4th Biennial Conference of the Czech Association for Social Anthropology (CASA), Prague, September 30 – October 1, 2016

AMBIGUITY

Faculty of Arts, Charles University
Nám. Jana Palacha 2
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Czech Republic

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ENG
Šavelková, Lívia 2015. *When the Creator´s Game Spreads to the World: Identity of the Haudenosaunee/Iroquois in a process of revitalization and globalization*. [Orig.: *Stvořitelova hra na cestě světem: Identita Irokézů v procesu revitalizace a globalizace.*] Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice.

CZE
Samek, Tomáš 2016. *This Land is Our Land: Czech and German Public Space – A Deictic Perspective.* [Orig.:*Tahle země je naše: český a německý veřejný prostor v deiktické perspektivě.*] Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice.

CZE
Grygar, Jakub 2016. *Djevushki and cigarettes: on borders, migration and power.* [Orig.: *Děvušky a cigarety: o hranicích, migraci a moci.*] Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON).

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(Café Kampus, Náprstkova 10, 110 00 Praha 1, www.cafecampus.cz)

Saturday, October 1, 2016

Keynote

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Convenor: Lívia Šavelková

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Wet-nurses and Surrogate mothers. Ambiguity in the construction of Fragmented motherhood? An old and contemporary dilemma
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Research of maternal health. What we already know
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Brož, Luděk and Daniel Münster (eds.) 2015. ***Suicide and agency: Anthropological perspectives on self-destruction, personhood and power.*** Ashgate, Farnham Surrey UK; Burlington VT. (Studies in Death, Materiality and the Origin of Time).

Červinková, Hana, Michał Buchowski and **Zdeněk Uherek** (eds.) 2015. *Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe.* Palgrave Macmillan US.

Sidiropulu Janků, Kateřina 2015. *I was never underestimated. From Slovak settlements into Czech cities for work. After-war memories.* [Orig.: *Nikdy jsem nebyl podceňovanej: Ze slovenských osad do českých měst za prací. Poválečné vzpomínky.*] Brno: MUNI press.

Soler, Elena and Luis Calvo (eds.) 2016. *Cultural Transitions. Perspectives from Central and Eastern Europe.* [Orig.: Transiciones Culturales. Perspectivas desde Europa Central y del Este.] Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas Madrid.
Presenters: **Elena Soler** and **Peter Zvagulis**

C2 Politics of Identity

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11:30 AM - 1 PM

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Aditya Mohanty

KEYNOTES

Keynotes and abstracts are arranged alphabetically according to the surnames of the authors

Belonging in unsettled times: Mobilizing transnational citizenship and rights in an age of securitisation

Thea Abu El-Haj

Rutgers University

The politics of "securitization" and the "war on terror" have created conditions of vulnerability and insecurity, not only for entire populations in the countries across the world affected by the US and its allies' military violence, but also for many communities in the United States and Europe. Drawing on ethnographic work with Palestinian American youth growing up in the post 9/11 U.S., this talk considers broad questions of how young people from Muslim majority countries and communities create a politics of belonging in relation to the dominant securitization discourses that position them as members of an imagined "Muslim world", and raises questions about normative assumptions about citizenship and rights in Western democratic states.

Maritime Migration, Brexit and the Future of European Borders: Anthropological Previews

Karolina Follis

University of Lancaster

Since the start of this decade external borders of the European Union have increasingly become sites of hardship, uncertainty, danger and death as hundreds of thousands of people every year attempt to enter Europe to escape war and poverty in North and Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. The year 2015 saw the arrival of over one million people via maritime routes, an unprecedented number that caused panic among politicians on the continent and unsettled societies of the "old" and the "new" European Union. Neo-nationalist and neo-fascist parties and movements gained significant ground. In June of 2016 voters in the United Kingdom chose to leave the European Union in the Brexit referendum whose erratic consequences will continue to play out for some time to come. The migratory crisis of the previous year fuelled the "Leave" vote by creating the perception that immigration to the EU is unchecked, and that the UK must "take control of its borders." While it is not yet known what exactly is meant by "taking control," we can observe that as a result of these events the terms and conditions of migration, mobility and citizenship in Europe are shifting. In this talk I will argue that this is a shift away from what I call the neoliberal-humanitarian consensus towards a new model whose exact shape is as yet undetermined, but whose emergent features are illuminated by recent anthropological scholarship. Drawing on the UK case study I will show that the control of borders and regulation of mobility is undergoing a distinct anti-humanitarian turn. I will explore the significance and prospects of this new anti-humanitarianism and the possibilities of anthropological insight.

Reclaiming the Ambiguity of Time: Illness and Healing, as One Case in Point

Susanna Trnka

University of Auckland

Across many advanced liberal societies, a specific mode of reckoning and controlling time has become one of the key strategies for maximizing productivity, self-knowledge, and wellbeing. One of the consequences of this is a seeming reduction in the variability of temporal perceptions of many facets of contemporary life. With respect to chronic illness, for example, illness and health trajectories are increasingly articulated through the imperatives of self-management programs and evidence-based medicine (both of which link the temporality of coping with illness to the profit-generating ventures of multi-national pharmaceutical companies). The discipline of anthropology has, however, long demonstrated the co-existence of multiple temporalities, highlighting the range and malleability of understandings and lived experiences of time, as well as modes of temporal reckoning. This presentation focuses on how ethnographic attention to the fluid and sometimes ambiguous nature of experiences of the self-in-time (in situations of chronic illness, for example) can stand as

a counterpoint to advanced liberalism's promotion of subjective forms predicated upon an increasingly constricted range of temporal visions. Based on a cross-cultural comparison of doctors' and patients' approaches to asthma in New Zealand and the Czech Republic, I consider the role that ambiguity plays across a variety of temporal framings of illness and healing; the ways in which highlighting ambiguity can speak back to some of the imperatives of self-management and evidence-based medicine; and more broadly, how foregrounding ambiguity can constitute a form of political critique.

