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Seminar

Anthropological perspectives in a changing Europe

“Bringing people in”

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Seminar

Anthropological perspectives in a changing Europe

“Bringing people in”



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PREFACE

Despite the economic, institutional and legal advances in the building of the EU, it is clear there is certain disaffection with the European project and what it has come to symbolise. The result is a renewed interest in the relationship between European institutions, their impact and the lives and values of its citizens. This relationship has never been the object of systematic studies. Knowledge of this matter is fragmented and largely framed in national contexts. Although the perceived “democratic deficit” and governance structures have received a lot of attention from political scientists and sociologists, how these political configurations are experienced and symbolised in everyday life is not well understood. It is a question of how and to what degree European identities have been shaped by formal political and economic processes and about how Europe and European ideals form the horizon of our lived experience. It is about how our sense of being European has been transformed by social trends outside the remit of EU institutions.

With the support of the European University Institute, the Directorate for Science Economy and Society of the Research Directorate-General organised a seminar in Florence on 23-24 October 2008 on “Anthropological perspectives in a changing Europe” to discuss with several anthropologists from Europe and beyond important research questions which have implications for the European citizen. A further aim was to see how this discipline could contribute more to the Social Science and Humanities research programme.

Within the European Commission, the Directorate for Science, Economy and Society is in charge of promoting collaborative social science and humanities research that aims to generate an in-depth understanding of the complex and interrelated socio-economic and cultural challenges confronting Europe, with a view to providing an improved knowledge base for policy development in the fields concerned.



This seminar was the outcome of individual meetings with anthropologists as well as a meeting with the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) in Brussels in June 2008. The aim of the seminar was to reflect on the following questions:

- *What is the current state of anthropological research on Europe and Europeans?*
- *How can anthropology help us to understand how abstract notions such as 'Europe', 'European' and 'European citizenship' are enacted and embodied by individuals in their everyday lives?*
- *How can anthropology shed light on the way individuals in Europe experience and react to globalisation?*

EU funded research in Social Sciences and Humanities started in 1994 with the 4th Framework Programme ("FP") and is now the biggest collaborative research programme in the world in the social sciences. This programme does not serve disciplines as such but deals with issues and challenges that have to be addressed by collaborative multidisciplinary projects. Currently there are several (FP6 and FP7) collaborative projects funded with a high participation of humanities researchers including anthropologists.

The Directorate is presently developing a road map of research priorities from 2010 to 2013 addressing the grand European challenges. One such challenge is the need, at this point in the construction of Europe, to involve the European citizen more – **to bring people in**. The seminar will inform the drafting of the next series of annual programmes but also more long-term programming, as it is clear that the contribution that anthropology can make to the study and knowledge of the European citizen is of the utmost importance.

A special thanks goes to the European University Institute, and in particular to its president Yves Mény and its team, for the welcome and logistic support that have made the organisation of this seminar possible.

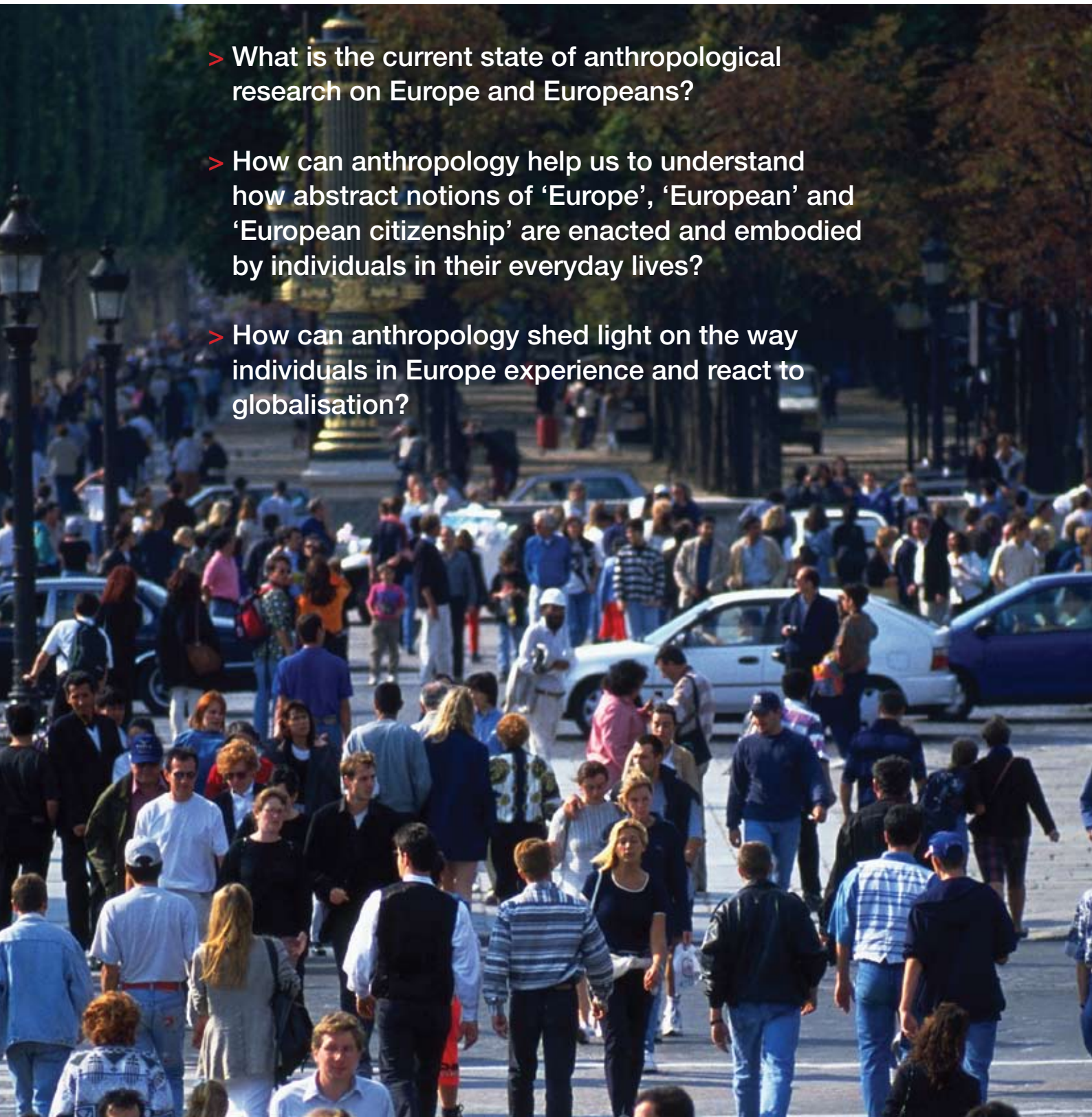
Johannes Klumpers
Head of Unit for Scientific Culture & Gender

