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- Research articles by -

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Editorial

We applied for our roles as co-editors of *Anthropology Matters* just about two years ago. The former editors, Mary-Anne Decatur and Siobhan Magee, patiently guided us through the editorial process and offered encouragement and support. We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to them. Phaedra had published in *Anthropology Matters* previously; Ana had worked in the editorial industry in Romania. None of these former experiences, however, had prepared us for the challenges of this work—nor for its satisfactions. Seasoned editors could claim that two years are hardly enough to form any meaningful impression. But even in this relatively short *durée* in terms of academic publishing, we have had a generous sample of the challenges entailed in academic publishing, ranging from unresponsive or hypercritical reviewers, to distraught authors. At the same time, we have delighted in warm and generous responses from authors, reviewers, copyeditors, and proof-readers. With many of them we forged meaningful conversations. This was particularly reassuring, given that much of the work for this issue took place during the ongoing Coronavirus pandemic. While our requests for repeated revisions and unpaid work felt audacious in the face of generalised disruption, they were most often met with willingness, solidarity, and even enthusiasm.

In the previous issue of *Anthropology Matters Journal*, editors Mary-Anne Decatur and Siobhan Magee interviewed some of those involved in the student-led seminar *Ethnography at the Third Millennium* that was held in the late 1990s at SOAS and led to the Anthropology Matters mailing list and the open-access online journal. The interviewees look back at their eagerness to create collaborative and horizontal postgraduate spaces; they reflect on the exciting new opportunities for ethnographic research and dissemination afforded by internet at the time; and explain that the decision to go 'Open Access' was motivated both by a desire to reach wider audiences, as well as the initiative's limited funds. In short, for the small collective that founded *Anthropology Matters Journal*, Open Access seemed like the 'natural' thing to do. Twenty years later, there is growing consensus that dominant models of social scientific publishing are fraught with inequality. Yet, the quest of viable alternatives, including open access publishing, is anything but straightforward.

For colleagues based in underfunded institutions, the paywall of academic publishing has obstructed access to contemporary scholarship, intellectual exchange, and vital teaching material. More than an ideological commitment, Open Access has allowed those located at the peripheries of academia to perform their pedagogical duties and to maintain links with the largely Euro-American centres of anthropological knowledge production. Among early-career researchers, Open Access is often portrayed as a double-edged sword. Our sympathy for its causes sometimes clashes with warnings from seniors that experimental (read open-access) journals will benefit neither us, nor the institutions that employ us, and that our path to a strong CV and a secure job cannot bypass the subscription-based publishing industry. At the same time, we come to the grim realisation that publicly accessible knowledge largely remains the privilege of an intellectual elite who often rely on the unpaid labour of students and early-career researchers. We follow these conversations closely, and we believe that the pursuit of publicly available knowledge can only be successful if framed by equity, sustained review, and critical reflection.

EDITORIAL

The prevalence of casual work and unpaid labour in academia has recently come under critical scrutiny. Anthropology has been increasingly recognised as a field fraught with impossible demands and unyielding competition. While we firmly support critiques of casualised labour, we believe that our chance to confront it rest largely on mutual support and horizontal collaboration. This is especially true for the most precarious of us, who also happen to be early career scholars. In recent years, postgraduate students have been put under immense pressure to publish fast and publish more. Yet, the increasingly routinised business of academic publishing is often impenetrable. The most frequent explanation for this is postgraduates' lack of relevant experience. Over the years, *Anthropology Matters Journal* has familiarised many of us with the process of submitting, peer-reviewing, editing, and publishing original research articles. For some authors, it has been a place to try out new ideas and formats, or to get reviews before submitting elsewhere. It has served as a workshop of sorts. More than that, the journal's commitment to publishing young scholars' work has brought to light texts that reflect the ethnographic sharpness of doctoral research. In this regard, rather than approaching 'early career' merely as a necessary step towards academic development and professional evolution, we see it as a time of unconfined creativity and intellectual possibility. We therefore hope that the journal will continue to publish work that is lively, thoroughly ethnographic, and creative with or outright critical of, the dominant conventions of academic publishing.

Lastly, it bears repeating that our field thrives on the kindness of strangers, whether we talk about fieldwork, conferences, or publishing. Being an unpaid editor (or reviewer, or copyeditor) is not a matter of selflessness or piety, as some would see it, but an act of scholarly commitment. It is also a token of our belief that, if anthropology became more of a guild, an association of professionals, or something akin to a trade union, its practitioners would be less exposed to the vicissitudes of the job market, or at least better equipped to face it.

The 20 years of this Journal's history, with its 20 issues, stand as evidence of the possibilities afforded by such an effort. Uncountable editors, visual editors, copyeditors, proof-readers, reviewers, and authors have brought Anthropology Matters to where it is now. The collective labor of people whose work we now continue, and whom we've never met, is an inspiration in this solitary, precarious age. We would like to keep this spirit of cooperation alive in *Anthropology Matters Journal* and we invite all-year round submissions for special issues, sections, and any other initiatives our readership and contributors think might benefit them in these times.

Ana Chirițoiu and Phaedra Douzina-Bakalaki, editors

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Turbulent Climate Discourses in Northern Sweden[1]

Flora Mary Bartlett (Goldsmiths)

Abstract

I examine how tensions between locals, environmentalists, and State politicians in a small town in northern Sweden are reinforced through national discourses of climate change and sustainability. Turbulence emerges across different scales of responsibility and environmental engagement in Arjeplog as politicians are seen by local inhabitants to be engaging more with the global conversation than with the local experience of living in the north. Moreover, many people view the environmentalist discourses from the politicians in the south, whom they deem to be out of touch with rural life, as threatening to the local experience of nature. These discourses pose a threat to their reliance on petrol, essential for travel, and are experienced locally as a continuation of the south's historical interference in the region. Based on thirteen months of field research, I argue that mistrust of the various messengers of climate change, including politicians and environmentalists, is a crucial part of the scepticism towards the climate change discourse and that we as researchers need to utilise the strengths of anthropology in examining the reception (or refusal) of climate change. The locals' mistrust of environment discourses had implications for my positionality, as I was associated with these perceived 'outsider' sensibilities. While the anthropology of climate change often focusses on physical impacts and resilience, I argue that we need to pay due attention to the local turbulence surrounding the discourses of climate change, which exist alongside the physical phenomena.

[1] Based on a paper given at the 'Anthropology in London Day: Turbulence' Conference at UCL, June 18th 2019.

Introduction

National conversations about climate change ignited in Sweden in 2018 as summer heatwaves sparked forest fires and media responses embraced scientific predictions of record-breaking temperatures. National headlines warned of unprecedented weather extremes, cautioning that this was 'only the beginning' of what was to come (Aftonbladet 2018). It was the year when Swedish student Greta Thunberg became a global icon of environmental activism, inspiring worldwide 'school strikes for the climate' following her weekly demonstrations outside the Swedish parliament. This type of engagement with climate change discourses was, however, not shared universally across the country.

