? How about those who have engaged with the discipline without formal qualification?

All of this brings us back to the concept of Europe (Kockel 2011) and what is our vision of anthropology on the continent. If we are unclear about Europe conceptually, why should we seek out singularity on a continental basis? Should we speak of anthropology in the singular (as we already do with heritage) and instead refer to the anthropologies of Europe? Post-universalism and post-disciplinarity pose a challenge to epistemology and one might ask whether the notion of singularity is relevant for European anthropology at the beginning of the 21st century. Perhaps this editorial gauntlet will generate an appreciation that there is no one common disciplinary field in which we all share and even recognise in Europe. Maybe we have multiple anthropologies, multiple traditions and practices in a geographical region whose boundaries are regularly contested geographically, culturally and even anthropologically (see Kockel *et al.* 2012).

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JOÃO DE PINA-CABRAL

Is there a European anthropology?

Of course there is: in practically all universities in Europe, there are academics who answer by this disciplinary title. But then we ask: do they all agree about what anthropology is? No, they do not.

The philosophical definition of anthropology (the study of the human condition) is too generic a description of what we do. During the *Belle Époque*, the reformulation of the common Darwinian inspiration led to a separation between the social and the natural sciences. Biological and social anthropologies diverged: today, our canons differ; our methodologies differ; our theoretical assumptions differ; our scientific culture follows clearly distinct paths.

On the one hand, the engagement of social anthropologists with the fast-changing world that high colonialism was producing in the 1920s and 1930s meant a move away from biological racialism and material determinism. By the end of the Second World War, most social anthropologists were adopting interpretation as their essential disposition. On the other hand, for the biological anthropologists, the focus on Primatology played very much the same schismogenic role. There was a methodological approximation to Archaeology and a theoretical merging with Biology and Forensic Science. Today, no one seriously contemplates merging the two disciplines, but there are many of us in both camps who deny that there is an ontological frontier between nature and culture and who search for theoretical pathways that do not polarise our understanding of humans.

Unfortunately, some confusions do arise. One of the most common concerns what, in the USA, is called 'the four-field tradition'. This disciplinary formulation never held any sway in Europe, as it still does not today. When Franz Boas formulated it, first in Mexico and then in the USA (cf. Claudio Lomnitz 2005), 'four-field' anthropology was associated with the study of Amerindians and responded to the intellectual demands posed by nationalism in these settler societies (cf. Sidney Mintz 1996). In Europe, to the contrary, the central divide was between national and exotic anthropology (cf. Ulf Hannerz 2010).

In fact, the most momentous change that is taking place in European anthropology today is the end of this primitivist divide. We have witnessed the increasing momentum of this convergence during the life of EASA. As the world is increasingly globalised, as anthropologists originate in different ethnic groups and classes, as Europe becomes a land of immigration, we are no longer struck by the relevance of the separation between 'us/them', 'moderns/primitives', 'the West' and 'the Rest'. To the contrary, we are challenged by *alterity within*: that is, the theoretical capital that anthropology accumulated in the study of exotic societies is now being brought to bear on the study of human difference at a moment when the modernist 'us/them' divide is no longer foundational or even relevant.

Furthermore, in a world so patently anthropocenic, new challenges have arisen that demand that the human condition and the world condition be seen as integrated. Today, European anthropology reaches far and wide, both in the topics it covers and in its theoretical ambitions. We remain bound, however, by the inescapable universality of our founding question: what is the human condition?

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THOMAS HYLLAND ERIKSEN

The North Sea approach to ethnicity

When, in the mid-1980s, I developed an interest in the intricacies of ethnic complexity, my teachers at the University of Oslo were unequivocal in their advice. Harald Eidheim (the author of the pioneering *Aspects of the Lappish minority situation*, 1971) emphasised the need to study what people did and not merely what they said, and to remember that ethnicity was an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group. Eidheim would generally be loath to award a good grade to a student who did not offer a sound analysis of social organisation. My supervisor Axel Sommerfelt, who had previously worked in Southern Africa, lent me a tattered copy of Clyde Mitchell's *The Kalela dance* (1956) and spoke about social dramas, networks and relationality. Their focus was on politics, interaction, kinship and power. Meaning and symbols were significant only in so far as they had a bearing on social life.

The towering figure of Norwegian anthropology was Fredrik Barth, whose influence was huge even at the height of Marxist and feminist tendencies. Although he received his first degree from Chicago, his later studies were at Cambridge, and in spite of his American accent, Barth was widely perceived as a British social anthropologist. Indeed, an English colleague once claimed, not entirely inaccurately, that Norwegian anthropologists were affinal kin of the British, with Barth as the mother's brother. Even today, one could argue that a North Sea anthropology exists, with a distinct (salty?) flavour.

Both Eidheim and Sommerfelt had participated in the 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' symposium, which led to the famous 1969 book of the same title, still an indispensable reference in research on ethnic relations and group identities in general. Barth's 'Introduction' was a sociological alternative to the culturalist approaches to ethnicity that were at the time still influential: Ethnicity was about intergroup relationships (not essences or substances), it concerned resource flow, power and social organisation rather than values, meanings and what Barth, a tad too dismissively, spoke of as 'the cultural stuff'. The introduction, and several of the subsequent chapters in the

book, illustrated the difference between culturalist and sociological approaches in an almost exemplary way. Never mind that Michael Moerman's 'Who are the Lue?' (1965), a precursor to Barth's analysis, was written by an American, or that Robert Park and the Chicago School were Americans whose studies of urban social life could resemble the Barthian ethnicity paradigm. It felt homegrown; it was somehow ours.

I had brought a handful of books with me to Mauritius. One of them, recommended by Eidheim, was Ernest Gellner's recent edition of *Nations and nationalism* (2008 [1983]). It seemed supremely compatible with the Barthian perspective, emphasising as it did social and political processes as the fundamental facts underlying nationalist ideologies. Gellner's book was even more emphatically European than Barth's; it could almost be described as a philosophical meditation on the breakup of the Habsburg Empire. We have all moved on, but with the hindsight of a few decades, it seems that the European approaches to collective identities differed from their American counterparts partly due to differences in their respective historical experiences. In this, anthropological approaches to ethnicity are no different from the other knowledge systems we study.

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PETER WADE

Race and biology: allergic reactions

The common-place notion that race is a 'social construction' has been challenged recently from two rather different directions, both spurred by research carried out in the USA and Britain, rather than continental Europe. On the one hand, some geneticists argue that recent genomic work on human diversity shows that the familiar old racial categories, based on continental regions, have some biological validity – a claim denied by other geneticists (for a discussion, see Bliss 2012; Weiss and Lambert 2014). More interesting in my view is another tendency in which some anthropologists are pushing to reintroduce biology into the study of race, but a biology seen in

processual, developmental terms, far removed from genetic reductionism. The idea is to see how environmental influences, shaped by racialised social structures – such as the multiple stresses caused by racism and racial inequality – enter into the physical constitution of the body.

