Overlapping crises in Europe (or a never-ending crisis)

Workshop of EASA’s Europeanist Network
Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa / 2-3 November 2023

PROGRAMME & TIMETABLE: See page 3
also available at: https://easaonline.org/networks/europ/events

KEYNOTES

John Keith Hart
“Europe in The Current World Crisis”
2 November 2023

Susana Narotzky
“Social reproduction troubles: the accumulation of crises and the sustainability of life”
3 November 2023
Overlapping crises in Europe (or a never-ending crisis)
Workshop of EASA’s Europeanist Network
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This workshop will examine the concept of crisis, providing a holistic perspective, and approaches crises as interconnected remerging conditions. For more than a decade, public discourse has been focused on various crises, while at the same time, social scientists are trying to analyse these phenomena – e.g., the (ongoing) financial crisis of 2008, the European migration crisis since 2015, and, more recently, the COVID-19 related sanitary crisis and the so-called housing crisis across Europe.

Currently, war is ongoing in the heart of Europe, hand in hand with an energy crisis. Simultaneously, a potential food crisis is also in the horizon; and a new war between Greece and Turkey could re-establish the borders of Europe (and the European Economic Area [EEA]). The prevailing ongoing, overlapping crises (Capello 2020; Spyridakis 2013), calls for a discussion of the interweaved patterns. The 2023 EuroNet workshop invited presentations based on ethnographic research on crisis, a crisis that is not seen as an event or period of time, but as a chronic condition that creates new normalities (Knight 2019; 2021), and that is interrelated with each other.

Some of the questions (but not limited to these) proposed are:
- Why the events are most of the times contextualised as a new crisis in contrast to pre-2008 ones?
- How do people react to the normalisation of successive crises and adapt to them?
- Did people mostly react individually or did they organise collectively to react to different crises?
- Why some of these crises generated more solidarity among people?
- How do people and policies relate to events happening in other EEA countries and prepared to face them at home?
- To what extent did crises generated by external factors (economic, political, social and health at European level) generate internal problems – in countries, regions, cities and families?

Moreover, we are interested in whether policies and governance are interconnected (or, in some cases, are not) in Europe and if these reactions and events contribute to enhancing a European identity and solidarity.

The workshop is scheduled as an in-person event and all the participants should be (or become) members of EuroNet. https://www.easaonline.org/networks/europ/

Organisation:
Patrícia Ferraz de Matos (ICS – Universidade de Lisboa)
Panas Karampampas (Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences)
EuroNet contact: euronet.easa@gmail.com
8.30 – 9.00: Registration

9.00 – 10.15: Opening Session and Keynote (Auditório Sedas Nunes)

OPENING SESSION

Patrícia Ferraz de Matos  
(EuroNet Convenor – Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

Panas Karampampas  
(EuroNet Co-Convenor – Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences)

Marina Costa Lobo  
(Director of Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

João de Pina Cabral  
(EASA Founder – Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

KEYNOTE

“Europe in The Current World Crisis”, John Keith Hart (Goldsmiths, University of London)  
Abstract and bio blurb: See page 14.

Chairs:  
Patrícia Ferraz de Matos (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)  
Panas Karampampas (Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences)

10.15 – 10.45: Coffee Break

10.45 – 12.00: Panel 1 – Countryside, Demography, Depopulation and Dependent Relations (Sala Polivalente)

“Chronic crisis in the Greek countryside: Informality and citizenship formation”, Dimitris Giannakopoulos (University of Ioannina, Greece)

“Crises and the Moralities of Dependent Relations in North Hungary and Romania: Notes towards a Comparative Ethnography”, Judit Durst and Gergely Pulay (HUN-REF, Center for Social Sciences, Budapest, Hungary)

“Does Demographic Crisis Imply Overall Crisis? Depopulation, Livelihood, and Vigilance about Change on the Azores”, Tim Burger (LMU Munich and University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)

Chair: Virgínia Henriques Calado (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)  
2 November 2023

12.00 – 13.00: Panel 2 – Relating and living with (post-?) Economic Crisis (Sala Polivalente)

“Spectralities of Crisis: Hauntings and Anticipations in Iceland”, Marek Pawlak (Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland)


Chair: Paulo Granjo (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)
Abstracts: See page 7.

13.00 – 14.30: Lunch Break (ICS Bar or Free)


“Amidst the cracks of urban spectacle: Making sense of and accommodating life trajectories against the Hungarian gimmick that does not want to end”, Judit Veres (Central European University, Wien/Budapest, Hungary)

“Lisbon in urban crisis: Learning from the growing competition between tourism, residents, and the new forms of mobilities”, Maria Assunção Gato (DINÂMIA'CET-Iscte, ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal) and Ana Rita Cruz (CinTurs, Faculdade de Economia da Universidade do Algarve, Faro, Portugal; DINÂMIA'CET-Iscte, ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal)

“Tourism, polycrisis and the metamorphosis of tourism capitalism: the case of Spain”, Raoul V. Bianchi (Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom) and Claudio Milano (Universitat de Barcelona, Spain)

Chair: Nuno Domingos (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)
Abstracts: See page 8.