Jean-Michel Baer
Director for Science, Economy
& Society



The objective of the seminar was to reflect on the following key issues which have implications for the European citizen:

- > What is the current state of anthropological research on Europe and Europeans?
- > How can anthropology help us to understand how abstract notions of 'Europe', 'European' and 'European citizenship' are enacted and embodied by individuals in their everyday lives?
- > How can anthropology shed light on the way individuals in Europe experience and react to globalisation?







OPENING CONTRIBUTIONS

The seminar started with contributions from: Michael Herzfeld (Harvard University), Marc Abélès (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales) and Christina Garsten (University of Stockholm).

“Cultural intimacy and the reconfiguration of nationalism in 21st-century Europe” by Professor Michael Herzfeld (“MH”)

What do we mean by cultural intimacy? The term in MH's sense (see *Cultural Intimacy*, 2nd edition, 2005) does not just mean familiarity with a culture, but constitutes a zone of shared and potentially embarrassing self-knowledge shared by the members of a culturally or socially defined group; this knowledge, which is a source of solidarity internally, is often disreputable on the larger international stage (especially when judged according to the prevalent hierarchy of [cultural] value, another term proposed by MH).

This hierarchy (see MH's book *The Body Impolitic*, 2004) is the cultural successor to the politico-economic structures of colonialism. Its dominance, represented today in part by the EU, is widely assumed. It includes the kind of political correctness that may actually mask racist sentiments, as in the widespread disclaimer, “I am not a racist but....”

Anthropology has long served as the basis of a critique of Western supremacism, which makes it politically unpopular in many circles. It is nevertheless important as the source of grassroots-level insights into concealed dimensions of cultural politics, including the contents of various countries' zones of cultural intimacy, the dynamics of racism within “civil society,” etc., and especially because it serves as the most substantive critique of Eurocentrism (the uncritical assumption of Western, and especially European, superiority). As an example, in Italy people often say that those to the south of where they live are where “Africa” begins; but even leaving aside this prejudice against “the south,” who says that African cultures should be regarded as inferior? For that matter, who says that Europe must be defined as Christian (see statements by Giscard d'Estaing, Benedict XVI, and others), or that Europeans are “racially white”? These doctrines, which are problematic, nevertheless form an important part of what Douglas Holmes (*Integral Europe*, 2000) has identified at the core of European self-recognition. Racism and cultural, religious and social intolerance



are thus not attacked effectively by the dominant political forces because in some ways they represent an important -- if embarrassing -- component of the cultural space of the new Europe.

Racism is thus one component of Europe's emergent cultural intimacy. Localist politics reproduce this politically fascist aspect of European cultural dynamics in a particularly malignant and dangerous form; ethnographic research can reveal how this localism works to exclude those who are "different," providing a sense of guilty solidarity to the majority. Such localism bears the worst features of virulent nationalism, which the EU sought to break but may instead have driven underground and into such local political formations.

For all these reasons, anthropology is a source of critique; it is also, from the perspective of some of the more rigid state structures, subversive -- but this is what renders it important, since (unlike some other social sciences) it is not commonly implicated in large-scale policy-making (there are some exceptions to this).

Since anthropology places itself thus in a contrarian position, it can offer a useful corrective to received ideas. MH wants to encourage people who do not define themselves as Europeans to come and study European society. If we seriously intend to be comparative at defining characteristic of anthropology as a discipline - we need non-European scholars to look at European society from their own perspectives.

Language training will be an important part of this development. To study immigration, one needs to know the various languages of the immigrants; this is important for entering their zones of cultural intimacy -- which is impossible if one only speaks the language of the dominant bureaucracy and police force. On the other hand, those who want to study the cultural intimacy of bureaucrats will have to spend time gaining the bureaucrats' trust and learning the technical vocabulary of their professional labours.

