

**SANT/FAS 2018 Conference
Vulnerabilities**



Conference Programme with Abstracts

| THURSDAY | 3H Entrance hall | 2-1023 | 2-1024 | 2-1025 | 2-K1072 | 2-K1023 | MINGLE AREA | HUMANISTISKA TEATERN |
|----------|---|--|--|--|---|--|-------------|---|
| 11.00 | Badges desk (Open all afternoon and throughout the conference) | | | | | | | |
| 12.00 | | | | | | | | |
| 13.00 | | | | | | | | |
| 14.00 | | | | | | | | |
| 15.00 | | Panel 9 Critical Perspectives on Migration and Vulnerability Johan Lindquist, Stockholm University | Panel 20 Thinking Vulnerable Animals Don Kulick, Uppsala University Tom Shakespeare, University of East Anglia Simo Vehmas, Stockholm University | Panel 6 Conflicting Conceptualisations of Environmental Vulnerabilities Carina Green, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet SLU Benedict Singleton, SLU Örjan Bartholdson, SLU | Panel 8 Counselling 'the Vulnerable' Pia Maier, University of Konstanz Melanie Brand, University of Konstanz | Panel 28 Managing & Coping With Vulnerability (I) Chair: Staffan Appelgren | Coffee | Screening: Jew Man Business (2010, 40') By M. Utas, M. Christensen and C. Vium |
| 16.00 | | | | | | | | Keynote Prof. Bernasconi |
| 17.00 | | | | | | | | |
| 18.00 | | | | | | | Reception | |

| FRIDAY p.m. | 3H entrance hall | 2-1023 | 2-1024 | 2-1025 | 22-0025 | 2-K1023 | 22-1017 | 2-K1028 | MINGLE AREA | Hum. Teatern |
|----------------|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 13.00 | (Desk) | Panel 22 - Vulnerability, Agency, and Environmental Change Isabell Herrmans, University of Helsinki Anu Lounela, University of Helsinki Kasia Mika, University of Amsterdam | Panel 27 - Vulnerable Writing Henni Alava, University of Helsinki Marjaana Jauhola, University of Helsinki | Panel 11 - Emerging Vulnerabilities Heidi Härkönen, Academy of Finland and University of Helsinki | Panel 7 - Contested Vulnerabilities: Livelihoods and Entangled Ecologies Elisa Maria Lopez, Uppsala University Tomas Cole, Stockholm University Camelia Dewan, Stockholm University | Panel 1 - Acknowledging Potentialities of Health Vulnerabilities Across the Life Course Erica van der Sijpt, University of Amsterdam Natashe Lemos Dekker, University of Amsterdam | Panel 12 - Feminist Anthropology Exploring the Ambiguity of Vulnerability Klara Öberg, Malmö Universitet Sylva Frisk, Göteborgs Universitet Johanna Gullberg, Stockholms Universitet | Panel 25 - Vulnerable Infrastructures, Infrastructural Vulnerabilities Chakad Ojani, University of Manchester Susann Baez Ullberg, Uppsala University | LUNCH Coffee available all day | |
| 14.00 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15.00 | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 17.00 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18.00 | | | | | | | | | | SANT Annual Meeting |

Keynote Lectures

in the Humanistiska Teatern

Thursday 19, 16.00-18.00

Robert Bernasconi, Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Philosophy and African American Studies, Pennsylvania State University.

“Racism, Responsibility, and Social Vulnerability”

Reference to the disproportionate impact on African Americans of the tropical cyclone Katrina is often considered sufficient to establish that race needs to be included among the factors contributing to our understanding of social vulnerability. Nevertheless, we also need to be aware of the way in which the perception of the racial dimension of social vulnerability has on occasion been used, and, it seems, is still being used, to perpetuate systemic racism. If we are to be able to give a philosophical account of how the concept of social vulnerability has an ethical purchase, we need to go beyond the merely factual level. In the second half of the paper I draw on Levinas’s account of how the concept of vulnerability embodies the idea of ethical responsibility to meet that need, but I use the argument about the operation of systemic racism developed in the first part to conclude against Levinas that his account must be located within a comprehensive political theory so as to guard against the danger that in our efforts to address our responsibilities we do not end up sustaining the status quo.

Friday 20, 11.00-13.00

Veena Das, Krieger-Eisenhower Professor of Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University.

“It is not that ...”: Skepticism, Moral Insight, and Ordinary Realism”

I try to capture the texture of everyday life in the slums in Delhi that are steeped in a kind of quotidian violence and try to discern how moral insights are generated within this scene of corrosion. Recent critiques of the genre of realism in ethnographic writing make a rather rapid shift to such genres as that of mood or the subjunctive. I argue instead that the issue is not that of the suspension of the real but that of the contextual embedding of the real which includes within itself such registers as that of the modalities of the possible. Moral insights are not divorced from the appeal to regions of the real but we are led to ask what kind of real is at stake? Instead of the troubles of the eighties as in the crisis of representation, or in the unsayability of violence, the question for me becomes that of overwhelming, or inordinate knowledge and the imperative to absorb it in everyday forms of care.

Saturday 21, 11.00-13.00

Setha Low, Professor of Anthropology, Environmental Psychology, Geography and Women's Studies at the Graduate Centre, City University New York (CUNY).

“Vulnerability, Precarity and Social Justice in Public Space”

This presentation addresses how vulnerability is structured by culture, race, class, gender, age and ability made visible in public space. I interrogate different kinds and scales of vulnerability by examining the precarity of people who rely on public space for their livelihoods—vendors in Buenos Aires, rough sleepers in Cardiff, undocumented workers on Long Island—and suggest that their “productive responses” and resistance varies by the degree of identification with a group or class. Further I examine the psychological vulnerability of middle class “fear of others” and how their productive responses through video/digital surveillance, gating, policing, down zoning, redevelopment schemes and privatization of public space increase the inability those dependent on precarious labor to survive. I illustrate this contention with examples of current threats to public space and how the built environment plays a dominant role in sustaining and exacerbating inequalities in productive responses to vulnerability advocating an engaged anthropology approach to this dilemma.

Roundtables

Contemporary Debates in Anthropology

#MeToo and the Anthropologist's Experience (*in English*)

Friday 20, 09.00-11.00. Room 2-K1028.

The Roundtable addresses sexism and sexual harassment in our academic working environments and sexual vulnerabilities and coping strategies during fieldwork. It also allows for a comparative reflection on the #MeToo movement in different countries.

Anthropologists constantly navigate the tension between "here" and "there" - departments and homes, on one side, and the field, on the other. Continuities and ruptures between these dimensions resonate with the continuities and ruptures in our personal relationships with assistants, friends, partners, supervisors and colleagues. How does this double dimension affect our vulnerability to harassment, psychological and physical violence, humiliation and the like? If doing fieldwork often entails vulnerability to harassment - on which we may reflect in our writing, so does a career in academia - something we seem to discuss less often. It may be easier to use anthropology as cultural critique when we talk about our experience "out there", rather than when we address our vulnerabilities at home.

How much do we write about the anthropologist's specific vulnerabilities in our field notes, and how do we talk about it at home? Are we better positioned than others – analytically and/or as engaged ethnographers – to face, discuss, anticipate and overcome such circumstances? And how similar are experiences as anthropologists, and how do they compare with those of our informants? How do we acknowledge, record and recount the ways in which our informants express their own #metoo?

The Roundtable includes voices from different dimensions of the anthropologist's experience: the field, the academic and institutional environment and national and global movements like the Swedish #Akademiuppropet and the #MeToo.

Co-organised by the Lika Villkorskommittén, Dept. of Cultural Anthropology & Ethnology, Uppsala University.

Participants:

Gunilla Bjerén, Professor Emeritus, Gender Studies, Stockholm University

Sarah Grosso, PhD in Cultural Anthropology, Webster University, Geneva

Anneli Häyrén, researcher, Uppsala Center for Gender Studies and investigator, HR-department, Uppsala University

Henni Alava, PhD in Development studies, post-doctoral researcher, University of Jyväskylä

Chair:

Paula Uimonen, Associate Professor, Anthropology, Stockholm University

Antropologi och Rädslans politik (*in Swedish*)

Saturday 21, 09.00-11.00. Room 22-025.

Media har alltid krängt reportage byggda på rädslor. Sedan händelserna i USA den 11 september 2001 har detta blivit allt tydligare. Samtidigt befinner vi oss i en politisk situation där oansvariga politiker ofta jobbar med faror och utnyttjar hotbilder som framträder i media. Allt för att locka väljare. Man kan kalla det en rädslans politik. Manipulerandet av "fakta" till "alternativa fakta" är del av vårt nutida politiska tillstånd. Sociala media i alla dess former stressar på dessa processer. Med internationella drev i traditionell och social media har Sverige sedan Trump kom till makten i USA blivit en speciell skådeplats för alternativa-fakta-rörelsen framförallt i och med uppvigade begivenheter som "last night in Sweden" och idéer om svensk systemkollaps grundad i massmigration, kriminalitet och terrorism. Det ger inte bara en skev bild av Sverige, utan intensifierar utsatthet för redan utsatta grupper samt ytterligare polariserar vårt samhälle.

Detta rundabordsamtal samlar svenska antropologer som diskuterar hur vi inför höstens riksdagsval på olika sätt bättre kan göra oss hörda i den publika debatten. Eller om vi ska göra oss hörda? I vilka debatter bör och ska vi delta? När har vi ett ansvar att debattera och kommentera? Hur kommer vi till tals? Vilka fora passar oss? Vilka problem kan vi hamna i? Med några få undantag har svensk antropologi förblivit tyst, även om mycket av den kunskap vi har sammanfaller med ämnen som är helt centrala i den publika debatten. Varför är det så? Och varför är exempelvis norsk antropologi så mycket synligare? Finns det något vi kan lära oss av dem? Självklart är de flesta av dessa frågor inte nya för oss. Vi har brottats med dem förr, men tycks inte lyckas ändra något. Varför är det så? Hur bryter vi tystnaden?

Dagens debattörer är en blandning av antropologer som syns i svensk debatt och andra som forskar om ämnen som ofta dryftas i svensk media. Initiativ till samtalet kommer ursprungligen från masterprogrammet i kulturanthropologi vid Uppsala universitet där studenter förra våren själva skapade en kurs i public anthropology. Utifrån denna ansats arbetar Elizabeth Dacey, masterstudent vid institutionen och verksam journalist, tillsammans med Mats Utas, studierektor för masterprogrammet, med att skapa en plattform för publika antropologiska diskussioner.

Deltagare:

Don Kulick, fil dr i socialantropologi och professor vid Uppsala Universitet

Sara Johndotter, fil dr i socialantropologi och professor vid Malmö Universitet

Shahram Khosravi, fil dr i socialantropologi och professor vid Uppsala och Stockholms Universitet

Helle Rydström, fil dr i socialantropologi och professor vid Lunds Universitet

Jennifer Mack, fil dr i socialantropologi och forskare vid Uppsala Universitet och Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan

Moderatorer:

Elizabeth Dacey och **Mats Utas**, Uppsala Universitetet

Film screenings

Jew Man Business (2011; 40') **Thursday 19, 15.00-16.00, Humanistiska Teatern.**

Documentary by Maya Christensen, Mats Utas and Christian Vium

What are the prospects for the young and poor in African cities? This documentary, entitled *Jew Man Business* is filmed in Freetown, the capital of one of the world's poorest countries, Sierra Leone. Here the urban surroundings afford ex-combatants relative anonymity and create economic opportunities.

Jew Man Business is a 40-minute documentary by Maya Christensen, Mats Utas and Christian Vium. The film follows three young men, Bone Thug, living on the street, Junior, trying to leave street life behind him, and Ice T, a former rebel soldier, as they go about their daily lives. It covers everything from family relationships to drug-related stories to crime. Belgium is their common home, a 'ghetto' in central Freetown, where informal and often illegal trade takes place during all hours. Those involved in this trade are called Jew Men on the street.

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Scraps of Hope: An Urban Ethnography of Peace in Aceh, Indonesia **(2012-2016; total 90')** **Saturday 21, 09.00-11.00, Room 2-1023**

Collection of short documentaries by Marjaana Jauhola and Seija Hirstiö

Scraps of Hope offers a critical contribution to the study of post-conflict condition, complexities of rebuilding a city of Banda Aceh in Indonesia in the aftermath of the Indian Ocean earthquakes and the tsunami and thirty years of armed conflict. Following the lives of people through their everyday experiences, it offers insights into the relations of power and structures of violence that are embedded in the peace: layered exiles and displacement; hidden narratives of violence and grief; struggles over gendered expectations of being a good and respectable woman and man; the hierarchical political economy of post-conflict and tsunami reconstruction; and multiple ways of arranging lives and remembrance, cherishing loved ones and forming caring and loving relationships outside the normative notions of nuclear family and home.

Panels and abstracts

(rooms and times on page 2- 5)

Panel 1 || Acknowledging Potentialities of Health Vulnerabilities across the Life Course

Erica van der Sijpt, University of Amsterdam
Natashe Lemos Dekker, University of Amsterdam

Session 1

Natashe Lemos Dekker
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Potentialities in vulnerability: Producing subjectivities at the end of life with dementia.

The end of life with dementia can be characterised by intertwined forms of bodily and social vulnerability. All too often, dementia has been described in terms of a disintegration of the self and a loss of dignity, resulting in the dehumanization of the person with dementia. While dementia can separate one from the world, this paper focuses precisely on how forms of subjectivity can be produced in and through vulnerability, by addressing the re-humanizing capacity of pain at the end of life with dementia. Based on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork in nursing homes in the Netherlands, I demonstrate that this potentiality of vulnerability emerges from a dynamic wherein, in response to suffering, family members and caregivers attune to the vulnerable subject and the human becomes visible. To address potentialities in vulnerability in this way, does not mean to overlook its tragedies or suffering, but to see how these might be productive in creating different forms of engagement.

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Dreda Emma Méndez de la Brena
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Pain matters: the material struggles of living with pain.

Particular experiences of pain such as Fibromyalgia (FM) confronts us with more complex intra-relations, entanglements and intensities with our sensorial bodies and other materialities. The characteristics of FM, that is, pain hypersensitivity towards

the touch of objects, is not merely the result of a sensorial bodily imbalance but a subjective and vulnerable experience affecting and affected by materiality. When pain is felt through friction with objects, pain responds to the human touch and in turn, human touch responds to the vibrancy of materiality. Then, if pain is inextricably intertwined with affective, non-human agencies, and if the intentionality and intensity of pain can only be felt when it is accompanied by objects, then it seems that objects can complicate the classical understanding of pain, its eligible (human) actors and, as Górska (2006) suggests “the differential forms of political practices in which vulnerable and quotidian corpo-affective actions are constitutive of” living with pain.

What difference does it make to think about pain and objects in this way? What kind of embodiment does intra-activity of pain and objects produce? What meanings of pain do objects bring about? Most importantly, how does the embodiment of pain in patients with FM lend itself for queering/cripping politics of vulnerability? (Wendell, 1989; Hall, 2011) Set in the context of new materialism theories and post human debates, I argue that by analyzing the intra-activity of material and discursive as well as the natural and cultural enactments of objects, objects can shed light to new transformations, transfigurations and negotiations of politicized understandings of embodiment, subjectivity, and the vulnerable meanings of the material struggles of living a life with pain.

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Mirko Pasquini

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Uppsala University

“Why are you here?” On faking and the potentiality of vulnerability in an italian emergency ward

“You know, instead of having spaghetti, I decided to pass by!” (ironic answer of a patient)

The paper will focus on how the appropriateness of patients’ presence in the emergency ward is negotiated during the assessment of clinical urgency (Triage). I will highlight the ways in which clinically defined vulnerability can be thought of as a desirable condition, a resource that people actively use to access services that they otherwise risk being denied. I will examine claims to vulnerability, and how those claims are assessed, in relation to empirical and theoretical work on lying (Dongen and Fainzang 2005; Fainzang 2015) and faking (Schweik 2009), since both stances constitute a key knot in the slippery ground between personal experience and clinical meaning-making. By looking at how signs of vulnerability and suffering can be thought of as iterable (Derrida 1998), and, hence, available to be forged, I will explore how faking medical emergencies may be a critical practice that is actually re-shaping clinical procedures to meet new grassroots needs. While taking this challenge up, my analysis of the situation inside the emergency ward will explore issues of larger importance as: may vulnerability be a desirable condition? May faking reshape institutional borders?

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Stefan Reinsch

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Charité-University Medical Center & Institute for European Ethnology, Humboldt University, Berlin

Managing precarious normality. The artful practices of everyday life of young people living with a chronic illness.

Anthropologists have directed our attention to the struggles of marginalized individuals and vulnerable groups like those with a chronic illnesses to gain greater public visibility of their therapeutic burden. Yet, only modest attention has been paid to the efforts put into achieving a visible normality through therapeutic practices or to the therapeutic work behind this apparent normality (Robbins 2013; Ortner 2016).

This paper builds on a longterm anthropological study in collaboration with a group of young adults who have cystic fibrosis (CF), a fatal genetic condition. Therapy can postpone disease progression, but it is burdensome, time-consuming, and makes illness visible. Over the last 10 years I explored how young people – who often do not readily appear to be sick – integrate therapy into their daily lives.

Using a practice-theoretical approach, I examine the artful tactics they employ in carving out a habitable space in an ableist world (De Certeau 1980). As both anthropologist and physician, I am interested in their creative struggle for well-being, care and with morality (Miyazaki 2004). Living with CF means managing a precarious normality since, while visibility of illness excludes them from the group of the healthy ones, it is also a resource that can be used to gain support and care.