My PhD fieldwork in the rural north of Sweden came to an end that same summer, just after the forest fires and merely months before Greta's voice gained international recognition. My research took place in Arjeplog, a vast and sparsely populated municipality straddling the Arctic circle, where I examined local relationships to landscape, nature, and climate change. Building on my research with mostly 'non-Sami' [2]Swedish Arjeplogare[3], this paper examines the rejection of national and global discourses of climate change by my research participants[4], who view them as threatening to their way of life. The locals' rejection of

[2] I worked mostly with people who were not officially Sami (the indigenous population of Sweden and Sápmi) due in part to the historic and sometimes problematic interest of researchers in 'Sami life', but also given their own vocal responses to climate change in the region both in media and in research. I decided instead to focus mainly on the Swedish response to climate change narratives in Arjeplog while also not discounting those who identify as Sami. Defining oneself as Sami is not a straightforward task, and the Sami have been defined by others in the past variously through ethnicity, language, lifestyle, and occupation as reindeer herders – all of which can be problematic in various ways (Green 2009; Lantto and Mörkensam 2008). The Sami Parliament do have their own definitions for who is able to be a member in a sameby and vote in Sami elections, and only Sami can herd reindeer. A clear distinction between Sami and Swedish Arjeplogare can therefore be difficult, and some in Arjeplog were unsure if they could embrace certain 'Sami' traditions given their own complex ancestry.

[3] Arjeplogare is the local name for inhabitants of Arjeplog, as in English one would say 'Londoners'.

[4] I use 'participants' throughout this paper as others use 'interlocutors' or 'informants' due to my preference for acknowledging their active participation in both the gathering of and feedback to this research. They gave feedback for my arguments and were involved in the production of visual materials including the maps shown in this paper.

climate change discourses reveals tensions with the State and with the urban south. Where using the term Arjeplogare I am not referring to the whole community, but those with whom I worked closely (following Willerslev 2004) and whose views were echoed by others in the municipality.

The community has approximately 2,900 inhabitants, most of whom live in the town of Arjeplog with around 600 living out in the expanse of mountains and lakes that stretch to Norway in the west[5]. Moose hunting in autumn is a crucial part of life for the yearly supply of meat but is also a way to connect with nature and be out in the forest. Alongside jobs in the schools, clinic, and offices, many of the inhabitants work with the local car testing industry: since the 1970s, international companies have sent engineers during the winter season to test new car models on the frozen lakes of the region, creating hundreds of jobs in hotels, service, catering, and building the ice tracks. In winter, snowmobile travel is essential for navigating the icy landscape and reaching friends and the *stuga* – a cabin used for leisure, hunting, relaxation, and also accommodation during the car testing season.

[5] All images in this article were taken by the author © Flora Mary Bartlett 2020

I begin by exploring my positionality and how I learned to understand the turbulence surrounding discourses of climate change. I then explore how the local lifestyle of my research participants, their need for petrol, and their views of nature exist in tension with the discourses of climate change coming from the capital city and the politicians. I argue that the scales embedded in conversations of climate change reveal and reinforce turbulence: there is a disjuncture between the (inter)national discourses of climate change and the local scale of emplaced experience in Arjeplog, as the former focusses on a global future rather than the everyday lived reality of the Arjeplogare. Those with whom I worked thought that politicians focussed either on the global or on Sweden's place as a nation state, rather than on the individual communities within the country. I discuss how these turbulences are compounded not just by the message at the heart of climate change but also by the messenger: tensions arise as the Arjeplogare perceive these discourses as coming from naïve and out-of-touch urban 'Stockholmers', environmentalists, and politicians. Finally, I reflect upon the challenges for researchers when we ourselves face tension in and off the field concerning climate change, and the chance this presents us to look with more nuance at emplaced understandings.

Positionality and Turbulence

When planning Arjeplog as my fieldsite, I wondered if the winter car testing industry would be discussed as threatened by global warming. I was interested to know how people were thinking about a future with climate change in a town so dependent on this seasonal influx of work. An unexpected outcome of fieldwork, however, was experiencing the turbulence that conversations about climate change *created* in the field. It became clear that this was not a topic people wanted to discuss, and my own positionality became simultaneously difficult and productive.

Although the car testing companies have built up garages and workplaces in Arjeplog, one participant said this was just 'coffee money' for those huge corporations. They could pack up and move if the climate changed. And while some of the local companies that build the ice tracks are adapting to the longer autumns and unstable snowstorms, one journalist told me that people were afraid that if the ice changed, the companies would disappear. So, she warned, many would not want to face this in conversation.

Throughout my fieldwork, I realized that the reluctance to discuss climate change ran deeper than their fear surrounding the car testing industry. Local responses to my presence and questions in Arjeplog pointed to a different issue: the perceived 'outsider' meddling in Arjeplog and the suspicion that climate change was just another way for people to tell the north how to live.

During my 13 months in Arjeplog there was sometimes tension when I asked people if they were worried about climate change or if this was seen as a local threat. When I asked questions about 'environmental' matters more generally, or even used the term *miljön* (the environment) there was often a shift in the dynamic. Conversations about hunting, fishing, hiking and the specifics of everyday life were met with amused curiosity. When I asked about *miljön,* hydropower, forestry, or climate change, however, I was often met with a more guarded look. One of my participants recommended that I introduce myself as

interested in 'car testing' when I met one of her friends, instead of climate change or the environment. Once she ensured an interviewee that I was not an environmentalist motivated by a plot to bring down the timber industry.

It became clear throughout my fieldwork that people were wary of me asking these questions. I was a newcomer in Arjeplog, arriving from London with a tattoo of a leaf upon my arm and sometimes traveling to Stockholm. The words 'researching the environment' or 'researching nature' were loaded, met with eyebrows furrowed and wary with suspicion. It was a small leap from 'environment' to 'environmentalist', and some people perhaps assumed I was an activist in league with Miljöpartiet – The Green Party – sometimes seen locally as profoundly out-of-touch with the reality of rural lifestyle and the necessary dependence on *bensin* (petrol).

Hints began to creep out from these moments, strengthened by increasing mentions of Miljöpartiet. It became clear that an environmentalist discourse was linked to 'outsiders' who did not understand life in Arjeplog or the rural north. As my friend (and participant) Marianne[6] reminded me later, it is not just climate change conversations that people feel threatened by, but 'the environment' and 'environmentalism': it is a further interference of the out-of-touch south. Environmentalists and politicians were seen in Arjeplog as having a comfortable life in the city, where food was shipped in and self-sufficiency was minimal. These outsider interferences in Arjeplog were seen as threatening the way of life for the Arjeplogare and the experience of nature, and deeply linked to the historical interference in the landscape in the form of hydropower development, now marketed by the State as integral to a renewable future.

[6] Against usual convention, I have not anonymised my participants in this research. When I explained consent to each interviewee, and potential implications for non-anonymization, many including those mentioned in this paper questioned the removal of their real names from their statements. There were certain things they wanted on record, and many told me specifically when certain information was 'off the record' or should not be recorded.