Fieldwork, the characteristic method of social anthropology, is today conducted in industrialized and Western societies as well as "tribal" and "rural" ones. The attitude that one can understand the internal dynamics of cultural confrontation without extended fieldwork, based on social intimacy and over long periods of residence, needs to be combated. This is getting to be very difficult in Europe,



where most states, especially those in the Bologna process, demand a shorter time for doctoral study and thus do not allow the development of much serious anthropological research. Europeans often fail to see the damage done to the discipline – and to useful knowledge – by this shift. Fieldwork, and especially language mastery, demands long-term immersion. U.S. students have a much better situation in this regard, given that they are allowed up to 10 years for a Ph.D. programme.

“New challenges for the anthropology of Europe” by *Professor Marc Abélès*

Professor Marc Abélès explained how anthropological studies have evolved in the past years from concentrating primarily on the ethnography of faraway places or on the most archaic aspects of nearby societies (rural communities, traditions and folklore) with fieldwork based on concerns with kinship, ritual, politics and religion, to new topical arenas and theoretical concerns such as scholars of African studies working on humanitarian problems or conflict issues. Furthermore from the 1980's question of how to think about the anthropology of modernity and of post modernity, to whom should it be addressed and with which instruments measured?

When anthropologists study the transformation of European societies they are confronted with the permanent interference between the national, the European and the global dimension. Professor Abélès elaborated on two main issues:

- The anthropological experience of globalisation (its cultural dimension)
- The tension between the notion of European identity and citizenship and the attachment to values linked to the nation-state paradigm

Citizens are faced with the notion of space-time compression that entails a profound reorganization of our representations of space and time especially the feeling that local happenings are shaped by events far away. For Westerners the fear of a closed-off world expresses itself through a strong feeling of insecurity, the perception of the extraordinary closeness of other lands, whether Eastern Europe, Asia or elsewhere. The awareness of globalization cannot be summarized by the recognition of the increasing interdependencies of the economies but lies as much in the interiorisation by the citizen of developed countries that they will never again be “sheltered” from the threats of distant places. The discourse of



modernity was articulated around the idea of an irreducible difference between all that represents civilization and progress and these others. We are now part of the same planet and our fates are increasingly interwoven.

Against the positive aspects of cultural interactions, “metissage” and hybridization, the opposite vision is an interpretation that highlights the virulence of the tensions generated by the reality that resources and richness have to be shared. Globalisation destabilises our bearings. There arises de-territorialisation of culture, homogenisation and uniformisation: but people do not receive passively these cultural flows and these flows are heterogeneous. From an anthropological perspective this westernisation/homogenisation scenario fails to adequately capture what is going on in the world.

Globalization also destabilises the nation-state paradigm. The globalised world is characterised by transnationality: can we already talk of emergence of post-national sovereignties? Some argue that the state no longer plays a central role in a world that puts a premium on “governance without government”.

“Global swirl: some reflections on European organizing in the context of globalization” by *Professor Christina Garsten*

Professor Christina Garsten’s field of expertise is the anthropology of organisations and markets. She presented research findings on the impact of policy interventions of international institutions that will be published in a joint article jointly authored by Birgit Müller, Irène Bellier and Christina Garsten. This work is the result of an ESF exploratory workshop on the Anthropology of International Institutions held in 2008 (<http://www.esf.org/activities/exploratory-workshops/social-sciences-scass.html?year=2008&domain=SCSS>). International institutions, including European ones define the work their people should do, they exercise power as they construct the social world, they advise on best practices, on good governance according to universal standards (common sense models), and those tend to be oriented to the advantage of selected players.

International institutions have established their presence in anthropological enquiry, as their impact has come to be felt where anthropologists do research. The World Bank has been present through its advisors, projects and funds in parts of the world where anthropologists have traditionally done fieldwork. Also in the newer fields of anthropological enquiry, in enterprises, urban settings, tourism, state institutions, in the domain of intellectual property rights and cultural policies,



the guidelines, codes of conduct and other soft laws produced by international institutions have had an impact on practices and policies. Anthropologists have begun to study the different and creative ways people use and oppose these standards, defend their rights at the local and UN level, negotiate the impact of World Bank projects, or technical cooperation programmes initiated by UN institutions and challenge regulations on intellectual property rights under the auspices of the WTO and WIPO, which often supersede state legislation and regulation. In recent years the institutions themselves have also become fields of anthropological enquiry.

In correspondence with recent trends in other disciplines studying international institutions, anthropology has been less concerned with defining what international institutions actually are, but with what they are doing: through their production of norms and rules, the distribution of financial resources, their arbitration mechanisms or policy interventions. Institutional sociologists have come to affirm that international institutions are not only battlegrounds for government interests but also players in its own right: they 'create actors, specify responsibilities and authority among them, and define the work these actors should do, giving it meaning and normative value. International institutions advise on 'best practices', good governance and try to shape government policies and practices according to what they present as 'universal' standards.

Anthropologists have pointed out that these 'universal' principles, the singular common sense models, the agreed international standards of governance, and the financial guidelines and benchmarks tend to be oriented towards the interests of selected players (Mosse 2005: 7). 'Free'-market based solutions are promoted as to ensure that market behaviour will be shaped as to fit a legal, political and economic environment suited to western investors (oederberg 2003:17-18).

Studying these mechanisms is a complex endeavour that requires practicing multi-sited ethnography: fieldwork is often done at different sites among transient individuals, such as experts from international institutions in local settings or representatives of civil society or indigenous groups in the headquarters of the institution. A plethora of written materials, often coded legal texts and that use semantics particular to the institution are also looked at. To do this established as well as inventive ethnographic tool have to be mobilised and neighbouring disciplines invited to joint research to be capable to cut across issues and follow the global to local relationships.