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“Seeing” vs. “Looking:” Narratives of Vulnerability, Precarity and Stigma in US Patients with Visible and Invisible Chronic diseases

Stigmatisation occurs when the “gaze” comes into contact with the “other” and recognises a dissimilarity or abnormality. Thus, the stigmatised subject always deviates from the social norm or from social expectations. This social norm is often related to aesthetics and behaviour; when the subject does not conform to the presuppositions that the “gaze” makes about them upon immediate contact with him or her they are relegated to the realm of the “strange,” “unknowable,” and often dislikable. Patients living with invisible chronic diseases often face a different kind of stigma, in which their pain and/ or suffering is either refuted or unacknowledged by members of the public because it is not visually evident. Unlike patients with diseases that are indisputable because they are visually evident, these patients are often unable to elicit any kind of reaction to their pain from members of the public, which can exacerbate feelings of isolation and social displacement. Invisible disease patients that are ignored or doubted when they discuss their difficulties with others often feel like they are “looked at” but not “seen,” and this is particularly significant

when dealing with medical professionals who are skeptical about administering pain medication to patients who present no visual or clinical evidence of disease.

Patients with visible diseases often face public stares and incorrect assumptions about the nature of their disease, which can lead them to attempt to conceal signs of their disease through cosmetic and other means. They too often feel that they are “looked at” but not “seen,” as members of the public are unable to look past the differences in their appearance and get to know them on an individual and/ or personal level. This paper will address disease invisibility and visibility in relation to “looking” and “seeing” by using two chronic diseases as case studies – alkaptonuria and vitiligo. Alkaptonuria is a largely invisible rare chronic disease that causes the patient’s bones and joints to turn black and eventually disintegrate, often leading to chronic pain and a loss in mobility. Vitiligo is a largely visible chronic autoimmune disease that causes a loss of pigmentation in sporadic parts of the patient’s body but has no known affect on the patient’s (physical) health. In using Judith Butler’s work concerning bodily precarity and vulnerability as a theoretical framework, I will argue that the ways in which the visible and invisible disease patient operates in a space where they are “looked at” but not “seen” by members of the public negatively affects both their disease management and self-identity. In comparing these two diseases I will draw on interview data that I have collected from 34 patients and discuss the ways in which disease management for both groups is often informed by neoliberal attitudes concerning self-responsibility and self-improvement. I will further describe how this is particularly difficult when patients interact with medical professionals who either underestimate or misunderstand their medical and social needs.

Session 2

Dr. Erica van der Sijpt,
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Varieties of vulnerability: On discourses and differentiations of reproduction loss in post-communist Romania

In Romania, both induced and spontaneous pregnancy losses have long been surrounded by discourses of vulnerability. During communism, when induced abortion was legally prohibited, any instance of pregnancy loss provoked suspicions and potential persecutions. In this context of repression, reproductive vulnerabilities were mainly political in nature. The politico-legal transformations, religious reforms, demographic anxieties, social stratifications, ethnic tensions, and general daily-life uncertainties that characterize the current post-communist era have engendered very different interpretations of reproductive loss. In this paper, which is based on 15 months of anthropological fieldwork in Central Romania, I describe a number of common interpretations of pregnancy loss and illustrate how the notion of ‘vulnerable reproduction’ is central to them. This notion of vulnerability is often used instrumentally to demarcate ethnic boundaries; in differentiating between various experiences of reproductive vulnerability, Romanians comment on the boundaries between themselves and the Roma minority. The tensions between different narrations of loss thus reveal much about the social frictions that more generally characterize the stratified post-communist society that Romania is today.

Perpetual Crentsil

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HIV/AIDS, gender, and shifting vulnerabilities in Africa

This paper explores shifting HIV/AIDS vulnerabilities in Africa with a focus on Ghana, South Africa, and Uganda, using my own ethnographic research data from Ghana as well as an intensive literature review on the subject in the three countries. There are a multitude of factors for vulnerabilities to HIV and AIDS in Africa within biological, cultural, behavioural, and structural or intersectional perspectives. Over four decades of HIV/AIDS have undoubtedly changed perceptions on susceptibilities today, especially concerning gender and sexuality, family formation, age, socioeconomic status, access to health information and care, from a gender perspective. What new vulnerabilities have replaced or added to past susceptibilities? The availability of antiretroviral drugs or therapies (ARVs or ARTs, respectively) has transformed AIDS from a deadly disease to a chronic one; this has undoubtedly engendered new forms of agency and vulnerabilities that people encounter regarding healthcare and health communication (due also to access to mobile phones for m-Health initiatives). Justification for this analysis is based on the need to help improve health outcomes of the world's poor and vulnerable.

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Ben Epstein

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Managing Vulnerabilities or building resilience: policy orientations to competing goals in managing the mental health fallout of 3.11.

'Vulnerability' in disaster risk reduction discourse is contrasted with its conceptual opposite of 'resilience' in ways that shore up the different expectations actors have over disaster reconstruction and 'building back better'. The political economy of vulnerability, it has been argued, highlights how places and people are made vulnerable by institutional or structural inequalities. Vulnerability therefore becomes an internal deficit in the face of an external threat imposed onto a passive actor. On the other hand, resilience discourse posits that a focus on vulnerabilities ignores the degree to which a system may return to its original state when exposed to stress. Detractors of the resilience concept also highlight how a return to a status quo may lead to the continuation of entrenched vulnerabilities, and may also situate blame in victims themselves: 'building resilience' may be used as a screen to mask increasingly harsh neoliberal reforms. Programs aimed towards building resilience or reducing vulnerability therefore, have complex, different but intersecting aims. This paper will address this theoretical issue with reference to ethnographic fieldwork conducted from 2017-2018 in Tohoku, Japan, investigating the role of mental health support programs designed towards 'building back better' in the disaster-struck areas of northern Japan.

Anette Wickström

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Department of Thematic Studies, Child Studies, Linköping University

“How do you feel on a scale?” An actor-oriented perspective of vulnerability within a network of measuring practices of young people’s psychological health

At the end of the 1990s a shift occurred in the political debate in Sweden on children’s vulnerability. The discourse on children as victims changed to a discourse of children at risk for developing psychological ill health. Since then children’s and young people’s psychological health has become a public health concern and a large number of survey studies has been carried through. Most of them has taken their point of departure in psychological symptoms of ill health. In this paper I discuss the performative aspects of the measuring practice and how it enacts the vulnerable child. Moreover, I demonstrate how an actor-oriented perspective can provide an alternative reality.

The papers draws from 40 interviews with 15-year-old schoolchildren on how they make sense of concepts used in the survey Health Behavior in School-Aged Children (HBSC). The participants’ understandings of the symptoms asked for (stomachache, difficulties sleeping, depressed, irritability etc.) do not correlate with what the symptoms are thought to indicate (individual psychological problems). The participants relate the symptoms to physical diseases, stress in relation to performance in school and to relationships to friends and family members. I argue that the measuring practice enacts vulnerability as internalizing psychological problems, while in fact vulnerability is connected to the individual’s possibilities and conditions in a wider social and cultural context.

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Jenna Murray de López

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Never again!: addressing iatrogenic trauma through a critical life-course perspective

Childbearing is both a significant life event which results in a collective shift in identity, and a moment in which the mother-infant dyad is most vulnerable to external influence. In Mexico, this vulnerability is heightened by the common practice of abuse and mistreatment at birth. Drawing upon an ethnography of maternal transition in Mexico, this paper I advance the concept of “iatrogenic trauma” to examine the reverberations of reproductive violence within the broader contexts of women’s lives. Contextualised within an integrated experience of becoming, women reframe events into narratives of survival. Rather than submit to victimhood they describe events as turning points. By taking a critical life-course perspective, I consider how brief, yet powerful acts of violence shape women’s subjectivity, and their subsequent interactions with health professionals throughout their lives. This work allows for an analysis of how and why the impacts of violence differ for individual women, offering

a more robust framework for understanding and combatting iatrogenic trauma to improve women's health beyond the temporary transition to motherhood.

Panel 3 || Arenas of Vulnerabilities, Interventions, and Humanitarianism

Sverker Finnström, Uppsala University
Tanja Granzow, University of Tuebingen

Sverker Finnström

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Uppsala University

War and humanitarian racism

The bitter war in northern Uganda, 1986-2006, was prolonged and deepened partly because the Ugandan government's counterinsurgency measures against both the Lord's Resistance Army rebels and civilians living in the warzone. More, the Ugandan government's arbitrary killings and rape of civilians; torture; forced labor at gunpoint; the forced displacement, often again at gunpoint, of millions of people to squalid camps, were made possible as a consequence of the UN system and massive international humanitarian interventions. In-depth studies have described this development as one of "social torture" (Dolan, development studies), "humanitarian impunity" (Branch, political science), and "enforced domination" and "authoritarian control" (Finnström, anthropology). This paper adds to the critique by exploring how the Ugandan government's dehumanization of both the Lord's Resistance Army rebels and the local population found a force-multiplying parallel in an interventionist apparatus coloured by humanitarian racism, with repercussions still today, more than ten years after the guns of war fell silent.

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Independent scholar

Together, we survive? Understanding vulnerability and precarity in refugee camps in Northern Greece

The so called 'refugee crisis' of 2015 coincided with great economic and social upheavals in Greece. In this context, the refugees' arrival was seen as an employment opportunity for many Greek people who were soon hired in law rank positions in INGOs. This paper is based on long term working and research experience in refugee camps in Northern Greece and focuses on the encounter between refugees and Greek humanitarian aid workers. It explores how the social subjects' position and their experiences of both vulnerability and precarity shape relationships and guide action; at times, facilitating communication across boundaries, synergies and collaboration and at times, leading to conflict. By acknowledging agency, limitations and possibilities, the paper addresses the interplay between larger economic and political realities, humanitarian discourses

and INGO politics at a camp level, and links them to individual aspirations and projects.

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Vietnam National University of Hanoi

Vulnerabilities, Precariousness, and Humanitarianism in the Philippines in the wake of Typhoon Haiyan

This paper is based on an ethnographic study of the lived experiences of the survivors directly affected by Typhoon Haiyan in the provinces of Leyte and Eastern Samar of the Philippines. I focus on their untold suffering, their great loss, and their frustration at what they saw as a failure of the authorities to provide adequate and timely relief aid and rehabilitation support. I also examine how relief and rehabilitation efforts were beset by conflicting interests among international and national stakeholders and by the dynamics of metropolitan and provincial politics set against the background of pre-existing armed conflict—all of these combine to render these people into, figuratively and literally, *bare lives*.

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Postdoctoral Researcher, Department of Gender Studies, Lund University

Nuclear Disaster, Children's Vulnerabilities, and Humanitarian Assistance: Health Trips of the Chernobyl Children from Belarus to the Italian Family Homes

Nuclear disasters are rare, but when they strike, their impact is felt across borders for years to come. Children are more vulnerable to their effects due to weak immune systems and limited capacities to respond. Yet, technological disasters have not received significant attention in children's vulnerability studies. Natural disasters such as floods, droughts, hurricanes, tsunamis, and earthquakes remain the main focus. Drawing on a case study of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster (1986), this article looks at (1) what nuclear vulnerabilities Chernobyl produced for children and (2) what coping strategies Western charities developed to alleviate these vulnerabilities, and with what outcomes. More specifically, the article investigates humanitarian programmes, developed by the Italian charities, aimed at radiation detoxification and alleviation of socio-economic conditions of children from post-communist states. The article offers an in-depth analysis of a recuperation strategy in host families (*famiglie ospiti*) in Italy by analyzing in-depth interviews with grown-up Chernobyl children from Belarus. The article shows that the outcomes of humanitarian assistance went beyond alleviation of nuclear vulnerabilities and resulted instead in Italian families

adopting small Belarusian children or assisting grown-up Belarusian children to migrate to Italy for education and marriage.

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The West African Ebola outbreak: Exploring the vulnerabilities of the local resistance against the Western relief apparatus

The recent Ebola virus outbreak in West Africa (2013-2016) was the largest known ebola outbreak in history. After a slow start, the Western aid community directed an enormous multinational effort to quench the spread of the virus. What was not widely reported in global media at the time was that there was a strong local resistance to the western-directed efforts, even resulting in aggressive attacks on health workers.

This paper draws on anthropological fieldwork in the administrative area of N'Zérékoré in Guinea. It was here where the first EVD cases surfaced and then spread to the rest of Guinea and to neighboring countries. The paper argues that the mistrust and resistance stemmed on the one hand from an array of conspiracy theories that followed in the wake of the virus, that merged with local idioms about (evil) sorcery, and on the other from a communication failure between the aid apparatus and the local communities. The paper views the suspicions felt by the local communities as a “productive vulnerability”; not only did local reactions reflect contradictions in the official messaging, but the local interpretation of the virus and the aid effort also raise important questions about how that effort was conducted.

Panel 4 || Care and Anthropology

Maris Gillette, Univ. of Gothenburg
Anna Bohlin, Univ. of Gothenburg

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Caring for things, connecting to humans: Second-hand, reuse and “sustainable consumerism”

Based on ethnographic fieldwork in homes and second-hand shops in Gothenburg, this paper explores how urban Swedes relate to things that they have acquired on second-hand markets. The paper shows how reuse and second-hand practices involve practices of care, for the objects themselves, but also for other humans as well as the planet. In particular, it focuses on how the objects’ affordances enable sensuous and affective engagement in which the partly known, partly imagined traces of personhood, or dividual subjectivity that reside in the objects enable current owners to experience a connection to previous and coming generations. The paper discusses the potential and limits of such caring practices in the light of debates on how to make sense of the recent growth of “sustainable consumerism”.

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Caring for butterflies, plants, and people: The dilemmas of an urban ecological restoration project

The decimation of milkweed in the American Midwest has contributed to a dramatic decline in the number of Monarch butterflies. Monarch butterflies require milkweed for reproduction; the species lays eggs on only this flowering plant. A major contributor to milkweed’s disappearance is the Monsanto Corporation’s pesticides, now an essential component of American farming. In St Louis, Missouri, where Monsanto is headquartered, the city government has partnered with nonprofit greening organizations and neighborhood groups to plant pocket prairies and milkweed gardens, in the explicit hope of attracting Monarch butterflies to urban neighborhoods where many children have never seen this once ubiquitous species. In this paper I explore the contradictions entailed in caring for butterflies, plants, and people in the St Louis Milkweed for Monarch project. Based on my participation, participant-observation, and quantitative research that I conducted as a social science researcher of the initiative’s “social success,” I argue that well-intentioned expressions of care for butterflies and plants were built upon structures of neglect for people. As a consequence, a widely-appreciated restoration initiative failed to achieve its “triple bottom line” of economic, environmental, and social sustainability.

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Work, care and debt among the Tsimihety in rural Northeast Madagascar

Madagascar is the hot spot of environmental conservation because of its unique biodiversity. The general concern in environmental conservation is that the Malagasy people do not care about their environments but continue to practice swidden cultivation destroying Madagascar's precious forests. In order to secure Madagascar's biodiversity and sustain environmental conservation processes economically, the 55 500 hectare Marojejy National Park was established in 1998 as part of the fast implemented Malagasy state's environmental policies funded by development and environmental conservation agencies.

For the rice and vanilla cultivators (mainly Tsimihety ethnicity) to work on a rice field or with vanilla plants and to raise children is to care (mikarakara). As some Tsimihety were recruited in ecotourism activities, their relatives' concern was that people did not work enough on their rice cultivations. In addition, some tourists did not respect places in a proper way creating dangerous situations that could anger spirits. However, to care did not imply to the romantic notion of indigenous people living harmoniously with their kins and environments. People who had for example money were able to give debt to their kins confronted with a misfortune making the German vanilla buying company's country representatives worried about inequalities and ethics of the practice. The paper suggests that care should be studied holistically in relation to long-term processes and experiences, logics and politics of cultural practices and social relations in certain situations.

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How Parental Caring is Experienced by Children in Contemporary Taiwan

For the young transitional generation of Taiwan, traditional Confucian morals and values are changing due to factors like globalization and democratization.

In this paper I set out to explore how care is being experienced and interpreted by Taiwanese students from a prestigious University in Taipei. I especially focused on their personal experiences of how their parents expressed care for them, and how it was received. I analyzed and compared their answers with traditional Confucian values in order to find correlations and discrepancies.

I found a chasm between students and their parents in cases where the parents were described as traditional. The intended care was then often experienced or described in a negative way. An example of this would be corporal punishment, as a way of disciplining and caring for children.

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“Special Care” Institutions in Russia: Disability and Vulnerability in Everyday Life

The proposed presentation analyzes the social situation of people with intellectual and multiple developmental disabilities living in the state-run residential care institutions in contemporary Russia. It is based on the materials of the prolonged ethnographic fieldwork (participant observation) in two institutions of this kind: one for children with intellectual disabilities, and the other one for adults with psychiatric or neurological diagnoses. These institutions are the remaining legacy of the Soviet social policy, but nowadays some of them open their doors for NGO volunteers. To gain access to field research I joined one of the volunteer communities.

In my presentation I will address both structural and situational vulnerabilities experienced by the residents of the institutions, but following the Goffmanian perspective and ethnomethodological approach I will focus more on the latter. I will demonstrate how a resident's status, including legal status, and position in the institutional hierarchy is constructed on the micro-level of everyday communication. I will highlight the ideological divergences between the staff of the institutions and NGO volunteers who tend to interpret residents' behavior differently and ascribe them different “social value”.

I will also reflect upon the role of an anthropologist doing research involving people with intellectual disabilities in the settings of closed institutions.

Panel 5 || Children and Vulnerabilities. Between Agency and Disempowerment

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Children, art and vulnerable agency

In 2014, while working on the next edition of the international theatre festival Malta in Poznan, Poland, we decided to reclaim a part of its programme and space and dedicate it to fostering children's right to artistic expressions. We were profoundly inspired by the idea of children's cultural citizenship, and promoting their agency in the public sphere. After four years of workshops, performances, and art projects with various groups of children, and in various parts of the city, we have gathered at least a handful of experiences and reflections regarding the complexity and paradoxical nature of children's agency through the art. I would like to share them, while trying also to answer a more general question about how children's agency and vulnerability are necessary interwoven: the former never being absolute, the latter not necessarily a weakness, and both needed to understand and navigate through the interdependencies between adults and children.

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Does the individualization of care empower the child?