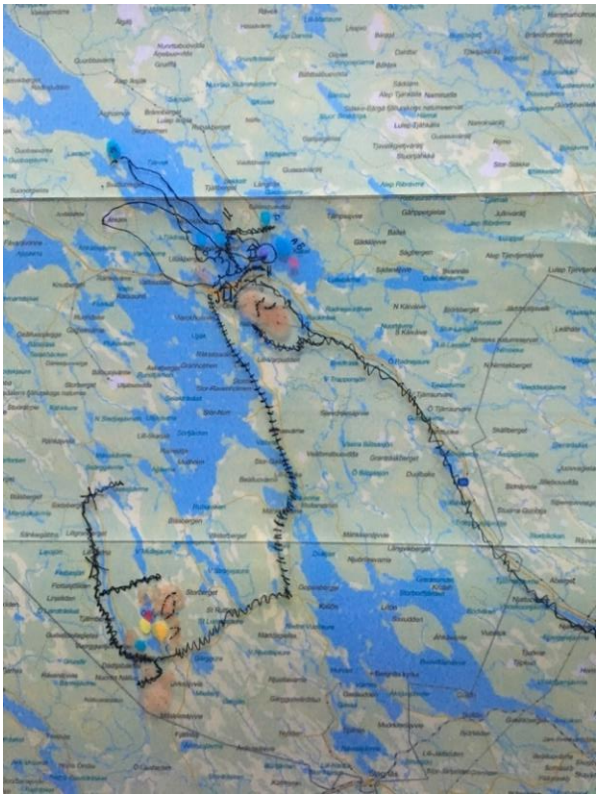
My gradual realization of these north-south, urban-rural tensions impacted the ways in which I engaged with my own environmental practice in the field and in my 'public' life online. I felt uncomfortable sharing news articles about climate change, lest locals in Arjeplog saw them and thought I had ulterior motives for asking questions about landscape and nature. In the next section I explore just how these discourses are turbulent, including the local engagement with nature and the perceived hypocrisy of politicians urging a move away from petrol.

The Need for Petrol

One afternoon during a mighty thunderstorm, Anna-Lena and I were making a map of Arjeplog together in the office of her flower shop. She sold a huge range of cut-flowers and plants, arranged side-by-side with rifles and hunting supplies – a shop locally and unofficially known as 'Guns and Roses'. I spent many days there helping with the flower deliveries and talking about her experiences of hunting and fishing, her cabin, and her commute back into town by snowmobile in the winter and by boat in the summer.
Anna-Lena sometimes teased me about my 'climate anxiety' and was much more open to discussing the subject than many other Arjeplogare.

The thunder crashed into the mountains and the rain trampled down the windowpanes, as Yrsa, the border terrier, scouted the floor for moose bones and Anna-Lena drew her familiar routes, movements, moose hunts, fishing spots, and berry picking hideaways across the plastic surface of the map. This kind of mapping is something I did with most of my participants in Arjeplog to try and make a visual exploration of their lives, movements, and engagements with landscape, inspired in part by the work of Hugh Brody (2002) and his collaborative mappings of hunting trails in British Colombia. It visualized personal histories of place, and prompted stories from, of, and with nature.

'One travels far to pick berries', Anna-Lena said, her laughter a low rumble meeting the storm outside, 'so this is how my life looks'. Her map, like those of the other Arjeplogare, showed lines looping away from home and out into the municipality. Had they marked out all their snowmobile and boat routes, one participant told me, the map would be black. Anna-Lena even chided me that the map was too small, she often drove further away for snowmobile tours or to visit friends in their *stugor*—known as 'summer cabins' in other parts of Sweden but used by the Arjeplogare all year round for hunting, fishing, and weekends away from home, even in deep winter.



When combining Anna-Lena's map with those of my other participants, in a visual attempt at Ingold's idea of 'meshwork' (2010: 9)[7], what we see is a partial sketch of travel by petrol: those most habitual routes taken for food, for well-being, and for maintaining kinship networks. People's 'being in the nature', as they described it, often required a snowmobile. While there were some who skied to their cabins, all of my participants used snowmobiles or had used them to get around outside of the town. In the winter the whine from the engines could be heard zigzagging across the terrain, louder in the northern region closer to the mountains where snowmobile 'highways' appeared etched into the surface of the frozen lakes. Smaller roads veered off in curves towards the shoreline and the smell of the motors hung in the frozen air.

[7] Ingold uses the 'meshwork' (2010) to refer to the lines of connection and relationships between things in a network, rather than focussing only on the individual components themselves. Thus, the map is a literal tracing of journeys between places, and visualises the relationship between motor, petrol and physical landscape.

Arjeplog's inhabitants rarely walk long distances in the winter, when it can be as cold as minus 40° Celsius and dark for four months. People get used to driving or taking the snowmobile. Electric engines are tested on the frozen lakes of Arjeplog as part of the winter car testing industry, and everyone knows the electric engines do not last long enough for journeys across the vast expanse of land and ice. Many locals work within the testing industry and they see how the cold affects the power.

They need petrol—the energy from ancient fossilized ecosystems (Marriott and Minio-Paluello 2012) powering the exploration of their own landscape, with global implications and connection[8]. It is a key element in how the Arjeplogare know and navigate nature, and it is therefore a crucial factor in the way discourses of climate change are received locally.

Local Care and Political Hypocrisy

For Anna-Lena, media discussions of climate change masked deep tensions of inequality between the rural north and the urban Stockholmers and politicians in terms of both petrol consumption and ways of caring for nature.

She told me that everyone recycles in Arjeplog, that they try to take care of their local nature, be clean, and not pollute or litter. Care for the environment in Arjeplog was centred around the very local relationship between the human and the non-human: recycling to keep nature clean, not spilling snowmobile oil or petrol in the lakes, and generally protecting the familiar landscape, which was a deeply important practice for everyone with whom I spoke. This was never referred to as 'environmentalism'. It was described more in terms of an obvious response to the beauty of the surroundings and a good practice of living with nature. Such care kept the forest clean for the moose hunt, too. The moose meat

[8] After I left Arjeplog I saw adverts for electric snowmobiles, and electric car charging ports were installed outside the supermarket, yet the cold temperatures were still a problem for long journeys.

was seen as coming directly from the forest – from the nature – and keeping the landscape clean was described by some in Arjeplog as maintaining this connection with the nature.

While minimizing the local impact of humanity in nature was incredibly important, many with whom I worked in Arjeplog do not see global warming as a human-caused problem. Instead it was often described as earth's natural fluctuations, operating throughout deep time, or seen as compounded by phenomena on the planetary scale such as solar winds or the gulf stream changing the average temperatures on a year-by-year basis.

Intertwined with love of nature is the need for petrol. Snowmobiles are integral to knowledge of the landscape. While the Arjeplogare commit to local nature and minimizing pollution, the politicians in Stockholm actively discuss global climate change and advise ordinary people to cut down on the use of fossil fuels. This poses a direct threat to the lifestyles of many Arjeplogare, whose very relation to nature currently depends on *bensin*.

An increased tax on petrol will have more immediate repercussions in Arjeplog than in Stockholm.

What is more, the politicians calling for change continue with air travel themselves, as Anna-Lena explained:

> How can it be that the politicians in Miljöpartiet (The Green Party) can tell us not to drive or fly, that flying is bad for the environment, but that they can fly to their meetings and their engagements because they are important? I get so angry, that they think that they can fly because they are important, but we cannot. I really don't like that those big things will make the little people have a bad conscience.