Studies of 'environmental racism' have shown how an unhealthy environment can directly impact on the well-being of dwellers, who may be disproportionately of a racialised minority. The developmentalist approach takes this further, arguing that biology is plastic, but biological effects also accumulate in resilient ways, affecting the health of individuals and shaping the life experiences of categories of people (Hartigan 2013; Wade 2002). Thus different urban contexts for black and white people in the USA tend to create different experiences of learning basketball skills, which become embodied as 'second nature' and influence future success in competitive basketball (see Wade 2004). In California post 9/11, women with Arab surnames gave birth to under-weight babies 34% more often than in the previous year. Low birth weight is linked to a number of health problems later in life. Pregnant mothers who are subjected to stress of various kinds – which could include the experience of racism, the fear of racism and effects of poverty that tend to impact black people more often in the USA – tend to have children with higher risks of poor health later in life. In other words, these kinds of biological effects can work over more than one generation (Gravlee 2013; Kuzawa and Thayer 2013). Some of this inter-generational dynamic may be epigenetic, that is, related to molecular processes, shaped by the environment, which influence the way DNA is expressed in the phenotype and which may be heritable.

Grasping the biological effects of racism and racial inequality is an important step forward, but one that seems to gain most traction in academic contexts in which the (western) European continental allergy to the idea of race is less en-grained. In much of western Europe – less so perhaps in eastern Europe (Kaszycka and Strzałko 2003) – the mention of 'race' (as opposed to 'racism') in an academic or political context is often awkward, while talking of 'race' and 'biology' in the same breath is likely to be taboo (Lentin 2004). Compare France's 2013 decision to ban the word 'race' from all legislation with Britain's Race Relations Act and its bureaucratic industry for the regulation of such relations. It is tempting to conclude that the contexts in which the concept of race has a public institutional life are also those that permit a more open-minded approach to understanding how biology and race become entangled.

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ALBERTO CORSÍN JIMÉNEZ

Anthropology: a prototype

Over the past four years, streets have become deep sites of learning in Spain. I mean this in a number of senses. First, in the wake of the economic and financial meltdown of 2009, thousands of Spaniards took to the streets on May 2011 and reimagined the city as a political experiment. The movement that became known as the *Indignados* or 15M movement took residence in plazas and public spaces all over Spain in the shape of popular neighbourhood assemblies. These assemblies met weekly in the open air and laid out the conditions for learning and inventing politics anew.

The assemblies became an inspiration for cultural practices elsewhere. For example, throughout 2011–12 members of various guerrilla architectural collectives in Madrid, joined by digital artists, designers and educators, met in the open air to discuss the conditions for learning in the city. Convened every second Thursday via Twitter (hashtag #edumeet), there was no agenda to the meetings, nor indeed expectations of attendance. Some meetings were attended only by a handful of people, who would then take the conversations indoors to a nearby bar; other meetings would pull in audiences of over thirty people. Attendants discussed the role of the university, the nature of autonomous education and the possibilities that new technologies opened up for relocating how and where learning took place in the city. In an unprecedented event, in 2012 an entry on #edumeet was included in a special issue that Spain's most prestigious architectural journal, *Arquitectura Viva*, edited on up-and-coming architectural studios (edumeet 2012).

Another example concerns the work of free culture activists in Madrid, in particular the activities and programmes carried out at Medialab-Prado, one of the country's leading hacklabs. For a variety of reasons, including the debacle of the public university model under the politics of austerity, Medialab has become a congenial and hospitable environment for academics. It has hosted academic conferences and seminars, offered technological and infrastructural support, and occasionally

contributed in kind towards the organisation of academic events. But importantly, academics' partnership with Medialab-Prado has also exposed their (our) work to the material epistemology of free culture hackers: the use of free intellectual property licences; documenting and curating publicly accessible, editable and shareable archival registries of our projects; or using, sometimes even participating in the development of, open-source prototypes whose aim is to interrogate and 'white-box' the interfaces holding material and social practices together (versus the 'black-boxes' of mainstream intellectual proprietary technologies).

So what about anthropology? How has anthropology come to inhabit these prototypes – between and betwixt the street and the academy, amidst novel alliances with architects, designers or digital activists, equipped with the cultural infrastructures of hackers?

There are of course as many answers to these questions as there are anthropologists in Spain. But I wish to essay here one programme of action and research. This outlines a view of anthropology of/as prototype as both a theory of relation and a modality of collaboration.

As a theory of relation, the anthropology of/as prototype sketches a figure of complexity that is 'more than many and less than one' (Corsín Jiménez 2014). Unlike the partial connections of fractal complexity, where part and whole mirror each other as self-scaling devices – 'more than one and less than many' – thereby avoiding a model of political plurality based on difference as a multiplicity of identities (Strathern 2004); unlike such figure of complexity, prototypes may be thought of as designs that are always less than 'one', for they keep referring back to – they are sourced on – the conditions of their own openness (that is, they are open-sourced). At the same time, the existence of a source code enables prototypes to proliferate and reduplicate not through the multiplicity of number and identity, but through edits, extensions or bifurcations. They index towards a plurality not of 'many' but of 'many more than many'. The prototype, then, as more than many and less than one.

This brings me to the modality of collaboration. More than many and less than one, anthropologists working with/as prototypes have often found their ethnographic projects re-functioned as infrastructural projects where ethnography becomes one of the many 'sources' open-sourcing the collaborative enterprise. We may think of these collaborations as 'anthropological experiments' for our contemporary (Marcus 2014). Yet more than their experimental vocation, when ethnography joins the source code of a prototyping project it becomes in effect a member of a community whose interest lies not just in 'doing things together' but in sourcing this material epistemology out (becoming less than one) for others to learn from it (becoming more than many).

The culture of prototyping is of our times, of course. But there may be a lesson for anthropology in the cultural momentum that drives its techno-material hopefulness. We have long known of anthropology's commitment towards the making explicit of *cultures of learning*. Yet the notion of anthropology-as-prototype offers perhaps some valuable insights into the *infrastructures of apprenticeships* holding our field/s together.

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JUDITH OKELY

Travellers

The social anthropology of Europe was once ethnocentrically dismissed or marginalised because it was not 'Exotically Other'. The European Roma, Gypsies, Travellers (GRT) offer a case study of how social anthropology was finally constructively embraced, then misappropriated, even travestied or again by-passed.