15.45 – 16h15: Tea Break

16.15 – 17.15: Panel 4 - Identity and Nationalism during crisis (Sala Polivalente)

“Those who become’: crisis, ritual and recourse to local pasts and identities in Skyros, Greece”, Georgia Psarrou (University College London, United Kingdom)

“Grassroots Solidarities and Anti-crisis Nationalisms in Greece: Practices, Discourses & Performances in times of Crisis”, Stamatis Amarianakis (University of Aegean, Greece)

Chair: Panas Karampampas (Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences)

20.00: Conference Dinner
10.00 – 11.15: Panel 5 – The Possibilities and Disappointments of Migration (Sala Polivalente)

“Canaries in the Coal Mine’: African Hazards and Hardship Compensation in Europe’s ‘Outermost Territories‘”, Eda Pepi (Yale University, New Haven, USA)

“The ‘Dublinings’: An anthropological inquiry into the lifeworlds of those who crossed European borders”, Gianmarco Marzola (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

“Leaving for the Common Good: Migration as a Hopeful Response to Lebanon’s Collapse”, Haya Mortada (Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA)

Chair: Cristina Santinho (CRIA, ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa)
Abstracts: See page 10.

11.15 – 11.45: Coffee Break

11.45 – 13.00: Panel 6 – Challenges of Health and Politics in and outside Europe (Sala Polivalente)

“Crisis as ‘Decay’, ‘Desert’ and ‘Bazaar’: transformations in dental care sectors in England and Turkey”, Diana Ibanez-Tirado (University of Sussex, United Kingdom)

“Finding Euroland: slow experiences of European disintegration in post-Brexit Scotland”, Alastair Mackie (Independent postdoctoral researcher, PhD from Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, United Kingdom)

“Transversal Turn? Right-Wing Responses to Crisis in Germany”, Stefan Wellgraf (Institute for European Ethnology, Berlin, Germany)

Chair: Antónia Pedroso de Lima (ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa/ CRIA, Lisbon)
Abstracts: See page 12.

13.00 – 14.45: Lunch Break (ICS Bar or Free)

14.45 – 16.00: Panel 7 – Studying and Labouring through the European borders (Sala Polivalente)

“Erasmus+ in crises?”, Christina Tigka (Panteion University, Athens, Greece)

“‘Cardko Lãgi’: A Collective Moral of Migrant Nepali Agriculture Workers in Portugal”, Kishor Subba Limbu (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

“Why study cinema if they won’t let us make it?’ Experiences of crisis and future making in the Portuguese filmmaking sector”, Sofia Sampaio (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

Chair: Marta Rosales (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

16.00 – 16.30: Tea Break
**16.30 – 17.45: Final Session and Keynote** (Auditório Sedas Nunes)

**FINAL SESSION**

Introduction to the session:
**Susana de Matos Viegas** (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

**KEYNOTE**

“Social reproduction troubles: the accumulation of crises and the sustainability of life”, **Susana Narotzky** (Universitat de Barcelona, Spain)

Abstract and bio blurb: See page 15.

Chairs:
**Patrícia Ferraz de Matos** (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)
**Panas Karampampas** (Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Greece)

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**PAPER ABSTRACTS**

**PANEL 1 – COUNTRYSIDE, DEMOGRAPHY, DEPOPULATION AND DEPENDENT RELATIONS**

“Chronic crisis in the Greek countryside: Informality and citizenship formation”, **Dimitris Giannakopoulos** (University of Ioannina, Greece)

Abstract: In a destabilised environment marked by the chronic economic and social crisis, informality often seems the only viable solution for people struggling to mitigate uncertainty and vulnerability. In the rural area of Agrinio in western Greece, all kinds of agricultural products, from olive oil to livestock products and tobacco, are produced by small family farms and distributed informally through networks based on kinship or friendship ties. Since crises tend to generate normalising events (Koselleck 2006), the ubiquitous performances of informality in the area can be addressed as such. But, as ordinary people perform their informal practices against what they perceive as the immorality of both the (malfunctioning) market and the state, informality acquires a constitutive dimension. Specific forms of production, distribution and consumption are tested, while the broad social consensus reveals a rich cultural world in which identities, rules and a sense of belonging are (re)configured. If it is not just the economy, laws, or policies that determine who is 'in' or 'out' (Ong 2006), studying informality can provide insight into how these boundaries are negotiated in practice. The question then arises: How does this activity relate to the ongoing formation of citizenship?
“Crises and the Moralities of Dependent Relations in North Hungary and Romania: Notes towards a Comparative Ethnography”, Judit Durst and Gergely Pulay (HUN-REF, Center for Social Sciences, Budapest, Hungary)

**Abstract:** We are witnessing a proliferation of global crises for more than a decade now. Social navigation between and across crisis-ridden fields requires movement across different regimes of value. Instances of crises and various forms of moral deliberation are intertwined and mutually provoke one another both in analytic and everyday terms, for us as scholars and for our interlocutors. Post socialist settings, such as our ethnographic fields both in Romania and in Hungary, generally invite a perspective that considers the routinization and the everyday management of crises opposed to a view that aims to comprehend crises as rupture, a space of the extraordinary or as an event. An ethnographic theorization of morality, crisis and dependence must be based on the real-life decisions, contexts and pursuits of ordinary people. Our goal in this paper is to engage with the moral deliberation of dependent relations amid multiple crises that pertain to livelihoods of our protagonists: scrap-metal traders at the margins of urban Romania and (informal) labour recruiters from the rural North of Hungary. We seek to work towards a comparative account on dependent relations and the everyday moral evaluations they incite between the exchange of personal favours and the impersonal forms of service provision.