Our paper questions the concept of individualization and empowerment in children with type 1 diabetes or other chronic diseases. These pathologies require a high level of technicality, accompanied by the need to adjust the treatment to individual specificities. This individualization of care, the self-administration of treatments, the need to know one's body, to feel the changes and know how to cope with them, are supposed to generate a progressive empowerment of children. But how do standardization of care and individualization of practices match together? Does this individualization necessarily involve the empowerment of children? Our aim is to discuss the idea that the individualization of the treatments automatically supposes a more active and autonomous role of the patients. From an analysis of the French anthropological and sociological debates on children's responsibility and empowerment, we question their pertinence to the experience of the children coping with a chronic illness. The first results of an anthropological research we are carrying on in Eastern France with children and teens with type 1 diabetes will support our demonstration.

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'Against the Odds': Vulnerability and resilience in the trajectories of children growing up in poverty in Ethiopia

This paper draws on Anthropologies of Hope and Ethnographies of Uncertainty to explore why some children growing up in poverty fare well 'against the odds' despite the odds being stacked against them early in life. The data come from *Young Lives*, an international study of childhood poverty that combines longitudinal survey and qualitative approaches to trace the life trajectories of a cohort of 1,000 boys and girls born in 1994 in Ethiopia, over a fifteen-year period (2002 – 2017). The paper examines how vulnerability is experienced, understood, negotiated and transgressed in the context of children's changing relationships and material circumstances. In particular, I ask what made a difference in the lives of those children who, by age 19, appeared to be faring well despite layered disadvantage. Among other factors, I look at the crucial role of social relationships and support networks, migration, and the importance of hope and 'second chances'. Rather than the opposite of agency, vulnerability is the space wherein children cultivate their agency (however constrained). However, I caution against snapshot approaches to gauging 'resilience' or 'success' at any one age, for any one child, since the longitudinal approach shows that trajectories remain fragile and futures uncertain.

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The significant role of children in research when we investigate their health experiences. How to listen to children's voices.

An essential element for exploring the experience of children regarding health and suffering is to take into account the role children play in building their own reality. We should keep in mind an approach to health experiences derived from the children's own perspective and consider them not only as discoverers of the meanings that come from their reality but also as creators of these meanings through their own understandings. An active participation and a significant role of children in research are important when we investigate their health and pain experiences. The use of narratives and categories from children themselves allow us to deepen our knowledge on their everyday experiences, focusing the analysis on children's perspective. The fact that they are the children themselves who actively communicate their perceptions and knowledge about health, leads us to question if it is necessary to use specific techniques of research different from those used with adults and wonder if this difference should be based in children's vulnerability or in their unequal relationships with the adults. We present how in our research we used semi-structured interviews, free-listings and drawings of children aged between 6 and 12 in order to explore their health experiences.

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Children with learning disorders: agency or disempowerment (France)?

Learning disorders (dyslexia, dysorthographia, dyscalculia...) are correlated to frameworks of contemporary school learning focused on reading and writing (Garcia, 2013). In France, children are expected to go to school at least until the end of the secondary school (15 years), which has become the unique path due to several national laws (Maurin, 2007). Children are under social to go as far as possible in their studies, which remains the key to getting a good job.

Children with a diagnosis of learning disorders (8-9 years old), on the one hand, access to personal school support, but on the other hand, have to follow several sessions of re-education with specialists per week, the first one being speech therapist (but also ergotherapist, psychologist, psychomotor therapist, orthoptist).

Our paper will question children's agency and also the forms of disempowerment in these care trajectories. If we can argue that « children are not (entirely) passive subjects of social structures and processes » (James & Prout 1990), and our research showed how children « interpret and make sense of their culture and participate of it » (Corsaro 2005), it questions whether these children are really « active in the construction of their lives » (Mayall 2002; James 2011).

Methods: The research was carried out with qualitative methods as semi-constructed interviews with parents (13), children (7), professionals (45). The difficulty to access to children's voice is symptomatic of their fair agency, and was partly compensated by parents' narratives. Focus groups based on scenario method with professionals and members of parent « dys » association complement the interviews.

Results: The results of the study reveal, on the one hand, a huge disparity of school and medical professionals, poorly instructed in these matters, towards the children who have difficulties in reading, writing and so on. These children can be ill-treated in school; we met discriminating discourses produced by some doctors. On the other hand, care trajectories of these children are constrained by numerous and time-consuming sessions of diagnosis and follow-up. At home, the children spend hours doing their homework, supervised by one of the parents, generally their mother. The children are rarely consulted about their wish to follow re-education sessions several times a week. In general, we note the parents' as well as the children's suffering, the latter would rather play, see their friends instead of spending time on trying to compensate their difficulties at school. The children's agency is fair due to the constraints that society, school, doctors, and parents, exercise on the children, summoned to accord their biographical trajectory to the school one. Nonetheless, the children trick the diagnosis by rejecting it or by refusing personal school support as implying stigma (Goffman, 1963). While growing, others stop paramedical follow-ups. Thus, even if some resistances and workarounds can be observed, any forms of empowerment are really rare.

Panel 6 || Conflicting Conceptualizations of Environmental Vulnerabilities

Carina Green, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet SLU
Benedict Singleton, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet SLU
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How to resist land invaders when the state looks the other way: the scramble for the Amazon and the effects on forest reserves and forest people

Between 2006 and 2016 the rate of deforestation of the Brazilian Amazon rapidly decreased. This was generally interpreted as evidence that the state's policies and interventions to protect the forest had been successful, and that it was possible to reduce deforestation in the Global South. In April 2016, however, the president of Brazil, Dilma Rouseff, was impeached and the lobby of large landowners increased its influence in Congress. In the Amazonian state of Para the political change led to a withdrawal of the state environmental agencies from the protection of contested settlements and reserves. When the state withdraws from protected forest, new migrants and land speculators move in and the only protection that remains are the people who inhabit these areas, putting huge stress on their communities. This research is focused on two distinct communities in the Amazon, which have both faced strong external pressures over the last decade. While one of them, São Manoel, has succeeded in maintaining a strong collective leadership and faced down external threats the other community, Virola Jatobá, has been unable to withstand land invaders, and many settlers have even joined the invaders' scramble for the rainforest reserve administered by the community. My research shows that the degree of resistance of the community organizations against external invaders is dependent on strong previous bonds between extended kin groups, which form the backbone of the resistant organizations.

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Classifying knowledge and post-colonial trajectories- constructions of 'indigenous and local knowledge' within the IPBES framework.

The aim to include so called Indigenous and Local Knowledge (ILK) in nature conservation management is a recurring theme worldwide, through policies, recommendations and dialogue. The Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) is one example of an international arena where the importance of integrating ILK in conservation policies and practices is emphasized. The driving force is well-intended and addresses both environmental concerns and decolonizing aspirations. However, the strict classification of ILK as something essentially different from Scientific Knowledge plays a major role in the re-construction of divides between what is perceived of as scientific and non-scientific, modern and non-modern, culturally embedded and non-culturally entrenched. This paper suggests that post-colonial perspectives can help reveal the 'eco-orientalistic' agenda inherent in the ILK-discourse and asks if ILK – as a discourse - ultimately works to re-frame and re-define 'Western' environmental politics and practice rather than allowing space for alternative understandings of Nature.

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In the name of Te Awa Tupua : Representing a river's personhood in New Zealand
 In 2017, after protracted litigation between the Māori iwi (tribes) and the Crown, the Whanganui River in Aotearoa/New Zealand was granted the status of a 'legal person'. The river is described as an indivisible and living whole, so-called Te Awa Tupua . As a legal person, it includes all physical and metaphysical elements and has the right to flourish in order to maintain its health and wellbeing. Its interests are represented by two appointed "human faces" and other actors including a strategy group.

Potentially fraught with problems of misrepresentation, as well as a host of philosophical issues on speaking on behalf of an arguably "voiceless" and vulnerable actor, we investigate by which claims the interests of the river are realized in the deliberative arena and inform policy. While the postcolonial context is unique and carries along dimensions of justice to the M āori , the development may also be understood against an ecocentric background. This includes the worldwide movement of earth jurisprudence, which encompasses giving rights and political agency to non-human entities.

The study investigates the phenomenon from the perspective of those tasked with representing the river, by juxtaposing different views on representation and how these are practically and communicatively manifested.

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The role of law on the path to ecological sustainability: Exploring the concept of rights of nature and its legal implications

The pressuring presence of an environmental crisis and human-made degradation of nature has recently invigorated the debate regarding the relationships of humanity towards nature. It is acknowledged that part of the responsibility for the rapidly approaching environmental calamities lies in the functioning of human institutions, including our systems of law and governance. As stated in the Brundtland Report “laws must be reformulated to keep human activities in harmony with the unchanging and universal laws of nature”. This study focuses on the concept of rights of nature as the newest approach in environmental law. By drawing from theory, applicable law and case law, the study explores the legal implications of the reconceptualization of nature as a legal subject and the incorporation of indigenous people’s worldviews into legislation. The study also provides an insight of the novelty in the scope of environmental protection that the rights of nature give when compared to current EU Environmental law. The challenges arising from conflicts between rights of nature vis-à-vis human rights and the problematized implementation of the rights of nature stemming from inconsistent conceptualizations of nature and the methods of representing nature are also touched upon in this study.

Panel 7 || Contested Vulnerabilities: Livelihoods and Entangled Ecologies

Elisa Maria Lopez, Uppsala University
Tomas Cole, Stockholm University
Camelia Dewan, Stockholm University

Session 1 – Global South

Andres Gomez

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From vulnerability to subversion

In Latin America modernity has been a cruel and violent project (Franco, 2013) that is interconnected with the colonial history of extractivism (Wolf, 1997) and uneven development (Harvey, 2007). Hence, mining, agribusiness and large hydroelectric power plants are developed based upon historic social conflicts such as: international extractivist markets that disregard environmental affectations, land grabbing and political exclusion in development plans and design.

These characteristics of the political economy of Latin America has endangered delicate ecosystems and the life and livelihoods of indigenous, peasant, Maroon and urban populations; however, such conditions do not determine the political action of those in vulnerable situations. Here, the argument is that vulnerability is a political condition (Ferrarese, 2017) for the ecosystems and peoples that are impacted by such economies of abandonment (Povinelli, 2011), and that such vulnerability compel people to be creative and seek alternatives. For instance, in Latin America there are social movements that recognize their vulnerability and that of nature but such movements, mainly inspired by the concept of good living - Buen Vivir -, propose and create antagonistic social projects with different values and forms of being and production (Fals Borda, 2008), turning vulnerability into subversion.

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The Teak Curtain and Peace Park: The Production, Mobilisation and Contesting of Ecological and Ontological Vulnerability Along the Salween River Basin of the Thai-Myanmar Borderlands.

Long ensconced behind the so-called teak curtain protracted histories of colonisation, authoritarianism, revolution, and civil war have contributed to the (re)figuring of the topography and people of the western bank of Salween as remote,

impoverished and vulnerable. Thus, I begin this paper by tracing how revolutionary movements in the area have traditionally played on these factors to garner commitments based on discourses on shared suffering at the hands of state violence and demands for ethnic separatism to protect them. With the lifting of the curtain and tentative moves made towards the transition to (liberal) peace, dragging venture capitalist with it in its wake, these discourses have begun shifting to those of ecological and ontological vulnerability and demands for ecological rights and more nested forms of sovereignty. This is personified in a project forwarded by the de-facto autonomous region of Mutraw, pushing for the transformation of these lands into a Peace Park for “all living things sharing peace”. I first explore how these newer discourses on vulnerability are being mobilised by activist and politicians alike before showing how they are constantly contested from below as they become entangled with local livelihood struggles and the more-than-human beings that also share these realms.

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Beyond Vulnerability and Resilience: Climate Disasters, Ruins, and Crises in Vietnam

While the Anthropocene has provoked new levels of vulnerability, it is profoundly uneven with some places being exceptionally disposed to ruination and some livelihoods being particularly precarious to the perils of climate change (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002; Stoler 2013). Yet, the hazards of the Anthropocene should not be conflated with the socio-economic and political asymmetries framing ecologies and lifeworlds prior to a climate disaster (Bradshaw 2013; McGregor 2017). This paper unravels the socially differentiated ramifications of typhoons in a masculinized fishing community in coastal Vietnam. The paper contests the ontologizing ways in which the notions of vulnerability and resilience tend to understand a disaster as an interrupting event to be overcome by those upon whom the damage has befallen so life can return to “normal” (Agamben 1998; Walby 2015). While the imperative for post-disaster recuperation is indisputable, reducing a climate catastrophe to a bracketing of “normal” life calls for vigilance (Das 2000). A crisis perspective, the paper argues, offers an alternative avenue for the analysis of the Anthropocene by focusing on the entanglements between a disastrous crisis of emergency and a spectrum of crises antecedents such as gendered livelihoods, hierarchies, and violences (Ginige et.al. 2014; True 2013). When various crises modalities, intensities, and temporalities intersect, a crisis in context might morph into crisis as context; into a crisis of chronicity which hampers the return to pre-disaster normalcy (Vigh 2008).

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Harnessing Climate Vulnerability: Development brokers in Bangladeshi flood protection projects

This paper uses ethnographic encounters with Bangladeshi development professionals to reveal how narratives of climate vulnerability are strategically deployed in international aid. Despite more sophisticated local knowledge of complex causal relations of environmental change, these professionals do not contest the dominant climate change paradigm as their careers depend on it.

The paper draws on work that argues that development brokers form assemblages that create and sustain a variety of 'translations' of development (Mosse & Lewis 2006). It shows how climate vulnerability acts as a seemingly neutral 'metacode' (Rottenburg 2009) where brokers that comply with the code are able to gain funding for their development projects and progress in their careers. It argues that by doing so, development brokers actively reproduce narratives that tend to conceal, rather than reveal, pressing environmental problems like siltation of waterbodies crucial for local livelihoods. Indeed, it shows that the diverse ways in which climate vulnerability can be harnessed may actually increase environmental vulnerability in Bangladesh's coastal zone, while drawing funding away from areas causing socio-political vulnerabilities.

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Exploring the personal-political dimensions of climate change vulnerability

There is increasing recognition of the need to link the personal and political spheres of transformation in order to move towards climate resilient development pathways in the face of climate change. There is also an emerging literature on the political nature of adaptation that sees vulnerability as produced by relations between people and across scales that are often unequal. However, how personal dimensions shape such relations is seldom investigated. We explore different interpretations of vulnerability in psychology literature in order to enrich key concepts in the politics of adaptation literature - such as knowledge, authority, recognition and subjectivity. Using illustrations from past fieldwork in Kenya, Ethiopia and Norway, we investigate how subjecting someone as vulnerable takes place, through policy processes targeting 'vulnerable groups', through internalization of the subjectivity by individuals, and resistance to such subjectivity. Conversely, how do narratives, discourses and practices – all informed by politics – over time shape the personal dimensions of vulnerability? How do these dynamics shape relational vulnerability? We propose that a deeper understanding of personal-political dimensions is required in order to move beyond material interpretations of vulnerability and open up for broader understandings of climate resilient development pathways that makes sense to people's experienced lives.

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Oysters and Containers: Tracing Entangled Ecologies of the Swedish West Coast

This paper aims at tracing ecological entanglements through a range of actors and aspects: from ideological, political and economic, through social and cultural, to biological and geological. It is based on a pilot study of two cases in the marine environment of the Swedish West Coast, which have caught some public and media attention: the appearance of the Japanese oyster, sometimes (mis)understood as an “invasive species”; and a proposal for a Chinese container harbour in Lysekil. The inspiration for the analytical perspective applied to these two cases comes from what has been referred to as more-than-human anthropology (for example, by Tsing, Haraway, and Kohn). It aims to integrate perspectives and results from marine biology science, local Swedish values and habits, questions of threat and collaboration (geopolitical, as well as human – non-human), analysis of local policies in the national and global context, as well as critical analysis of the role of capitalism and modernity (both as practices and worldviews). Actors involved in the study are marine biologists, local population, local policy makers, as well as economic stakeholders and businessmen.

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Infamous Environments: Intersecting Justice and Vulnerability in the Landscapes of the Swedish Million Program

When the Swedish Million Program (1965-1974) produced one million dwelling units, designers assumed that “rationalized” design principles could equally apply to green and public spaces, omitting ideas about change. These landscapes were often unfinished when residents arrived. Today, they are popularly represented as “no-go zones” – “violent environments” (Peluso and Watts 2001) where supposedly vulnerable residents (especially immigrants) cannot walk outside at night and town squares are battlegrounds for gang wars. Residents often contest these negative portrayals.

Drawing on notions of “environmental justice” (Haughton 1999) and the “just city” (Fainstein 2011) from planning theory, I ask how designers and activists renovating outdoor spaces – specifically in the neighborhoods of Botkyrka – address the disputed dangers of these infamous environments in recent projects by involving residents in design, implementation, or both. From traffic improvements to urban agriculture, projects in Botkyrka implicitly or explicitly intend to remake landscapes

and residents in parallel. How does vulnerability meet ecology and justice when designers and activists push residents to interact with and change non-human built environments (as gardeners or night walkers, for instance) in active rather than passive ways?

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Protect Children, Ban Chlorpyrifos!: Vulnerability and the Ethics and Politics of Sensitive Temporalities

Local accounts and scientific studies relate the high incidence of birth defects, illnesses, learning disabilities and other developmental disorders among children from Mexican farmworkers in California's rural agricultural regions to the exposure to the tonnage of toxic pesticides in combination with children's biological vulnerability that increase their sensitivity. Drawing from ethnographic data, I look at the widespread narratives by affected communities and media that urge local and national regulatory agencies for a full ban of chlorpyrifos in order to "protect" children. According to studies, chlorpyrifos, a neurodevelopmental and reproductive toxicant insecticide, can be extremely toxic even at low dose exposures—particularly during "sensitive" or "critical" windows of development. In this paper, I explore the following questions: how are the material, social, and political-economic entangled in the production of "vulnerable" and "sensitive" periods in the lifespan?, what are the politics enmeshed in the vulnerability of intergenerational, critical, and sensitive temporalities?, can a more sensitive approach to the temporalities of vulnerability help us render visible and re-trace the multi-scalar risks and harms caused by toxic substances?, and what caring practices that foster socioenvironmental conditions to nurture and sustain life can emerge?