From the late 1990s, Soros-funded Roma courses at the Central European University, Budapest, recognised anthropological studies as crucial. By contrast, with EU expansion and its funded decade of 'Roma inclusion', bureaucratic hegemony was prioritised. Positivism re-emerged triumphant, with ethnographic methods increasingly sidelined. CEO grant holders oversee 'data gatherers' on unstable contracts. Top-down directives discourage individual flexibility.[2]

On the EU Romany Studies Network across disciplines, clichés have re-emerged. Unique anthropological insights from intensive fieldwork are rubbished as 'anecdotal' by linguists. The medical diktat, prioritising 'evidence-based', quantitative material is mechanically transposed by non-social anthropologists, to dismiss ethnography as 'unscientific'. Predictably, socio-linguistics, where nuanced, embedded meanings vary with context, are ignored. Such flexibility cannot be bureaucratically measured. At one CEU linguistics class, the non-Roma professor mocked the Roma students' Romany language usage as 'riddled with errors'. Had he not heard of 'slang' or 'argot'? They walked out in protest.

While earlier generations had to argue for the value of anthropological research in Europe, this is now recognised. Notwithstanding, ethnographic methods, developed for studying humanity across the globe, face brutal fragmentation. Bizarrely, the Chicago School of Sociology's invention of the concept 'participant observation' is forgotten, albeit after Malinowski 'pitched his tent'.

I draw on recent experience of doctoral committees and as external examiner, where the key supervisors were not anthropologists. Common themes emerge. This was especially poignant where the doctoral candidate had specialised in anthropology but faced methodological and theoretical censure.

One candidate moved into a working-class community, embracing participant observation, joining specific clubs and noting Malinowski's 'imponderabilia of everyday life' – with the residents' full enthusiasm. Despite the doctorate's classification as social anthropological, the appointed supervisor was a political scientist lacking experience of ethnographic research. The candidate was instructed to insert only

2 Most anthropologists have changed topics in the field (Okely 2012: Ch. 3).

tape-recorded one-to-one interviews. Insights and analysis from months of participant observation were excluded because they were judged 'subjective', even unethical.

Another doctoral candidate, with both an anthropology BA and MA, had comparable problems with supervisors: a gerontologist, the other a quantitative sociologist. The candidate was required to prioritise interviews in the study of older lesbians. One interviewee happily denied ever having experienced homophobia. After the recording, the researcher and interviewee fortuitously shared a journey on the London Underground. The researcher then witnessed a shocking, homophobic bullying of the interviewee by schoolboys. When writing up, the doctoral student analysed this contradiction. But the supervisors insisted this ethnographic 'anecdote' be deleted, because it had not been tape-recorded.

Thus the primacy of the formalised interview has triumphed, contradicting classic sociological research. Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1943/1955) noted how Doc told him to 'stop asking questions' and just 'hang around' (cited in Okely 2012: 76). Seemingly, this is deleted from sociology's history and decreed inappropriate for what is standard anthropological ethnography.[3]

As neo-liberalism invades universities, students, degrees and research funding are increasingly diverted into Business Studies. Paradoxically, the value of ethnography has been recognised in this specialism via the innovative *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*. As keynote for its annual conference, I nevertheless witnessed the students' struggle between the qualitative and quantitative. Presentations were peppered with mechanistic flow charts and numerical tables. Thus, although ethnography's potential is main-streamed beyond anthropology, its meaning and practice risks misappropriation or distortion. Fortunately, a lecturer in a prestigious Business Department thanked me for my presentation. His ongoing doctorate had been critiqued as 'non-generalisable' and references to Barthes and Bourdieu were queried. Researching fishermen's craft, alongside photographic archives, the lecturer was reassured by the anthropologist's details of fieldwork among Gypsies.

Gypsies, Roma or Travellers, ever more identified as a 'problem', have become the object of massive preordained 'inclusion' funding. Simultaneously, this anthropologist has been flooded with requests to examine doctorates on a now 'trendy' topic, often far from anthropology. Token name-dropping of anthropological monographs and articles appear in the bibliographies, while the ethnography is shamelessly ignored, even unread.

A health department doctorate on GRT drew on just eight interviews. A 'phenomenological' stance decreed that only the recorded statements in a single encounter were deemed relevant. Even the context of the meeting was disregarded. One interviewee recalled waking from a coma in hospital. When the examiner asked why the analysis had not confronted Gypsy/Traveller notions of hospitals as ritually polluting places for dying, never recovery, the candidate believed that phenomenology excluded the study of 'culture'. Ironically, Gypsy/Traveller 'culture' includes strategically adaptive performance when interrogated by outsiders. At least there is some progress through the decades. In 1969, Marek Kaminski was discouraged from research on Polish Gypsies because his Krakow professor insisted they had 'no culture' (Okely 2012).

Seemingly, ethnography is being misappropriated or marginalised by a revival of scientism that prioritises quantification and/or only brief encounters. This defies

3   Granted, interviews can be crucial, but are rarely the sole ethnographic method (Smith *et al.* 2015).

Leach's 1967 insistence (cited in Okely 2012: 13) that grounded fieldwork reveals the total *System*, whereas mass questionnaires may reproduce inbuilt errors.

Paradoxically, the supreme authority of in-depth participant observation is revered by the powerful State. After the catastrophic Iraq invasion, CIA representatives attempted to recruit anthropologists at the 2006 AAA, apparently to understand 'culture' (Okely 2012: 35–6). Thus, for the invisible state hegemony, number-crunching is less informatively powerful than infiltration by the one ethnographer. In practice (Okely 2012: 36–7), the committed anthropologist enters as respectful ally, rarely as traitor/spy. Anthropologists may even study terrorism (Zulaika in Okely 2012), but retain autonomy for more universal aims. Ethnography of the specific, in Europe or beyond, can reveal aspects of humanity in general.

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ANDREW DAWSON

Mobility's turns

Prompted by growing realisation that mobility was becoming a quintessential experience of the age, the 'mobilities turn' came to have a significant impact in the social sciences. And, especially through journals such as *Mobilities*, it became a meeting point for disciplines, especially Sociology (Urry 2000), Cultural Geography (Cresswell 2006) and Anthropology.

Anthropology's concern with mobilities grew most clearly from the 'Writing Culture' debate, especially from critiques of the 'field'. The field had, it was pointed out, uses as a trope from which the discipline derived its authority. Also, exposing the myth of the value neutrality of anthropological knowledge, the field's resonances with political discourses were illuminated – from nationalism to other sedentarisms that marginalise or 'settle' mobile peoples.