“Does Demographic Crisis Imply Overall Crisis? Depopulation, Livelihood, and Vigilance about Change on the Azores”, Tim Burger (LMU Munich and University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)

**Abstract:** For decades, the Azorean islands have suffered from depopulation. While transatlantic mobility has defined islanders’ experience ever since the archipelago’s initial settlement, the period from the 1960s onwards saw a drastic increase in outmigration towards North America and mainland Europe. Demographic decline, consequently, has emerged as a chronic problem for island residents, alongside structural disadvantages in terms of geographic remoteness or economic infrastructure. During my fieldwork, remaining islanders described themselves as grappling with a lack of labour power for their agrarian livelihoods, with a landscape that becomes overgrown by brushwood, and with a feeling that central cultural models, mainly households or festivals, are under threat. Anthropologists like Dace Dzenovska, Felix Ringel and Hadas Weiss have recently explored such affective states of “emptiness” and decline in other parts of Europe as well, which establishes demographic change a key crisis of our time. This paper takes depopulation as a normalised condition of Azorean everyday reality and asks about its wider consequences. Examining the intersections between resident numbers and other domains of social life, mainly agriculture and ritual, I argue for a cautious use of the term ‘demographic crisis’. I emphasize how my interlocutors practice depopulation on an individual and collective level without succumbing to an overall crisis of human existence or social reproduction. Exploring the creative and contradictory responses of residents to difficult circumstances, I stress how people attempt to disjunct depopulation from other manifestations of decline, and hence, how they make sense of overlapping crises by sustaining their heterogeneous livelihoods.

**PANEL 2 – RELATING AND LIVING WITH (POST-?) ECONOMIC CRISIS**

“Spectralities of Crisis: Hauntings and Anticipations in Iceland”, Marek Pawlak (Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland)

**Abstract:** The intervention offers ethnographic exploration of how the 2008 economic collapse in Iceland sent its residents into crisis with unintended, temporal and affective consequences. It unpacks the complex relationships of the past and the anticipatory modes of the (continuous) present, which alert to looming crisis future in most surprising ways. From economic and political turbulences to more mundane matters and materialities of the everyday life, there are vernacular timescapes that emerge, repeat and make the Icelandic present uncanny. They produce crisis future that haunts and is haunted; the crisis future that envelops, presses and ripples through the social atmosphere, pushing people to think thoughts and do things, including the creation of otherwise unthinkable alignments, that had once been difficult to imagine. The paper thus offers insights into
an analytical shift that, through its attention to how people engage with crisis temporally and affectively, presents it not simply as a distressing event that happens and is resolved but one that insistently remains a spectre embodied in hauntings and anticipations. Focusing on these processes of active meaning making in motion sheds light on the lived affective and temporal ways of being and acting in our troubling and troubled 21st century world.


Abstract: By drawing on 18-month ethnographic fieldwork conducted amongst people who participate in state-regulated games of chance activities in Turkey during the recent Turkish economic crisis in 2021-2022, cryptocurrency trading was identified as a game of chance that swings between hinging on luck or skills. In the meantime, cryptocurrency trading was also viewed as an investment technique that would accumulate savings for the future amidst fluctuating national currency and polarized political realities. Through engaging with scholarly work on the anthropology of Turkey, economic anthropology, and anthropology of gambling, this paper illustrates the rise of cryptocurrency trading in Turkey since 2019, and unpack imaginaries of wealth, if it is understood to be generated with /or without labour (Foster 2018), and materiality of money, both as token and commodity (Hart 2012) through pursuing speculative economic practices within a ‘post-crisis’ economic capitalism (Weiss 2015, Bear 2020). It shows how people situated the volatile cryptocurrency trading within their own techniques to ameliorate financial volatility and mistrust in governmental financial institutions during times of economic uncertainty and financial crises. This paper suggests that cryptocurrency trading is a contested topic in the Turkish context, where the controversy of cryptocurrency trading is also thought to be a result of the presence of dissonance between traditional ideals, that condemn easy money and emphasize the value of hard work, and capitalistic realities and neoliberal modes of accumulation in neoliberal Turkish economy since the 1980s. In the paper, I argue that during heightened times of economic and political uncertainty, the boundaries between gambling, investing, and savings are porous, leading to prioritizing the ‘lucky moments’ in time that needs to be captured to be able to make uncertainty productive. As a consequence, I argue, states of fragmented temporalities (Fuchs 2007, Alexander et al 2011, Couclelis 2003) are created to tolerate the uncertain realities, when time is divided into several smaller units (moments) that people chase to make profits.

PANEL 3 – URBAN DEVELOPMENT, ECOSYSTEMS AND TOURISM

“Amidst the cracks of urban spectacle: Making sense of and accommodating life trajectories against the Hungarian gimmick that does not want to end”, Judit Veres (Central European University, Wien/Budapest, Hungary)