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Renewable energy politics and contested futures on Saami land

Over the past decade, renewable energy policies have structured emergent wind industry opportunities and cultivated new sites for investments. While the energy reform successfully accelerated large-scale wind power development in the north of the country, it left questions of distributional environmental justice and resulting equity implications for existing claimants unaddressed. Drawing from fieldwork that traces a decade long conflict between Saami reindeer herders and the wind industry, this paper argues that resulting land-use conflicts cannot simply be understood as a reflection of divergent material interest but are instead embedded in asymmetrical

power relations at the convergence of two historical trajectories: Swedish colonial history in relation to the Saami population on one hand, and the neo-liberal economic orientation of Swedish environmental governance on the other. This convergence draws attention to how the renewable energy transition has reformulated authority at sites where new agendas are set, mechanisms of access and control are designed and silences are produced. Saami reindeer herders' participation within these spheres of authority and bounded power relations exemplify how oppositional claims have been handled in the regulatory process. Since participatory activities are first and foremost oriented to achieve consensus and stabilize relations, coexistence has been elevated as the only sensible outcome of land-use conflicts that could benefit common interest. Coexistence measures ultimately result in growing uncertainties as Saami reindeer herders are pulled into market structures where rights and practices are turned into assets for economic transactions.

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Mining Dependency: Resource paternalism and community vulnerability in Kiruna, Sweden

This paper explores notions of community dependence and community vulnerability in relation to mining, using a case study from the northern Swedish town of Kiruna, which is currently facing mining-based displacement and relocation. In 2004, the Swedish state-owned mining company LKAB announced that iron mining in Kiruna had caused irreversible ground deformations, necessitating the displacement and resettlement of approximately a third of the city's residents over the next thirty to one hundred years. How do such community experiences generate new ways of understanding ideas of vulnerability and dependence in relation to industry, and how do these experiences challenge non-local ideas of such concepts? In what ways do non-local notions of dependence and vulnerability highlight or foreclose our understandings of the challenges resource communities face?

Panel 8 || Counselling 'the Vulnerable'

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Vulnerabilities at work. Insights from trauma trainings and domestic violence counselling

The notion of vulnerability is strongly implicated in counselling. In practice, however, the neat distinction between the experts and the vulnerable groups they care for fails to capture the complexity of the counselling encounter. Trauma trainings have not only been offered to "the vulnerable" living in areas of high risk concerning natural disasters and armed conflicts, but also to those caring for "the vulnerable". This, in turn, converts the helpers themselves into a vulnerable group. Not only, because they become subject to certain threats within these regions and working areas, but also because they become aware of their own vulnerability in terms of emotional distress. Counselling has therefore become a professional activity combining the efforts of caring better for others and for oneself. In urban South Africa, the everyday work of domestic violence counsellors is challenged by assumptions about vulnerability and the gendered victim-perpetrator-binary. Categorizations and concomitant behavioural expectations become jumbled when women are suspected to fabricate stories of abuse in order to receive assistance and when men in offender rehabilitation programs portray their own victimhood. Counsellors then have to find acceptable strategies for dealing with these highly sensitive situations in which vulnerability is at stake.

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To affect and be affected: employing emotional resources in social campaigns

How is vulnerability manifested and positioned in social campaigns, in particular breast cancer awareness and fundraising campaigns? One way to study social and individual vulnerabilities is through the spinozist notion of *affect*.

The 'affective turn' (Koivunen, 2000) in the social sciences has challenged the binary models of thinking that detach interpretation from sensation and mind from body. Some affect theorists (e.g. Massumi 2002) claim that the logic of affect does not translate into semantic models of explanation, while other scholars locate affect within discourse: Koivunen argues that analysing affective encounters means "to examine media forms, representations and narratives, cultural framings and meaning-making processes" (Koivunen et al. 2000:7). Also Wetherell and Ehlers & Krupar demonstrate that affect indeed is operational, and not only constructed through representations, practices, and interpersonal relations, but also "socially and materially arranged; and, [...] conditioned through sets of conventions" (Ehlers & Krupar 2014: 388). Informed by a social semiotic approach as well as different 'turns to affect', I will discuss how affect and embodied meaning making form a 'social glue', a resource for creating social coherence in awareness and fundraising campaigns.

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Legal consulting in Argentina – Challenges for state employees working in vulnerable neighborhoods

ATAJO is a special unit of the Argentinean national prosecution department that is dedicated to provide legal consulting to vulnerable sectors in the informal settlements of Buenos Aires. The aim of the program is to give assistance in legal conflicts, to empower vulnerable groups through legal knowledge and to strengthen integration through civic self-awareness.

Working in neighborhoods that are marked by the absence of the state is a particular challenge for the interdisciplinary staffs because they are confronted with an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust.

In this paper I will line out how the employees use strategies of trust building in the consultations and how their responses to the specific needs of certain vulnerable groups can help to create bonds. Employees skillfully balance authority and informality and pronounce similarities and differences in variable ways in order to obtain acceptance by their interlocutors. But not always do they succeed and I will illustrate how classifications of vulnerability that were outlined by the developers of the program can lead to confusion, problems and contradictions – particularly when the assumed and actual needs of 'the vulnerable' do not coincide.

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Rethinking Vulnerability in Psychosocial Counselling in Nepal: Lessons from a Short-Lived Intervention

Psychosocial counselling interventions proliferated in Nepal following the 2015 earthquakes. Conceiving of women as a vulnerable group, a number of NGOs trained women in affected communities to identify mental health problems among their peers and provide basic counselling. My doctoral dissertation research traced one such intervention from planning stages in Kathmandu to implementation in a rural village over fourteen months. Drawing from interviews and participant observation among program managers, counsellors and clients, this paper interrogates some common assumptions about vulnerability that guide psychosocial intervention in contexts of economic and geographic precariousness. In rural, earthquake-affected regions of Nepal, women counsellors often struggled with poverty, disaster-related loss, and low social status within the home and community to a greater extent than their clients. I describe how lack of attention to these challenges, reflected in inadequate support and salary, ultimately contributed to the intervention's discontinuation. This ethnographic case study upends presumed hierarchies in the clinical encounter and encourages a rethinking of logics of vulnerability and care underpinning counselling interventions. I offer "ecologies of care" as an alternative framework for attending to the differential distribution of need which recognizes the embeddedness of both clients and counsellors within complex local histories and social ecologies.

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Western Configurations of Vulnerability: Unmaking the refugee and asylum seeker

As a clinical anthropologist who works with psychotherapy clients. I embed the auto-ethnographical approach into the clinical encounter, this method "allows the reader (and the writer) to experience something new - to feel, to learn, to discover, to co-create" (Ricci 2003, p. 594). I have worked with refugees and asylum seekers who may come to psychotherapy to get a report to authenticate their experiences and to support their application to stay in the UKAs a practitioner I have chosen the a phenomenological inquiry approach to explore the relational self and identity in order to access an understanding of another's psychological health through social interaction, social reproduction, and self-awareness.

Panel 9 || Critical Perspectives on Migration and Vulnerability

Johan Lindquist, Stockholm University

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Margaret Schumann

The “Paradox of the Dominated”: The Giving Up of Weekly Rest-Days by Migrant Domestic Workers in Singapore

Why do so few migrant domestic workers (MDWs) in Singapore utilize their weekly rest-day entitlement? Using quantitative data drawn from 3,886 online profiles of prospective migrant domestic workers (MDWs) and 45 interview sessions with domestic workers, employers and manpower agencies, we find that alienated actors may view repeated and pre-emptive submission, rather than resistance, as their only viable path to long-term liberation. Processual analysis focusing on key moments in a MDW’s work-life—when first seeking an employer, before the commencement of their contract, and during the day-to-day experience of working during their two-year contract—highlights the multiple, repeated moments of capitulation on their rest-day entitlement that pepper MDWs’ migratory careers but can lead to increased goodwill from their employers over a two-year arc and a good employment record that they can leverage to receive better benefits with subsequent employers. We thus distinguish submission from victimhood, even as we recognize that “agentic submission” can lead to workers’ ongoing exploitation and suffering.

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‘It was the photograph of the little boy’: Reflections on the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme in the UK

In September 2015, public opinion on Syrian refugees changed when the international media published images of Alan Kurdi, a little boy who had drowned during a Mediterranean Sea crossing. The British government announced a resettlement programme in the same month, seemingly diverging from its insistence that the Syrian crisis should be dealt with in the region and simultaneously presenting the move as an alternative to EU plans for a quota system. It was pledged that 20,000 Syrians should be admitted to the UK under this scheme, a process to be facilitated by the UNHCR and specifically targeting Syrian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. ‘Vulnerability’ was identified as a major criterion for the selection of beneficiaries. To date about 8,000 refugees have arrived under the scheme. In this paper I will reflect on early stages of ethnographic research, particularly focussing on ways in which the framing of refugees as vulnerable and

deserving becomes an ambivalent act, expressing compassion on the one hand and anxieties over public resources and cultural difference on the other. I will centrally engage with interview and discursive material, charting refugee vulnerability through the lens of volunteers, third sector and local authority actors, all charged with the task of realising the scheme.

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Beyond the 'all seeing eye': Filipino migrant domestic workers' contestation of care and control in Hong Kong

This paper draws on ethnographic data about migrant domestic workers' perceptions of and responses to the use of surveillance cameras in the home to intervene in recent debates about surveillance, care and social control. The Filipino migrant domestic worker responses we document here speak to critiques of the Foucauldian vision of surveillance derived from the panopticon that are 'abstract, disembodied and distrustful'. In contrast to the Benthamite reading of God's all seeing eye, Filipino migrant workers invoke a relational vision which speaks to connectedness and mutual concern. Digital surveillance practices in the home not only produce tactics for evading control but also reduce the capacity of migrant workers to deliver the best possible care that is ostensibly the basis for the deployment of new forms of watching.

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Being someone else: migration and transformation

This paper argues that the common vocabulary of 'identities' and 'living between two cultures', often associated with non-Western migrants or their children in Europe, is insufficient for making sense of the personal transformations and contradictions migration, often forced to take clandestine (Andersson 2014) routes, entails. It is proposed, based on fieldwork with residents with diverse histories of displacement or migration, living in the working class suburb of Varissuo in Turku, Finland, that human mobility and the associated policies, technologies, and debates are generative of particular shifting orientations, imaginaries, and vulnerabilities. Ethnographic engagement reveals that these transformations, undergone, and undertaken, at different phases of migration, are markedly profound. Sometimes by their own initiative, and sometimes forced to do so, again and again at various stages, people *virtually become somebody else*: perhaps the spouse or child of someone they do not know, or of particular nationality, and so forth. As contemporary border regimes and migration policies become increasingly harsh, this 'becoming someone else' is often the prerequisite for not just travel but residence. Therefore,

this paper seeks to locate various ambiguous, vulnerable positions neither in "cultural differences" nor "social integration", but in the very conditions and constraints of the processes of migration.

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Through the lens of vulnerability: the transformation of the Swedish state and international migration

This paper investigates how the concept of vulnerability can be used to understand the dynamics of the governance of irregular migrants in an era characterized by new forms of capitalism, migratory flows, and deportability. Swedish migration law and restrictive policies regarding irregular migrants' rights in combination with Swedish administrative regulation create specific vulnerabilities for irregular migrants in the Swedish context. This contributes to the generation of other vulnerabilities for the irregular individual: informalisation and labour exploitation and high rents for poor accommodations. The Swedish state's creation and maintenance of vulnerable migrants and unregulated labour market can be characterized as a form of handling, managing and downsizing of a socioeconomic and political issue associated with migrant rights. In the wake of the dismantling of the welfare state over the past thirty years, and the neo-liberal turn toward sub-contracting and informalisation, the concept of vulnerability as crucial to contemporary capitalism provides us with an alternative perspective on the demise of the welfare state. Although the example of irregular migrants working in the unregulated labour market might be an extreme case in the general Swedish context, the creation and maintaining of vulnerability can be understood as a central tool of governance and be related to contemporary class stratification in Swedish society.

Panel 11|| Emerging Vulnerabilities

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Vulnerability, Pregnant women, and The Community Clinic System in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, pregnant women are considered as vulnerable subjects when they participate in health research. They are also regarded as a vulnerable population in designing health interventions and in creating health policies for them. However, a blanket categorization of pregnant women as vulnerable population jeopardizes their health and wellbeing. One of the main issues in our knowledge of vulnerability is a lack of research that addresses the context-specific vulnerabilities of pregnant women. The aim of this paper is to locate the vulnerabilities of pregnant women within the community clinic system in Bangladesh, a system that involves pregnant women both in terms of conducting research and delivering healthcare services to them. This paper endorses the theoretical framework of vulnerability articulated by Samia A. Hurst explaining (i) physical integrity, (ii) autonomy, (iii) freedom, (iv) social provision, (v) impartial quality of government, (vi) social bases of self-respect and (vii) communal belonging. Using this theoretical framework, I argue that pregnant women within the community clinic system in Bangladesh are vulnerable because of paternalism in the healthcare system and in social institutions, persisting gender gap, and women's social position.

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Becoming Garment Workers in Bangladesh: Navigating Vulnerabilities in the Neoliberal Labour Regime of Bangladesh

The garment industry in Bangladesh has created major employment opportunity for women who migrated to urban areas in search of work. The garment industries employ around 2.2 million female workers in 4500 factories. It has created a form of social mobility with the entry of women in the formal labour market. However, greater levels of vulnerabilities have been created and the benefits of this export-oriented growth accumulates at the top of the supply chains for the expense of those at the bottom, which disproportionately include women and migrant workers. I have found that employment strategies of the garment industries in the neoliberal labour regime of Bangladesh entail a mix of coercions and appropriations of pre-capitalist social relations, kinship structures and authority relations. Besides, government policies to

improve the labor condition in factories have led to further disempowerment of the workers. Based on ethnographic findings I argue that the process of 'becoming garment workers' reflects continuous navigation of vulnerabilities emerging from mobility of capital and longstanding effects it has on the life of the garment workers. The experience of the garments workers reveals the possibilities of different forms of social relation(s), future(s) and good life(s).

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New Vulnerabilities in Neoliberalising in Cuba

Neoliberalism introduces new experiences of vulnerability in socially differentiated ways. This paper explores how shifts towards neoliberalist economic policies in contemporary Cuba create new experiences of vulnerability to persons who have already been at a precarious position amidst Cuba's recent economic changes. I draw on long-term ethnographic research amongst low-income Havana residents to examine how such persons, who lack the resources that allow more privileged Cubans to thrive, have come to experience new vulnerabilities amidst the island's economic shifts. I focus on an elderly couple's efforts to run a small street-side café from the early 2000s until 2015 when they were forced out of business. Through the economic changes that increase competition and demand greater flexibility and resources from workers, Cuba's current developments place my interlocutors into an increasingly vulnerable position. With varying success, they draw on their relationships in their efforts to subsist. However, while such tactics sometimes allow them to mitigate their vulnerabilities, at other times their success is ambiguous since such relationships place them amidst complex dependencies and demands. Even though neoliberalism is global in its ideological premises, we have to explore its particular effects through the careful ethnographic analysis of locally situated vulnerabilities.

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Vulnerability of the market individual: the self-employed and the chain and franchise enterprises in South Korea

In South Korea, retail and service franchises and conglomerates have been making inroads into trades and localities which until late 1990s – approximately the time of the great Asian economic crisis – were largely the domain of small independent enterprises.

The entry to self-employment to earn a livelihood by many of those who were laid off during the crisis provided conditions for franchise enterprises to grow as franchises provide a lowered threshold to self-employment. Paradoxically, these conditions also contributed to increased vulnerability of both independent and franchise businesses due to excessive growth in the number of establishments in some sectors.

Simultaneously, conglomerates established subsidiaries which entered certain service and retail sectors, further adding to the perceived vulnerability and factually diminished returns among South Korean small businesskeepers.

I will examine these phenomena through experiences and opinions of Korean self-employed shopkeepers, with whom I have conducted fieldwork first in the aftermath of the late 1990s' crisis in a single neighborhood with entrepreneurs of various trades, and in a later project with practitioners of a single trade in various locations of the country.

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Performing Vulnerability in Claustrophobic Infrastructures

“If I hear the phrase “bare life” one more time, I’m going to scream” said one Palestinian academic; Agamben’s phrase is often employed to describe Palestinians under occupation. They know all too well the structure of feeling of claustrophobia produced by the crippling infrastructures of control, like checkpoints and walls, and bureaucratic control enforced by flimsy, yet consequential, paper permits and ID cards. Despite their quotidian experiences of their own vulnerability, my Palestinian interlocutors grew weary of dehumanizing descriptions of themselves as “object.” This paper addresses a problematic aspect of their current state: the requirement to “perform” vulnerability by drawing attention to the infrastructural constraints of the occupation in order to elicit international political support or aid money necessary to keep themselves and their communities afloat. However, I track here the emergence of webs of social ties between Palestinian activists, a form of what Julia Elaychar calls “phatic labor,” that facilitates and produces a “gig economy” of dynamic, ephemeral projects designed to generate income and embody creativity. I explore their inventive engagements with art, humor, agriculture, and food which express their vulnerability but also attempt to *counter* it in ways that produce Palestinian lives that are anything but bare.

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Enduring bodies within institutional time

This paper asks: How does vulnerability circulate as a form of endurance? In general terms, endurance is a measure of a person's stamina or persistence, and it can also be an ability to bear suffering. To experience and live with different forms of vulnerability requires endurance to maintain a life, and to find ways both to alleviate and resist social, socio-economic, and political conditions of precarity. This paper will consider the methods by which such living must be sustained through modes of enduring institutionalised violence.