Then, what started as critique developed into a more constructive endeavour. The mobility turn called for re-figuring of foundational concepts, including identity, culture, society and place. These were now to be framed by mobile metaphors – 'home', 'routes', 'flow', 'network', '(de/re)territorialisation', 'network', 'moorings', etc. – several of which owe a debt to the rhizomatic thinking of Deleuze and Guattari. And, they were to be researched via mobile methodologies such as, most famously, multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). Above all, the mobility turn's substantive

scope was ambitious. It was concerned with all forms of mobility, from the physical to the imaginative movement of both people and objects, and with the mobility implicit in both apparently fixed and intrinsically mobile social phenomena. Communities would be rendered as 'sites of travelling' (Clifford 1997). Conversely, what took place in between departures and destinations was, in studies of transport and migration, no longer to be treated as mere 'dead time' (Vannini 2010: 112).

Had anthropology been reluctant to participate in this endeavour, it would not have been surprising, for heightened mobility threatens a discipline raison d'être, the study of authentic otherness (Hamilton 2002).

However, anthropology has embraced mobility. Recent years have brought a proliferation of studies on every conceivable form of physical mobility, from walking and all the way up to helicopter travel. Furthermore, this is beginning to contribute to the development of anthropological theory. For example, 'automobilities', a large body of work that consists substantially of ethnographies of Europe's 'societies of traffic' and driven by key research centres in the region such as Lancaster University, explores the role of cars as a key (vehicular) metaphor in culture, politics and history (Lipset and Handler 2014). Also, and especially under the auspices of institutions such as Oxford University's Centre on Migration, Policy & Society, more traditional fields concerned with mobility, such as Migration Studies have flourished.

Unfortunately, however, this flourishing has often been at the expense of early ambitions. The mobility turn's substantive scope has narrowed largely to concern with 'the fact of physical movement – getting from one place to another' (Cresswell 2010: 19). More importantly, several of its conceptual ambitions have been thwarted. I offer two small examples from Migration Studies.

The first of these is the energy given in recent years to the *generation of new categories of migrant*. This may offer the virtue of analytical clarity. However, one suspects, much as the 'field' often functioned as a trope for particular anthropologists to claim exclusive and unassailable knowledge about particular peoples and places, category proliferation appears to be motivated as much by professional small empire building. Furthermore, as a kind of 'conceptual fixing', so to speak, it stands askance to exciting possibilities promised by the mobility turn. For example, it elides the very elusiveness of categories themselves and the possibility of understanding the processes, of negotiation, exclusion and inclusion, by which different migrants 'move' between similar such categories that are created by states. Which asylum-seeker ('forced migrant') does not, while moving partly in hope of gaining a more leisured life, actively resist classification as 'leisure (or undeserving welfare) migrant' lest it forecloses her chances of asylum? And, which leisure or lifestyle migrant does not think of herself as a refugee from the rat race?

The second example I offer is the emergence of *transnationalism*. Heightened mobility has produced new and complex forms of global connection and identification (Urry 2000). However, it is fair to say that the anthropology of transnationalism has focused by and large on more familiar units of analysis, the transnationalism of national, ethnic and (g)local communities. It would appear that anthropology has overcome its mourning for the loss of authentic otherness that mobility may entail (Hamilton 2002), but in a most regrettable fashion. Mobility has been rendered, not a challenge to authentic otherness, but a means by which it can be reproduced on a global scale. Or, to put it another way, the aim to represent flow has been defeated by the persistence of boundary.

Near to its inception, the mobility turn was heralded as a paradigm shift (Sheller and Urry 2006). Currently, it is some way short of that. What's to be done? The task of mobilities anthropology ought to be to regain the zeal for a re-figuring of foundational concepts. In short, to use the words of a seminal mobilities scholar, the study of mobility needs to get back to its routes (Clifford 1997).

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MARK MAGUIRE

Global and EU security

When I look at social anthropology today, from the perspective of my own research on security, I see extraordinary potential. I see the intellectual richness of anthropology informing scholarship and activism, and I see the methodological and ethical challenges that we need to face in order to realise this potential. The 'bleeding edge' topic of security brings a lot into sharp focus. Today, security discourses and practices abound, provoking French philosopher Frédéric Gros to proclaim ours as the age of security. Indeed, the modern formulation of security long since slipped its moorings in international relations and travelled to previously foreign parts, colonising policing, counter-terrorism and border control. Today, security apparatuses traverse nation-states, disrupting the institutional division of labour, absorbing scarce public resources, and all too often intruding violently into daily life. Alongside global spending on weapons and wars, the amorphous homeland security market will be worth approximately half a trillion Euros by 2020. Unsurprisingly, anthropological research shows that security is often the cause of insecurity.

Recently, a special issue of *Cultural Anthropology* illustrated the expansiveness of security with contributions on nuclear affect, migration control, humanitarian governance, environmental and bio-security threats. Concepts developed by US-based anthropologists, like 'securityscapes' and 'vital systems', grow in popularity, but most projects are still disconnected from one another. This isn't necessarily a sign of disciplinary weakness. Rather, anthropologists avoid the temptation that Frederic Jameson labels 'premature clarification'. Our dispersed efforts track the uneven (in)securitisation of asymmetrical landscapes already replete with dense configurations of space, power and knowledge. To paraphrase Didier Bigo – the close student of Michel Foucault who coined the processual term (in)securitisation – respect for contexts and details are the hallmarks of anthropology, but this concentration may marginalise us in international debates. That said, margins can be very productive places.

European anthropologists now inform the critical anthropology of security from backgrounds in peace and conflict studies, migration research and urban ethnography. Critical insights will be derived from attention to experience, context and ethnographic detail. But we are also well placed to push beyond our frontiers. Anthropological research has much to say to the Copenhagen and Paris security studies schools and to surveillance studies scholars. Moreover, colonial histories, past conflicts and contemporary crises mean that the European security sector has significantly less swagger than its overseas counterparts. Interesting access routes and alternative discourses present themselves, but methodological and ethical challenges abound. Can anthropology offer more than that which is available in strategically situated ethnographies?

Forthcoming scholarship will doubtless attend to security spaces and scales; it will track ideas, expertise or techno-science across distinct domains; and it should include research *programmes* on themes such as security futures, evidence or the lack thereof. However, we must once and for all cease to negatively contrast ethnographic knowledge (the really real) with those more experimental (though nonetheless ethnographic) studies of dispersed apparatuses, analytics and new assemblages. Social anthropology will need to go beyond thick descriptions of lived experiences to explore expertise, analytics and styles of reasoning that are characterised by dispersal and a disturbing thinness. Anthropology must continue to tell context-rich stories for sure, but we also need new and critical conceptual work. We should also expect to be circumstantial activists. To study the EU's high-tech borders or multimodal biometrics in India or the Middle East means attending to the targeting of human life itself, to the countless lives wasted and to the lives lost in the name of security.