Abstract: What if a stagnant crisis is the point - wonders Steyerl (2017) taking up Agamben’s (2015) analysis of the word stasis, which contains something both dynamic and immutable, and taking her point of departure from Diyarbakir in south-eastern Turkey as a ‘model of a design of killing” where destroyed, (e)rased city parts live on next to digital renders of reconstruction plans and “Haussmannized walkways”. In this paper I propose to elucidate the ongoing crisis in Hungary ever since the 2010 elections, but perhaps already starting in 2006, through certain instances of urban spectacle on the one hand and with the help of life trajectories on the other. I argue that this crisis is among other things a crisis of re-presentation. Ever since the 2010 elections, the Hungarian society has been subjected to a systematic and protracted assault on the senses and sense-making abilities by the persistent manipulation of public opinion based on an engineering of reality at the intersection of concerted propaganda, selective policies, urban development and an ongoing emergency rule. Bewilderment, incredulity, confusion, anger, helplessness and shock on the one hand and a many different protests along the years, consecutive happenings, which however have not been able to reach a critical mass and solidarity or resolution. I start from theabove-mentioned emotions, from the experience of people against the background of state-run urban spectacle and propaganda.
“Lisbon in urban crisis: Learning from the growing competition between tourism, residents, and the new forms of mobilities”, Maria Assunção Gato (DINÂMIA’CET-Iscte, ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal) and Ana Rita Cruz (CinTurs, Faculdade de Economia da Universidade do Algarve, Faro, Portugal; DINÂMIA’CET-Iscte, ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal)

Abstract: In the aftermath of the pandemic, multiple transformations in the ways of working and living have been observed, with significant impacts on the dynamics of urban ecosystems. The daily routines of commuting between home and work to fulfill fixed schedules of face-to-face jobs in five-day cycles are increasingly being replaced by hybrid and variable models of working, dwelling, and living. In this hybridism of times and spaces, we are also witnessing the growing intermingling of different roles and actors in the same urban scenarios: tourists who want to experience the singularities of local living in short stays; foreign digital nomads who take advantage of geoarbitrage to benefit from attractive and differentiating lifestyles; Portuguese remote workers who seek to escape local job insecurity by providing services abroad; groups of young adults who try to maintain a life in the city by resorting to co-living strategies and other survival practices. In the daily competition for housing, mobility, culture, leisure, and workspaces, inequalities and injustices are accentuated, which in some way harm urban experiences, as well as the reputational and symbolic value of cities that project themselves as attractive in all dimensions. Taking the city of Lisbon as a backdrop, this presentation aims to explore the conflictual component of all these urban dynamics and to question the possibility that they may represent normalisations of a crisis (social, economic, cultural, identity, and symbolic) that has been developing in the urban ecosystem.

“Tourism, polycrisis and the metamorphosis of tourism capitalism: the case of Spain”, Raoul V. Bianchi (Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom) and Claudio Milano (Universitat de Barcelona, Spain)

Abstract: This paper aims to reflect on the concept of crisis based on the analysis of the global tourism system crises. To this end, it analyses the agony of a series of deep and recurrent crises in the Spanish tourism system. While the disruption caused by the COVID19 pandemic has receded, tourism is once again threatened by multiple, intersecting crises, or “polycrisis” (Tooze, 2022). The roots of crises and the manner of their unfolding do not merely ‘impact’ tourism but have been incubated within and shaped by the deeper, structural dynamics of capital accumulation and its associated injustices. This paper draws on a historical materialist epistemology and more specifically, Nancy Fraser’s (2022) critical theorization of capitalism and crisis, to challenge the normative framing of tourism crises as contingent, discrete, and manageable to interrogate the deep-rooted structural drivers of multiple interesting crises and their differentiated social consequences. The paper adopts as its principal focus Spain, a country which has been at the epicentre of the Eurozone crisis and COVID-19 pandemic, for reasons related to the significance of tourism in its external trade/GDP and its economic importance in numerous regions. The research reflects on the implications of crises and the corresponding mutations in the material relations and structures of Spanish tourism for the emergent axes and logics of socio-political struggle to defend or transform Spain’s tourism growth model in times of uncertainty and immobilities.

PANEL 4 - IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM DURING CRISIS

“Those who become’: crisis, ritual and recourse to local pasts and identities in Skyros, Greece”, Georgia Psarrou (University College London, United Kingdom)

Abstract: In the island of Skyros, Greece, the festivity of the Apokries stands out as the most authentic, ancient and beloved. The Skyrian Apokries take the form of a ritual whose participants are collectively known as the ‘ginomenoi’: ‘those who become’. Following the decade-long Greek debt crisis, during which Skyros offered a budget-friendly vacation option, as well as the COVID-19 lockdowns, throughout which Skyros was advertised as a ‘COVID-safe’ destination, the island was
portrayed as offering an authentically Greek experience, both during the Apokries and summer months. Skyrians exploited this characterization by further inscribing links to the national and European past in the island’s local histories and landscape. However, more recently, the threat posed to the island’s natural landscape and indigenous community’s way of living by the overflow of tourists and a proposed wind-farm project, has propelled a recourse to local and filial pasts. In this recourse, the Apokries play central part as the principal figures embodied by the ‘ginomenoi’ are inscribed with symbols of the island’s pastoral past and participants’ own filial pasts. Based on both fieldwork undertaken in Skyros in 2022 and my own autoethnographic insights as a Skyrian, this presentation explores how these recent and successive crises have interred Skyrians in a chronic state of crisis. This chronic state, it argues, has to be reconceptualized as a crisis of historicity, in which Skyrians’ participation in the ritual of the Apokries and wider recourse to the local past are utilized in an effort to navigate uncertain and threatening futures.