One of the strengths of an anthropological approach lies precisely in mobilizing details that may point to inherent contradictions, to interstices, voids and gaps that reveal the whole institutional field in a different light, therefore a disarticulation becomes apparent between the practices of and in these institutions and their rationalising models. Nevertheless, anthropological field-studies don't pinpoint primarily the dys-functionalities of the international system, they address the practices and effects of international governance, the complexities of its intended and unintended consequences, of structured and unstructured ignorance, the contents but also the gaps, voids, ambiguities and contradictions. They question the modalities of partnership with civil society that are promoted by international institutions and the possibilities to stabilize the flow of meanings that are produced globally as well as the political impacts of the mechanisms and instruments there agreed.

The different institutions of the international system have by no means the same impact on the national and local level. Institutions such as the WTO, IMF and World Bank can enforce their norms and decisions through binding and constraining mechanisms, whereas other institutions especially in the UN system are governing through soft law, 'project law' and voluntary engagements. However, features of international governance become apparent, that all of these institutions seem to have in common.

Their mechanisms of consultation and control framed in terms of partnership, transparency and accountability create new games of power in the field of ethical politics redefining political conflicts in terms of moral and juridical standards. Tales of 'harmony' reign in the prevalent discourses but they do not necessarily solve the underlying conflicts in reality as they cover up differentials of power, resources and economic interests. International institutions produce reified discourses, global norms and standards that emphasize consensus while creating ambivalence of meaning. International institutions, their ways of working, their normative structures and their tools, merit further anthropological inquiry.



DEBATE AND OBSERVATIONS

Discussions focused on three main aspects:

- Reflections on the specificity of the discipline
- Obstacles to its participation in interdisciplinary collaborative projects
- Identification of the societal issues Europe is confronted with that require further research and to which the discipline could contribute

Specificity of the discipline

Participants reflected on the anthropological perspective and what is particular to anthropology. The following points were emphasised:

- The importance of ethnographic research, as well as the necessary language skills in order to do fieldwork in a traditional way
- Long-term fieldwork
- Reciprocity and embeddedness brought by anthropology
- “Culture” and “networks” as the main concepts of anthropology
- The oppositional status of anthropology results from its cultural critique and investigation of cultural intimacy
- The fact that anthropology brings in the local, the particularistic, the critical reflection, the context, the element of comparison and **people!**
- Understanding people seemed to be what mattered the most. Mention of the current crisis was made and the fact that loss of trust in institutions is now a problem; anthropological issues can help with the notion of what trust is and how it is built

A participant also highlighted the specificity of the goals and values of anthropology and the fact that anthropology gives unique attention to the consequences of their studies. Anthropologists try to carry out research that can help the people they study: there is an ethical commitment to produce knowledge that promotes social justice.



Obstacles to the participation to collaborative multidisciplinary projects

The anthropologists present seemed to believe that the specificity of their discipline and in particular the methodology they use (long periods of field work, the need to learn the language of the community they want to study) hindered their participation in collaborative multidisciplinary projects in particular European ones. They also felt that when they did participate in collaborative projects, when final reports and deliverables were prepared they often did not fully reflect their perspectives.

Anthropologists study the same themes as social sciences but the difference lies in the methodology they use and in the perspective they take. Interdisciplinary perspectives are interesting in anthropology but most participants thought that applied or policy-oriented research was difficult for them to address because of the way this research was formulated. For example when using the notion of culture it should be borne in mind that there are many definitions, but the concept of culture used in policy-oriented research proposals is usually a very truncated one, as it is in discussion with policy makers. As a result, anthropologists feel marginalised because of the truncated vision of their discipline. In other disciplines, such as economics for example, researchers are trained to frame problems in a policy-oriented way, but not anthropologists. It was suggested that anthropology was not amenable to bureaucratic regulations, and that the way bureaucratic knowledge is organised is anti-anthropological.

The question of how to coordinate interdisciplinarity was raised and the issue of how to accommodate a substantial period of fieldwork in the planning of these projects. Funds allocated to do policy work do not give enough time to do in-depth field work.

Furthermore, some of the participants who had the experience in working on EU funded research, and who had used anthropological perspectives in the policy domain, underlined that anthropological practice was truncated, and that the synthesis phase did not reflect the ethnographic work carried out by anthropologists. To do things in a proper anthropological manner, time for research, language learning or participative observation should not be curtailed. Anthropologists do not want to compromise their methods too much, to avoid



giving the misleading impression that the necessary cultural intimacy can be obtained easily and quickly. It is therefore essential that the discipline be central in any collaborative project in order to have the “intimacy” that is appropriate to anthropological research.

On the other hand it was pointed out that the classical model of anthropological work had evolved, and that the notion of sending someone off for 12 to 18 months field research, which is written up on their return, is not the only way to gather information. Students also have a streak of individualism which makes collaborative projects unattractive to them. One participant suggested that anthropology should get more involved with the large-scale institutional structures of our society instead of concentrating on small, gritty stuff.

The role of the EASA in the evolution of anthropology in Europe was underlined. It was commented that some of the problems faced by the discipline are national ones and that the EU should not be blamed for these. Participants commended the EU on the wide range of funding opportunities that it offers.

Nevertheless, several participants agreed that the country that best supports anthropological research is the US, where academic freedom is more protected, where anthropologists are able to express the oppositional character of their work and where they have the opportunity to spend the time they need for doing their research. The same no longer seems to be true in Europe. Most of the participants said they would like to take part in EU programmes, but as anthropologists and not as second rated sociologists or policy makers.