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HELENA WULFF

In favour of flexible forms: multi-sited fieldwork

Stockholm anthropology took an early interest in globalisation, and we soon realised that this research perspective, more often than not, requires mobile and multi-sited methods (Hannerz 2001). The traditional single-sited fieldwork simply

did not suffice to do justice to an increasing number of networks and institutions that reached across more than one site locally, regionally and globally. In order to keep capturing contemporary life, anthropology consequently had to extend its fieldwork repertory. Just like in single-site fieldwork, it is the fieldworker who selects the particular set of sites in multi-sited fieldwork, and has to make the argument for this choice.

Famously coined by George Marcus (1986) in *Writing culture*, the concept 'multi-sited ethnography' can thus be said to originate in US anthropology, but was also quite extensively developed further in European anthropology (cf. Hannerz 2003; Falzon 2009; Coleman and von Hellerman 2011, among others).

Not everyone approved of the idea of working multi-sitedly, however. In Britain, an especially fierce critical stance sprung up against the writing culture agenda in general and multi-sited ethnography in particular. This has mellowed in the younger generations of anthropologists now employed at British universities. The critique concerned time and depth in the field. The assumption was that with more than one field site, there would not be enough time and thus a lack of substance. How time is divided between different field sites obviously varies. I have conducted three major multi-sited field studies: first, on the transnational world of ballet; second, on dance and social memory in Ireland; and third, on the social world of Irish contemporary fiction writers. For each one of them, I have spent altogether more than the traditional one-year-in-the-field. One recurring experience has been that it was not until I arrived in a new field site that I learned about certain circumstances in the one I just left.

The field studies in Ireland have been divided up in many frequent trips, going back and forth, in the form of *yo-yo fieldwork* (Wulff 2007), which actually seems to be the way many of us work in relatively nearby fields nowadays. As to the study of writers in Ireland, key events happened infrequently, and watching people while they write all day does not make sense. This means that a year's stay would have left me with a lot of empty spare time. Dublin has been the main site, but I have been going to a number of other places on the island where literary events have taken place. I have thus done participant observation at writers' festivals, readings, book launches, prize ceremonies and creative writing workshops (taught by the writers, also in schools and at university). This has been what Sherry Ortner identifies as *interface ethnography*, when 'most relatively closed communities have events where they interact with the public' (2013: 26). Yet I am pleased to report that as part of participant observation, there were many opportunities for informal conversation and activities with writers, not least at a writer's retreat. Like in any fieldwork I have been closer to some interlocutors than others, even been able to form friendships. As to the literary texts, I conceptualise them as artefacts for social analysis (cf. Riles 2006; Wulff forthcoming).

I end on a caveat: Having done single-sited fieldwork for my PhD on youth culture and ethnicity in an inner city area of South London in the 1980s, before I set out on this series of multi-sited studies, I was familiar with the different phases of fieldwork, such as the time it takes to build trust (Wulff 1988). This was clearly of great benefit in my multi-sited field studies. So the question remains: is one year in a single site still the best way to learn the craft of fieldwork?

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VALERIA SINISCALCHI

The anthropology of European economic spaces

Reflecting on economic anthropology in Europe pushes us to think about the place that Western European economies have had in the history of the anthropological discipline, considered either as a model from which to break away or as a source of general laws of human behaviour (Siniscalchi 2012: 553).[4] But it also implies examining the political and intellectual dynamics that are at the core of each attempt to define an ethnographic or academic 'European' entity, which is anyway always artificial. The 'anthropology of the Mediterranean' characterises the 1960s period. Studies inside this framework are probably the most 'European' approaches on Europe: also if scholars do not come all from Europe, the most part of them were trained in British social anthropology. The framework of reference was Braudel's work (1949) that saw the Mediterranean as a space of exchange, trade and influences, in the long term. But the fieldwork was above all located in southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, France, Italy and Greece; Davis 1977). The study of economies was important and permeated some common themes – peasantry, property, the opposition between town and country, social stratification and *patronage*, honour and gender – also if there was no single theoretical approach from the point of view of economic analysis. This 'nearby' South had the function of 'exotic Other', often represented as rural, underdeveloped, and not linked to larger political and economic contexts (Boissevain 1975; Herzfeld 1987).

4   I have analysed more widely the landscape of economic anthropology on Europe in another text (Siniscalchi 2012), which this current commentary refers to.

In the seventies, Wallerstein's work (1974) became a reference for research on economic phenomena, in the framework of 'political economy', and long-term history was a fundamental tool of analysis of social, political and economic configurations. The Mediterranean perspective lost its heuristic capacity and attention shifted more and more to Europe. And the exotic South became the periphery or semi-periphery in the 'world system' perspective. Bourdieu and Foucault's works had a strong influence on economic anthropology, especially their attention to power and power relations. In the nineties, research started to consider institutions, bureaucracy and relations with the State as well as industrialisation and trade (Goddard *et al.* 1994). The dimensions of practice, agency and power were present in different studies dealing with these topics and with the distribution of public goods and services, above all in the perspective of political anthropology (more than economic anthropology). At the same time, the field of economic anthropology in Europe appeared exceptionally fragmented (Siniscalchi 2002; Hart 2006; Hart and Hann 2011) with studies on corruption, legality and illegality, post-socialist economies, crossing works on typical products and markets, informal work, gender and industrial contexts.

My own fieldwork projects, between Italy and France, have intersected these fields, influenced in part by the works of the anthropology of the Mediterranean, in part by studies of political economy, with a strong attention to power and the dimensions of agency. Working on agricultural contexts, then on industrial districts and finally on food activism, the focus of my research has been economic negotiations, regulations and the ways of constructing economic spaces in the interstices of Europe. Adopting the notion of 'economic space' (Wallerstein 1981) as a soft notion allows us to think about the economic transformations through different ethnographic contexts.

Considering and analysing changes in the contemporary world is both a challenge and a necessity for an anthropology of economic spaces. Centres and peripheries are moving constantly and the creation of new forms of inequality must be studied as well as the new power relations. This obliges anthropologists to pay attention to the links between economy and politics, to the changing forms of work, the regimes of values and to the new regulations concerning production, exchange and consumption. If fragmentation still characterises the European approaches to economy today, in the last fifteen years, bridges between some central topics became more explicit from an ethnographic and economic anthropology point of view. In this perspective, the study of 'food activism' – as different forms of mobilisation of producers and consumers around the food system and food equality (Counihan and Siniscalchi 2014) – appears more and more linked to the analysis of struggles in industrial contexts, particularly in European contexts. In both cases, people try to rethink the forms of economic exchange or property regulations, to modify the actual system of production, distribution and consumption, and to imagine alternatives to the capitalist economy. At the same time, we need to look beyond the intellectual and political borders of Europe and examine the connections and networks that link it to other parts of the world.