“Grassroots Solidarities and Anti-crisis Nationalisms in Greece: Practices, Discourses & Performances in times of Crisis”, Stamatis Aamarianakis (University of Aegean, Greece)

Abstract: During the previous decade, Greece had endured an unprecedented economic crisis followed by outright foreign interventions in its domestic affairs and financial policies. Led by powerful international economic actors and institutions, austerity policies that promoted multiple socio-economic restructurings had severely challenged social reproduction practices and threatened established livelihood patterns and economic cultures. Crisis, to a great extent, has been identified at the grassroots level as an orchestrated attack to dispossess the Greek public from its assets and deprive people of their means of reproduction. The Greek crisis experiences were conceptualized as a form of a collective suffering and thus, invoked anti-crisis discourses with strong nationalist connotations that produced practices, discourses and performances aimed at maintaining the national wellbeing and sustain social solidarity at the (often imagined) national level. Based on ethnography, I analyze how grassroots understandings and explanations of the recent economic crisis reconfigured established nationalist ideologies and reproduced ethno-centric conceptualizations of large scale, global processes. In this paper, I showcase how the Greek economic crisis was nationalized and assess why class-based, grassroots approaches to crisis were overshadowed. I focus on grassroots practices, discourses and performances of social solidarity which highlight historical processes such as the structuration of the Greek national culture and popular ideology, the making of the Greek working middle classes and the challenges that the austerity crisis has brought to people’s personal and collective identifications and actions.

PANEL 5 – THE POSSIBILITIES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS OF MIGRATION

“'Canaries in the Coal Mine': African Hazards and Hardship Compensation in Europe's ‘Outermost Territories’“, Eda Pepi (Yale University, New Haven, USA)

Abstract: Amidst escalating militarization of the Mediterranean, many migrants departing North Africa have turned to the Spanish Canary Islands, Europe’s "outermost territories" in the Atlantic. Consequently, Canarians view their picturesque islands as a "hardship post" and Europe's "backway." In 2020, during the pandemic, a sharp rise in migration (23,000 migrants arrived by boat compared to 2,700 in 2019) coincided with an unprecedented annual *calima* sandstorm that paralyzed the islands for weeks, carrying 60 million tons of dust. Spaniards interpreted both as indigenous African "pollutants" rather than as consequences of global capitalist expansion. A crisis discourse deployed anti-political and naturalistic imagery, portraying a tumultuous, almost oceanic Sahara that pollutes from all directions—with migrating epidemiological threats by sea and chemical dust emissions by air. Leading Canarians to refer to their home as the "asshole of the world" (*el culo del mundo*). Canarians employ racializing discourses about these multiplying crises to characterize even migrants with postcolonial ties to Spain (such as Saharawis) as burdens on their welfare state. This paper contrasts such discourses with the preferential state subsidies received by Canarian citizens, who do not perceive them as welfare. I theorize these subsidies, within their settler-colonial context, as a form of "hardship compensation" akin to what
humanitarian operators and diplomats receive. Canarians negotiate whiteness and membership in the global north by moralizing subsidies as 'hazard pay' for necessary yet undesirable border work at the EU’s oceanic frontiers, and in relation to "hazards" they associate with living just 108km off the coast of Africa.

“The ‘Dublinings’: An anthropological inquiry into the lifeworlds of those who crossed European borders”, Gianmarco Marzola (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract: In the last decades, an increasing number of migrants heading from the Global South has been crossing European borders irregularly, originating what has been commonly called the “European migration crisis”. Notwithstanding, the exceptional nature of a “crisis” poorly describes what appears to be the direct consequence of a growing global inequality and the unequal relationships that bond former colonies to European economies and political agendas. In response to the on-going “crisis”, European nation states deploy humanitarian and security policies of mobility containment. Border control and reception programmes restrict migrant’s mobility forcing them into a subaltern, precarious and often irregular integration in the labour market, mostly in the southern fringes of Europe. Neologisms such as “dublinanti” and “retomados” have were coined to portray migrants caught in other EU countries holding Italian or Portuguese residence permits and who were pushed back to the “country of first arrival” in the enforcement of the Dublin Regulation. Inquiring into the migration experiences of asylum seekers and refugees on the move towards and within Europe, I analyse how the struggle for mobility is enacted by migrants and how they seek to prosecute their journeys across Europe relying on both formal and informal ways of circulating, becoming visible or invisible to EU States. From a phenomenological angle, I demonstrate that border regulations are embodied and inscribed onto migrant bodies and persons and how formal and informal dimensions of migration are merged into their lived experience as a continuum and not as a juxtaposition.

“Leaving for the Common Good: Migration as a Hopeful Response to Lebanon’s Collapse”, Haya Mortada (Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA)

Abstract: Lebanon’s recent history is often chronicled as a series of political, economic, and environmental crises culminating in what is colloquially known as “the collapse.” Starting in October 2019, the collapse marks an ongoing period of rapid currency devaluation, economic meltdown, and breakdown of state services. In Tripoli, Lebanon’s impoverished second city, residents cite the collapse to explain their fast-deteriorating living conditions, and their desire to leave the country as immigrants or on Europe-bound migrant boats. Within this bleak context, Tripoli’s youth describe their migration projects as collective ones, rather than individual responses to the country’s crises. These projects do not only depend on social and institutional infrastructures, but they also entail future economic and political contributions toward building a hopeful collective future in Tripoli. Based on my preliminary ethnographic fieldwork among youth, I will show how migrants-in-the-making rely on social networks and institutions—including European projects to skill youth in response to the so-called refugee crisis—to migrate. They also imagine themselves as wealthy, experienced migrants and returnees who contribute to Tripoli’s economy through remittances, tourism, and investments, and challenge the status quo as political leaders. Seeing Lebanon as a site of intensification rather than exception, I suspect that examining Tripolitan youth’s hopeful migration plans would shed light on processes of normalizing crises and responsibilizing individuals in response to them. I will also explore the connections that my interlocutors draw between European crises—namely the migration crisis and the Ukrainian war—their lived experiences of collapse, and their hopes for a prosperous future.
“Crisis as ‘Decay’, ‘Desert’ and ‘Bazaar’: transformations in dental care sectors in England and Turkey”, Diana Ibáñez-Tirado (University of Sussex, United Kingdom)