ABSTRACTS

Unmaking Solaris: From Darkness of Shopping Mall towards Post-humanist Cinema

Pavel Borecký

http://www.solaris-film.com/en/
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Bern

Building upon the case study of an audiovisual project on Tallinn shopping mall and telling the story of a personal struggle for the embodiment of an object-oriented attitude, the paper presents the conceptual resources vital to the ethico-aesthetic agenda of sensory ethnography and links them with the ambitions of an emerging post-humanist cinema.

In order to do so, I will firstly examine the premises of dominating observational filmmaking style, a framework using „humanized camera" (Grimshaw 2001) while basically operating within „a realist cinematic paradigm" (Taylor 1996), and attempt to track epistemological and methodological limitations of the given approach. More specifically, I will ask what challenges recent interdisciplinary debates pertaining to object-oriented ontology, non-representative theory, speculative realism and Anthropocene possess for the creative practices of audiovisual ethnographers. Next, discussing the application of the concept of „atmosphere" and „social aesthetics" (MacDougall 2015) whereas shifting its human-centered foundations I will evoke the notions that have a potential to complement and, eventually, to alter traditional filmmaking methodology while prefiguratively extending the reach towards more-than- human sociality (Whatmore 2006, Tsing 2014).

Finally, being provoked by abjective qualities and cinematic estrangement of „Solaris," I intend to argue it would be promising to start reorienting ourselves from historically important, yet seemingly unresolvable issues related to the epistemological problem of representation, and rather occupy ourselves with the development of a post-Kantian research programmes inspired by the horizons of current socio-ecological relevance.

Ambiguity in the perception of rituals in modern Toraja

Michaela Budiman

Institute of South and Central Asia, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague

The presentation introduces research on Toraja rituals that I carried out in Sulawesi, Indonesia. It discusses the religious transformation in the recent decades that eventually led to contemporary ambiguity in the perception of being a well-respected and religious modern representative of the Toraja ethnic group.

The presented material is the result of two fieldtrips totalling seven months. During these expeditions, I attended Toraja funeral rituals and also conducted participant observation and interviews with selected informants, priests, and the last living expert on the autochthonous religion *Aluk Todolo*, Mr. Tato' Dena'.

The ambiguity in being a "good" Toraja arises from the social pressure to successfully integrate two almost contradictory elements – adherence to Christianity (or occasionally to Islam) and preservation of the ancestral traditions and the customary law *adat* in accordance with *Aluk Todolo*. The endeavour to fuse these two elements is clearly evident in the case of the present-day Toraja funeral rituals that are a syncretic phenomenon. The attempt to implement this fusion leads to societal uncertainty of desirable religious practices, and plays a major role in shaping the contemporary forms of rituals as well as of the society at large.

It is very likely that no relevant shift in the form of rituals will occur in the near future because *adat* and *Aluk Todolo* are very deeply rooted in the Toraja culture. Nevertheless, it is possible that the fusion of Christianity and *Aluk Todolo* in Toraja religious practices will no longer be considered in conflict.

Ambiguities of victimization in "Gadžistan"

Pertra L. Burzová, Petr Kupka, Lubomír Lupták, Laco Toušek and Václav Walach

Department of Anthropology, University of West Bohemia

In the proposed paper we present the first findings and critical reflection of our research on victimization in socially excluded localities in the Czech Republic. Here, we concentrate on the ambiguities included in the definitions of crime within the context of repressive political-economic regime of inequalities based on race, class, gender and space. Following critical anthropologists dealing with crime, deviance and victimization we not only discuss the ways in which dominating definitions of crime seek to determine the lives of the dispossessed, but also the mechanisms of management of "social garbage" or "dangerous classes" delegated

to a web of predatory political and economic actors and the uneasy and ambiguous interpretations of crime and victimizations by the inhabitants of sociospatially – and racially – excluded areas.

CARGO/(im)materiality: envisioning future collaborations between art, anthropology and museum ethnography

Piotr Cichocki

Instytut Etnologii i antropologii kulturowej Uniwersitetu Warszawskieho

Other authors: Weronika Plińska, Daniel Rycharski, Marek M. Berezowski, Teresa Kutkowska

The multi-disciplinary exhibition CARGO/(im)materiality was aimed to reinterpret complex relationships between everyday objects and humans traced in three different socio-historical locations. The notion of the term, CARGO, relates to undefined role of social scientists, since, according to Bruno Latour: "the idea of a society has become... a big container ship which no inspector is permitted to board... Is the cargo empty or full, healthy or rotten, innocuous or deadly, newly made or long disused?" (Latour 2005: 68). The authors of the exhibition referred also to Melanesian cargo cults treated as a strategic reinterpretation of the Western goods. They used experimental methodology to create objects and installations that would enchant the visitors and establish a nexus of relationships between the artworks, (im)materiality, things and the self (Gell 1998). The contributors included experimental anthropologists (M. M. Berezowski, P. Cichocki, A. Nikolotov, W. Plinska), fine artists (I. Chamczyk, T. D. Dang, D. Rycharski), professionals from Asia Pacific Museum in Warsaw and students of anthropology, fine art and cultural studies. The curators conducted ethnographic research preceded by research in the archives and they also experimented with imaginative fieldwork on speculative futures. The presentation consists of a short film directed by Teresa Kutkowska and Magdalena Swiatlon (33', 2015) and one photograph created by visual anthropologist Marek M. Berezowski. Film presents the process of preparing the exhibition and the event itself; the photograph refers to one of its core themes: East European grey zones (Knudsen, Frederikssen 2015).