It will do so by considering the relationship between bodily duration and institutional time. The paper will consider how bodily durations, or modes of time that are embodied, exist in contrast with, and in tension to, institutional time. The contrast is established between duration, as a bodily rhythm, and what we might think of as a distinct bodily epistemology, and time, as something that exists outside of the body. To do this analytical work of considering the material conditions of bodily duration and endurance within lived experiences of vulnerability, I will draw upon ethnographic evidence from a recent national UK survey data on institutional responses to reports of gender based and sexual violence within universities. I will discuss how institutional responses to violence require bodily endurance, and can both reproduce violence and result in the emergence of new forms of trauma.

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Approaching a reconceptualization of educational vulnerabilities

Social vulnerability of marginalized groups especially considering intersectional perspectives is structured along institutionalized terms, which challenges questioning the dimensions of recognition for individuals facing social exclusion within institutional structures. Following Butler's concept of vulnerability I conducted a case study focusing on vulnerabilities within educational systems in Germany. For this study I considered three different groups who face social marginalization within schools and comparable institutions: refugees, long-termed unemployed women and vocational training students facing unemployment. In this interview study similarities within the vulnerability of these groups could be understood as a need to restructure educational systems alongside an empowering reconceptualization of vulnerability.

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Migration of men and the mobility of left behind women: The case of Rashidpur village in Munshiganj, Bangladesh.

This paper is an ethnographic account of interrelationship between mobility and vulnerability or empowerment of the left behind women of Rashidpur village in

Munshiganj, Bangladesh following the migration of their husbands abroad. In doing so, the study explores the continuity and changes in the discourse and practices of traditional gender roles in a patriarchal Muslim society. The study is based on a yearlong ethnographic fieldwork which examines how rural women rearrange their the culturally constructed boundaries and increasingly contest the meanings of gender by performing in the public spaces which are culturally made for men. The findings of the study show that though women go to public sphere in the absence of men, they remain under subtle and invisible surveillance in the name of ethics, norms and values of the patriarchal society. But they are not passive victims of patriarchy as they resist and strategize to create opportunities to establish their agency as human beings. The study contextualizes structure and agency to understand how patriarchal structure influences women and how women play role in exchange to transform the structure through their mobility and resistance when their husbands are abroad.

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I suggest that political fragmentation and inter-group violence in Turkey are the result of fundamental structural vulnerabilities that characterize Turkish society across social classes, creating sociocultural patterns that consistently undermine attempts at cooperation and unity and foster factionalism. A lack of institutional protection for individual rights means people must seek protection and sustenance through group membership, whether family or political party. The group hierarchies that characterize Turkish political life, however, are brittle because they are grounded in loyalty and obedience to a single central leader, rather than to the organization itself, its ideology, rules and procedures, or merit as a marker for leadership and promotion. Disagreements with the "hero"/leader thus become personal betrayals that require the "traitors" to leave the group, taking their networks with them and later reforming around new leaders in a continual process of fracturing into mutually hostile groups. Thus, attempts to address individual vulnerabilities breed new dangers on a larger scale. The study is based on an oral history of Turkey in the 1970s set within a scaffolding of factual reports and secondary literature, as well as two decades of ethnographic study of contemporary Turkish political life.

Panel 12 || Feminist Anthropology Exploring the Ambiguity of Vulnerability

Klara Öberg, Malmö Universitet
Sylva Frisk, Göteborgs Universitet
Johanna Gullberg, Stockholms Universitet

Session 1

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Vulnerability on trial: gender and (dis)empowerment in Ben Ali's Tunisia

This paper explores gendered experiences and definitions of vulnerability in the practice of divorce laws that claimed to promote women's rights in Tunisia under Ben Ali's authoritarian regime.

Chronic uncertainties marked this legal practice, due to ambiguities in the legal code. The personal status law failed to define the concepts of 'marital duties' and 'harm', which played a key role in divorce cases. Therefore, the law required the litigants, lawyers and judges to define who is considered at fault and who is considered vulnerable - and deserving of justice - in the divorce settlement.

These interpretative spaces allowed ordinary ethics and gendered, Islamic concepts of personhood to enter the work of the court.

Wives were more likely to be seen as vulnerable and deserving of justice, whereas men were more likely to be held accountable and sanctioned by the oppressive state.

This gendered interpretation of vulnerability seemingly empowered women in cases that were perceived to (unfairly) favour women's rights, whilst in fact accentuating gender inequalities.

Vulnerability plays a key role at the intersection of citizenship and gender and in shaping a litigant's ability to access their rights in a divorce court.

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Affective narratives of vulnerability and sanctions on Iran

My paper examines the emotional and affective politics around the Western-led 'economic' sanctions on Iran, within a theoretical framework informed by postcolonial and

intersectional feminist studies. I focus on the production and mediation of affective narratives generated and circulated by Iranian users on Facebook around imaginings of Iran as a suffering and vulnerable nation. I explore how sanctions have been felt and produced as national crisis, associated with an exceptional precarity, towards which the Iranian national imaginary was oriented.

In mapping the mobilisation of affect and its role in the constitution of sanctions as crisis, I argue that affective-discursive formations on Iranian social media should be understood in terms of the differential global allocation of livabilities, where some bodies are deemed to be more grievable (Butler), and hence more deserving of empathy than others. In contesting both national and transnational regimes of grievability, Iranian online commentators develop their own counter-discourses, which mobilise new and old forms of national distinctiveness.

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The gendered work of practices in legal aid: Un/livable after/lives of widows of genocide in Rwanda

This paper analyses situations of providing legal aid and enquires into how relations to land change because of shifting eligibilities impelled by the gendered work of practices. Legal aid counselors determine eligibility, vulnerability and deservingness for beneficiaries based on gendered relations and accounts of women's situations. Practice as such is a gendered activity (cf. Strathern 1988) that brings forth or hides aspects of gendering in situations of delivering legal aid. Practices that un/do eligibilities are invested with values, assumptions, dependencies and empathy towards needy beneficiaries. My paper follows two interrelated lines of analysis regarding women in Rwanda who submit their common claims and everyday affairs to legal aid, the perils and predicaments women are exposed to when accessing and securing ownership rights to land and property. This is of existential concern for women living in different social constellations in Rwanda, be it as widows, wives, daughters or sisters. First, I focus on claims related to land disputes, its inheritance and succession, and the adjacent practices of rights-based organisations (RBOs). I examine how practices of legal aid render beneficiaries eligible to rightful ownership of accessing and securing land. I consider the 1999 Succession Law which introduced a material aspect to legal matters and claims undergoing gendered practices in disputes over and access to land. In the Rwandan context, this law circumscribes a process that turns women's aspirations of land into a tangible and measurable entity in shape of a plot of land legally owned and laboured by women. The second line of analysis is the gendered work of a RBO, one of the first in "post-genocide" Rwanda that addresses the perils of female survivors and widows of genocide. In the semiprofessional field of the RBO's practice of legal aid and advice to its beneficiaries, I show how gender relationalities and virtues are re-inscribed affirmatively as well as emphatically onto the gendered bodies of female widows of genocide, and how gender is ultimately undone (Butler 2004) in the after/lives of genocide (cf. Hunt 2015). Drawing on the above mentioned ethnographic situations, the paper seeks to pursue questions of why gender is a useful framing device for practices, and vice versa, why are practices a useful framing device for modes of

gendering issues, access or eligibilities. However, when I draw on aspects of gender, their relationality, re/framings and modes of practices, I am not inclined to determine the parameters for these aspects. Rather, I aim to carve out aspects of experienced and lived realities – what I refer to as cardinals of un/livable after/lives – as the gendered work of practices has rhetorical and material consequences, being parts of reification processes (cf. Mahmud 2014).

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Gendered Vulnerability, Climate Disasters, and Male-to-Female Violence in the Philippines and Vietnam

This paper examines the intersections between climate disasters and gendered violences in the Philippines and Vietnam. The paper critically considers the ways in which vulnerability is gendered as a notion, a phenomenon, and an experience by focusing on typhoon Haiyan which slammed into the Philippines in the fall of 2013 and later swept across Vietnam (*Reliefweb*, Nov. 8, 2013). The intrinsically gendered dimension of the Anthropocene remains understudied in disaster research, hence only recently have feminist scholars directed attention towards a reported increase in men’s violence against women and girls in the aftermath of a climate catastrophe (Enarson and Chakrabarti 2009; First et.al. 2017). Such violence, the paper argues, capitalizes on socio-cultural and economic injustices predating the catastrophe and allowing for the abuse (Bradshaw 2013; Fisher 2010). Humanitarian emergency thus might not only fuel gendered inequalities but even exacerbate the ongoing difficulties in women’s lives (Aolain 2011; True 2013). The paper highlights female experiences of male violence in the two studied contexts and how local feminist organizations combat gendered violence before, during, and after a climate disaster (Nguyen et.al. 2017; Rydstrom 2017). While recognizing the precariousness of women and girls to men’s abuse under devastating circumstances, the paper also invites debate about as to whether vulnerability is a productive analytical term for feminist anthropology in general and for the study of male-to-female violence in specific ethnographic sites.

Session 2

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Imaginarities of Freedom and Coercion - Transnational Commercial Surrogacy and the Ambivalent Effects of ‘Vulnerability’

The issue of vulnerability is intricately linked to questions of freedom and coercion, which are central to debates about commercial surrogacy and other forms of intimate labour. While some question the agency of women who sell their reproductive labour, others condemn intended parents for transgressing moral boundaries by exercising “too much choice”. And again others argue that neither intended parents nor surrogates act upon “free choice” due to their existential vulnerabilities.

I engage with these debates and show how feminist endeavours have been co-opted by a neoliberal and libertarian discourse that constructs individuals as “free to choose” and hence as individually responsible for their fate. Based on ethnographic research and the puzzling story of a German couple and a Ukrainian surrogate, I examine how different forms of vulnerability affect the ways freedom of choice – and thus responsibility – is accepted, rejected, redirected, or negotiated. I furthermore scrutinize the ways in which surrogacy agencies make profit from these vulnerabilities by stressing their role as intermediaries and significantly shaping the relationship between intended parents and surrogates. My presentation argues that ‘imaginaries’ of freedom and coercion become a prerequisite as well as a result of the precarious conditions of surrogacy in Ukraine.

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Vulnerability and/as the impossibility of doing good

This paper addresses a question posed by the organisers, slightly adjusted: To what degree is solidarity possible, not only in light of the unequal material distribution of vulnerability, but also considering the conflictual nature of ethically and politically important notions such as reciprocity, justice and empathy, not seldom invoked as important elements of solidarity? Given the difficulty of giving an altruistic gift, of setting up non-violent structures of justice and of recognising the other’s predicament without any epistemic violence of interpretation – difficulties all manifested in the interviews I have conducted with social activists and volunteers in Sweden, analysed through the lens of Derrida’s deconstructive ethics - I argue for the necessity of analysing the (im)possibility of solidarity, of commitment for the well-being of others, in terms of both political and existential conflicts. Importantly, this widens the notion of vulnerability to include also the risks and power dynamics involved in ethical decision-making. In this presentation, I will especially elaborate on the question of knowledge of the other’s situation, on how and if we can represent and imagine another’s experience without at the same time reducing “the Other” to “the Same”.

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#MeToo in Sweden: Visualized vulnerability, mediated mobilization and feminist agency

The #MeToo campaign in Sweden has been likened to a revolution, a (feminist) revolution in a country with a national self-image of gender equality and with a self-proclaimed feminist government. Through testimonials, women have spoken up about sexual harassment and abuse, from verbal assaults to violent rape. Through rapid social mobilization, the campaign has gained momentum, from urban manifestations to written petitions, attracting intensive coverage by national and international media. This paper discusses testimonials of sexual abuse as a form of witnessing that visualizes the vulnerability of women, thus breaking a culture of silence and oppression (Freire 1970). Probing the hashtag #MeToo, it explores the use of social media and other media platforms for social mobilization (Bonilla & Rosa 2015, Juris 2012, Uimonen 2017), including testimonials collected by the Nordic Museum through the site www.minnen.nu. Through a media analysis of discursive tropes, the paper discusses how the #MeToo campaign has highlighted issues of sexuality, femininity, masculinity and power, giving renewed impetus to feminist debates. But who is included and who is excluded in the #MeToo revolution? The paper discusses feminist agency in relation to class, ethnicity and race in the context of Swedish feminism. The paper builds on the research project Collecting Social Photo, <http://collectingsocialphoto.nordiskamuseet.se>.

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Balancing Classroom Discussions: Fostering Knowledge and Empathy through Ethnographic Texts

Discussions that include topics of human precariousness and vulnerability involve developing a complex relationship between ethnographic examples, students, and their instructors. This engagement might cause some students to reflect on their own social and personal experiences—where they may begin to recognize further their own uncertainties and shifting social statuses. With careful control of the discussion, it can prove to be a highly rewarding experience by helping to humanize all in the room, as well as humanizing those whose experiences we have discussed. I will explore the use of ethnographic examples that help to cultivate knowledge and empathy through the contextualization of human experiences. Through a structured discussion, students can be encouraged to understand how precariousness and vulnerability are experienced as part of dynamic processes involving shifting social statuses (i.e., they are not permanent though some might be long-term), which are often collectively experienced, and that these are sometimes mediated through the assembly of precarious groups. Moreover, I will discuss some of the complexities that we may encounter in fostering these connections, for example, avoiding the intellectual trap of perceiving the world as filled with permanently vulnerable peoples who are waiting or needing to “be saved.”

Panel 19 || Spatializing Vulnerability

Piet Tutenel, KU Leuven
Stefan Ramaekers, KU Leuven
Ann Heylighen, KU Leuven

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Getting there: Research on spatial experience of the built care environment with children and young people affected by cancer

Research with, on and about children and youth in the context of illness and care in general is connected to adult protection, risk and the idea of vulnerability. Our research considers the notion of vulnerability from two different perspectives. On the one hand, a critical perspective as alternative to viewing vulnerability as a lack. Constructing children as vulnerable research subjects results in limited access to and knowledge of their own perspectives – rendering children silent. On the other hand, relating vulnerability to an existential/inherent human characteristic, we recognise being able to be vulnerable, without being reduced to it, as an important need. Linking the notion of vulnerability to a socio-material perspective draws attention to how practices constitute the emotional experience of space and offers the possibility to gain insights into how/whether these young people experience vulnerability.

This paper reflects on how these two perspectives surface in our methodology to research spatial experiences of the built care environment with children and youth affected by cancer. By way of example we discuss the process of gaining approval for this methodology from a hospital's ethical committee. This reflection may be relevant for anyone doing research with children also outside of care environments.

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Learners with disabilities in mainstream education: a spatial approach

The relationship between vulnerability and spatiality is here addressed through the experience of learners with disabilities in French mainstream schools. The presentation adopts an environmental approach to disability. Furthermore, it is within this background that schools are seen as important dis/abling spaces (Holt, 2003), dealing with the dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion.

The study is based on ethnographic methods involving participant observation in special and mainstream schools and interviews with learners with disabilities and support staff.

Firstly, within the larger context of inclusive education, it shows the reconfiguration of learners' needs between the material settings of special institutions and those of mainstream schools. Secondly, a closer look to mainstream schools underlines the relevance of diverse practices of *care* (Mol et al., 2010) within the spatial adjustments. Finally, the presentation invites to discover the (in)visible forms of vulnerability that teaching and support professionals might experience as well.

The presentation will discuss notions such as 'design for all', 'accessibility' and 'reasonable adjustments' in educational settings.

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Life in ruins: Vulnerability in spaces of abandonment

Rural abandonment can be considered the flipside of rapid urbanisation. Globally occurring, abandonment threatens livelihoods and cultural heritage, leaving behind vulnerable spaces. This paper presents an ethnographic account of the lives of people in a village in the south of Spain and their relations to their material surroundings; of neighbours who know they are the last ones to ever live there, see their village crumble apart bit by bit, and recount stories of how life used to be and of the choices they have had to make that eventually led to irresistible abandonment.

By looking at the presence of ruins, as materialisations of past losses as well as of a future breakdown of social fabric, I ask how the crumbling environment – a built environment in the un/making – mediates forms of socio-cultural vulnerability: a spatial vulnerability that is produced, reproduced, and challenged in discourses of remoteness and connectivity, and practices of ruination and maintenance.

Panel 20 || Thinking Vulnerable Animals

Don Kulick, Uppsala University

Tom Shakespeare, University of East Anglia

Simo Vehmas, Stockholm University

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What's the problem with comparing humans with intellectual disabilities to animals?

History of intellectual disability is a history of segregation, subjection, cruelty and downright brutality. People with limited cognitive capacities have been seen as animal-like, subhuman, and thus of lesser value than other humans. Understandably, the mere comparison between non-human animals and humans with intellectual disability is seen empirically and morally inappropriate; to say that a human is psychologically like a pig, is seen to suggest that he or she should be in the same moral category with pigs as well. I will argue that whilst this conclusion is not a logical necessity, the possible implications of such comparisons need to be acknowledged and considered properly.

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Recent discussions on disability have started to take into consideration the shared experiences of people with disabilities and nonhuman animals. However, scholars hold differing views about the ethical and political stakes of these connections. Professor of animal science Temple Grandin (2009) claims that she, as a person on the autism spectrum, can compassionately relate to the psychological distress experienced by animals raised for food. With the help of her skill, she has built a career by designing “humane” slaughterhouses. She argues that killing domesticated animals for food is morally right, for their existence as a species is fully dependent on humans. Feminist disability and animal scholar Sunaura Taylor (2016) argues, in contrast, that dependency must be understood as a critical resource for exposing the entangled histories of animal and disability oppression. For her, recognizing mutual vulnerabilities across the species line can inform a nonviolent ethical practice she calls a “cripping animal ethics.” In this paper, I ask in what ways do ableism and speciesism presuppose and reinforce each other, and what are the ethical and political implications of these normative discourses for contemporary notions of vulnerability and dependency?