She chewed her lip and patted Yrsa on her little beige head. The politicians' engagement with the global conversation of climate change was hypocritical, as they called on citizens to cut back without doing so themselves and without considering their circumstances. This extended beyond air travel, as more of my participants mentioned similar arguments in terms of driving petrol-fuelled cars and snowmobiles.

People in the north need their petrol for navigating the landscape, so they asked, why should they stop using fossil fuels if the politicians did not?

Any increase in the cost of petrol would immediately affect people in Arjeplog. As many with whom I spoke stressed, Arjeplog has fewer than 3,000 people, and is miniscule compared to the population of Stockholm. But Stockholm is the place where decisions are made and where a big proportion of the voters live. As my participant Johan explained, all the measures would hit Arjeplog harder than the cities. For an Arjeplogare who relies on a car, boat, snowmobile, quad for hunting, and a chainsaw, petrol is crucial, and an increase in prices would affect them disproportionately.

'And for somebody who lives on Söder in Stockholm[9],' Johan said, 'it doesn't matter, they can still buy their T-centralen subway card and travel around for almost nothing. So, those measures always hit us. I mean it is 3,000 people in Arjeplog, what can we do?' He asked. 'That is what goes into the subway crowd every minute in Stockholm'.

There was a strong sense of injustice regarding the pressures placed on the community compared to the city. It seemed to Anna-Lena and Johan, and others, that Stockholmers and politicians were not expected to bear the burden of climate change, yet the Arjeplogare were. And this was made all the more ironic, for Anna-Lena, by the politicians' investments and favours for big companies. Meanwhile, the Arjeplogare are trying to get by in a tough climate while also caring for their own nature. This, she posed, was perhaps the reason why the community was not talking about climate change.

> Maybe people don't want to think about climate change here, because if we did we would have to start thinking that it is something that we are responsible for. Maybe that is too much for people to manage. We all recycle here, but what else can we do? It is too much to think about, that climate change is happening. It is *too big*. People would have to start taking responsibility. We cannot affect it. We can recycle as much as we want, but either way they sell even bigger emissions-rights to big companies. They commercialize, and then the little people have bad consciences, right? And I don't like that. You try to recycle, sort rubbish, and make small efforts.

She stared at me, eyes searching. She was angry at the capitalist system in which blame was attributed to the 'little people' while the State and big business continued to gamble with the environment.

[9] The southern island of the Stockholm archipelago, Södermalm, often used in popular culture as a hipster neighbourhood – likeable to Shoreditch or East London or Brooklyn in New York.

The argument that the cultural system itself is responsible has been the central claim of the Extinction Rebellion movement's protests throughout the world, and Latour has suggested the Anthropocene be renamed the 'capitalocene', attributing responsibility to whom it really belongs when climate change is too big for individuals to bear (2018: 7; see also Karliner 1992; Wallace-Wells 2019). For Anna-Lena, these were real life questions in response to inequality and powerlessness in the face of big business and corporate politics, as all the while politicians kept flying and expected the rural communities to change.

This raises complex questions of different scales of environmental engagement and responsibility, to which we now turn.

Scales of Responsibility

Arjeplog municipality has a permanent population of around 2,900 people, outside the car testing season, and is the most sparsely populated municipality in Sweden. The word *glesbygdskommun* means 'sparsely populated place' or dispersed settlement, and was used often in local politics to refer to the struggles faced by small disparate communities such as Arjeplog. They had their own difficulties unique to *glesbygd* and they portrayed life as sometimes tough, without the luxuries of the big cities where post was delivered to all the houses, buses were frequent, and healthcare was not something one had to fight for.

By 'little people', Anna-Lena meant those who were not politicians or in big business, but it linked also to this idea of being from 'little Arjeplog' and feeling overlooked by the State. Furthermore, for Anna-Lena and many others the question remained: Why should they feel guilty for the global climate when they are so few?

The issues of scale, guilt, and responsibility are complex. Morton argues that individuals are 'in no sense guilty' for global warming (2018: 35). One person starting one car, he states, is not causing the problem. One billion cars, however, *is* the problem. 'Guilt is scaled to individuals', he argues, 'but it is a collective problem' (Morton 2018: 57). In individualistic societies it is unsurprising that individual guilt is felt and problematized, as in Sweden, where the responsibility is often scaled to individual actions. Morton argues that instead we must view it as a bigger problem in which the species itself is responsible (see also Wallace-Wells 2019).

But viewing climate change at a collective, global scale is not without problems: Latour argues that humanity feels powerless in ecological crises as there is a 'disconnect between the range, nature and scale of the phenomena and the set of emotions, habits of thoughts, and feelings that would be necessary to handle those crises' (2011: 2). He shows how it would be difficult for any local population to embrace the idea of the 'global event' of

climate change. He argues that the question of human responsibility is raised as soon as human agency is held accountable for geological change but that it was widely recognised among anthropologists, activists, historians and philosophers that responsibility is not ascribed evenly throughout the world's population (Latour 2014).

Anna-Lena argued that smaller communities should not be held responsible while multinational corporations and politicians operate on a global scale, and it reveals a situated example of the perceived injustice in the climate change debate. How could a small rural population, as Anna-Lena asked, be held accountable for the climate crisis or feel responsible for it? Especially when they try so hard to care for their own local landscape.

Anna Tsing's exploration of 'scale' is useful to think with here, reminding us both that scales are *produced* and that the global is often falsely perceived as a single homogenous entity

in contrast with different local units (2005: 58). Scales are not separable, naturally occurring entities, but 'come into being in part through the contingent articulations into which they are pushed or stumble' (2000: 119). Tsing uses the process of 'national building' as a key element to look at how aspirations of global connection come to life in friction. She argues that we must not take dichotomies such as local and global for granted but must pay attention to how these scales are made (Tsing 2000).

In Arjeplog, global nature *is* seen as too big to be affected by humans. The focus is instead on the local, on Arjeplog and its nature and landscape. National engagement with the global conversation of climate change produces friction locally in Arjeplog as such measures are seen to sit at odds with local experience. Furthermore, the global discourse of climate change often frames (and produces) it as a single global problem.

As Descola and Palsson write, 'nature is no longer a local affair; the village green is nothing less than the entire globe' (1999: 13). Climate change as a conversation both produces this global scale in terms of the prominent global discourse and complicates these scales on the ground. Arjeplogare experience instead *their locality*, which for them is about protecting *their* local nature and feeding themselves from it sustainably. The national scale is understood in tension with the local, the State as a place apart making the rules and engaging with this global discourse. Conversations about climate change reinforce these locally experienced scales and the tensions across them: the difference between the national and local scale is widened as the Arjeplogare view national interest as out of touch with local experience of nature, in a global conversation.

It is important to note, however, that climate change as a physical phenomenon is not yet a matter of life and death for the Arjeplogare compared to many other places in the world, neither is it a threat of death to their culture as it is with the Sami reindeer herders in the same region. Environmental justice refers to the concept of unequal distribution of hardships posed by environmental degradation (see Schlosberg 2007). Reindeer *are* dying in Arjeplog, failing to access their winter food under new patterns of rain and ice that cause the lichen to mould and spoil. Sami herders are suffering financial losses, hardship, and

emotional burdens because of this, and acknowledging climate change as the cause (Furberg et al. 2011; Söderberg 2018). Outside Sweden, the countries that are at risk are those where extreme temperature increases and weather events are, in the present day, killing people (Wallace-Wells 2019).