The importance of comparative projects and the need to bring in anthropologists from outside Europe was underlined, as it is difficult to work on the issue of identity from the inside and that anthropology was comparative and associated to the study of non-Europeans. Europe has been defined in contrast with other continents and was largely created outside Europe in the relationship with Europe and the rest of the world.

Finally it was mentioned that we should not speak of the anthropology **of** Europe but anthropology **in** Europe, as we have many anthropologies and that, according to one participant, anthropology can help prevent the notion of Europe becoming an instrument of repression.



Identifications of societal issues Europe is confronted with

Participants were divided into 3 parallel groups corresponding to three Activities of the Cooperation Specific programme.

The Cooperation Specific Programme defines the mission, objectives and legal framework of Social Science and Humanities (SSH) research. It is implemented through annual Work Programmes (WP) defined by the Commission after consultation with academic experts and representatives of the relevant national ministries and agencies. WPs take account of relevant research activities carried out by Member States and associated countries, the need for European added value, as well as the impact on EU policy-making and industrial competitiveness. The specific programme is divided into 8 Activities. The participants in this seminar discussed issues linked to: Activity 3 Major trends in Society and their Implications, Activity 4 Europe in the World and Activity 5 The citizen in the European Union.





PROPOSED RESEARCH ORIENTATIONS

Full reports of each parallel session are enclosed in the Annexes but we can underline the following issues:

Activity 3: Major Trends in Society

- Generation as a concept is under-theorised and ethnographically under researched. Research on ageing society should include a focus on both young and old
- Study of kinship
- “ Medicalisation of ageing” and medicalisation of everyday life (Medical anthropology)
- Relationship between consumption and identity (idea of trust)
- Study of *racisms* (plural), as racism does not happen only in dominant populations: one should also look at marginal or subordinate groups which express their own racism/culturalism
- Colonialism

Activity 4: Europe in the World

- Human mobilities for work and security (including – in full awareness of the problematic term – “informal economies”)
- Categorisations and Discriminations: racism as one aspect of how people categorise and discriminate
- Different representations of Europe
- Colonial Legacies in Europe and in the World
- Mobilities of ideas and things, viewed not only from the perspective of Europe



Activity 5: The Citizen in the European Union

- Borderlands (Comparative approach: why is the magnet of Europe losing its appeal in some regions while European integration is described as a matter of life and death in other regions?)
- Practices and experiences of border-crossing
- “Mobility” and inequalities
- Multiple forms of diversity
- European citizenship as a “process of complexification”
- Belonging and kinship
- Focus on practices and perceptions of inclusion
- Focus on emotions (e.g. : hopes, humiliation)
- The crisis of political representation
- The study of power, its symbols and language
- Heritage; the relationship between place and identity
- Cultural avant-gardes as a European phenomenon
- Promote research that shows the enrichment of Europe through transnational connections
- Science – the role of science in producing a “morally neutral” discourse; studies of scientists’ gatherings at the European level
- Media



CONCLUSIONS AND FOLLOW UP

The seminar confirmed the importance at this stage of the construction of Europe of the need to “bring the people in”, to involve the citizen. Therefore anthropology’s specificities, and in particular its methodology, can contribute greatly to the issues around the European project by shedding light on the behaviour of its main focus and *raison d’être*: the European citizen. In fact what matters the most to this discipline is to bring in the local, the particularistic, the critical reflection, the context, the element of comparison and most of all the **people!**

Anthropologists can study the cultural dimension of globalisation and the impact it has on European societies confronted with the permanent interference between the national, the European and the global dimension.

The relationship between European institutions, their impact and the lives and values of its citizens needs to be studied in a more systematic way in a European - and not only national - perspective. Furthermore, if we want to be comparative it is important to have non-European scholars to look at European society from their own perspectives.

The oppositional status of anthropology, resulting from its cultural critique and investigation of cultural intimacy, can provide a different angle to received ideas, such as racism which is one component of Europe’s emergent cultural intimacy. Ethnographic research can reveal how localist politics work to exclude those who are “different,” providing a sense of guilty solidarity to the majority.

Results of the discussion and issues identified have been examined by colleagues in the Directorate for Science, Economy and Society in charge of the Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities programme. They have been used, where relevant and possible, in the drafting of the future research challenges and topics for the remainder of the 7th Framework Programme.

Several of the anthropologists present have been invited to participate in the upcoming evaluation of the Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities 2009 Work Programme.





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EUROPE IN THE WORLD |
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THE CITIZEN IN THE EUROPEAN UNION |



ANNEX 1

Agenda

Thursday 23 October

- 14.30 Welcome by **Yves Mény**, President of the European University Institute
- 14.40 – 15.00 **Jean Michel Baer**, European Commission DG Research, Director Directorate L Science, Society and Economy: Presentation of the aim of workshop: How can anthropologists contribute to Socio Economic Science and Humanities EU funded research
Johannes Klumpers, European Commission DG Research, Head of Unit Scientific Culture and Gender issues: Participation of Humanities and in particular Anthropologists in the EU Framework programmes
- 15.00 – 16.30 3 Contributions of 15 minutes each followed by discussion
Michael Herzfeld: “Cultural Intimacy and the Reconfiguration of Nationalism in 21st-Century Europe.”
Marc Abélès: “New Challenges for the anthropology of Europe”
Christina Garsten: “Global swirl: some reflections on European organizing in the context of globalization”
Chair: **Jean Michel Baer**
- 17.00 – 18.30 Round Table on: Current state of anthropological research on Europe and Europeans and addressing the main questions of the seminar
Chair: **Ulf Hannerz**