Visualising Homelessness? On Inherent Ambiguity of Visual Representations of Urban Poverty

Hana Daňková, Petr Gibas, Petr Vašát

Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences

As visibility of homeless people is being discussed in urban research, visual methods of research are being used to inquire the topic. Photovoice is one of them. Originally coming from the field of health education and often associated with participatory needs assessment, it is used as a productive tool which enables people to document and reflect their own strengths and concerns and to communicate these effectively to the wider public. Based on a photovoice research with homeless persons in Prague and Pilsen, two cities in the Czech Republic, we discuss ambiguities inherent to Photovoice, rooted in the opaqueness and expressivity of visual representations. In our paper, we draw on the formal-analytical and hermeneutic approaches. The pictures taken by homeless people show their mobility, daily activities, and the ways in which they use and inhabit public space. By means of their visual immediacy, they can challenge the dominant visual representation of visible homelessness and thus problematize the generally accepted image of homeless to be sleeping rough male. While photovoice has been used to do so by applied and engaged research practitioners, we use our data to discuss the potential pitfalls and problems of such an approach stemming from what we argue is an inherent ambiguity of visual representations obtained by means of photovoice. We show that although the photographs seem to provide unambiguous and straightforward visual information, they are in fact expressive and opaque, open to multiple readings and interpretation. We argue that while having a potential to disrupt general imaginaries, these images must be very carefully used and contextualized, which requires us – researchers and practitioners – to adopt a fundamentally self-reflexive, theoretically and ethically solid position as well as to conscientiously consider the ways in which we engage with and employ the photovoice results.

Andy Warhol's conceptual cinema vs. ethnography

Milan Durňak

Institute of Ethnology, Charles University in Prague

In the 1960's Andy Warhol started to create films - motion pictures in the United States. These films could be considered as an avant-garde, but there is also a big anthropological approach which could be extracted from the art cinema. Andy Warhol´s motion pictures is a portfolio of the experimental cinema (Screen Tests, Kiss, Sleep, Blow Job, Empire State Building) conceptualizing some kind of neutral point of view, neutralized camera. The main aim of the paper is to describe Andy Warhol´s ontology of the viewing experience (Sitney, 1974). To extract anthropological knowledge from the cinematical gaze (Russell, 1999) and represent the visualisation as the ethnographical process. Is the mode of cinematographical view ethnographically transparent or is there just one big ambiguity in the experimental view? Is it possible to find ontology of transcultural knowledge in the Warhol´s films?
In my presentation I will also reflect trajectories of Warhol´s alternative production in contemporary documentary films and reflect the symptoms of ethnographicity that we could discover in them.

Innovations in Ethnic Entrepreneurship and Emerging Everyday Multiculturalism. Vietnamese Diaspora in the Czech Republic

Jakub Grygar and Karel Čada

Institute of Sociological Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague

The paper explores innovations in ethnic entrepreneurship with respect to interethnic relations and everyday multiculturalism. The impact of these innovations on the evolution of multicultural conditions is studied through case studies of the ethnic entrepreneurship of Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic. I am interested in how innovations, which originally evolved in the context of ethnic economy, are spreading out beyond their ethnic boundaries and how these innovations, penetrating the broader society, transform existing socio-material relationships. Special attention is paid to the relationship between everyday encounters with cultural diversity and the discourse of multiculturalism in crisis, as well as that between conviviality and conflicting situations. The paper's theoretical background lies in studies of ethnic entrepreneurship studies and everyday multiculturalism developed in the field of culture sociology and anthropological studies of material culture. The paper is empirically based in ethnographical mapping of the innovation spread and in-depth interviews.

Epistemological confusions about ethnographic filming

Tomáš Hirt

Department of Anthropology, University of West Bohemia

In my presentation I will address ambiguity of the term 'ethnographic film' as used in Czech and Slovak academia. On the one hand, that expression is used on the conceptual background of the still living descriptive ethnography (in the sense of "národopis"), on the other hand, the term 'ethnographic film' is simultaneously defined in the context of social and cultural anthropology where the word 'ethnography' means participant observation as interpretative or critical enterprise. I'll illustrate the epistemological difference that exists between the two ways of use and understanding of the term on citations of the relevant texts and films and also on the notable controversy that took place in the 1960's in connection with the film Moravian Hellas of Karel Vachek. My presentation will be guided by the intention to differentiate consistently the two traditions of ethnographic filmmaking and thinking about it. I will try to show that the ambiguity of the term ethnographic film confuses the debate on the quality, value and meaning of ethnographic films, and that it also complicates the practice of ethnographic filmmaking on the level of production, university teaching and festival screenings.

The ambivalent Taiwaneseness

Adam Horálek

Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, University of Pardubice

A long-term discourse on Taiwanese identity and independence has re-emerged after the new president Tsai Ing-wen from the Democratic Development Party was elected in 2016. Even though the controversial topics of Taiwaneseness and Taiwanese independence were not a part of the official presidential campaign, the general public expects these topics to be renegotiated. The worldwide audience is mostly aware of the uneasy relationship of Taiwan with the People's Republic of China and so called "One China Policy". But there is another side of it as well – dealing with Taiwanese identity inside Taiwan. Taiwaneseness is ambivalent label which may refer to the local-born Chinese, to all citizens of Taiwan, or to the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan. The last reference is the most traditional and controversial. Being Taiwanese was till recently considered as being aboriginal, non-civilized, underdeveloped, illiterate, problematic, wild, sexy, etc. In many ways, the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan were of similar social stigma like European Roma people. However, in last two decades the social climate has changed and Taiwaneseness became a competitive political concept to Chineseness in Taiwan. Aboriginal peoples and cultures has been rehabilitated and put on the pedestal of the national Taiwanese pride. Still, the integration of aboriginal peoples is in the pioneering stage. The paper will focus on the ambiguity of aboriginal Taiwaneseness in the modern understanding of the concept demonstrated on case of Hualien County.