Arjeplog occupies a complex place in discussions of environmental and climate justice. It is part of a country with historically high emissions that (by way of a high relative GDP) is now partly responsible for ameliorating the climate crisis following the climate agreements which recognize the relative responsibility of rich nations (see Posner and Weisback 2010). Furthermore, as Shrader-Frechette writes, 'since the *effects* of one's actions (e.g. burning fossil fuels and possibly causing the Greenhouse Effect) are not limited to those within one's country, the *constraints* of one's actions are not limited only to the basic rights of those in one's nation' (2002: 169, italics in original). This, too, demonstrates the collapsing of scales in climate change, as Shrader-Frechette argues that people's actions have global effects and they must be globally responsible, and that we must all take responsibility for the actions of our governments and businesses in democracy on behalf of those who suffer. Wallace-Wells argues that individual lifestyle change is not enough to alter the course of climate change and what we need is a 'complete overhaul' of industry, agriculture, infrastructure, and transportation (2019:179). For him, and for Norgaard (2011), the responsibility is therefore in voting and exercising democratic power in calling out the systems' failings. The difference, however, between Norgaard's ethnography and this one, is that her interlocutors were already talking about climate change as anthropogenic.

The connection between locally used fossil fuels and global change is not a simple fact in Arjeplog but a complicated narrative, coming from mistrusted voices and wrapped up in its own injustices of the State. Isenhour writes that 'Swedes' are an exception to Giddens' paradox, in which people only change their behaviour if they themselves feel threatened by climate change. Isenhour argues that her interlocutors in Stockholm were not feeling the effects yet were motivated to embrace the discourse of anthropogenic climate change and attempt to limit their individual footprints (Isenhour 2010, 2013). Isenhour extends this response to 'Swedes' in general, however, which is quite a large generalization. Her

research was based on a small representation of urban Swedish citizens, found through their links to environmental movements. My fieldwork has shown that – while Isenhour's conclusions are evidence of an interesting *variant* of climate change– it is certainly not a viable nationwide portrayal: those with whom I worked in Arjeplog do not feel the same responsibility as Isenhour's participants in Stockholm and are not engaging with the discourse in the same way.

Local rejections of national and international discourses of climate change in Arjeplog can be partly due to the message and the threat it carries for the community. The risks of an increase in petrol prices can be seen as part of the 'message' of the climate conversation, and likewise a reluctance to talk about a coming threat to the car testing industry. More interestingly, however, was the tension that emerged when I attempted to ask about climate change and the links to the 'typical' messengers seen to be engaging in this discourse.

Messengers and Outsider Meddling in Local Nature

To understand the scepticism of 'outsiders' and environmental meddling, we must examine the historical relations between the State and the Arjeplogare.

Throughout the twentieth century, hydro-electric dams were built throughout Sweden with many of them harnessing the power of the northern rivers (Sörlin 1988; Jakobsson 2002; Arheimer and Lindström 2014). At the time, these projects were less concerned with renewable, green, energy and more occupied with producing national power supplies in the modernization project of the State (Robin 2017). The dams create daily interferences for the Arjeplogare, with the unannounced changing of the water levels and the damage this causes to boats and access to the *stugor* (cabins). It has also irrevocably damaged local land formations and ecology in the region. Nowadays, hydropower is used by the State as a part of its role in the modern and renewable future of the nation as it aims for 100%

renewable energy by 2040. This, again, is an example of what Tsing describes as 'nation-building' (2005) in which the national scale engages with the global conversation of climate change, creating frictions with the local inhabitants as their lived experience of landscape is impacted.

Furthermore, current State regulations and red tape are seen as interfering with the exchange and sale of reindeer and moose meat – the two main sources of protein for the Arjeplogare who rarely buy meat that isn't either game hunted by the people themselves or reindeer herded by the Sami. To my participants, this is the best way to live off the land sustainably while maintaining the forests.

These are but two examples of a much longer history in which the north is interfered with, and treated as a goldmine and internal colony, where resources are extracted for energy, mining, forestry, and lands are taken from the Sami communities (Fur 2006; Lantto and Mörkensam 2008; Green 2009; Össbo and Lantto 2011). Calls for greener practices from these perceived 'outsider' communities were therefore met with scepticism in Arjeplog, and perceived as linked to the longer practices of extraction and pollution in the northern region of the country. Hydropower is today marketed as a key movement away from fossil fuels by the State, and renewable energy infrastructures are often constructed in the north where it is less populated and, rumour has it, further away from the politicians' own cabins in the archipelagos of the Baltic coast.

When urban populations call for environmentalism at the national scale, it is a threat to those in the north who have directly experienced the outsourcing of such infrastructures (as well as mining, forestry, and wind power). As Marianne explained, when I returned to Arjeplog to discuss my thesis, climate change was just another thread in the history of people coming to the north and deciding what was best: 'it is all kinds of voices of people who think they know better. It is those who are above us, those who want to come here and take. Everyone from outside who wants to control us… or decide over us.'

Such calls for changing lifestyles were also seen locally as coming from a southern population profoundly out-of-touch with the both the ways of the north and how to live off the land. A national call to eat less meat was often described by my participants as naïve, given the ease with which all food is shipped into Stockholm, and the subsequent risk urban populations are in if the food supplies stop. For the Arjeplogare, there is pride in self-sufficiency and getting food from nature. The message was therefore intertwined, if inseparable, with the perceived messengers of the south, the city, and the 'outside'. I often heard statements such as: 'How can people living in polluted, overpopulated cities tell *us* how to better take care of *our* nature?'

The messenger is of crucial importance in discussions of climate change discourses. As Callison argues, 'it is the way that climate change is articulated, used, circulated, and understood that creates its particular form of life and hence its meaningfulness for individuals and groups' (2014: 11), and sometimes it is the actors themselves who matter most. This was the case in Arjeplog with the message seen as coming from environmentalists, politicians and 'Miljöpartisterna'.

Miljöpartiet de gröna (MP), directly translated as 'The Environmental Party the Greens', is a political party in Sweden. It was founded in the early 1980s partly in response to the referendum on nuclear power and the failure of the existing parties to tackle

the rise in environmental and anti-nuclear sentiment (Ljunggren 2010). Support for the party is nationally relatively small compared to the larger parties.

When I sat in Johan's photography office, talking about his life as the Arjeplog photographer and his thoughts on climate change and hydropower, he discussed how he had been in a group to try and save the rivers from the disastrous effects of water regulation – the process of turning the rivers into reservoirs, changing the water level to harness it for hydroelectric power.

> It was a big organization, like any other environmental organization. And it was looked upon as if you said you were a *miljöpartist* [member of the Green Party] in Arjeplog. It is probably the worst thing you can be, because people don't believe, they don't believe in the message. Because we don't see it [climate change] here.