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HANA CERVINKOVA

Trends in East/Central European anthropologies

I see optimistic trends in the anthropologies in/of East Central Europe (ECE), which seem to be finally emerging from the post-Cold War shadows. In the first two decades after 1989, much anthropological discussion, both that which took place among indigenous anthropologists and that between them and their Western colleagues, evolved around different sets of dichotomies related to the politics of anthropological knowledge production. The local debate, for example, focused on the division between 'traditional' ethnologists and 'modern' cultural anthropologists (Buchowski and Cervinkova 2015). The discussions between indigenous and Western anthropologists, on the other hand, centred around the term 'post-socialism', which served as a defining concept through which East Central Europe was initially studied by Western scholars and which became absorbed by indigenous scholarship through the complex workings of the processes of cultural and academic hegemony following the political, military, economic and ideological defeat of the communist regimes in the former Soviet Bloc (Cervinkova 2012).

Gradually, a debate emerged, in which some of the leading ECE anthropologists critiqued the dominance of concepts developed in Western academia over those that

emerged out of local anthropological and ethnological traditions (Buchowski 2004; Kürti and Skalník 2009). The struggle on the part of local scholars was essentially to reposition East Central European ethnologies and anthropologies from playing the roles of sources of data and field research locations to more influential players in the field of knowledge production. Today, we can observe a new wave of anthropological writing coming out of Eastern and Central Europe, one that no longer refers to these dichotomies. This new trend is visible especially when we look at some of the original ethnographies rich in content and theoretical conceptualisation produced by ECE anthropologists who do not seem to feel the need to define their position along Post-Cold War lines (Kościańska 2014; Main 2015; Mikus 2015; Pawlak 2015).

Another trend, which I find particularly inspiring, is the developing tradition of scholarship that explicitly grapples with issues of anthropological engagement and anthropology's public futures (Baer 2014; Rakowski 2015). It seems to me that it would be useful to see these trends in ECE anthropology as a part of larger efforts in world anthropologies to overcome the problems that stem from the mismatch between our traditional methods and demands of conducting research to global futures (Fortun 2012; Appadurai 2001; Eriksen 2005). By positioning themselves inside world anthropology debates, these 'new ECE anthropologists' are part of the much-needed process of anthropology's de-parochialisation.

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PAOLO FAVERO

The image in a digital landscape

In many parts of the world digital images are today truly ubiquitous. They filter social actors' experiences of self and community, their memories and loves, their everyday life battles and ways of relating to space. Anthropology and the social sciences at large are indeed increasingly reacting to this phenomenon and the boost of programmes in visual and digital cultures (at times in a combination) is an evident sign of this. Today, we are well beyond the point of looking at images (or at the visual in general) as a form of 'thin description', as Hastrup provocatively suggested in 1992. However, we should not take the meaning of the present 'visual hypertrophy' (Taylor 1994) for granted either. Rather we should use it as a 'clue' for better understanding the assumptions that inform our engagement with images. What do images mean and do in a digital landscape? And what challenges do they pose to anthropologists and ethnographers?

In order to answer such questions I first need to take a step back and offer some reflections on the conventional assumptions that have characterised our understanding of this field. To begin with I suggest that we must abandon old-fashioned notions of the digital as the negation of a truer, 'realer' experience of the world, as a detachment from everyday life. This is the assumption that informed Nichols' sentence 'the chip is pure *surface*, pure *simulation* of thought […] *without* history, without depth, without aura, affect, or feeling' (2000: 104). Instead, digital images (and the digital at Q7 large) seem to increasingly anchor their producers and users in the socialness and materiality of everyday life. This can be detected in the progressive shift of attention to the mundane and the nearby that can be observed in mobile-phone photography and that is exemplified by the invasion of photos of mugs, pets on the couch and half-eaten plates on platforms such as Instagram and Flickr (see Murray 2008). Or it can be found in avant-garde practices such as interactive documentaries where users are consistently urged to engage with what happens beyond the screen, hence closing the gap between life 'off-line' and 'on-line' (see Favero 2013). These practices help social actors in connecting different locations with each other turning, through the

shared used of digital images, scattered individuals into a potential community. Digital images can therefore be looked upon as generators of new social relations and new forms of participation in the material, physical and social exigencies of everyday life rather than a move away from it.

This anchorage in material reality can also be addressed from a different angle. 3D printers are today top-selling items both in the consumer market as well as among scientists. Translating an abstract idea into a material object with the help of a (stereolytographic) image, these devices invert the principle of virtualisation that has characterised much of our understanding of digital technologies. Rather than reducing a thing to a (virtual) file, here the digital helps materialising the virtual. A parallel process is observable also in the field of new camera technologies. Following the broader trends that are sanctioned by fitness bands, smart clothes and watches, cameras too are today becoming increasingly wearable. Life-logging and action cameras, for instance, foreground the act of image-making as a matter of embodiment. Made up of a combination of lightweight materials, high-quality sensors, processors and stabilisers, these cameras are to be worn by the user, positioning the body as the viewfinder through which images are generated. These technologies force us to overcome conventional notions of intentionality and framing in image-making. But they also mark a shift, importantly, away from narrow definitions of the visual field. This insight can be strengthened by observing the extent to which a large part of the information that we get from images today depends upon metadata (images are increasingly consumed through timelines and maps).

The meaning of images in a digital landscape is hence increasingly generated at the intersection of visual, digital and material culture. This requires from the scholar a capacity to overcome conventional assumptions and to generate a new set of theoretical dialogues. A new notion of 'imageness' (Ranciere 2008) capable also of bridging the present, the past and the future, is needed today.

These shifts also pose, however, new political and ethical challenges. Today's anthropologists cannot but engage with digital/visual technologies as topics of research and as tools for conducting ethnographic research and for communicating research results. Yet, they must also be wary of not falling into easy-at-hand celebrations of 'digital utopia' (Rosen 2001: 318). Contemporary digital technologies (visual or not) aim today at closing a circuit of information between the users (with their bodies, habits, networks and spaces) and the producers of the technology. Nicely summed up by notions of immersivity and symbolised by products such Apple's watch, these practices constitutes indeed a new Panopticon whose functioning we are urged to examine.

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EDVARD HVIDING

European anthropology in the contemporary Pacific

Are anthropologists in Europe differently positioned than their colleagues in other world regions in terms of analysing and contributing to the improved understanding of current global challenges? There is widespread current concern in Europe, North America and Australia about the future of anthropology as a university discipline and as a prominent perspective in public debate. Anthropology departments are merged into larger units, and our qualitative methods appear no longer to be distinctively our own. In the public domain our dominant tenets of relativism and locally grounded ethnographic detail may be deemed politically naïve and parochial, seemingly without bearings for a world in crisis in terms of finance, poverty, climate, ecology, demography and more.