Friday 24 October

10.00 – 11.30 *Parallel Workshops* - Participants divided in 3 groups corresponding to 3 Activities of the Specific Programme:

Activity 3: Major Trends in Society

Activity 4: Europe in the World

Activity 5: Citizen in the European Union

11.30 – 13.00 Continuation of parallel sessions

14.30 Reporting by each group on discussion and identification of possible challenges and/or research priorities
Chair: **Jean Michel Baer** - European Commission

17.00 Conclusion and wrap up





ANNEX 2

List of participants

Anthropologists

Prof. Marc Abèlès	École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Prof. Joan Bestard	University of Barcelona
Prof. Michal Buchowski	University of Poznań /University Viadrina in Frankfurt/oder
Prof. Benoît de L'Estoile	CNRS
Prof. Lynda De Matteo	École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Prof. Joao de Pina Cabral	University of Lisbon
Prof. Hastings Donnan	Queen's University Belfast
Prof. Thomas Fillitz	University of Vienna
Prof. Christina Garsten	University of Stockholm
Prof. Aziliz Gouez	Notre Europe
Prof. Ulf Hannerz	University of Stockholm
Prof. Michael Herzfeld	Harvard University
Prof. Signe Howell	University of Oslo
Prof. Lilith Mahmud	University of California Irvine
Prof. Rajko Mursic	University of Ljubljana
Prof. Susana Narotzky	University of Barcelona
Prof. Enricque Porqueres i Gené	École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Prof. Maja Povrzanovic Frykman	Malmö University

European Commission

Jean Michel Baer	DGT RTD - Director L Science, economy and society
Johannes Klumpers	DG RTD- Head of Unit L4 Scientific culture and gender issues
Alessia Bursi	DGRTD- Scientific Officer - L4 Scientific culture and gender issues
Sonia Croughs	DGRTD- Secretary - L4 Scientific culture and gender issues



ANNEX 3

Report from workshop on activity 3: “Major trends in society” presented by *Hastings Donnan*

Workshop Members

Michal Buchowski (Chair)
Hastings Donnan (Rapporteur)
Ulf Hannerz
Signe Howell
Joan Bestard
Rajko Mursic

The following summarises only the headline points from our discussion.

Throughout we kept in mind ‘what is the anthropological perspective?’; what can the discipline bring to the table that is distinctive? We reiterated some of anthropology’s key characteristics and contributions which include inter alia:

- the importance of fieldwork and language learning
- focus on people and culture
- good at challenging naturalistic assumptions
- questions the value of received analytical dichotomies
- emphasises context, comparison and the processual

We had three broad headings to consider: demographic change; changing lifestyles; cultural interactions in international perspective. I will deal with each in turn.



DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Ageing

When talking about ‘ageing society’ we must not forget youth. There is sometimes a tendency when talking about ageing to equate it with old people and the elderly. Ulf Hannerz made the point yesterday that ‘generations’ must be understood as a relational term. We must keep our focus on all generations, so that ‘ageing society’ should include a focus on both young and old. Generation is a concept which is under-theorised and ethnographically under-researched.

We identified a number of possible projects.

- Migration of retired people both within Europe (to Mediterranean, Spain, Slovenia, Croatia) and outside (Florida). The acquisition of second homes in sunny locations reshape both the environment they have left behind and the one they have moved into.

Here it would be possible to have comparisons both across time and space: second homes are a new phenomenon in some places (e.g. Slovenia) but are of longer standing elsewhere (e.g. Spain).

- The workshop noted a tendency of older people behaving as if they were ‘younger’. And a complementary process of younger people not achieving independence until later. It is not just a new phenomenon – in the west of Ireland ‘boys’ often did not become ‘men’ until they inherited the family farm – by which point they could be well into their forties. So, once again, this is a phenomenon that needs more comparative ethnography as well as comparison across time.
- We noted privatisation of care for the elderly. We broadened this out to what we called the ‘medicalisation of ageing’, which begins at birth, continues right through the life cycle and becomes particularly visible among the elderly.
- The apparent conflict between older and younger generation Asians would be worthy of further study.



- One distinctive contribution anthropology can make to the understanding of demographic change in Europe is to draw on the discipline's expertise in the study of kinship. Demographic change/migration is often based on kinship. Sociologists and political scientists do not look at kinship so this is a unique contribution anthropology might make. What do 'filiation', 'divorce' etc mean – anthropology has a whole set of long-standing theoretical models for approaching these issues that is distinctive.

Migration

- Migration should be studied at both ends, in the receiving as well as the sending society. Once again, anthropology has a long history of such dual focus studies, e.g. on Asian migration to Britain. If we research only the migrant, we don't see what is happening in the society that they have left behind. e.g. 'Euro-orphans': where the father is working abroad, changing the dynamics at home.
- In Europe we operate primarily with a single notion of the (nuclear) family. Many different family systems are coming into Europe and nobody is studying them.
- Once again the importance of learning the language of those we are studying is critical. It is much less productive, for example, researching Turkish migrants if you do not speak Turkish.
- Religion is important here – particularly the relationship between religion and family values. However, the focus should not just be on 'new' religions in Europe. The longstanding religions require study too. What does religion mean to ethnic Danes or ethnic Swedes in interaction with migrants who seem to value religion much more highly?