This was in part due to the fact that Johan and many other Arjeplogare believe climate change to be a natural phenomenon, with historic temperature fluctuations seen to be continuing today as part of a natural system and not a definite consensus among scientists. But Johan also linked this back to the injustice of the proposed measures hitting harder in Arjeplog than in Stockholm. He explained how unfair it was that city-dwellers expected the north to take responsibility. Johan thought the hatred towards MP was a little unfair, but that MP and its followers have chosen this path and it is why, he argues, the right-wing Sweden Democrats (SD) are getting votes in Arjeplog lately. SD, he said, 'offer simple solutions instead of the complex ones, saying "we're gonna fix it" instead of "oh it is very difficult, but we will do our best"'. This demonstrates the interconnectedness of the message and the messenger, and how it is not so easy to separate the two.

It also shows the importance of the environmentalist discourses in the political web of Arjeplog. Lives in the north depend on petrol. The experience of nature for food and wellbeing involves petrol in their motors. A group who appears and says '*stop*' will bring turbulence, threatening the local lifestyle while coming from somewhere geographically

and ideologically far away. McGraw gave an example of this in his book about rural American rejections of climate change, describing how his interviewee named Tanner was able to communicate climate risk to his fellow hunters. Tanner told McGraw that the hunters only trusted him because he was one of them, but an environmentalist showing up in a tie die t-shirt and Birkenstock sandals would be 'highly suspect' (McGraw 2015: 63). Environmentalists, McGraw described, were largely white, middle class, educated people of privilege who were awful at explaining the situation to regular Americans.

Distrust of the messenger, Hoffman argues, is one of four forms of distrust in the scientific evidence of climate change. The others are distrust of the process, of the message, and of the solutions (in Hodges 2019). In Arjeplog, there was little to suggest distrust in the scientific process. Certain scientific theories[10] were embraced in Arjeplog to explain how climate was always changing and weather fluctuations were nothing new. Johan explained to me how Arjeplogare did not believe in 'the message' of climate change, and he linked that both with distrust of the messenger *and* a distrust in the solutions proposed.

While the message was often simply not embraced, the messenger was embedded in pre-existing turbulence that was reinforced by these new suggested solutions to climate change. Understanding of climate change is formed based on the media as a translator (Callison 2014) and when Arjeplogare perceive the media discourse of climate change as something that is dominated by environmentalists and politicians (and even some hypocrisy), they distrust it.

The discourse of environmentalism, Milton writes, is 'the field of communication through which environmental responsibilities (those which make up the environmentalist quest for a viable future) are constituted' (1993: 9). Responsibility is woven through the very idea of environmentalist discourses. What constitutes a 'viable future', however, is an interesting question. The implication in Milton's text is a viable *global* environmental future. In

[10] See Boykoff and Boykoff (2004), Oreskes and Conway (2012) for more discussion on these particular scientific discourses, and how the presentation of them as equally legitimate as the scientific consensus of climate change has created the idea of doubt.

Arjeplog a 'viable future' is arguably one in which the community can continue living in the region with a central industry (car testing), the local environment is kept clean and free from rubbish, and the youth stay in the community and learn the 'old ways' of net fishing and hunting. A viable future seems to be one rooted in Arjeplog, not the environmental condition of the earth as a whole – which is a scale outside the realms of understanding (Latour 2011).

As Marino and Schweitzer argue, 'the global discourse on climate change is bounded and limited; with a predetermined field of knowledge, agents of knowledge, norms of discourse, and acceptable concepts and theories' (2009: 216). Science does not drop into the laps of its readers (see Latour 1993,1999; Callison 2014) - raw data does not appear unframed onto the screens of Arjeplogare. We must look specifically at the voices carrying the message of anthropogenic climate change and the role this plays in local responses.

Turbulence Off the Field: An Opportunity for Nuance

It is important to recognize our own positionality within studies of emplaced climate change discussions and environmentalist discourse. It is easy for many of us to assume that there is a global environmental 'correct' answer to the problems we face today if we have been exposed to and embedded within certain environmental movements. My aim throughout this paper, and my PhD research, has been to present a different perspective: a place-based examination of how climate change discourses are experienced in Arjeplog.

Much of the anthropological literature on climate change examines its physical effects on local communities: their specific vulnerabilities, adaptations, and resilience (Fleishman 2018). Sanders and Hall (2015) argue that this is the approach endorsed by the AAA taskforce – an American Anthropological Association committee tasked with producing a guidelines, recommendations, and research directions for 'global climate change-related issues' (see Fiske et al 2014). This has steered the discipline into a direction largely concerning the material existence of climate change. Along with physical changes,

however, the reception of climate change as a *conversation* also exists on a local scale. Climate change exists as a discourse as much as a physical event (Hulme 2009), and we as anthropologists should also be directing our attention to how this discourse is locally received (Rudiak-Gould 2011). Conversations of global warming and environmental concerns exist enmeshed with local experience of landscape, weather and tensions over natural resources. How the scientific discourse of anthropogenic climate change is received depends on local histories, relationships, and understandings of landscape.

Since returning from fieldwork, I have become more aware of the sharpened rhetoric accusing those in doubt of being 'climate deniers' (see also Callison 2014: 89) including in discussion of my research. What this fieldwork demonstrated is that scales of environmental threats depend on the specific location and population in question. If one were to discuss a president who denies climate change despite being briefed by those with experience and research in the field, who continues to publicly deny climate change because he has been directly funded by institutions that rely on its rejection, then 'climate denier' may not be so far off the mark. Directing this term towards everyday citizens, however, seems unhelpful.

Norgaard, for example, writes of a community in Norway affected by climate change yet 'living in denial' (2011) as they do not write to their politicians or stop driving cars. This, Norgaard argues, is 'climate denial' as they are not engaged in any action to stop the changes. While her ethnography is a thought-provoking and detailed examination of climate change in a place in Scandinavia, Norgaard's definition of denial is imposed by herself as a researcher onto the community.

As researchers we must be careful in the field, and aware of these connections to different ways of living with nature, turbulent environmental histories, problematic interferences from the State, and our own positions. My positionality became a complicated tool in which I myself, and the reactions to my questions, became a crucial part of my understanding of climate change conversations in Arjeplog. It sometimes felt uncomfortable, and being met with suspicion in a small community was occasionally draining during the fieldwork process.

Marino and Schweitzer warn anthropologists to take care when asking about climate change because of its single global discourse and how this might influence responses (Marino and Schweitzer 2009: 216). I argue that we need to be careful in case this discourse is itself *threatening* to our participants, and what impact this might also have on our positions in the field.

It was not just in fieldwork that I felt turbulence, but afterwards in conversations in which I was questioned about why I would give voice to those who do not believe in climate change. But I ask, why not? When it is complex, interesting, and questions the assumption that climate change is an easy problem as opposed to a 'wicked problem' with no clear set of alternative solutions, as Steve Rayner described it in the 2006 Jack Beale Memorial Lecture on Global Environment (in Fiske et al 2014). As anthropologists we are not expected to hold the same worldviews as our participants, and it is at odds with our practice to suggest we should only write about things that align with our own perspectives. Indeed, the topic of climate change seems unusual in provoking such a response asking to justify the exploration of different perspectives.