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“Animals do have the other alternative”: veterinarians, relationality and the contextual ethics of pet euthanasia

In contemporary Western societies, the death of animals is largely medicalized, and the life of a pet usually ends in euthanasia carried out by the veterinarian. In this presentation, I scrutinize pet euthanasia as a relational practice of care. Drawing from interviews with veterinarians, I ask how decisions on pet euthanasia are made and what is considered as a good death for a pet. According to the analysis, the decision to euthanise is always contextual and depends on the vet’s interpretation of the animal’s experiences of pain and suffering and subsequent ethical consideration. Supporting bereaved owners, and sometimes persuading unwilling ones to accept the situation and let go, is something that many vets are uncomfortable with. The study shows how the question of death renders pets subject of human emotions and exercise of power at one of the most vulnerable moments of their life. The aim of pet euthanasia is to be an act of care, but the experience for all involved may become something totally different. The problems are often alleviated by conducting euthanasia at the home of the owner, a space that allows for a peaceful death for the pet and safe expression of grief for the family.

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Stable Genius? The making of “good riders” and “good horses” at the riding school

How do riders value human and equine psyches and bodies? The paper builds on a study in which riding groups are followed before, during and after riding lessons. The analysis shows that early career riders view horses partly as passive tools and partly as threatening adversaries. After a while, riding school pupils come to see horses’ vulnerable position—more experienced riders explain that they try to understand the horses’ perspective of the riding school, which includes long days, difficult pupils and sometimes violent treatment. While riders increasingly come to think of horses as persons, they begin thinking of themselves as human animals—as corporeal rather than cerebral beings. The riding school is thus a place where humans are becoming horse, and the horses emerge as human-like creatures. But while most riders contrast the liberating environment of the riding school to the alienating conditions of the work-week, some also recognize that the riding school requires that the horses are alienated from their own equine selves. Ultimately, “good

horses” are the ones seen as willing to accept these conditions. “Good riders” learn to benefit from those same conditions.

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When animals assist, do they become assistants or assistive technologies or do we become other?

Beginning with guide dogs and extending to hearing dogs, dogs to support people with epilepsy, and the whole new phenomenon of pets to provide emotional support, the phenomenon of people with illness or impairment – mental, physical and sensory – interacting with animals is important but neglected in the world of disability. While some individuals welcome ordinary pets, others are thrust into new and unexpected relationships with their bestial daemon. This paper will explore the boundaries between ‘pet’ and ‘assistive technology’ and ‘human with disabilities’, and highlight what is at stake when a person with disability engages with a non-human species to negotiate the world and achieve her own inclusion.

Panel 22 (merged with panel 18) || Vulnerability, Agency, and Environmental Change

Isabell Herrmans, University of Helsinki
Anu Lounela, University of Helsinki
Kasia Mika, University of Amsterdam

Session 1

Anu Lounela

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Fire, vulnerability and agency

This paper discusses vulnerability and agency and their articulation with fire, a supposedly “wild” natural force, among the Ngaju, an indigenous population in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. Wildfires are a recurring phenomenon in Central Kalimantan due to decades of logging, oil palm plantation development, and large-scale agricultural schemes that have transformed swamp forests into degraded peatlands. However, fire is also a key technological force for the indigenous inhabitants, immigrant groups and some commercial actors in the area. The paper draws on anthropological theories of nature and political ecology, arguing that fire disasters are human-produced, while also natural disasters transforming the social and natural landscapes (Faas 2016; Hastrup 2015; Tsing 2015). The political ecology of vulnerability shows that the impact of (un)natural disasters is unequally distributed across populations and places. The paper explores how vulnerability engenders and constrains agency in the construal and search for the “good life” in the post-fire situation, rather than focusing on the “suffering subject” (Robbins 2013).

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Covert agriculture: negotiating vulnerabilities amid climate change and agricultural intensification in Rwanda

Rwanda’s ambitious rural development and agricultural intensification policies have extended the state’s reach into smallholder households’ land use decision-making.

To rapidly commercialize agricultural systems, the Rwandan government, supported by development partners, selects economically viable crops for households to grow (like maize) while restricting cultivation of core food security crops (like sweet potato). This paper explores the implications of this abrupt rural transformation on smallholder producers' vulnerabilities to climatic and political economic uncertainty. I first document the multiple dimensions of vulnerability, illustrating how vulnerabilities emerge differentially across and within households in gendered and power-laden ways. Specifically, women's roles as both household food provider and principal agricultural laborer make them particularly vulnerable to climatic shocks that disproportionately challenge commercial agriculture. Secondly, I also show that women's response strategies alternate between accommodation and resistance. With preferred crops prohibited on hillside land, women have adjusted land-use strategies, planting vital food security crops in what are commonly referred to as "hidden places," meaning lowland and valley areas out of authorities' sight. Women refer to these acts of resistance with a sense of pride while also recognizing their deeply-rooted vulnerability. This speaks to the complex and conflicting ways that marginalized groups articulate agency and negotiate vulnerabilities.

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Innovative farmers or vulnerable workers? Life and livelihood on an oil palm plantation in Papua New Guinea

This paper explores how workers cope with various forms of precarity on a new oil palm plantation in Pomio District, Papua New Guinea. The plantation was established in 2008 as a part of a largescale logging and plantation project. As income from cash-cropping had, many rural cultivators took on wage labor on the new plantation to meet their needs for monetary income. Labor on the plantation is however hard and badly paid. In order to save money, many workers from the rural communities began to plant their own food within the oil palm plantation. Likewise, their relatives in the home communities provided them with food, while the workers sent money back to the villages.

In this paper I examine how workers from rural backgrounds used their existing ecological skills and knowledge to develop new cultivation practices on the plantation. I examine also the systemic political-ecological relations between the plantation and the surrounding rural sector, which provided labor to the plantation and in many cases food for the plantation workers, thereby subsidizing the plantation. In my paper I ask what in fact constitutes vulnerability and show how the vulnerability of different groups of workers depends on larger political, economic and ecological structures.

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Negotiating Agencies: The Outside World Looks at Indigenous People in Voluntary Isolation

The Amazonian lowlands host the majority of the world's approximately 100 indigenous peoples living in a situation of so-called voluntary isolation or initial contact. These peoples are in public discourse considered vulnerable in numerous ways as their lives and ways of life are threatened by legal and illegal natural resource extraction, climate change induced ecological transformations, environmental pollution, drug trafficking, neoliberal political decision making, and infectious diseases transmitted through unauthorised contacts, for example. The indigenous peoples are thus stereotypically viewed as disempowered, aggressive, unpredictable and prioritising isolation. In people's lived experiences at the frontier zones, however, the question of indigenous people's agency appears much more complex. This paper examines the different agential positions given to one indigenous group living in voluntary isolation in the Peruvian Amazonia by a number of different actors - governmental representatives, Christian missionaries, and local peoples, in particular – and the effects of these views on the situations of contact and on national policies concerning, and the future of, these peoples.

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Session 2

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The sense of vulnerability: a case study from Borneo

Michael Taussig has proposed “apotropaic writing” as a countermagic to the “agribusiness writing” – writing that “knows no wonder” – so common in anthropology today. Similarly to how apotropaic magic wards off harmful magic, apotropaic writing counters the purported realism of agribusiness writing through re-enchantment. Inspired by Taussig, this paper explores how a deeply felt sense of vulnerability and existential bewilderment spills over into sorcery accusations and healing practices among an indigenous group of Indonesian Borneo who has experienced rapid environmental and social change. It evokes a series of aporetic events, characterized as much by unknowing as knowing, in which a man was silently accused of harming various relatives, both directly and through sorcery, when they refused to sell land to an oil palm company. Perhaps to counter such accusations, he insisted on performing a healing ritual for a young woman suffering from repeated spells of fainting, raising mixed feelings of fear and hope among the few daring to attend the event. Rather than seeking to explain these events, or conclusively unravel the relationship between the occult and the economy, the paper deals in uncertainty, and treats it as fundamental quality of a vulnerability exacerbated by the scale and pace of recent change.

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Multiscalar vulnerability and slow healing: towards open-ended recoveries

This paper draws on the recent history of Caribbean disasters as a starting point for an exploration of *multi-scalar vulnerability* and *slow healing*. These concepts allow to move away from understandings of disasters in a binary temporal mode which posits disasters as time- and space-bound events with a clearly identifiable pre- and post-disaster moment. Within this view, post-disaster recovery is made synonymous with the return to the 'pre-disaster normal.' In contradistinction, the paper argues for a processual and interconnected view with multi-scalar vulnerability, which made the disaster possible in the first place, at its core. Multi-scalar vulnerability is compound lived experience, manifests itself and cuts across multiple, non-exclusive levels, is embedded within, and contributes to the overlapping dynamics of regional, hemispheric and global politics and histories. This paper emphasizes that even if some structures of vulnerability can be amended, the personal losses will never fully be alleviated or healed. Consequently, post-disaster future is an *unhealed* or continually healing one: against illusions of an achievable wholeness, it recognizes that personal losses and collective vulnerability might never be fully alleviated. In effect, the analysis hopes to contribute to the thinking of non-teleological healing, remaking (Das et al. 2001), and recovering in the aftermath of complex crises. Finally, in its dual regional and conceptual scope, the paper aims to offer a rigorously hopeful 'living lexicon,' an expression of scholarship of care (Van Dooren 2014), that works towards a vision of regional and global futures otherwise than as a threat or fear.

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Non-economic losses and human rights in SIDS

Small island developing states (SIDS) are recognized as being on the frontline of climate change due to their extreme vulnerability and high exposure to climate hazards. These extreme and slow onset events are already causing incidents of loss and damage, and as a result are impacting the human rights of residents of these states. Many of the losses associated with climate change impacts can be described

as 'non-economic losses'. Although there is no universal definition of the term, the UNFCCC has described non-economic losses as including loss of life, health, territory, traditional knowledge, culture, biodiversity, ecosystem services, as well as climate-induced displacement. Physical damages to community spaces and loss of entire communities can erode traditional values and lead to a loss of culture and community. These losses can include past, present and future harm. This paper investigates human rights implications for non-economic losses, including a loss of a sense of place, and the role and limitations of human rights in mediating these types of losses for SIDS.

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Vulnerability and ecotourism in rural northeast Madagascar

In Madagascar, environmental conservation efforts have rapidly changed management of landscapes supporting subsistence practices over 70 percent of Malagasy people considered vulnerable because of the poverty and environmental degradation. In Northeast Madagascar, in order to sustain conservation activities economically, the 55500 hectare Marojejy National Park was established in 1998 as part of the fast implementations of Malagasy state's environmental policies funded by development and environmental conservation agencies. European tourists were welcomed to the park while the people, mainly Tsimihety ethnicity, in the villages in the vicinities of the park were barred access to the places that they had cultivated and where the spirits, who required communications in certain situations, existed. In a new situation, the Tsimihety were puzzled what all the foreign (vazaha) people were doing in the park. The paper highlights the importance of understanding long-term processes and experiences, logics of cultural categories and practices and social relations when discussing about vulnerability. In the end, in ecotourism practices the Tsimihety became aware of the new potentialities.

Panel 23 || Vulnerability, Power, and the Possibility of Solidarity

James R. Walker, DePaul University
Fanny Söderbäck, DePaul University

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Decolonizing Solidarity

As discussions unfold about the necessity of supplanting paternalistic “aid and development” models of engagement between the Global North and South with “social justice” oriented models, aimed at deconstructing structures that perpetuate radical vulnerability, the notion of “solidarity” has emerged as an articulation of the appropriate form that relations across such structural divides should take. “Solidarity,” as a united front forged across divisions of power and vulnerability, where “we stand together” as fellow humans against injustice, has romantic appeal. Yet, this notion can easily function to re-inscribe existing structures of dominance and subjugation, rather than serving as a foundation for their deconstruction. Through consideration of writings from feminist critical race theory and the Black Liberation tradition, this paper will develop a *decolonial notion of solidarity*, which emphasizes critical analysis and acknowledgement of the ways in which perspectives from divergent positions are structured by the differential allocations of precarity constitutive of those power structures. This paper will argue that solidarity must arise out of concerted, praxis-oriented, efforts to dislodge dominant power structures, logics and narratives, with counter-narratives and counter-logics from positions of increased precarity, thus emphasizing, as Freire puts it, “the power of the oppressed” in the struggle for liberation.

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Solidarity Across Space and Time: Judith Butler and the Coloniality of Presence

In *Notes Towards a Performative Theory of Assembly*, Judith Butler extends her work on vulnerability to the collective embodied action of public assembly. Butler calls for practices of long-distance solidarity where ethical bonds can emerge globally, “across space and time.” What is at stake, for Butler, is our capacity to be *present* with those who are not de facto present to us in any immediate sense. The long-distance solidarity she calls for demands that we are *co-present* across geographical distance and cultural difference. But is this, we might ask, possible? This paper offers a critical

examination of the very concept of presence operative in Butler's analysis, and reflects more broadly on the temporality of assembly and of global movements of solidarity. While Butler has always been careful to attend to the unequal distribution of precarity that results from the fact that it is always located within concrete power relations, I nevertheless want to put critical pressure on the temporal language at work in her work, so as to complicate her call for long-distance solidarity. What, I ask, would it mean for those of us who are socio-economically and geographically located at the 'center' of time – in the present of what Walter Dignolo and others have called *colonial presence* – to attempt to 'reach out of' that present, to be co-present with those who are not?

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Memory after Trauma: in Solidarity with History's Forgeries

In addressing the question of politics of memory in post-dictatorship Chile, Chilean cultural theorist Nelly Richard speaks of the power of art to resist both institutional oblivion as well as official and totalizing forms of remembrance. Art, Richard contends, has the capacity to produce a sort of "damaged script" [grafía dañada], that, in complicity with the "fragmented memories of trauma," can prove itself "in *solidarity* with history's accidents and forgeries." Richard is speaking in this context of the kind of justice that can be provided by alternative, non-institutional, and contestatory forms of memory, that is, memory-building initiatives capable of lending an ear to the gaps and radical breakdowns of meaning occasioned by traumatic forms of violence. These forms of memory, Richard argues, offer a site for listening to these gaps in their radical defiance of all (traditional forms of) meaning-making, rather than attempting to "fill them up" with "consoling words." In my paper, I want to develop this specific sense of "solidarity," and the way it connects with the question of the power of memory to contend political and institutional forms of historical oblivion. I want to ask what it entails *to think of memory as a form of solidarity* outside of the traditional liberal categories in which this notion is usually developed, and understood instead in the context of the production of alternative *grammars of listening*, capable of subverting imposed historical narratives, as well as the temporal structures that make them possible.

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Vulnerability as Agency: Redefining NGO strategies

When the infrastructures upon which we lean fail to support as seen with a high frequency in Africa -- things such as access to clean water, to transportation and minimally functional roads, to medication and to health facilities in general --

vulnerability comes to the fore. Indeed, such is the case in northern Uganda, where countless NGOs from the geographical north and west have established facilities in the name of 'helping'. Many of these organizations historically and traditionally all too frequently comes with good intent, but ultimately inscribe colonial ideologies and power structure, affirming white/western saviors, while further victimizing the communities they proclaim to help. What would it look like to found an NGO based upon the notion of dismantling this logic, and redefining new types of partnerships, driven by local communities? Foraging such a new path into NGO alliances would also mean rethinking the tools and strategies for building confidence and motivation from donors and other support communities. In what ways could support communities, habituated to traditional NGO narratives and imagery, be galvanized to commit, within such new frameworks? Looking for a different way to formulate the relationship between vulnerability and support, this presentation aims to think through how showing vulnerability as agency can serve as a new tool in NGO organizational ethos and support engagement.

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Mutual Transformation? An Anthropological Study of Solidarity, Agency, and Power among Migrants and Swedes in the Church of Sweden

The aim of this paper is to explore the sharing of religious beliefs as an avenue for expressing solidarity, more particularly between migrants who are in vulnerable living conditions and established Swedes. Building on anthropological field studies in a parish in the Church of Sweden, the ethnographic material shows how the binary between guest/host is being challenged and negotiated in the space of the church when migrants are not only the recipients of aid and support, but themselves take on leading roles in the church. This is done through new practices, such as cooking and sharing of food, the incorporation of new rituals, and through everyday practices. A few individuals with a migrant background play key roles and can be understood as brokers; in their positions in-between they function as translators, negotiators, and communicators. The study indicates that mutual transformation is taking place through these practices, however, not without tension. This ethnographic case will be analysed in relation to agency, identity, power, and structural inequality.

Panel 24 || Vulnerable Cities

Annika Björnsdotter Teppo, Uppsala University
Charlotta Widmark, Uppsala University

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'It's worthless for you, but it is gold for us'

From Vulnerability to Resilience & Sustainability: Narratives of Waste from Mumbai's Ragpickers

In an urban context, waste is seen in three predominant ways: as a civic issue of collection, processing and disposal, as a human imaginary intricately woven with notions of hygiene, sanitation, smell and dirtiness, a corporate opportunity of value and revenues. This paper will explore the everyday encounters between 'unurban, non-modern' ragpickers and 'urban and modern' waste in the global city of Mumbai. In doing so, the paper will trace how waste is transformed from a symbol of modern vulnerability into an alternative value system of resilience and sustainability. The paper will unearth how such a value system is constructed -- as an existential reality - - where garbage is both simultaneously 'dirty' and exclusionary and of 'value' and inclusionary. Finally, the paper will make the case that if, as Raymond Williams suggested, the modern city becomes 'the physical embodiment of a modern consciousness', the narratives of waste, resilience and sustainability of ragpickers is akin to 'the physical consciousness of a modern embodiment'.

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Modernizing Kigali: Master Plans made, dreamed, and lived

Urban development is a broadly shared objective among Kigali residents and city planners alike. It is also an ongoing, observable phenomenon, widely recognized as having dramatically modernized and securitized Rwanda's capital city since the 1994 genocide. Meanwhile, many residents' hopes that developments underway will eventually benefit them also, resilient as they are and actively cultivated by public officials, run parallel to lived experiences of vulnerability and marginalization that are believed to partly emanate from public policy. Fears of being pushed out of the city due to eviction and rising costs of living, couple with observations of the building of a new Kigali tailored to those with particular backgrounds and resources. At the same

time, local appeals to structural inequalities are silenced by a neoliberal, security-centered political discourse invoking Rwanda as a meritocratic society, still too vulnerable to allow identity-based politics. In Kigali, people are told, everyone manages on her own merits, hence the state's job is merely to facilitate individual competition and discipline those failing to reach minimum standards of development and civic order. As such, Kigali illustrates how efforts to plan away the vulnerabilities of post-conflict cities may silently push to the margins those unwilling or unable to commit to that plan.