CHANGING LIFESTYLES, FAMILIES, HEALTH

- Anthropologists are able to offer close observation of health services, clinics, old people's homes and offer rich, reliable data on health services. Such data contextualise larger scale process on which they also offer an 'everyday perspective'. Medical Anthropology has been one of the fastest growing areas in, for example, UK anthropology and a large body of expertise already exists. Once again, medicalisation of everyday life might be a focus here.
- Lifestyle of students is an area under-researched. How does student lifestyle fit into the economy and into university reforms? How are students embedded within the wider society? We deal with students every day and their numbers have been growing across all higher and further education sectors, but their relationship to the wider society is under-researched.
- We mentioned that anthropology is good at challenging naturalistic assumptions. Sex and sexuality and the diversity of practices and identities are topics on which ethnographic research has much to offer, drawing on comparative understandings of sexuality across the globe. The sexualisation of society and sexual identities are topics worth exploring ethnographically.
- Work: work and identity and how personalities are changed through work for different sections of the population are worth further research. Young people choose personally satisfying subjects and may be less motivated to study subjects such as engineering. Yet by contrast a high proportion of students in Asia are motivated precisely to study medicine, engineering etc. This topic could feed into others suggested above: for instance, the extension of youth/postponement of adulthood and how this related to work; the changing meaning of work and how this alters people's self-perceptions and how they are perceived by others.

With some kinds of work there is no division between work and fun – anthropology is one example! Judith Okely's case study of Traveller-Gypsies in the UK offers a classic example of how work and social and cultural life



more generally are mutually entangled with no clear boundaries between them. We could study the compartmentalising of work from other forms of power.

It was also suggested that we could study how certain subjects (e.g. engineering) mean different things in different places and how they are differently gendered. Johannes Klumpers pointed out that the EC is already dealing with exactly this subject.

- Lifestyle and consumption offer rich possibilities for ethnographic research. Research might look not just at economy of consumption but also at people's resistance to the market economy, to the relationship between consumption and identity. Important at present is understanding individuals' responses to uncertainty given the current economic crisis: young people are not able to move out of their parents' home, perceptions of risk and uncertainty (on which again there is a long history of study in anthropology); and the role of kinship networks in offering social security in such situations. The idea of 'trust' may be an important concept to examine here.

Which lifestyles are now seen as attractive and why?

The 'irresponsibility' of youth may predispose young people in particular to careers in, for instance, investment banking.



CULTURAL INTERACTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Here Charles Taylor's notion of 'deep diversity' comes to mind – drawing attention to the complex relationships and intersections of different sorts of cultural belongings across different contexts and domains.

- European citizenship: Language is critical – how can you share citizenship when you can't speak to other citizens? This may also have a lot to do with class. We could map the European linguistic landscape. Anthropologists could draw here too on their comparative expertise of fieldwork in multi-language settings such as Malaysia and Indonesia among others.
- Racism/culturalism: As Michael Herzfeld pointed out yesterday, we must be attuned to the hierarchies of culture that are implicit in our discourses – hierarchies that are underpinned by radical power differentials. We must also recognise that racism/culturalism doesn't just happen in dominant populations. However, studies generally focus only on dominant racism and not on marginal or subordinate groups which express their own racism/culturalism. It makes more sense to speak of racism in the plural and not the singular – racisms and culturalisms rather than racism and culturalism.
- Benoît de L'Estoile drew attention yesterday to the importance of the European colonial experience/history for viewing Europe: and to understanding Europe from without as well as within. The different approaches of Britain and France, for example, have something to do with their different overseas colonial experience. There are many kinds of European colonialisms (in the plural), but colonialism is not touched on anywhere in the Work Programmes.
- Gender was also a theme we were invited to consider. Anthropology would see gender as an issue everywhere (i.e. in all of the above) and would not compartmentalise it as it tends to be in the Programmes. Different countries approach the study of gender in very different ways and it would be useful to map this. We could look at majority populations to see what ideologies they have.



ANNEX 4

Report from workshop on activity 4: “Europe in the world” presented by *Thomas Fillitz*

Workshop Members

Michael Herzfeld (Chair)
Thomas Fillitz (Rapporteur)
Benoît de L’Estoile
Susana Narotzky
Marc Abélès
João de Piña Cabral
Christina Garsten

The group considered the outline of activities as formulated in the FP-7 programme as the broad field for its reflections.

The group decided to answer the request from the EC Research Directorate at three levels:

1. What expectations should we fulfil, i.e. in which directions should we formulate or answers?
2. We considered three main frames for answering the questions;
3. And finally we wanted to suggest some considerations for the future design of project calls (the format).

1. The group discussed several opportunities for our task: should we develop a vision? Should methods and themes be central to our final report? Should we look to the future design of such programmes? Is there a time issue, which made anthropology mostly an appendix in previous programmes? Or should we be more ambitious and formulate a list of recommendations?



2. Our three frames for answering the task:

- We decided to adopt a general approach: we would formulate themes for the whole anthropological community, without intending to cover all topical areas;
- This should be done by opening the themes from our fields of interest to the community of Anthropologists: a so-called outgoing conversation;
- It is of utmost importance to reflect the notion of “bringing the people in”, face-to-face is an invaluable aspect of this endeavour, and an important contribution to the FP-Programmes of the EC.

The broad formulated themes:

- Human mobilities for work and security (including – in full awareness of the problematic term – “informal economies”);
- Categorisations and Discriminations: racism appears to us as a too narrow concept in this respect;
- Representations and different ways of seeing Europe;
- Colonial Legacies in Europe and in the World;
- Mobilities of ideas and things, viewed not only from the perspective of Europe.