As anthropologists we are well-suited to examine other positions outside of dominant discourses, as the AAA taskforce reminds us (Fiske et al 2014; see also Antrosio and Han 2015). A number of scholars point to the unique contribution of anthropology in climate change research (Roncoli et al. 2009; Strauss 2009) and in the current climate of research, media coverage, and heightened contentiousness, it is interesting to examine rejections of climate change from emplaced, lived perspectives. Long term ethnographic fieldwork allows us to do this, and to contextualise the other social, political, and historical issues that entwine when we ask about the climate. Sometimes this also requires recognizing our years of being involved in academic institutions, in which we have been immersed in conversations of climate change as a single, morally laden fact which obscures emplaced experience or variation.

Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed how conversations of climate change reveal and reinforce turbulence across different scales in Arjeplog, and how this challenges the notion of the single global event of climate change from an anthropological perspective. It is an interesting challenge for anthropologists to look at places where climate change is a complicated question, entangled with environmental history and urban-rural divides.

While approaches that examine impacts and adaptations are incredibly important and valuable within anthropology, we can and must examine those voices which do not sing in accord with the scientific consensus if we are to gain a nuanced understanding of how climate change is experienced and rejected. Those with whom I worked in Arjeplog

experience their landscape as their own local resource, and they care deeply for it on a local scale as they depend upon it for their lifestyle. They perceive environmentalists and politicians who talk about climate change as focusing on a different scale of responsibility without considering local experience. While the message threatens their experience of landscape, through calls to abandon fossil fuels necessary to the Arjeplogares' mobility, it is also the messenger that is received with mistrust. This tension reinforces older north-south and urban-rural divisions as the Arjeplogare see climate change discourses to be a continuation of outside meddling in their local lifestyles, following a long history of Sweden using the north as a goldmine and failing to understand the reality of life in the rural north.

I have argued that this approach, focusing on an emplaced response to this global discourse, allows for a more nuanced understanding of climate change discourses as enmeshed within more complex local environmental histories and turbulence.

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Stories About Past, Present, And Future:

Memory and Narrative between Refugee Pasts and Migrant Futures among Young People in Chiapas, Mexico

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Abstract

This article explores processes of memory among diasporic children and grandchildren of Guatemalan refugees, by reflecting on a postmemorial theatre project in Southern Mexico. The theatrical performances enable me to analyse how young research participants perform their 'postmemorial repertoire' and how their performances are being evaluated by older residents. The encounters and clashes between eye-witness accounts and postmemorial mediation and imagination are both conflictive as well as productive. In a second step, the postmemorial processes are put in conversation with the ways young people participate actively in the creation of other types of memory, which are anticipatory and contain narratives around migration.

Introduction

Yeni (sixteen years old) and Ivan (seventeen years old) enter the stage. It is not your typical stage with stairs but rather a 360-degree circle of chairs and benches. The crowd consists of the two performers' fellow students from the local middle- and high-school, as well as the wider public of older residents, many of whom are either family-members or neighbours of the young actors. Yeni carries a ball with her, puts it on the ground and the two start passing the ball back and forth. 'What have you been up to my friend?' is Yeni's question to which Ivan responds by telling her that he will soon leave town. 'Where are you going?' asks Yeni, 'Up there *pa'l Norte*[1], you know how it is.' Yeni nods and they keep on passing the ball. 'I am leaving with a huge doubt though,' Ivan says suddenly. 'I am leaving without knowing the history of my people.' Yeni looks at him with astonishment and replies that she has heard from her granddad that it is the water which tells these stories from the past, but only if one listens. Ivan laughs and says that it sounds like her granddad is a bit *loco*, he looks at Yeni more serious and says, 'but hey why not, go on then, tell me this story.' The two disappear and the other ten actors enter the stage which is the beginning of a theatre play telling the story of La Gloria, the town they all grew up in. The young actors portray the persecution that their parents and grandparents suffered during the Guatemalan civil war and the plight of the first years in Chiapas, when they lived here as refugees during the early 1980's. The play ends with the founding of their hometown, where the performance takes place. The young actors, who were all born more than fifteen years after these events (La Gloria was founded in 1984) get together in a circle after the last scene and yell '*Muchas – Muchas gracias*'. (Fieldnotes 05/06/2018)

[1] Literally 'The North', a frequently used phrase throughout Central America to refer to the United States of America.

This article is based on fieldwork I carried out in Chiapas throughout 2017 and 2018 with young people who are children and grandchildren of refugees from Guatemala living in South-eastern Mexico. My background in youth work means that the entire project was shaped by considerations driven not only by ethnographic research, but also by creative, participatory and performance-oriented youth work[2]. I interacted with research participants in a variety of forms: by teaching English at the local high-school, facilitating creative workshops and projects in after-school hours, but also by hanging out during our free-time. We worked on a number of creative projects throughout fieldwork. One of them was the production of the theatre play which constitutes the point of departure for this article. The play resulted from my fieldwork-initiative of starting a youth group for various types of informal learning. The play was developed during the months of April and May 2018 together with two Guatemalan theatre artists and first shown to the wider public in La Gloria on June 5th of the same year. The play gives an insight into the young group members' active participation and engagement in the telling and re-telling, making and re-making of memory in La Gloria. Young people mediate, adapt and perform the narratives of La Gloria's past (events that predate their own birth). However, as this article argues, the young participants are equally invested in narratives and aspirations in relation to contemporary migratory movements to the US (and elsewhere). Before engaging in the narratives and the play itself, I will briefly summarise the historic background.

La Gloria and Its Historical Background

La Gloria is a town of about 2300 inhabitants (Ruiz-Lagier 2013: 113[3]) located in Chiapas just thirty kilometres from the Mexico-Guatemalan border. In the years following its foundation in 1984, US-bound migration quickly became a common pattern. Nowadays,

[2] The overlaps between youth work and anthropological analysis are underexplored in anthropology, as I show elsewhere (Gembus 2017).

[3] This is based on government statistics, however, from conversations I had in town, it is likely that this number was significantly higher during my fieldwork and now in 2020.

remittances from the US or money being sent from other parts of Mexico (especially from the tourist destinations of the *Riviera Maya* in Quintana Roo) make up the subsistence of most families. At the same time, the majority of households maintain some small-plot farming for their own consumption, as well as other small-scale economic endeavours such as providing local taxi services, running small convenience stores, selling food or working locally as builders or handymen.

La Gloria's foundation in 1984 is closely linked to Guatemala's thirty-six years of civil war (1960-1996) between insurgent groups[4] and several *juntas* of military dictatorships, embedded in cold-war dynamics. Especially the early 1980's saw an intensification of the military's counter-insurgency campaigns in the countryside. It was assumed that the *guerrilla*-groups were gaining vast support from the mostly indigenous rural population. The military regimes of Lucas Garcia (1978-1982) and Ríos Montt (1982-1983) responded with brutal 'scorched earth' campaigns, including massacres and mass-disappearances.[5]

These years of escalating violence and persecution are known throughout Guatemala as *la violencia*. At the same time in Chiapas, on the Mexican side of the border this period is remembered as *el refugio*, stressing the fact that between 150,000 and 250,000 people – mostly speakers of pre-hispanic languages from the Guatemalan highlands – crossed the border into Mexico. La Gloria is one of the towns that resulted from the processes designated as *la violencia* and *el refugio*. After the UNHCR-administrated camp, *El Chupadero*, was attacked by the Guatemalan military in 1984, a group of mostly Akateko-speaking refugees (who originated from the Guatemalan region of San Miguel Acatán) decided to abandon life in the camps and found a town of their own. The refugees'

[4] There were several revolutionary groups throughout the years, however, they are often subsumed under the overarching label *la guerrilla*.