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Walpole Street - The ambiguities of hope

This talk is a reflection on the responsibility of anthropology in the face of extreme vulnerability. It is based on an ethnography encompassing 10 years with polio-disabled people living in self-managed squats in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Amongst the squats, Walpole Street – today empty - stands out as the symbol of hope. In mythical reconstructions Walpole Street is narrated as the possibility of a better life, an alternative social organization built on solidarity and collective action. Hope however is challenged by dark reality: a generation traumatized by the civil war, broken by disability, condemned to homelessness is decimated daily by avoidable diseases and lack of care. How can the story of Walpole Street be narrated in an ethical manner? Is it permissible to call the dead to witness for the living? The squatters resistance to repeated attempts of evictions, authorities' abuse and daily hardship can be framed in the language of disability politics or alternatively, as a struggle to right to the city. Does not revealing the contradictions between the two strategies risk weakening further those who forge their strength from being weak? The paper, without proposing final answers, sheds some light to the intricate relationship between ethnography, political engagement and the vulnerability of anthropological writing.

Panel 25 || Vulnerable Infrastructures, Infrastructural Vulnerabilities

Chakad Ojani, University of Manchester
Susann Baez Ullberg, Uppsala University

Session 1

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Pär Blomkvist

Timos Karpouzoglou
Mary Lawhon

The city beyond the network

Historically, the modern infrastructure ideal has dominated the imagination of urbanists. As a consequence, cities and their infrastructures of pipes, roads, wires and trams, have largely been built in the same way all over world. Or have they? Recent urban scholarship suggests that cities and their modes of service provision needs to be re-envisaged, especially in the global South, not just through the lens of the 'situated' but through disentangling it from the modernist framing altogether. The multilayered challenges - including new types of vulnerabilities of technology and users - experienced by cityregions worldwide imply that a new thought-model is called for. This paper picks up the concept of 'Heterogeneous Infrastructure Configuration' (HIC) suggested by Lawhon, Nilsson, Silver, Erntson and Lwasa (2017). In somewhat speculative fashion we go on to hypothesise that Stockholm, Nairobi and Kampala are at interesting historical junctures in terms of conceiving infrastructures and how they distribute power and risk across user spectrums. Are urban infrastructures across the globe being re-engineered from below, but for different reasons? We sketch at a research agenda where grounded and diverse experiences of global North and South will generate new insights for sustainable transformation of cities globally.

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Earthquakes, Vulnerable Society, and Hydropower Infrastructural Development in North Sikkim, India

Earthquakes, cyclones, and volcanic eruptions are prime examples of an unruly uncontrollable environment, expose vulnerabilities, culminate in disasters, and destroy human-made concretized infrastructure. The 9/11 (18/09/2011, 18.10 IST) Himalayan earthquake measuring 6.9 on the Richter scale had its epicenter in the Kanchenjunga Conservation area on the border of Sikkim in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Southern Tibet, and caused massive destruction of houses, roads, and numerous hydropower projects under-construction.

The fallen concrete, the cracked walls, the destruction of paved roads, and unstable buildings are not symbols of modernity, but anti-modern reminders of continued disaster vulnerability and unsustainable progress in this mountainous landscape. Some sites of my doctoral fieldwork conducted in 2001-02 were devastated and wiped out by the 2011 Great Himalayan earthquake. The disappearance of sites of historic memory such as Tholung monastery in North Sikkim is an epic one.

The devastation of their dwellings, the destruction of many sacred landscapes and their monasteries is something the affected locals are neither going to ignore nor ever forget. The people, the lamas and shamans residing in the earthquake affected areas regard this earthquake to be a serious message about unsustainability of mega hydropower projects that are being implemented on River Teesta, a natural response to willful destruction by dynamite and associated desecration of nature, a reminder of continued vulnerability, the steady refusal of the fragile landscape being humanized-cum-colonized by 'unscientific' infrastructural development of the flowing rivers. Who talks about the aftermath of the Sikkim earthquake in Delhi or Bombay or Bangalore or Chennai?

The remote location and political marginality of this area in the national imagination has not begotten the public attention. The lack of rehabilitation measures and progress in reconstruction of North Sikkim after the 2011 earthquake has escaped any credible scrutiny, while the Chief Minister channeled funds to South Sikkim. My paper analyzes these struggling voices and marginalized communities that are sited in the mountainous landscape and the basin of River Teesta in Sikkim. My analysis highlights the social construction of disaster memory in the national imagination and how disaster magnitudes are measured in terms of loss of human lives and loss of investments in infrastructure. The 2011 catastrophe has evolved into a timely opportunity for self-reflection, need for reconstruction of landscapes and scattered communities, and engendered wider debates on nature and scalar of infrastructural development especially hydropower projects that are channeling rivers into underground tunnels. This analysis is based on extended fieldwork in the region and a review of the relevant literature.

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The Commodification of Water Infrastructures in Peru: Vulnerable Ventures?

To meet an increasing industrial and urban demand for water in a context of water scarcity in Peru, the State has invested heavily in hydraulic infrastructures. Current *water legislation in Peru actively encourages the participation of the corporate sector

in such large-scale projects, and private-public collaborations are increasingly common to finance such high tech and expensive ventures. The Majes Sigwas Special Project in the Arequipa region is a major hydraulic system consisting of dams, channels and tunnels that lead water from the Andean highlands to the dry yet productive lands near the coast. Built in the 1980's and operated by an autonomous public agency since then, a second phase of the project is currently being carried out by building an additional dam and new tunnels, which will double the system's water provision capacity. The extension is being projected, built and financed by a transnational consortium that will to operate and maintain the entire infrastructure for 20 years. While water is already a commodity and paid for by its users according to tariffs, this new contractual framework commodifies also the very infrastructure and changes the notion of public infrastructure as a common good. What does this mean to involved actors and what effects to they experience and envision from this? Using the commodity/commons nexus as a conceptual framework to explore the economic and political structures that cause water shortage and exacerbate social and ecological vulnerability in Peru, the paper also problematises the relation of the commodification of water infrastructures and the idea of water as a common good in terms of vulnerability. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork in the region in 2016 and 2017.

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'Offline is the new off-grid' - overconnectivity and the vulnerable relationalities of cloud infrastructure

With the ongoing mass-adoption of cloud computing, corporate visions of connectivity – embodied by smart city projects and the Internet-of-Things – are proliferating. Technologies of digital connectivity are seen to provide innovative solutions to a plethora of longstanding social and economic issues. Government policy papers, pop science articles and advertising campaigns extol the virtues of connectivity, proclaiming 'Life's Better Connected'. But the cloud infrastructure that supports this digital connectivity is itself increasingly disconnected.

Operating off-grid and offline, more and more of the data centres that power the cloud are disconnecting from digital networks and developing non-digital solutions for storing and distributing data. These practices arise in response to what is perceived to be severe vulnerabilities produced by contemporary conditions of infrastructural 'overconnectivity'.

Drawing from anthropological fieldwork conducted in high security data centres, this talk will explore the role and relevance of disconnection as a technique of anticipatory security and as a social and political practice in digital culture.

While infrastructures are often conceptualised relationally – as material sites or processes that connect and bring 'things' into relation - within the ethnographic context of the data centre industry, practices of disconnection produce new relational and non-relational forms that problematise relational ontologies of infrastructure.

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Infrastructural Vulnerabilities. Digitalising Tax Infrastructures in Kenya. The Case of ITax in Kenya

How does an African tax administration modernise its tax services? How do notions of modernity and colonialism shape infrastructures? What is the impact of the digital infrastructures on tax compliance? These questions are quite important for me when analysing 'modernisation' projects in my research project in Kenya. By linking the meso, micro and macro scales of space, time and social organization, I argue in this paper that infrastructures create a sense of stability that in many aspects relates to modernity. The new turn to technology for development is based on similar ideologies like those used to justify colonialism and its expansion. I argue in this paper that a turn to the impact of colonial infrastructure in Kenya gives us an understanding of the construction of the society and technology by keeping them ontologically separate. Kenya adopted e-governance in an attempt to provide efficient services to its citizens in 2013. ITax, its e-tax platform was made mandatory in 2015. In 2016 the use of the platform was made mandatory creating spaces of vulnerability. Kenya was imagined to be infrastructural ready in what is described as e-readiness in order to rationalise the shift. I argue in my paper that due to colonial infrastructural development the shift is creating differentiations in the country. During colonial times, infrastructures were used to expand colonial power through the promise of technology. The railway was introduced in Kenya as a way of materialising modernity. The railway line was used as an infrastructure of oppression where only those areas geographical deemed economical viable were connected. Who are then excluded or included in this shift? I argue that this has shaped Kenya's socio, economic and political landscape.

Session 2

Eric Trovalla

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Grids of malice: infrastructure and suspicion in a Nigerian city

As much as infrastructures give access to necessities like water, electricity, fuel, transportation, etc., they may also introduce a sense of vulnerability. In the Nigerian city of Jos, where sudden and repeated outbursts of conflicts have eroded interpersonal trust, and where confidence is low in the integrity of commercial actors as well as authorities, there is a deeply ingrained expectation that harmful plots and schemes are permanently brewing behind the scenes. Rumours, conspiracy theories, as well as actual experience, have made people hyper-vigilant against all things that

might act as vehicles for this unspecified hostility and deceitfulness. Public wells and water pipes are indispensable mainstays of health and well-being, but also potential conveyors of intentional or unintentional contamination and contagion. The electricity grid provides energy, but also opens the door for attempts at fraud and extortion from power company staff. The public transportation network brings people to work, but also brings fears of robbery, kidnapping and terrorist attacks. As infrastructures reach deep into the intimate spheres of everyday life, they open avenues for malevolence from a host of enemies – real and imagined, and known as well as unknown.

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Fog harvesting in Peru: Infrastructural responses to vulnerability, vulnerability as infrastructural event

In the face of water scarcity and unequal access to city infrastructures, local NGOs in Peru engage vulnerable communities in fog harvesting practices. By using ‘fog trappers’ to tap into a formerly overlooked water resource, people living in foggy hill settlements around Lima are becoming increasingly attentive to the abundance of water suspended in the air. Meanwhile, fog is enrolled to do the infrastructural job previously allocated to water tankers, which raises questions about environmental and material activity in the organisation of urban sociocultural life. This paper uses the concept of the trap to design an enquiry into fog harvesting practices in Lima. Anthropological interests in traps have shifted from a concern with human-animal relations to non-organic agency, description, and knowledge. While a conceptualisation of traps as carriers of human intentionality might encourage us to abduct the agency of the trap-maker, recent attention to the productive capacities of traps suggest that we extend the concept also to ways in which traps bring forth ontological and epistemological effects. Fog catchers might not only be dependent upon, but also be generative of ecological infrastructures and imaginaries of the worlds that they entangle and relate to one another.

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Infrastructures of abandonment: the vulnerable position of Palestinian refugee dwellings in Lebanon

This year marks the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Israel and, consequently, the 70th year of Palestinians’ refugeeness. Since their formation after 1948, the Palestinian refugee camps (and unofficial gatherings) in Lebanon have witnessed diverse forms of violence: they have been sites of massacres and intense

fighting, they have been bombed and demolished, and they have been subjected to regulations, which has left their infrastructure severely compromised and vulnerable to punitive measures.

The violence experienced over the decades of exile has left its marks to the material form of Palestinian refugee dwellings. In this paper I hope to cover how the vulnerable and compromised infrastructure does not only remind of the turbulent past but also functions as a marker of the abandonment that Palestinians experience in Lebanon. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the several Palestinian refugee camps and unofficial gatherings within the city of Tyre in southern Lebanon, I hope to show how the lack of rights, and the vulnerabilities it produces, is discussed and experienced in relation to the infrastructural dimension of everyday life.

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Vulnerabilities of place-making: highway construction, farming and identity on Romanian's Western border

The construction of the A1 highway connecting Hungary and Romania has gravely disrupted the livelihood of the largest Slovak community in Romania, based in the town of Nădlac. Home to Slovak Lutherans since the end of the 18th century, Nădlac relies on the farming of its highly fertile soils and accommodates the largest road border crossing between Romania and Hungary. The border location and the historical rootedness of its people, turned the town into a place of perpetual vulnerability, navigating between often feuding nations, as well as of ever-renewed resilience, based on attachment to land and religious belief. In my ethnography, I trace the ways in which the project of the highway and its implementation exposed the inherent vulnerability of such large-scale endeavors, while rendering the *nădlăcani* vulnerable to forces beyond their reach. Long-delayed, marred by corruption scandals, and ill-designed, the highway turned Nădlac into a place of struggle and resistance. The road cut off the access of the farmers to about 60% of their land, setting in motion a local movement to secure two underpasses that allowed the working of land. Starting out from this movement, and its partial success, I show how the transformations of space and place bring about vulnerabilities, both material and symbolic, while triggering reconceptualizations of work and belonging.

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Transportation vulnerabilities in Buryatia, South-Central Siberia: the importance of informal networks

This paper focuses on the case study of Okinsky district in Buryatia. It is one of the remote areas in the region (approximately 700 kilometers from Ulan-Ude, the capital of Buryatia), and until 1993 it could only be accessed by plane. The construction of the road which connected the district with the rest of Buryatia brought significant changes to its residents' life. However, the road is periodically flooded, and then transportation in the district stops for a number of days. The presentation discusses various adaptive strategies of Okinsky district's residents and the ways they cope with transportation problems. The paper stresses the vital role of informal cooperation and networking in Okinsky district: as the residents do not feel that state's efforts to provide security are sufficient, they become the agents of security themselves to guarantee each other a relatively safe living.

Panel 26 || Vulnerable Pasts

Timo Kaartinen, University of Helsinki
Katja Uusihakala, University of Helsinki

Anna Altukhova

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Childhood Memories and Construction of the Past in the Narratives of Deinstitutionalized Adults with Learning Disabilities

Soviet and post-Soviet social policy was oriented towards isolation of people with disabilities in social care institutions. In the past ten years in Russia we are witnessing the gradual move towards deinstitutionalization. Young adults with intellectual disabilities begin to live independently or in assistant living projects. They now resist being defined as “disabled” and struggle to develop a new identity based on conventional aspects of a “normal” person’s life, like paid work, romantic partnership, family, or running their own apartment. However their identity is constructed not only out of this normalized perspective.

Their self-narratives revolve around several common “traumatic” subjects which can be divided into two groups. 1) Gruesome life in the troubled family before institutionalization; 2) Gruesome life inside the institution, including compulsory “psychiatric” treatment, abuse by stronger mates, etc. These common narrative elements serve as anchors marking belonging to the community of former institution residents.

This paper is based on 20 interviews with young adults with intellectual disabilities living in the community care settings in a small Russian town, and uses the anthropological perspective and biographic approach to reconstruct the meaning of the past in the deinstitutionalized person’s identity.

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Sore Points of Collective Memory: The Right to Remind and Forget

The aim of this paper is to explore the textures of power that become visible when subaltern memories are brought to the domain of public, historical discourse. My question is if the contest over the right to represent the past boils down to a politics of identity or to a subaltern refusal to accept dominant accounts of the past. I draw from my ethnography of the Bandanese, a dispersed community of Eastern Indonesia, whose victimhood in early colonial events is the subject of a recent film (“The Dark Forgotten Trail”, 2017), banned from being shown in the City of Ambon after the Bandanese protested against it. Fabian’s contrast between collective and public memory is useful for analyzing this protest as a mobilization of diffuse vulnerabilities

by those people who move along the lines of long-distance social relations and across spatiotemporal gaps. The structural opportunity for mobilizing the sore point, or claiming the right to speak about it, arises from external, public events; the protests they evoke reveal the ambiguous status of Banda as a signifier of ethnic as well as national past.

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Vulnerable histories: ancestors, heroes, and shifting pasts among Kyrgyz

History, heritage, and evidentially supported pasts have become symbolic resources for groups, whether towns, communities, ethnic groups, minorities, or nation-states. History serves to guarantee ontological reality, and many dimensions, such as exclusive claims, depth, breadth and quality of evidence, shared characteristics, and collective self-awareness enable histories to attract recognition and respect for a group. A group's vulnerability shapes how strongly they need external recognition of its historical authenticity to help deflect challenges to its autonomy, sovereignty, self-sufficiency and sphere of control.

This paper examines the meaningful pasts created through narratives, objects, sites and practices in the Talas Valley, Kyrgyzstan to explore the ways that the past there is under threat and in need of careful cultivation. Cultivating locally valuable pasts develops them into symbolic capital that can be deployed in performances and institutions to claim public attention and political significance. These reassure insiders of the value of their history, and display it for recognition by cosmopolitan audiences. Nonetheless, by seeking recognition according to external models, people are vulnerable to being disenfranchised from their subjective histories. Furthermore, the increasing professionalization of media, scholarly, and political authority in representing and institutionalizing the past frequently leads to loss of voice in speaking for personal pasts.

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They never lived: an anthropological study of absent presence in the therapy room

This chapter will explore ideas from psychotherapy and psychoanalysis, and apply them to person-centred ethnography (Levy, 1998) from the perspective of relational ethics. It will look at the effects of becoming an anthropologist in the consulting room. The recognition of the subjectivity of human experience is an exploration of myth making (Binswanger 1957; Levi-Strauss, 1978) and of reclaiming hidden objects. The

mental representation both internal and external, objects are familiar in the work of Klein,(1958) and Sodré, (2004) where psychological approaches to materialistic cultures occur between client and therapist.

The social positioning of therapy with the client's loss can make or unmake their sense of personhood. The author explores her own journey between the two disciplines of anthropological phenomenology and psychotherapy; she uses psychoanalysis to better understand intentionality and explores how the relationship with language defines different ways of being in the world. When this is applied in the therapy room by the observer-participant it can show how suffering and strangeness can characterise an aspect of human experiencing through the body.