The Ambiguous Nature of Activism: Between, for and away from Kids

Ema Hrešanová

Department of Sociology, University of West Bohemia

This paper deals with the ambiguous nature of childbirth activism and women who have become engaged in related civic activities due to their critical childbirth experience.
Giving birth is a turning life experience in women's lives and lives of their families, and it is especially so if such experience is not entirely positive. Many of the women who described their experience with hospital birth as traumatic in narrative interviews therefore decided to take action and contribute to a change. However, the range of actions they have undertaken considerably differs. While some women started to organize educational lectures and happenings in their towns and villages, others joined already-existing activist groups, and yet some other women are happy enough to restrict their activities to "cyber-activism" in their social network groups. Still, many of them feel substantially limited in their efforts to change the Czech birth care system for the "good" of children-to-be-born, as at the same time – they are – after all - primary care-givers of children, thus struggling to be with or away from them.
In this paper I build on long-term ethnography of childbirth activism and the natural childbirth movement in the Czech Republic, and in particular on 25 narrative interviews with women who wanted to have natural childbirth. My aims are twofold. First, I explore ambiguity present in these women's actions as related to childbirth and the natural childbirth movement while I ask: what are the boundaries between being activist and not? Second, I discuss the conceptual ambiguity of the civic activism, in particular in relation to the concept of health social movement.

Beyond the Café/Pub Split: Vernacular Narrative Practice Concerning "Refugee Crisis" in the Czech Republic

Petr Janeček

Institute of Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague

Contemporary mass media coverage of so-called European "refugee crisis" changed dynamics of public discussions of the Czech society also on vernacular level. Already polarized along lines of so-called *Café/Pub Split*, imagined division between the urban and rural population currently augmented by the pro-Western liberal sentiments and nationalist conservative-leftist attitudes correspondingly ascribed to these two groups in today's Czech society, the issue of refugees seems now to be one of the most crucial dividing themes, empowered by public debates, vernacular imagination and policy-making. Based on fieldwork on the Internet and media content analysis, the paper tries to interpret some argumentation strategies used by both "sides" of this ideological conflict, including re-interpretation of older folk representations, stereotypes and narrative motifs connected with wider "contemporary mythologies" consisting of conspiracy theories, contemporary legends and rumours.

Labelling or ambiguity of migrants? Paradigm in social sciences and advantage of multiple belonging

Luděk Jirka

Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague

Categories are based on labelling and term of „migrant" is not an exception. Migrants are generally included into certain categories in spite of their individuality and there is widespread persuasion that current localization has got main influence on their current social behaviour. In addition, for immigration scholars, rejecting of pre-migration ties and accepting of post-migration ties is seen as a constitutive way. However, in modern global age, both post-migration and pre-migration ties could be an advantage because of profit from belonging to multiple ties. Above that, views, perspectives and opportunities as well as social networks are raising by mobility. Maintaining contacts with more cultures and with people from different background could be benefit. Labelling of migrants of certain category is confined which means attributed decrease of possibilities. It is needed to decentralize migrants, their localization shouldn't be presumption for labelling, and be careful about inclusion, when accepting of new social ties and skills shouldn't be necessary seen as constitutive. In fact, multiple ties are more constitutive.

The Memory of Roma Workers: Performativity of Ethnographic Research and its Ambiguity

Petr Kubala

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University

The contribution is based on a qualitative research (participant observation, interviews) conducted from August 2014 to April 2015. The investigation focused on the research team of the project *O Leperiben - Memory of Roma Workers*. More specifically, the main emphasis was placed on the team preparing the exhibition *Khatar san* based on the stories of Roma workers who migrated from Slovakia to Ostrava and Brno after the Second World War. My presentation will discuss the exhibition and the process of its creation, including the issues of performativity of the project, its ambiguity, engagement, and possible political consequences. Through the concept of performativity of social sciences, I analyse how the Roma people « were created » and their lifestories established, what kind of attributes were associated with them, and what kind of meaning do these attributes evoke in the confrontation with "imagined audience" and general public. In the end, the question of scientific reflexivity and public engagement in the realm of "interventionist research" will be addressed.

Doing Anthropology of Outlaw Bikers, Representing Ambiguous and Controversial Groups

Tereza Kuldova

Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo
Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Vienna

Transnational outlaw motorcycle clubs, or so called 1-percenters, such as the iconic Hells Angels MC, Bandidos MC, Outlaws MC, and Pagans MC, are by governments and law enforcement worldwide considered as organized crime groups and a security threat, since mid-80s on the radar of Interpol and Europol. Research on outlaw motorcycle clubs, especially within Europe, has been marginal and limited to the field of criminology and security studies, concerned with strategies of policing. Outlaw bikers are typically represented as purely criminal, violent and deviant. However, anthropological research reveals not only that they are far more complex, multi-faceted and often ambiguous organizations that are not primarily organized around crime, but also that these clubs, against their self-cultivated outlaw and deviant image, are far better integrated into mainstream society than police and spectacular media narratives would suggest. Grounded in ethnographic research on outlaw bikers in central and northern Europe, the paper will counter some of the dominant narratives about these groups by focusing on the lived experiences of being a part of these transnational brotherhoods, as well as their fight for 'biker rights' and protection of their legal businesses vis-à-vis persistent criminalization of individuals based on membership. The task here is not to deny the crimes committed by members of these organizations, which they themselves do not deny, but to gain a better understanding of the outlaw biker subculture, far more ambiguous when perceived from within. However, an ambiguous narrative becomes in itself politically contentious, something that is an obstacle in doing anthropology of these groups, which, unlike other marginalized groups, are not easy to sympathize with.