Abstract: Recently, UK media outlets and hearings in the UK Parliamentary have described “horror stories” of the “dental deserts” in England, or entire areas in the country that had been gradually left without dental care provision from the National Health Service (NHS) as an “exodus” of dentists have moved from public to private practice. The NHS dental service is free for the most deprived users, and reasonably priced for most of the UK population. At the same time, increasing numbers of people (users) from England are traveling for dental procedures in Turkey, and news have reported on the complications users experience when treatment abroad goes wrong. At the core of these stories is what the British Dental Association (BDA) calls a “crisis” and that has left users who cannot afford private dental care caught between a rock and a hard place. Among them, for instance, there is a dental activist of the group “Toothless in Suffolk”, a woman who failing to secure an NHS dental appointment in one of the numerous “dental deserts” pulled out 11 of her own teeth at home. Stories of dangerous self-treatment abound as, currently, 9 out of 10 dental practices in the UK no longer offer NHS appointments to new adult users (BDA 2022). In Turkey, however, the “crisis” in England’s public dentistry is described by private healthcare providers as a “bazaar”; an opportunity to increase “clients” from the UK, and their own healthcare services, and thus profit. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in England and Turkey, this paper questions the usefulness of “crisis” (e.g. Masco 2017), and instead proposes the concept of “decay” (e.g. Hage 2021). Decay conveys bodily, political, and institutional emergencies that offer “new life” in the process, and this work explores new-fangled forms of displacement, violence, agency, and opportunity that both England’s users and Turkey’s healthcare providers experience.

“Finding Euroland: slow experiences of European disintegration in post-Brexit Scotland”, Alastair Mackie (Independent postdoctoral researcher, PhD from Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, United Kingdom)

Abstract: Polycrisis (Morin) has become a buzzword recently and has been used in discourse to refer to Europe’s state of apparently perpetual crisis since the end of the 2000s. New crises are often portrayed as existential threats to European integration, and one would be forgiven to think that Europe has lost its meaning, or that it never had any meaning at all. These crises often appear suddenly as fast-paced events, but as our attention is already focussed on the next one, the effects of the previous crisis may still be experienced as a form of slow violence (Nixon) for a long time to come. During these aftermaths of crisis, as the dust settles and their consequences reach everyday lives, meanings of Europe are found or (re)created in local spaces. This is the case for Brexit. Although no longer an acute European crisis, communities in the UK still feel its consequences in the everyday. Reflecting on my doctoral research with members of the Scottish independence movement in the wake of Brexit, I will explore how Brexit has influenced meaning-making of Europe in the Scottish independence movement. This will be based on fieldwork I undertook in 2020, when the consequences of Brexit were only starting to be felt – but there was a fledgling realisation that Brexit would deeply affect their communities. Indeed, when its future was no longer certain, Europe was suddenly found in unexpectedly local spaces: amongst friends, family, and local communities.

“Transversal Turn? Right-Wing Responses to Crisis in Germany”, Stefan Wellgraf (Institute for European Ethnology, Berlin, Germany)

Abstract: With the exception of the so-called "refugee crisis," the strong reactions to the crises of recent years no longer followed a classic right-left logic. In the wake of the economic and financial crisis around 2010, significant parts of the East German right turned to criticism of capitalism and the "social question". In doing so, they simultaneously drew on older traditions of German fascism
prior to Hitler's takeover of power, which have traditionally been particularly influential among East German neo-Nazis. During the reception of refugees from Syria around 2015, a racist mode of reaction followed, in which one's own discrimination as an East German was related to a supposedly better treatment of newcomers. During the Corona crisis and the Ukraine war, however, classic attributions are fundamentally challenged. Many right-wing hooligans allowed themselves to be vaccinated, while left-wing ultras categorically rejected this - even though the issue remained highly controversial in both camps. The same applies to the war in Ukraine; due to close ties with Eastern European hooligans, there is a tendency to favor military support for Ukraine, while a smaller faction tends to stand by Russia. Here, opinions are not only similarly disputed as in other milieus, it also seems impossible to even determine what should be a left-wing or right-wing position at all. This poses the question, if there is a transversal turn in both right-wing responses and in our understanding of crisis? This also raises the question of how we understand the politics of right-wing subcultures today and in what way right-left distinctions still make sense in thinking about current crisis?