I wish to argue against such pessimism. The global reach of anthropology's comparative perspective – in which anything, anywhere, is relevant for understanding anything else, anywhere else – is more significant than ever. To state this argument in some detail, I draw on my own current engagements in crosscurrents between mainstream anthropology and policy-making, and present some thoughts about the contributions of anthropology to pressing challenges of our time, in particular that of climate change. My examples are from the vantage point of the Pacific Islands, a famous region in and for the early rise of anthropology, but lately falling somewhat out of fashion. Global climate change and its escalating effects promise to reverse this failing attention to the Pacific. The inhabitants across the imperial-ethnological 'regions' of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia are in fact now experiencing, more than any other part of the world, the impacts of sea-level rise, extreme weather, ocean acidification and other effects of global warming. Concurrently, Pacific Islanders have increasingly been defining themselves as a diverse, interconnected indigenous collective of people living across the great region of Oceania – a 'sea of islands' in the apt words of distinguished Tongan anthropologist, the late Epeli Hau'ofa (1993). Q8

Inter-island mobility and far-ranging social and political relationships, across languages, cultures and archipelagos, are of course emblematic of Oceania's cultural history, and have continued to be generative of indigenous models for encountering and relating to worlds beyond, from early imperialism to present globalisation (e.g. Sahlins 1993). In line with this, the once-classical ethnographic region of Oceania, from which anthropological theory and method grew, today has a presence in the global debates of climate change totally disproportionate to the region's modest population and small states. Powerful individuals like Kiribati

president Anote Tong and Marshall Islands minister of foreign affairs Tony DeBrum continue to make media headlines, and their impassioned speeches aim to install in the wider world, particularly its Western varieties, an impression of gross injustice suffered by the innocent.

The Pacific contributes the least to global warming, but is set to suffer the most from its consequences. The moral imperative thus commanded on a global level by representatives of the Pacific Islands is strongly informed by the deployment of deep cultural imagery, often relating to the ocean and maritime travel, and in this field there is a particularly dense relationship between cultural heritage and political innovation (Hviding and Rio 2011). In my own daily work as coordinator of the European Consortium for Pacific Studies (ECOPAS), an EU-funded European-Pacific network of research centres tasked with providing research-based knowledge to inform the European Union's cooperation with Pacific Islands nations (Borrevik *et al.* 2014; www.ecopas.info), I experience how a European perspective of engaged anthropology, in direct dialogue with Pacific colleagues and grassroots activists, allows us to think differently on the current issues facing the Pacific than if we were to work in, say, an Australian university, where so much more strategy and funding of research are tied to immediate Australian foreign policy priorities.

At the time of writing, those priorities are actually given by a government noted for ruthless cuts in university funding, as well as denial of anthropogenic climate change. While the European Union's Pacific interests are not entirely idealistic but informed by the geopolitics of alliance with small but numerous Pacific island nations, EU priorities do locate climate change centre stage. The problem of distance – whereby European anthropologists working in the Pacific are institutionally remote from the 'field' – becomes more of a privilege, then, whereby Pacific Studies European style can be developed as an anthropologically based and ethnographically grounded research agenda rather free from interventionist-styled political agendas of the major powers of the Pacific Rim. That an engaged anthropology focused on geographically distant and post-colonially remote parts of the world like Oceania can still be sustained to some degree in Europe, and that it can be represented by major centres of Pacific research from which the European Commission seeks knowledge, suggests that sustaining a globally comparative research record has the promise of addressing any emerging world challenge. Building ethnographically based case studies from the very frontline of climate change (e.g. Rudiak-Gould 2013) cannot be anything else but relevant and pertinent, way beyond the inner circles of anthropology. In a time of global crisis, our discipline may, along these lines, hope to avoid internal crisis, instead attaining a state of 'usefulness' without breaking with the enduring criteria of good anthropological practice. No discipline can, like ours, work in, with and for the people of the entire world. It is urgent that we do so.

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USING e-ANNOTATION TOOLS FOR ELECTRONIC PROOF CORRECTION

Required software to e-Annotate PDFs: <u>Adobe Acrobat Professional</u> or <u>Adobe Reader</u> (version 7.0 or above). (Note that this document uses screenshots from <u>Adobe Reader X</u>)
The latest version of Acrobat Reader can be downloaded for free at: <u>http://get.adobe.com/uk/reader/</u>

Once you have Acrobat Reader open on your computer, click on the Comment tab at the right of the toolbar:
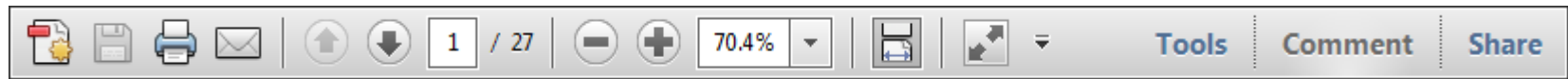
This will open up a panel down the right side of the document. The majority of tools you will use for annotating your proof will be in the Annotations section, pictured opposite. We've picked out some of these tools below:

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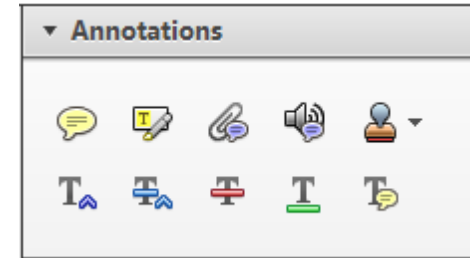
1. Replace (Ins) Tool – for replacing text.

Strikes a line through text and opens up a text box where replacement text can be entered.

How to use it

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on the Replace (Ins) icon in the Annotations section.
- Type the replacement text into the blue box that appears.

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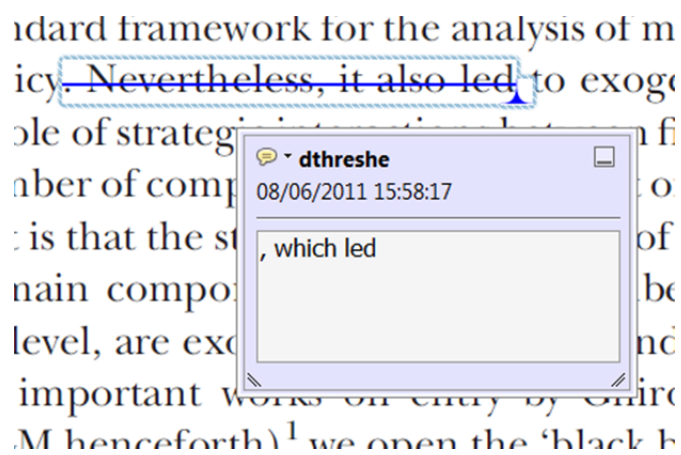
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Strikes a red line through text that is to be deleted.