New Urban Politics and the re-imagination of Subaltern identity in the Global South

Aditya Mohanty

Language, Literature, Music & Visual Culture, University of Aberdeen

With the onset of neo-liberal reforms in postcolonial contexts like that of India, one ponders as to how does identity politics transverse itself vis-à-vis intersectional entities like that of say 'class'. To elaborate, while "identity politics" has often carried pejorative connotations, it also reduces collective struggles to 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak 1987). It is in this context that the proposed paper engages with multifarious contestations in an urban space and transcends the dialectics between identity and class based struggles. It does so by looking into the imbrications of such contestations between State and civil society actors, as seen in the case of *valmikis*, (an erstwhile subaltern group belonging to the *dalit* caste or backward strata within India's majoritarian Hindu society) in Delhi. It ethnographically investigates into the socio-cultural, economic and political strands of two Valmiki Colonies in Delhi, one located in the city centre (viz., Mandir Marg area) and the other in the outskirts (viz., Trilokpuri area). Seen from an urban anthropological point of view, the study proposes to see as to how do conflating/ conflicting identities of a community impacts the actions, orientations, groupings and the bases of citizenship. In so doing howsoever, the paper uses the concept of 'difference-in-itself' (Deleuze 1994) to make sense of how in such a moment of political catharsis, do diverse actors operating within the power matrix differentially apply permutations and combinations of their socio-cultural and economic capital. Finally, the paper is interesting for it employs a post-structural approach to clear the ambiguity in anthropological research on socially excluded groups (like that of the *Valmiki* castes in this case) by unpacking the material bases of subaltern agency for understanding the intertwining of 'civil' and 'political' spaces (Chatterjee 2004).

Contradictions of survival under a settler colonial regime: Palestinian labor in West Bank Settlements

Ethan Morton-Jerome

Anthropology Department, University of Arkansas

On July 19, 2015, the Israeli National Labor Court ruled in favor of an Israeli company, Yamit, declaring that Palestinians employed in Yamit's factory in the Nitzanei Shalom settlement industrial zone (located in the West Bank adjacent to the "Green Line") would be subject to Jordanian law. The Palestinian workers had sued the company to demand use of Israeli law even though application of Israeli law in the West Bank would be a step towards Israeli annexation of land in the West Bank. The suit was a pragmatic one for the Palestinian workers; they would benefit in the short-term if Israeli law were enforced. Yamit was interested in profits and benefited through the exploitation of Palestinian labor; as such, Jordanian labor law better suited Yamit's purposes. For both sides, nationalist sentiments were not a significant factor; rather, economic and short-term interests prevailed.
This is one illustration of the many apparent contradictions that I came across in my two years of ethnographic fieldwork on Palestinian labor on West Bank settlements. I frequently encountered choices and behaviors by both Palestinian employees and Israeli employers that did not follow the nationalist imperatives of either community but rather revealed resistance, contradictions, and inconsistencies. This topic becomes all the more politically contentious because both sides use the issue of Palestinian labor on the settlements in order to bolster their own nationalist claims. By moving beyond the limitations of a nation-state paradigm my research acknowledges and engages the complexities and ambiguities of life under military occupation.

Performative identity: Presenting Hlučínsko in the Parliament

Johana Musalkova

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In this paper I explore how groups may attempt to manage difficult heritage and contested identities through joint performative acts. In the late May 2016, delegates from Hlučínsko, a borderland region with a volatile past, went to Prague in order to present the region to the Parliament of the Czech Republic. The objective was to depict the republic's periphery as a thriving land with a great potential for growth of both industry and tourism, should it be provided with much needed investments. However, facing the political, historical, linguistic and cultural complexities of the former Prussian Silesia, problematic issues arise in relation to the question of how Hlučínsko should be performed to the Prague others.
I am particularly interested in how various Hlučínsko emissaries, coming from different background and thus promoting various aspects of the borderland region, negotiate what the desirable image of Hlučínsko should

be as well as how it should be presented. Special attention is given to the moments of tensions, or perhaps even conflicts, which are theorized as arriving from what I call 'consistency errors'. A term borrowed from the computer science.

Imagined/virtual rurality and its construction in the competition "Village of the Year"

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Ethnographic research of countryside favours the perception of every village as a particular place of specific actors, ideas and practices (Hoggart 1990). However countryside is also a homogeneous social representation, which is produced and reproduced through the means of various cooperating discursive formations and practices (Cloke 1996, Murmont 1990, Cloke – Goodwin 1992, Bell 2007). In our paper we will focus on mechanisms of this production and reproduction of countryside construct using discursive analysis of the competition Village of the Year in Czech Republic.
We argue that the competition Village of the Year leaves significant traces in public space, particularly (but not exclusively) in virtual one. However these traces are not imprints of lived rurality, but of the imagined one. The so called virtual rurality (Cloke 2006),as a representation of countryside which is not based on any particular locality but „freely flows in space", is further reimagined in practices connected to the competition.

Research of maternal health. What we already know

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Studies show substantial health disparities among migrant and non-migrant women in terms of their birth outcomes and overall perinatal health. Migration is seen as a risk factor for health of women and to become a migrant mother means "crisis of the crisis" (Song 2016: 38). The aim of the presentation is to discuss several ambiguities which occur when researching maternal health of migrants. We reviewed 124 studies published in English and Czech language focused on maternal health of migrant women. Researchers show that culture is important factor influencing the access and quality of maternity care and the studies compare various categories of migrant and/or non-migrant women. First, ambiguity is related to the definition when a woman belongs to one or the other category. Second, ambiguity is related to epidemiological paradox. This paradox points out the relation between acculturation and birth outcomes.

Ambiguity of Law and Migrant Deportability in Daily Life: Refugees and Low-Level Bureaucrats in Polish Asylum Centres

Michal Sipos

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My presentation concerns relation between ambiguity of sovereignty and processes that characterise contemporary bordering of Europe. I explore, by focusing on practices of low-level bureaucrats and Chechen refugees who, between 2007 and 2009, lived and worked in one particular asylum centre in Eastern Poland, how political violence that produces refugee deportability saturates daily life. In my presentation, I follow a document called 'Temporary Certificate of Foreigner's Identity' (Pl. *Tymczasowe zaświadczenie tożsamości cudzoziemca*). My ethnography describes what the low-level bureaucrats and refugees said and did in relation to the document. I argue that, in the asylum centres at the outskirts of the European Union, sovereignty takes ambiguous form; and that this ambiguity of the law facilitates the political violence through which European citizenship is being reorganised.