PANEL 7 – STUDYING AND LABOURING THROUGH THE EUROPEAN BORDERS

“Erasmus+ in crises?”, Christina Tigka (Panteion University, Athens, Greece)

Abstract: EU has consistently used the recent succession of several crises to demonstrate the need for more Europe, meaning more common European policies and reforms, towards a resilient European future (Bouza Garcia, 2017; De Angelis, 2017). Based on my PhD thesis (submitted 2022), that explored the European student mobility programme Erasmus+ as a “soft” governance tool in the hands of European Commission, I attempt to bring forward the programme’s narrative flexibility against three crises contexts, austerity, Brexit and Covid-19, that admittedly affected the most its implementation. I, therefore, argue that no matter the crises context, Erasmus+ is presented and perceived as an opportunity for all and consequently that, through its objectives, European Commission, along with a vast spectrum of education related civil society, is legitimized to represent the fears and support the choices of European youth against uncertainty. More specifically, I argue that claims of a supposed Erasmus generation – comprising no more than 5% of active European student population –, a strong anti-Brexit front and an active European solidarity during the pandemic have indeed made Erasmus+ stronger and a European success story, not only admitted amongst the European institutions but mostly amongst its participants, who are drowned to make the most out of it. I therefore, argue that Erasmus students find themselves to act in favor of the programme and not the other way around.

“Cardko Lâgi’: A Collective Moral of Migrant Nepali Agriculture Workers in Portugal”, Kishor Subba Limbu (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa)

Abstract: In this ethnographic-based research, I will explore the influencing factors of Nepali migration to Portugal and follow the trajectories of migrant Nepali agriculture workers in pursuing the Portuguese residence card. Cardko Lagi is a project and a prospect; the card is perceived as a ‘magic key’ for a better future and expanded opportunities for the next generation. Achieving it involves identified and unidentified trajectories; among them is the option for performing unskilled work in the Portuguese intense-agriculture business. This project will address the experience of Nepali migrants in Portugal who work or have worked in agriculture as manual labourers and discuss the personal, physical, emotional, and social costs of their endeavour: the harshness of agricultural work, the negotiation of their living conditions while at the farms, the experience of racism, xenophobia and increased health vulnerabilities, including (COVID-19). Research results will also contribute to understanding current trends in intensive agriculture and migrant labour recruitment in Southern Portugal.
**Abstract:** The paper draws on interviews, participant observation and published documents (legislation, press releases and news) to examine the discourses and positions that were forged during the public discussion of Law 44/XIV, in the Summer and Autumn of 2020, perceived by many in the Portuguese filmmaking sector as a moment of change and impending crisis. The sector was responding to the introduction of a legal frame that recognised (and, to a certain extent, encouraged) the operation of subscription video-on-demand (SVOD) services in Portugal. The experience of ‘crisis’, however, has occupied centre place in the sector, emerging regularly in interviews and informal conversations. How different was this new crisis when compared to the ‘chronic’ crisis that many of my interlocutors presented as an inherent feature of ‘Portuguese cinema’? The paper discusses different experiences of crisis in relation to ideas of care, creativity, diversity and opportunity and how they were used, in 2020, to sustain distinct practices of future making and making a living (Narotzky and Besnier 2014). The paper is an output of the research project ‘Is there an industry in this film? An ethnography of film production in Portugal’ (CEECIND/03453/2018/CP1541/CT0008), which mobilises concepts like ‘creative labour’ (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011), ‘communities of practice’ (Wenger 1998), and ‘production cultures’ (Caldwell 2008), among others, to gain a better understanding of filmmaking in Portugal.

**KEYNOTES**

John Keith Hart  
Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom  
“Europe in The Current World Crisis”

**Abstract:** The current break in history goes far deeper than the post-war replacement of social democracy by neoliberalism. We are witnessing the end of ‘national capitalism’ whose origin was in the 1860s. Since then, there have been two phases of financial imperialism, each lasting four decades. The first ended in 1914-45. The financial crisis since 2008 is only superficially a question of credit boom and bust. The social organization of money that we lived by in the last century is unravelling now; the first ever global debt crisis must be liquidated soon. Neoliberal globalization today is increasingly challenged by xenophobic autocrats. Both sides are market fundamentalists, but with opposed political priorities. Europe and Africa are complementary actors in a three-act drama: the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. In 1900 Europeans were 25% of the world’s population (36% including the temperate zone lands of new settlement), Africans 7.5%. The forecast for 2100 is that Africa will have 38% of the world’s population, Europe 6%. Africa’s demographic and economic growth points to the possibility of liberal revolutions there. Europe’s inability to resolve its monetary, economic, and political problems, including its inability to defend and reproduce itself, points to irreversible decline. The global economic crisis is due to the collapse of the system of national capitalism that was typical in the last century. The European Union was one response to this development. I examine here its institutional defects, especially the euro itself and the dire consequences of the Lehman crash. The result is a Greek tragedy in both the ancient and modern senses. The Eurozone’s economic stalemate has political causes and remedies, but it cannot be resolved if public debate steers resolutely clear of contemporary social realities. The ruling elites who were responsible for the financial crisis are only concerned to save their own skins and to limit the damage to their backers’ assets. Europe’s geopolitical position, internal divisions, external threats, and irrational political economy all point to the fragility of the peace. The European Union led the
way towards a new political order based on regional trade federations. But its monetarist premises had no room for economic democracy.

The euro crisis pushes the EU’s rulers inexorably along a path of social polarization, between corporate bureaucracy and populations rapidly being stripped of the political, legal, and economic powers that they won after 1945. Just as it was always wrong to imagine that a single currency would lead to political union, so too attempts now to prevent the crisis from unravelling focus on the euro. The problem is the political union itself. Europe’s rulers have grown so accustomed to hiding behind an economic fiction that they have no political solutions. The EU itself, designed to address global economic problems through federation, will inevitably fail and the euro with it. The resulting disaster just might lead to a reconfiguration of world power. But don’t hold your breath.