How to use it

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on the Strikethrough (Del) icon in the Annotations section.

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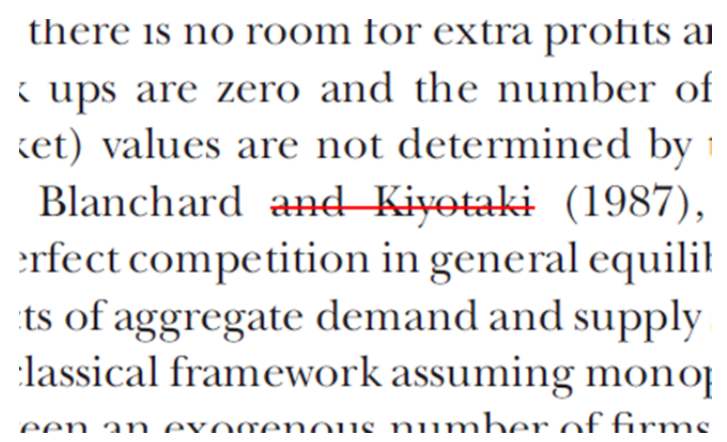
3. Add note to text Tool – for highlighting a section to be changed to bold or italic.
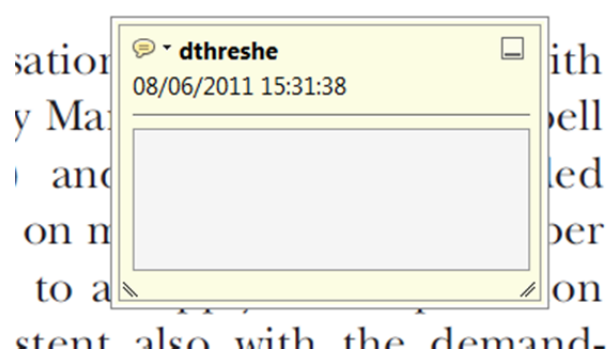
Highlights text in yellow and opens up a text box where comments can be entered.

How to use it

- Highlight the relevant section of text.
- Click on the Add note to text icon in the Annotations section.
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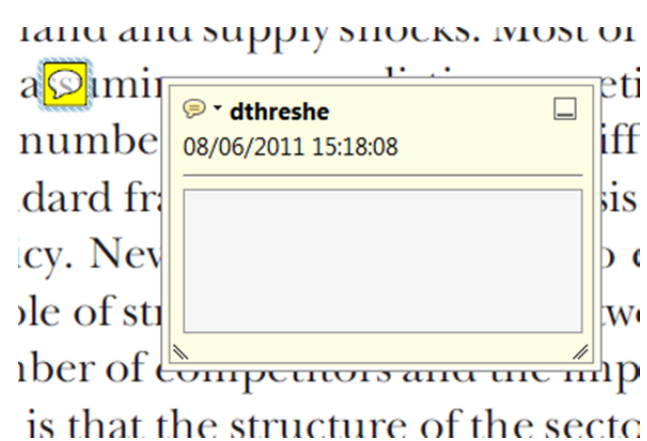

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Marks a point in the proof where a comment needs to be highlighted.

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- Click on the Add sticky note icon in the Annotations section.
- Click at the point in the proof where the comment should be inserted.
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Inserts an icon linking to the attached file in the appropriate pace in the text.

How to use it

- Click on the Attach File icon in the Annotations section.
- Click on the proof to where you'd like the attached file to be linked.
- Select the file to be attached from your computer or network.
- Select the colour and type of icon that will appear in the proof. Click OK.
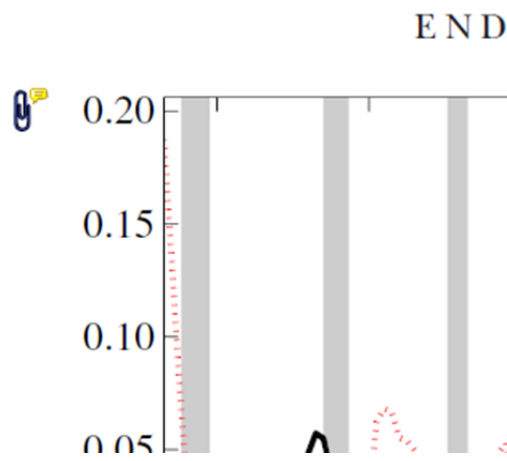
6. Add stamp Tool – for approving a proof if no corrections are required.

Inserts a selected stamp onto an appropriate place in the proof.

How to use it

- Click on the Add stamp icon in the Annotations section.
- Select the stamp you want to use. (The Approved stamp is usually available directly in the menu that appears).
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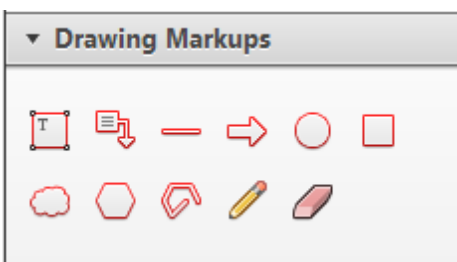
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Allows shapes, lines and freeform annotations to be drawn on proofs and for comment to be made on these marks..

How to use it

- Click on one of the shapes in the Drawing Markups section.
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- To add a comment to the drawn shape, move the cursor over the shape until an arrowhead appears.
- Double click on the shape and type any text in the red box that appears.
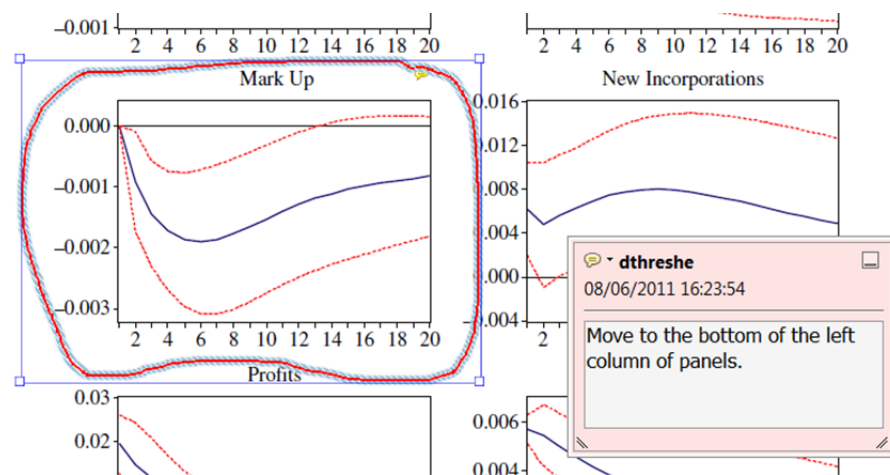
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