Wet-nurses and Surrogate mothers. Ambiguity in the construction of Fragmented motherhood? An old and contemporary dilemma

Elena Soler

UPCES-CERGE, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague
University of New York in Prague (UNYP)

As anthropological literature reveals, human milk has always been linked to the construction of motherhood. Breastfeeding and maternity form a cultural ideal in many societies. What does happen, when breast milk does not come from the biological mother but from another woman, a wet-nurse? Can we talk about "fragmented motherhood"? Mainly based on an ethnohistorical study done in Spain, my focus is on the role of the Pasiega domestic wet-nurse in the construction of milk kinship when her milk circulated and was shared through the process of breastfeeding babies of the upper-classes: aristocracy, bourgeoisie and royalty. Therefore, the goal of this paper is to show that the open debate we have today on fragmented maternity (e.g. when referring to surrogacy, as a result of advances in assisted reproductive technologies) as well as the relationship between kinship and market is, contrary to many assertions, with the historical precedent of wet-nursing, not new in history.

Codeswitching and codemixing of Czech-English speaking children in the Czech Republic

Zuzana Terry

Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague

In my paper I aim to find out how bilingualism influences social competences of children who are brought up in families with two "mother tongues" Czech and English in Czech Republic. I focus on preschool and early school children who have one or both parents speaking different language than that of the majority of the country they are living in.
The research has been in progress for a year and a half. First half a year I observed preschool children in their daily activities in minority language with some of the parents also present. Then I looked at afterschool activities of first-graders and this time there were no parents present and the activity was stricter and school like. Initially there were 11 children but in the school year there were only five children continuing in the English language program.
I argue that bilingual children with very similar ability in both languages are at this young age of preschool and early school codemixing very rarely; their use of the codeswitch is almost exclusively connected to children´s games and specific cultural foods as is "chlebíček" and "kobliha". On the other hand codeswitching can be almost unconscious and is switched according to a person they speak to or to ease the communication.

Ambivalent migration and ambivalences of migration: on anthropological engagement

Michal Tošner

Department of Sociology, University of Hradec Králové

This paper argues that ambiguity is the right term we need to use in order to address issues of immigration. In the last two years refugee/migration crises has become a highly topical issue in public debate and anthropological research in Central Eastern Europe. Migrants from Islamic countries in the Czech Republic represent a figure that abounds in ambiguities; firstly, as a refugee in need of assistance, deserving asylum, secondly, as a member of undeclared invasion, a migrant danger, terrorist, an enemy, a refugee.
While the government aims at "securitization", the right-wing populists take advantage of this situation and call for the closing of borders and use of military force against migrants. Consequently, European societies move away from the will to understand diversity and will to inclusion towards exclusionary conservatism of national identity, race, culture or religion. In this context, the anthropologist emerges as an "expert" obligated to enter into a public debate and finds himself in a deadlock, where the social space is split into two camps, where hegemony is perceived as malfunctioned and contrasted against "the people". Anthropologists are then labelled as "dangerous neomarxists", as ideologues vis-à-vis the "common sense treat of Islamization". Anthropologists become perceived as part of the hegemony, together with the European institutions, the government, media, multiculturalists, NGOs and so on, and thus a threat, as those who aim to destroy "our country". As such they are treated as internal enemy, as traitors, and as accomplices of "multicultural" elites that oppose the "people". Can the concept of ambiguity shed light on these debates in any productive way?

The importance of language acquisition by a young migrant in the ambiguous contexts of a new social environment

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People are living in the contexts of specific social and cultural environment. It might be easier to find a place in this world and a way of living when you know only patterns of a culture you are born into. However, modern society and globalization bring about intensive migration processes. Migrants coming to a new country have to adapt and learn a completely unknown system of social and cultural rules. Thus, they might come across a lot of confusing and ambiguous situations during their socialization. One of the crucial aspects of migrant's integration is acquisition of the language of the majority.

In this paper, I argue that the process of learning the language of the target country is very individual often influenced by the settings migrants are disposed in a new society. The way how migrants adapt and learn the language depend on various factors such as the reason of language acquisition, individual determination, family support and status, their age or the target country's social environment they contribute to. All these circumstances have a great impact on how migrant will be able to socialise and function in a new environment. The aim of this paper is to present the results of the research focused on the importance of language acquisition under various family and social settings on migrants' integration.

Ethnographic drawings – between writing and experience

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Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw

Drawing accompanied ethnography from its very beginning. It was a popular way of documentation and description. The first ethnographers drew architecture, tools, human types and patterns of habitats and lineages. On the one hand, researchers used specific tools as "Machine sure and convenient for drawing the silhouettes" or other which enabled pictures to be drawn "by nature". On the other hand, by drawing ethnographers wanted to show a beauty of peasant's culture or curiosity of "the Other". Invention of photography was useful from both perspectives, because it connected ethnography to the visual aesthetic and realistic ideals. Today drawing is replaced by modern visual technologies like photography, video and audio-visual interactive forms. As Susan Sontag said the photography changed not only our way of seeing but also our way of experiencing and producing knowledge.

In my presentation, firstly I would like to sketch different ways of drawing in ethnography. Secondly, I would suggest coming back to drawing as ethnographic practice. Not yet, but I propose to use drawing not only as a way of documentation, but as a strategy of ethnographic engagement in the field.