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Revising and re-voicing a silenced past: Transformative intentions in a public apology to British child migrants

This paper proposes that public apology, as a moral and political act, is a compelling site for examining attempts to redefine and redress previously silenced pasts. The case I examine concerns British child migrants sent to colonial Rhodesia between 1946 and 1962. Postwar child migration has been something of a silenced chapter in British history until the 2010 state-issued apology, which sought to replace the migrants' previous elimination from public memory with their inclusion as the vulnerable victims of misguided state policy. Through this case, I analyze two intertwined aspects of apology's transformative intentions. First, the apology aims at amending the relationship between the apologizer and the victims, and at remodeling the recipients' political subjectivities. Second, the apology discloses distinct, but contradictory, understandings about the relationship between past, present and future. On the one hand, apology reveals a previously subdued past and underlines the *continuous* effects past has in the present, e.g. transgenerational guilt and the unremitting hurt caused by a distraught past. On the other hand, apology purports to mark a temporal *break* with the past; it signals the closure of a previous era and the beginning of a new one, marked by a moral transformation of the state.

Panel 27 || Vulnerable Writing

Henni Alava, University of Helsinki
Marjaana Jauhola, University of Helsinki

Session 1

Henni Alava

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Writing confusion

In this paper, I reflect on seven years of fieldwork and writingwork in and on 'post-war' northern Uganda. I describe how realising that moments of not knowing and not understanding were not merely mine, but shared by my informants, paved the way for analytical insight. The way in which my fieldwork experience highlighted the incompleteness, situatedness and partiality of knowledge seemed to place particular demands on the process and products of writing. So did acknowledgement the many parts of the past that were wrapped in silence in the society I was studying. Where could one find words for that which was silenced – or transform befuddlement into 'knowledge'? Drawing on Susan Whyte's concept of the subjunctive mood and on Tiffany Page's (2017) call for 'vulnerable writing', this paper discusses the ways in which I have sought to deal with these challenges in my own work – how I have written in, through and about *anyobanyoba*; 'confusion'.

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Post-colonial ethnographic expression - writing through vulnerability.

Ethnography is one part fieldwork and the other part writing in varying measures; and both parts are imbued with the subjectivities of the researcher. This paper considers how discussions on authority in ethnographic writing, writing as analytical tool, and creative expressions through text have over time become a part of ethnographic practice. This paper asks, what place vulnerability has in this configuration of anthropological knowledge-making and how this manifests? Using examples from my own research with deaf and hearing employees at Swedish Television's division for programming in Swedish Sign Language, I will be discussing how the vulnerable researcher of the field is struck from the text in an effort to establish authority and enact scientific rigour. This process is embedded within specific politics of academic research and disciplinary contexts that place the research in a secondary vulnerable state and further influence the making of anthropological texts. Reflecting on these

processes, I suggest that creative expression of ethnographic research can provide an alternative to hiding vulnerability.

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Seductive stories: Writing about rumours of violence and corruption in processes of urban renewal in India

Processes of urban renewal in the city centre of Mumbai are highly contested and involve various stakeholders, including residents, builders and municipal authorities. In this uncertain context, rumours about violence and corruption circulate within different networks and serve as unverified sources of information. Stakeholders use them to turn negotiations between rivaling factions into their favour and to make sense of their own situation. In such a research context, the researcher does not occupy a privileged position of knowledge vis-à-vis interlocutors in the field. Instead, both researcher and researched are involved in common practices of sensemaking.

In this paper, I problematize the need to often rely on unverifiable information in anthropological research and ethical issues that emerge from the researcher's confrontation with highly contradictory and conflicting viewpoints in the field. Taking up Robben's notion of "ethnographic seduction", I account for the ways in which the researcher's role in the field impacts on the perspectives one does or does not gain access to and how this relates to issues of ethnographic representation. I argue that ethical dilemmas need to be reflected and made transparent in the practice of ethnographic writing which ultimately provides a more accurate account of the lifeworlds researched.

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Writing the unwritable

This paper is about vulnerability as a method to approach the space of unwritable. It is about a writer who is not able to describe what she or he aims to write about and a researcher. The experience in itself, according to the writer, is unspeakable and consequently, it is unwritable. However, people still do attempt to write it down and I, as an ethnographer, try to read it. Writing becomes a violent encounter.

Drawing on data of over two hundred spontaneous letters from people with uncanny experiences, I analyze the double vulnerability of the writers. The uncanny experience itself is unspeakable, and consequently, it is a mode of not-knowing from the beginning. The attempts to express the experience in a written form create another split space.

In the North European context, uncanny experiences are still considered suspicious among the authorities. What people express in their letters, is frequently a desperate attempt to persuade and convince the reader of the truth of the experience. People also write in order to know what the experience is about and to become accepted as "normal", to get rid of shame and stigma. This is what causes a specific style in the letters: that of a testimony. Instead of shaping an open space for new understanding, writing becomes a moral act.

Because of the power asymmetry between the writer and the researcher, *dissensus*, as Rancier would put it, the expressions in the letters are constrained into a genre of persuasion. It shapes, in a coercive way, both expression and experience.

In this paper, my aim is to subject myself to not-knowing in a double space, between the writer and her or his experience and between the writer and the ethnographer. The paper is based on collaboration between the ethnographer and an artistic group.

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Writing about Marginality: Channelling, Spirits and Ethics

Material feminism (e.g. Alaimo & Hekman 2008) and the ontological turn in anthropology (e.g. Holbraad & Pedersen 2017), for example, have in recent years opened up questions about ethical research in a novel way. These theoretical and methodological approaches suggest that in studying different worlds and human-nonhuman relationships one should focus on ethical practices instead of ethical principles. This paper is concerned with practices of writing that relate to these questions in the context of channelling in today's Finland. Channelling – a practice located within the new spirituality (New Age spirituality) – typically refers to an ability to transmit messages from spirits. The purpose of channelling is to help the client or the audience by giving them advice and support regarding their personal problems. Usually these problems have something to do with relationships, work or health issues. Channelling as a form of communication and entrepreneurship is marginalized in the Finnish society. At the same time, however, different kinds of new spiritual practices, books and fairs have become popular.

In this paper, I will discuss the problem of writing ethnography about people and phenomena on the borders of society. How can one ensure that the research and the manner in which it is written will not marginalize the channels (persons who do channelling) further? How should one understand and deal with interlocutors' doubtful attitudes towards the research? How should one write about the spirits in ethnography?

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Obscuring ignorance and vulnerability

In my presentation I will give an illustration of the desire to know, expose and explain that, I hope, can disclose something more general about the motivations and reasons for research endeavours imbued with such desires. The illustration shows how such endeavours, instead of being revealing, can end up obscuring the apprehension of that which one wants to know. I will discuss Sigmund Freud's use of the notion 'unconscious intention' in accounting for the behaviour of two neurotic patients. I suggest that what makes Freud use the word 'intention' about something of which the subject is unaware is that the action "says more" than what is strictly going on. It has meaning, a meaning that the analyst may apprehend. In a reflection on Elisabeth Anscombe's remarks on intention (1957) and Jonathan Lear's critique of Freud's rationalization of the patients' behaviours (1999), I will argue that Freud conflates meaning with reasons and that this shows in his ascriptions of unconscious intention. This obscures the fact that the patient is at loss. In other texts Freud is much more careful, avoiding, to speak with Page to "foreclose on further understandings". I will reflect on the characteristics of these different types of texts.

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Stumbling Scholarship: On Street Ethnography, Film Production, Screenings and Representational Circles

This paper, a draft chapter in ethnographic monograph in the making, provides a post-colonial critique of ethnography, visual representation and knowledge production practices thinking aloud what would decolonizing research praxis mean. It narrates the journey of *Scraps of Hope* - life historical short documentarist production: setting up narrative storyboards, arrivals to recording settings, editing and translation, offline screenings at academic conferences and talks, public spaces and schools and a screening tour in Aceh. It includes snippet views of audience responses, and reflections and demands for advocacy by the main characters in Aceh. The paper suggests that in the age of hyper-visibility and neoliberal academia ethical and engaging research praxis requires to simultaneously embrace failure and practice forms of 'stumbling scholarship' in attempts to respond to calls to decolonize academic knowledge praxis.

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Family and Field: Writing autoethnography about racism in Bolivia

I have been doing fieldwork about social inequalities in the city of Cochabamba in Bolivia. Many of the people I have worked closest with are my friends and family members. I am currently writing an autoethnographic account of the reproduction of racist structures in everyday life in Cochabamba. Writing about such a difficult topic makes my friends and family vulnerable to being judged with a harsh academic eye. The people I have lived with are amongst the structurally dominant white group in Bolivia, and so writing about racism means writing about how they discriminate against the indigenous population. I also make myself as the writer vulnerable, in putting the relationship to close friends and relatives at risk. I will be talking about the difficulties I encounter in writing about this sensitive topic, and I will also address how I have attempted to discuss my analysis with my Bolivian family and friends.

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Writing Vulnerable Worlds: Bearing Witness and Keeping Secrets in Narratives of Siberian Prison Life

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, more than 300,000 people were living in exile or in prison camps in Siberia. Most of them were illiterate and lacked all means to let people know about their fates. "I'll die, 'n' so ever'thin'll disappear, like it ne'er happened," as one penal laborer lamented. Yet some prisoners did write about their experiences and made attempts to speak also on behalf of those whose own words failed. In this presentation, I explore such texts from the perspective of historical anthropology. I am interested in the particular mode of writing that emerged as a response to situations that appeared both incomprehensible and ineffable, and I pay attention to the epistemological, linguistic, and ethical problems that the narratives actualize. What could we hope to understand? How might such insights be made intelligible through writing? And when must we remain silent?

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Caught in-between, researching sex work in Argentina

This paper will present experiences of fieldwork and writing about Sex work in Argentina from a feminist perspective for a master's thesis in Gender Studies at Lund University. I found myself inserted within a polarised debate (regulation and abolition), experiencing both the privilege as well as the difficulties of access to both 'sides'. I had previously worked for two years with abolitionist activists, however, during the fieldwork I found I was increasingly sympathetic to the 'other side', something I felt and was told was a "betrayal".

This feeling influenced my fieldwork as well as writing process, where I was always considering the subjects I was speaking of as well as to. Furthermore, during the process of

writing I continuously struggled to decide what experiences I could include and which ones could potentially affect my interviewees. This left my final thesis with many silences, that I would like to discuss here. The paper will focus on my experiences, of 19 unstructured interviews and 5 participatory observations of many different actors in Sex Work, and how these fed into my writing – involving the negotiation of contradictions, loyalties to the subjects of research as well as emotions.

Panel 28 || Managing & Coping With Vulnerability (I) : Institutions, Subjects & Things

Chair: **Staffan Appelgren**

Mariya Riekkinen

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"Elderly Abuse and Neglect inside the Institutions: Human Rights and Control Procedures Revisited"

Many horror films portray imaginary events happening inside the closed departments such as psychiatric clinics, nursery homes, orphanages, or prisons. This is because such departments open opportunities for uncontrolled human rights violations. Yet the possibilities of challenging illegal acts inside the closed units are limited with the overwhelming practice of two-stage control process, including internal and external reporting and control procedures. External reporting ? or whistleblowing - is possible only after the internal reporting stage is passed. How much sense from the standpoint of international and equal for all human rights? The main goal is to rethink the existing normative, institutional, and judicial elements in the legal system of Finland in order to elaborate the scheme of reporting and control procedures for quick and effective counteracting neglect and abuse of the elderly inside the institutions. I scrutinize legal measures allowing to report and react on abuse, and neglect inside the nursery homes and similar closed units for the elderly. Although the laws in Finland allow several mechanisms of reacting and reporting violations inside the closed units, e.g., Ombudsman?s visits, various complaints possibilities, etc. these mechanisms even in theory are doomed to fail when the elderly cannot understand the meaning of anybody?s actions due to dementia or other strong mental condition. I also make case studies of the protection of whistleblowers in the Nordic states.

Adding on the existing elements the system of external reporting, this scheme includes internal investigation and reporting procedures; external whistleblowing, and continuous control of human rights situation inside the closed departments by registered associations.

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Active ageing in vulnerable groups: Older labour migrants in Germany

Active ageing has been a widely promoted as well as extensively criticised response to vulnerabilities in old age. By promoting activity, productivity and societal

engagement, active ageing was meant to overcome discriminating stereotypes of frail and passive older age. Yet, active ageing is based on the normative view of productive retirement, which assumes good health, financial and social resources. This emphasis of socioeconomic resources for ageing well further marginalises vulnerable groups.

Older migrants are one group that might lack the preconditions to age 'actively'. Nevertheless, this group has also been included in the general discourse of active ageing. Within this context, ethnicity is treated as both a vulnerability and a potential for integration, care and social engagements in older age. This presentation will look at the intersections of ethnicity, gender, and age and what role these categories play within the active ageing discourse.

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Fitness culture and the mutual interplay between age and vulnerability

The notions of age and vulnerability are constantly (re)used (in both productive and destructive ways) by the fitness industry for its legitimization and promotion. However, at the level of practices and experiences of the participants of fitness culture these two categories are negotiated, positioned and reconsidered also in a different way. The aim of this presentation is to show the mutual and dynamic interplay between age and vulnerability in fitness culture in Poland from the perspective of exercising people.

This presentation is based on fieldwork conducted in fitness clubs in Poland. Different research methods include not only in-depth interviews with clients and fitness instructors, but also participant observation and personal experience of the researcher herself, as she has been working as fitness instructor in clubs for years.

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Growing Things: Reuse, Repair and Care in Redesign Projects

Borrowing the concept of *growing* from the biotic world and employing it to analyse the handling of things and materials by a group of reuse interior designers, this paper seeks to develop a theory of reused things and their social embeddedness based on ethnographic fieldwork. Sustainable reuse interiors is an emerging field within the circular economy. Public and corporate office spaces are revitalized by redesigning

and upcycling salvaged materials, things and furniture. Designers in this field follow and work along materials, directing them along trajectories in order to extend their lifespan and to achieve specific functional and aesthetic goals. In contrast to making and constructing, *growing* can be understood as a continuous, evolving and irreversible process of interweaving internal properties of materials with external caring forces (Ingold and Hallam 2014; Appelgren and Bohlin 2015). *Growing* thus signifies both how usage and circulation add qualities and values to things and how these qualities and values are sought-after and actively enhanced by various growing techniques. This paper explores growing techniques of care, repair and creative redesign and the active becoming of things and materials through the incorporation of time.

Panel 29 || Managing & Coping With Vulnerability (II): Conflict, Suffering & Silence

Chairs: **Caitlin McEvoy and Fazil Moradi**

Caitlin McEvoy

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Abstract: Navigating knowledge as silent defiance---Post-Conflict Phnom Penh in the Age of Autocracy

As the opposition party was dissolved, police and the government prepared for demonstrations. But the streets were silent in Phnom Penh. People avoided the center of town. There were no demonstrations after the jailing of opposition leader for treason, dissolution of the party, and the breakdown of democracy. Informants said silence meant survival; fear was debilitating. If action and political agency could mean death or treason, then knowledge of what was happening could be seen as a silent defiance. Unlike the genocide in the 1970s and the civil war that followed, people have access to information through the internet. Learning English is not just about engaging with the global market but gives the reader the ability to absorb information about the Cambodian history not accessible in schools or in Khmer. Facebook is the internet; it is the predominant way that Cambodians engage with current events. Yet, posting on facebook and sharing political critique could be seen as an offense to the current government. This presentation will address the current issues of knowledge-production as silent defiance and the growth of conspiracy in Phnom Penh.

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Armenians in Istanbul: Vulnerability, Social Suffering, and a Politics of (In)Visibility

This paper studies the contemporary social suffering of the Armenians of Istanbul, and the variety of their social responses. As fieldwork data show, Istanbulite Armenians' social suffering consists of two complementary facets. The first consists of feelings of fear, anxiety and vulnerability produced and nourished by numerous factors: anti-Armenian concrete violence and the resulting loss in historical and recent times, the scars of that violence on the collective memory of survivors and their descendants, and innumerable instances of subtle, moral, everyday violence. The second facet of Armenians' social suffering consists of feelings of resentment and humiliation triggered by the Turkish state's policy of non-recognition, silencing, and almost complete erasure of Armenian presence from both official history and the contemporary public space. These continuous policies of oppression and deletion have resulted not only in vulnerability and suffering, but also a relevant social

response: a politics of (in)visibility characterized by two contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, fear and vulnerability produce a tendency towards individual invisibility, self-silencing and passing in everyday life. On the other hand, resentment towards marginalization and erasure produce a push for collective visibility, reemergence, and normalization. The paradoxical coexistence of both strategies characterizes Armenian life in 21st-century Istanbul.

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After August 4, 2014: Êzîdîs' human condition in translation

“What can I say? It is all gone”, testified a woman in her late fifties sitting in a tent in a private garden on the outskirts of the city of Sulaimani in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. There were about eighty-five other Êzîdî women, children, and men who had only recently sought refuge that single tent in late August 2014. *It is all gone*, were the only words she could find to describe what had happened. It was her witness testimony of the unexpected disappearance of the world she, as Êzîdî woman, once lived in. This was her way of telling what she was *left with*. Experiences of the horror that descended on the Êzîdî people in the *Sinjār* area, the loss of loved ones at the hands of self-acclaimed “Islamic state” fighters and the destruction and looting of worldly possessions seemed unavailable to translation.

In this anthropological inquiry, I turn to Êzîdî survivors of the “Islamic state’s” annihilatory violence that engulfed the *Sinjār* area on August 4, 2014. It is a turn to how Êzîdîs became stateless, killable bodies, survivor witnesses of genocidal violence, and homeless. My analysis brings into focus the Êzîdîs’ human condition, their existential concerns, experiences of abandonment, disappearance, forced displacement, and social death. In the *after*, I engage the ethics of translation and hospitality which is embedded in a state of homelessness and evolves with words, lived experiences, and memories of multiple and irredeemable losses.

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