Aristotle’s concept of hamartia (an irreversible mistake) refers to errors people made in the past that come to haunt them later. These are often unconscious, as when Oedipus kills a man whom he later discovers was his father. Saving the euro hinges on identifying the original mistakes and asking if their victims can do anything to remedy them now. The hamartia in this case was supposing that a single currency might contain the economic diversity of such a region without being unevenly deflationary. The idea that money could forge political union by itself was fed by the neoliberal dogma that markets can and should trump politics. Hence the failure to account for unequal trade balances between member states, the excessive bets made in credit markets by the French and German banks, the democratic deficit and so on and on.

These errors are still hardly understood, even less acted on in Brussels, Frankfurt, and Strasbourg. Taken together, they reveal that the EU’s original big mistake is inexorable, whatever tinkering the bureaucrats come up with.

**Bio:** My intellectual home is the North Atlantic quadrilateral—Britain and France, West Africa, the United States, and the Caribbean formed by the slave trade that made the modern world. I have worked in 24 countries for between a few months and more than two decades as an academic anthropologist, professional gambler and amateur economist, development policy consultant, publisher and now a full-time writer. I live in Paris and Durban, South Africa. I believe that engaged intellectuals should try to understand and shape emergent world society. My main interest is the economy, using all means except orthodox economics and the digital revolution. My historical framework is the three-act drama whereby Europe’s and Africa’s fortunes are being reversed in three centuries (1800-2100). My passion is above all movement, as in music, maths, money, and movies. My last book is *Self in the World: Connecting Life’s Extremes*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn (2022). My anthropology combines social observation (auto-ethnography), world history and humanist philosophy, all anchored in a ‘human economy’ approach (https://www.berose.fr/article2803.html).

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**Susana Narotzky**
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**“Social reproduction troubles: the accumulation of crises and the sustainability of life”**

**Abstract:** Reproductive breakdowns have been the norm for a large majority of humans around the world in colonial and post-colonial settings, as well as in core capitalist countries. Often described as “crises” these situations have been analyzed as conjunctural and structural challenges to the understanding of social reproduction. In the present, the reckless despoliation of life—of humans and nature—seems to expand without limits everywhere. It appears that dispossession and disposability have become key to the accumulation of capital as systemic reproduction rests on the decaying environments, bodies, and lives of the many, making their social reproduction increasingly difficult and apparently meaningless to capital. This situation is often expressed as an overlap of “crises” defining concrete breakdowns or ruptures in an imagined continuity of life.
Crises indicate a critical situation, a point at which a decision needs to be made, a choice between alternative paths that will result in a positive or negative outcome, often defined in moral terms as a “good” or a “bad” outcome for society. But crises are also a moment of indeterminacy and non-knowledge, where prediction according to previous systemic logics becomes increasingly difficult. Crises become sites of power. In the slack of indeterminacy and uncertainty that crises pose, analysis creates the space for critique and for possible transformation. In contrast, when the urgency of “crisis” is invoked, the authority of intervention (by the state or economic institutions) precedes the careful consideration of the various forms of evidence –objective, sensorial, experiential– that may contribute to an appraisal of the empirical reality of the crisis.

Bio: Susana Narotzky is professor of social anthropology at the Universitat de Barcelona. She received the National Prize for Research in the Humanities awarded by the Spanish Research Ministry in 2020. From 2013-2019 she was PI of an ERC Advanced Grant “Grassroots Economics: Meaning, Project and Practice in the Pursuit of Livelihood” [GRECO] studying the effects of austerity on Southern European livelihoods. Her work is inspired by theories of critical political economy, moral economies, feminist economics, and value regimes. Her most recent publication is Narotzky, S. (ed.) (2020) Grassroots Economics: Living with Austerity in Southern Europe, London: Pluto Press. She is former president of the European Association of Social Anthropology (EASA).

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Overlapping crises in Europe (or a never-ending crisis)

Workshop of EASA’s Europeanist Network
Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa / 2-3 November 2023

Obrigada! Ευχαριστώ! Thanks!

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Panas Karampampas is a social anthropologist at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens, while in the past he has worked at the Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia, at the University of Peloponnese, the University of Thessaly and at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales – EHESS, Paris. Previously he was a guest lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of St. Andrews, where he also completed his PhD and a visiting scholar at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the National Research University - Higher School of Economics (HSE University), Moscow. He is a co-convenor of the EASA Mediterraneanist Network (MedNet) and Europeanist network (EuroNet). He was also nominated and elected as a Founding Board Member of the Association of Social Anthropologists of Greece. He currently works on Intangible Cultural Heritage policies and global governance.

His doctoral research focused on the goth scene, digital anthropology, dance, cosmopolitanism and globalisation. His work has been published in peer-reviewed journals such as Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale, Teaching Anthropology, the International Journal of Heritage Studies and the Journal of Youth Studies. He has also co-edited the Collaborative Intimacies: Anthropologies of Sound and Movement (Berghahn, February 2017), and edited the Intangible Cultural Heritage in times of economic “crisis”: Marketisation and Resilience (The Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports Press, 2023).