Selling Care and Workers. How transnational care job agencies in Slovakia commodify care work

Eva-Maria Walther

Social Anthropology Department, Stockholm University

Hiring women from Central Eastern Europe as live-in care workers for aging family members has become a widely established alternative to private care within the family in Western Europe. An increasingly developed infrastructure enables this kind of circular labor mobility, and the number of market actors matching potential care workers and families is growing. These transnational job agencies are confronted with the task to turn care into a sellable commodity while maintaining its status as an individualized, heartfelt service. Liability towards their customers obliges them to make the care workers with their diverse motivations and qualifications commensurable - by homogenizing them in some respects and categorizing them in others. Building upon participant observation in two Slovak job agencies implementing care workers into German and Austrian families, I look at their recruitment strategies, training, contractual relationships and measures of monitoring and support towards the care workers. The findings suggest that a big part of agencies' activities consists of ruling out ambiguity: They need to establish measurements in order to sort individuals into price categories; and they need to make their activity in the household across the border predictable and controllable for them. They do so by promoting and occasionally enforcing an ideal type for care workers which features domesticity, femininity and full emotional exposure as its key factors. The paper exemplifies the understudied, but crucial impact of agencies on migrants' life trajectories and contributes to existing literature on domestic care migration by adding a top-down perspective.

Ambiguity as an ethnographic condition: Between the post-apartheid field and Czech academia

Vít Zdrálek

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Ambiguity has been the defining condition of my ethnomusicological research in South Africa since its inception in 2006.On the one hand, there was I as a Czech student from a specific family and intellectual upbringing researching and writing about a South African township music. The situation of someone from a post-communist country and a post-Soviet satellite, with its countless ramifications, doing research in/on the 'Postcolony' is unusual enough in ethno/musicology and cultural/social anthropology to be taken for granted. On the other hand, there was my subject, an 'average' black middle-aged male popular township musician, a man of rural upbringing, yet of the city, who has, since the 1980s, found refugee from the unbearable migrant worker situation in the cultural complex of the Zion Christian Church, the largest African-initiated church in the country, drawing on both missionary and indigenous worldviews and practices. And then there am I again, an ethnomusicologist in the Czech musicological department and humanities, in positions no less ambiguous.

I discussed these problems thoroughly in my dissertation while writing a biographic ethnography of this man's musical – as cultural and social – experience. Reflexivity, detail and fragmentariness turned out to condition the text's form and structure as a result. The term 'coherent ambivalence' appeared to best describe the musician's complex position in the end. In my presentation, I would like to discuss some of the above-mentioned ambiguities as potentially productive intellectual stimuli in the first place and ambiguity in general as an important condition of the ethnographic practice.

NEW BOOKS

Presenters are highlighted in bold font

Brož, Luděk and Daniel Münster (eds.) 2015. *Suicide and agency: Anthropological perspectives on self-destruction, personhood and power.* Ashgate, Farnham Surrey UK; Burlington VT. (Studies in Death, Materiality and the Origin of Time).

Suicide and Agency offers an original and timely challenge to existing ways of understanding suicide. Through the use of rich and detailed case studies, the authors assembled in this volume explore how interplay of self-harm, suicide, personhood and agency varies markedly across site (Greenland, Siberia, India, Palestine and Mexico) and setting (self-run leprosy colony, suicide bomb attack, cash-crop farming, middle-class mothering). Rather than starting from a set definition of suicide, they empirically engage suicide fields-the wider domains of practices and of sense making, out of which realized, imaginary, or disputed suicides emerge. By drawing on ethnographic methods and approaches, a new comparative angle to understanding suicide beyond mainstream Western bio-medical and classical sociological conceptions of the act as an individual or social pathology is opened up. The book explores a number of ontological assumptions about the role of free will, power, good and evil, personhood, and intentionality in both popular and expert explanations of suicide. Suicide and Agency offers a substantial and ground-breaking contribution to the emerging field of the anthropology of suicide. It will appeal to a range of scholars and students, including those in anthropology, sociology, social psychology, cultural studies, suicidology, and social studies of death and dying.

Červinková, Hana, Michał Buchowski and **Zdeněk Uherek** (eds.) 2015. *Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe.* Palgrave Macmillan US.

In eleven ethnographic chapters of Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe examines how issues of global economic and cultural dependencies, mobilities, citizens activism, social movements, and socio-political aspects of post-socialist modernities articulate on the level of everyday discourse and practices.
We present the chapters in three parts. The first part includes ethnographies that focus on different aspects of transnational mobilities as they affect people living in or coming from Central Europe. In the second part of our volume, we include ethnographies that focus on new developments in the area of activist and expert knowledge in institutions, new movements, and grassroots organizations. The last part of our book contains chapters that explicitly focus on and think through the economic, social, and political aspects of postsocialist modernities.
Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe is literally an account of ethnography in Central Europe, but contextualized through a particular historical perspective on anthropological studies on the region and in the region.

Grygar, Jakub 2016. *Djevushki and cigarettes: on borders, migration and power.* [Orig.: *Děvušky a cigarety: o hranicích, migraci a moci.*] Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON).

Kniha je studií drobného přeshraničního obchodu v polsko-běloruském pohraničí v momentu rozšiřování Schengenského prostoru k východní vnější hranici Evropské unie. Na základě dlouhodobého etnografického výzkumu mezi drobnými přeshraničními obchodnicemi (*děvuškami*), trhovci a celníky autor zprostředkovává vhled do lokálního fungování jednoho ze segmentů globálního obchodu. Ukazuje, jak tito aktéři každodenním pohybem v šedé zóně neformální ekonomiky balancují na hraně mezi legální a nelegální činností a vytvářejí mezi sebou křehké pojivo důvěry. Občanství, etnicita nebo gender nejsou v takovéto přeshraniční kyvadlové migraci mezi „Evropou" a „ne-Evropou" neutrální kategorie, ale klíčové prvky, které uschopňují své nositele jednat a zároveň jsou i možným zdrojem subverze moci státu. Autorův důraz na provázané vykreslení vztahu mezi prostorem, migrací a různými podobami moci rozrušuje binární polarity mezi občanem a státem, ovládaným a ovládajícím, kontrolovaným a kontrolujícím.
Proč je důležité studovat prostor, moc a migraci ve vzájemné provázanosti?
Jak politické hranice utváří hranice sociální? Jakou roli v tom hraje etnicita nebo gender?
Jak rozšíření Schengenského prostoru k východnímu polskému pohraničí změnilo drobný mezinárodní obchod? Jaké podoby má moc na státních hranicích a jak je tato moc rozrušována?
Jak pocit kulturní blízkosti a imaginace hranic vytváří alternativní geografie vůči rozhraničení prostoru na území jednotlivých států?