We would like to assert that various aspects of these themes had been developed during our debate, and other themes as well. We however found that this complex leaves the floor open for further reflections and ideas in different directions – what we intended to.





3. The question of the format

- The conditions of work: are they conducive for the work of anthropologists? This means long-term fieldwork with intensive language training. Another such problem could be the team of researchers: how do researchers from various disciplines cope with different time frames, those of anthropologists being generally long-term.
- The mission: longer missions seem most wished from anthropological side.
- Regarding the deliverables: could monographs, edited volumes, or several articles constitute an option? They currently appear only as side products – they demand for time for being produced.
- We would welcome if the themes, in the way they are described in the various framework programmes, could be less fixed and to enable more creative flexibility on the part of the researchers and project-submitters.

As final remark, the task we had to reflect, and the valuable comments we received from Jean Michel Baer and his team showed that a stronger anthropological impact into this programme line is possible, and we shall disseminate the idea among our existing networks.





ANNEX 5

Report from workshop on activity 5: “The citizen of the European Union” presented by *Aziliz Gouez*

Workshop Members

Lilith Mahmud (Chair)
Aziliz Gouez (Rapporteur)
Lynda Dematteo
Enrique Porqueres I Genes
Maja Povrzanovic Frykman

Suggested fields of investigation:

(The succeeding list is NOT organized hierarchically)

New transnational spaces and practices

Borderlands

- Start from the peripheries in order to understand the centre: studying borderlands can enlighten us on mutual obsessions, blind spots, self-delusion.
- “Europeaness” as an essentially contextual notion: as the EU is expanding and is coming closer to cover up the entire continent, the notion of “Europeaness” becomes more and more problematic for those belonging to countries which are “pushed to the margins” (Western Balkans, Ukraine, Moldova, etc.)
- Comparative approach: why is the magnet of Europe losing its power in some regions while European integration is described as a matter of life and death in other regions?

Practices and experiences of border-crossing

- Complex notion of “crossing”: integration/disintegration
- Both at individual and collective level: what do individuals/countries who “enter Europe” integrate into? What do they leave behind?



“Mobility” and inequalities

- Europe as a space of spatial and temporal disjunctions
- The “mobility” of immigrants differs from that of tourists, businessmen, students etc
- How can those who are “tied up to the local” experience European citizenship?

Multiple forms of diversity

Citizen as management of diversity in everyday life

European citizenship as a “process of complexification”

- Multiple loyalties, double citizenship: why is it recognized only by a minority of Member states?
- Rooted cosmopolitanism: cf. peasant of Sicily with relatives in the US or Polish countryman with children living in Dublin or London

Belonging and kinship

- Rhetoric of ascendancy; mixed people seen as subversive
- Mixed blood (*speckled people*): new children, new narratives

Focus on practices and perceptions of inclusion

- Analyse the gap between racist and exclusionary discourses and the actual level of interdependence (cultural, economic, etc.)
- Critical approach to the notion of “integration”: look at inclusion not only amongst the natives of the host country but also amongst other foreigners of this country (in the neighbourhood, etc.)

Focus on emotions

- Hopes (what are they? how do they drive individual and collective trajectories?); humiliation



Citizen in their relation to different institutional levels

Crisis of the political representation

- Mechanisms of “identification” with different political levels
- Contemporary development of populism in Europe: the EU is most often than not the target of populists
- Look at different venues of political engagement

Study of power, its symbols and language

- The Euro: a common currency (epidemiological perception of exchanges: Slovenian Euros in Trieste, German Euros on Costa Brava, etc.)

Complicated notion of culture: what makes “European culture” as a means to understand the construction of “europeaness”

Heritage; relationship between place and identity

- Places of European memory, school excursions
- Geography and literature

Cultural *avant-gardes* as a European phenomenon

- Complicated relationship to tradition in Europe: cf. Italian futurism (violence)

Promote research that shows the enrichment of Europe through transnational connections

- Both in a historical and contemporary perspective: the way in which Europe is/has been benefiting from external inputs
- Shifts in the relation between geography and identity throughout history: cf. the European coastline (formerly a base for departure: emigration, explorations; today a place of entrenchment and of collision - between immigrants coming from other continents, the “rich” people from Northern Europe moving to Southern countries in order to live on the seaside, and the local population)



Spaces of commonality

Science

- Role of science in producing a “morally neutral” discourse; scientists’ gathering at the European level
- Use of biotechnologies: when it comes to “vital issues” (giving birth, etc.), the practices of ordinary people turn out to be quite similar – religious differences do not matter as much anymore

Media

- Transnational media (cf. Arte or TV between Hungary, Romania and Serbia)
- Linguistic pluralism







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On the initiative of the Directorate for Science, Economy and Society of DG Research, European Commission, a seminar was organised both to encourage the participation of humanities scholars in the Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities Work Programme and to contribute to the Directorate's preparation of its 2010-2013 Roadmap. 18 high-level anthropologists from Europe and beyond came together to discuss the specific contribution this discipline can make to the programme, including reflection on the following questions:

- What is the current state of anthropological research on Europe and Europeans?
- How can anthropology help us to understand how abstract notions of 'Europe', 'European' and 'European citizenship' are enacted and embodied by individuals in their everyday lives?
- How can anthropology shed light on the way individuals in Europe experience and react to globalisation?



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