Horáková, Hana and Andrea Boscoboinik (eds.) 2014. *The Anthropology of Fear*: *Cultures beyond Emotions.* LIT Verlag.

Avoiding the lure of a psychological conceptualisation of fear, all chapters in this volume substantiate the criticism towards specific postmodern trends in anthropology that would rather focus on the individual dimension of fear, thus missing its social aspects. Fear cannot and must not be reduced to an emotional phenomenon, but must rather be regarded by anthropologists as the prime mover of rational management in dangerous or risky situations. The various forms of fear appear to be shaped by societies.

Samek, Tomáš 2016. *This Land is Our Land: Czech and German Public Space – A Deictic Perspective.* [Orig.:*Tahle země je naše: český a německý veřejný prostor v deiktické perspektivě.*] Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice.

The book explores whether, and to what extent, deixis can be used as an interpretive tool for the media, public space and social communication. It focuses upon the relationship between communicative behavior and the various ways in which social consciousness is being (in)formed. Who is being excluded from the public space and what kinds of communicative practices are utilized by social actors for that purpose? The author broadens and enhances the narrow notion of "deixis" to include phenomena and processes whose deictic potential has been, for the most part, overlooked so far. Consequently, he establishes what he calls "a deictic perspective" to analyze processes of communicating various sociocultural and political meanings and their changing dynamics. The topic is explained on both theoretical and empirical levels, using samples of public speech events taken from recent Czech and German public spaces. The topical question is explored who does and who does not belong to the dynamic realms recognized as "ours"?

Sidiropulu Janků, Kateřina 2015. *I was never underestimated. From Slovak settlements into Czech cities for work. After-war memories.* [Orig.: *Nikdy jsem nebyl podceňovanej: Ze slovenských osad do českých měst za prací. Poválečné vzpomínky.*] Brno: MUNI press.

A collection of narratives of men and women who left Slovakian Roma settlements when they were children or youngsters, in order to settle down in Brno and Ostrava region, where they found work and new life. Their descendants experience completely different working and social reality. The witnesses´ narratives (maintaining certain particularities, e. g. the Roma ethnolect of Czech language) describe this transition through the perspective of everyday life and point at the socialist equalization of lifestyles and its consequences for today´s life. The narratives originated within the project "Memory of Roma workmen". The book contains the analytic commentary explaining the work on memory collection and editing. The book is designated to the professional as well as wider audience.

Soler, Elena and Luis Calvo (eds.) 2016. *Cultural Transitions. Perspectives from Central and Eastern Europe.* [Orig.: *Transiciones Culturales. Perspectivas desde Europa Central y del Este.*] Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas Madrid.

Presenters: **Elena Soler** and **Peter Zvagulis**

This interdisciplinary work focuses on Central and Eastern Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and is structured around the concept of *transition.* It explores the repercussions the events of 1989 have had on different aspects such as those related to identity, national heritage, religion, politics, or transnational migration. The originality of this proposal focuses on studies that analyze those European countries which have become, since the fall of communism and the consequent transitions, liberal democracies with a global market economy, which accelerated transformation processes in all spheres of the lives of its citizens. Some transitional processes, among other aspects, were in turn increased with the accession of these countries to the European Union, which has generated high expectations for achieving prosperity and sustaining a good welfare system; expectations, which are in most cases, far from the current reality.
The concept of transition is complex and as revealed by the different texts that make up this work, it has allowed space for ruptures, continuities and resistances. Therefore, analyzing and deepening the understanding of the phenomena that these societies showcase becomes relevant today, at a time in which Europe is experiencing a highly complex situation regarding its common project entailing the common values of rights, duties and civil liberties.

Šavelková, Lívia 2015. ***When the Creator´s Game Spreads to the World: Identity of the Haudenosaunee/Iroquois in a process of revitalization and globalization***. [Orig.: *Stvořitelova hra na cestě světem: Identita Irokézů v procesu revitalizace a globalizace.*] Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice.

The book deals with various forms, meanings and transformations of lacrosse. Lacrosse is an important constituent of Haudenosaunee/Iroquois identity, and as such it plays a significant spiritual or ritual role. Since the second half of the 19th century lacrosse has been developing as a sport in Canada and USA and later also in Great Britain and other countries. With the introduction of lacrosse to the world its form, meanings and notions about the Haudenosaunee/Iroquois transform. The book focuses on the ethnohistory of lacrosse, and on the reasons for and ways of its spreading from North America, with emphasis on Czech or Czechoslovak situation. The book also provides thoughts of the role of lacrosse in the process of revitalization and ethno-emancipation of the Haudenosaunee/Iroquois, who perceive lacrosse as a way to gain international recognition and confirmation of their sovereignty. The book shows that groups of indigenous people are not isolated units, but, on the contrary, that they have been involved in international networks. Lacrosse is a phenomenon, through which the politics of identities and revitalization initiatives of Native American groups in contemporary globalized world could be perceived. It is also involved in forming trans-local networks and glocal practices. The book is accompanied by a film which provides an insight into one of the glocalised forms of lacrosse – in the one in Czech Republic.