[5] The full scale of atrocities and human rights violations committed by the military during these years are laid out in detail in the REMHI (Recovery of Historical Memory) report published at the end of the 1990's (REMHI 1999). Both dictators were persecuted for crimes against humanity in the 2000's. Lucas Garcia died in his Venezuelan exile in 2006, while Ríos Montt was sentenced for genocide in 2013. The sentence was revoked a couple of days later under dubious circumstances and Rios Montt died in 2018 before the trial was completed. For a more in-depth analysis of the trials see Struesse et. al. 2013.

trajectory took many different forms in the late 1980's and early 1990's: while some migrated further into the Mexican north and subsequently to the United States, others returned to Guatemala[6]; others again settled permanently in Southern Mexico.

The past and the ways it is remembered play a major role throughout this article. However, its focus is not on the Guatemalan civil war, *el refugio*, or the foundation of La Gloria as historical events. Instead, I explore the ways in which these are imagined, mediated, and performed by the young research participants (and others), especially in form of the mentioned theatre play, the development of which I document in the next section.

The Play and Its Background

The process of developing a theatre play together with young participants in La Gloria was a central part of my fieldwork experience that directly exposed me to the ways in which my young interlocutors perform and (re)imagine their town's and family's history. Having started out field research by teaching English at La Gloria's local high-school, after a couple of months I proposed to carry out creative activities outside school-hours. I called for an initial meeting, which was attended by twelve young people who were eager to get involved. La Gloria's past was a shared topic of interest among the attendees, and we started exploring it by interviewing older residents and carrying out a photography project. A process was initiated, based on considerations and methods from creative, participatory, and performance-oriented youth work, which the group called "*Yetu'-Nanik-Satajtoj*" (the Akateko words for 'past', 'present', and 'future') and which lay the foundations for the theatre play we developed a couple of months later.

Throughout the months of April and May 2018, two Guatemalan theatre artists came to La Gloria (upon my invitation) to work on the play. The group gave itself the name

[6] This happened on a government-sponsored returnee programme established after the 1996 Peace Accords between the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit or *la guerrilla*) and the Guatemalan military.

Jocox[7] and decided to showcase their work in form of an event commemorating the town's foundation. Later, the play was shown in other parts of the region (mostly those with a similar historical background) and in various parts of Guatemala as part of a cultural festival called *FicMayab'*.

The play itself is about 30 minutes long and consists of eight scenes which are tied together by the narration of the town's history, as it is collectively told during the annual patron-saint celebration. This is an important aspect for the analysis to follow. The *Feria de San Miguel*[8] in La Gloria lasts three days and to a certain degree marks the beginning of a new cycle, since local representatives are re-appointed after the *feria* each year. The town's history is publicly told annually on the first day of the celebration. The narration starts with the 'ethnogenesis[9]' of the Akateko/*Migueleño* people: the appearance of Saint Michael to a young woman called Maria by the river Acatán. This is followed by the narration of the Akatekos' persecution during *la violencia* (early 1980's in Guatemala), their flight from Guatemala, and their arrival in Chiapas during *el refugio*. Finally, the narration finishes with the founding of La Gloria. I will refer to this exact sequence of narrations as the 'La Gloria-story' throughout the article.

When discussing the possible content of our play with the group, the decision was taken quite quickly. It had to be the story of their town's foundation, or 'our story', as Yeni, one of the *Jocox* members, called it. The group decided to invite Don Matias, a

[7] The group's name refers to a species of Atta leaf-cutter ants that only appear once a year in this region after the first heavy annual rainfalls in May/June. This marks the beginning of the rainy season and young people often 'collect' bags full of these ants which are considered a local delicacy (fried and served with chilli powder and lime juice). The hiding and migrating that these ants do annually reminded the young people of their (grand-) parents' history. Coincidentally, the last phase of rehearsals and the first public showing of our play in La Gloria on June 5th 2018 took place exactly during the weeks that the ants were appearing.

[8] Literally 'Saint Michael Fair'. This is the most common name for the annual patron saint celebration as in many towns of the Guatemalan and Chiapan highlands the annual celebration of a patron-saint is the highlight of the annual event calendar. People in La Gloria celebrate Mekel/San Miguel or Saint Michael, which refers back to their origins in San Miguel Acatán.

[9] I use the term 'ethnogenesis' here as a practical term; an exploration of the controversies around its concept would extend the scope of this article, hence, I use it in quotation marks.

40-year-old local *promotor cultural*[10] who has been narrating the La Gloria-story during the patron-saint celebration for a number of years. His narration was going to accompany the action on stage. While the content of the play is mostly made up of La Gloria's past, the *Jocox* members decided to add an extra scene where they metaphorically represent La Gloria's contemporary social divisions (economic, political, etc.). The group further decided to frame the entire play with a beginning and end scenes which tell the 'side story' of two young people saying goodbye to each other as one of them is about to migrate to the US.

Throughout the process, my relationship with the young interlocutors was marked by the dynamics between facilitator and workshop participants. Despite my constant attempts to maximise the young people's participation (in accordance with the common youth work principles[11]) I was clearly being seen as somewhat in charge of the activities, linked to my role as a teacher in school, as well as to my broader status of being a privileged outsider (a white European adult male in a setting where relationships are framed by the continuum of coloniality). Friendships developed among the *Jocox* members but also with me as I was getting to know the twelve regular participants better over time. Especially during various excursions, overnight trips, and other activities outside of La Gloria, I was able to form a strong bond with the group members whom I was getting to know in a variety of settings, including their familial space.

[10] Cultural promoter (my translation) a position created in the UNHCR camps alongside health and educational promoters (*promotores de salud, promotores de educacion*). Camp residents with basic education were trained to assume leadership positions in these fields. While the programme officially ended in 2004 there are a couple of local *promotores* who continue their work on a voluntary basis up to the day.

[11] My practice is specifically informed by the British urban context where youth work is considered a distinctive practice of informal education based on young people's voluntary participation and a 'commitment to tipping these [power] balances in young people's favour' (Davies 2015, 103).

Storytelling, Memory and Postmemory

The play represents a specific overlap between memory and storytelling, which is relevant to the young interlocutors' relationship to the past. Remembering, forgetting, and reproducing memory often appears as a site for many intersecting (often contemporary) issues. These temporal imaginings of the past can tell us a great deal about the present, especially, when they are 'remembered' by young people who were born many years after the events occurred. The intersubjectivity of memory is stressed by Halbwachs: 'all memories are [...] linked to ideas we share with many others [...] A memory occurs to us because we are surrounded by other memories that link to it' (1992 [1925]: 38-39). He describes a dialectic relationship between individual and collective memory where personal experiences are couched within collective narratives of past events. These personal memories are oftentimes re-produced for the consumptions of others in the form of a story. Similarly, Jackson reminds us that 'no story is simply an imitation of events as they actually occurred' and that 'by constructing, relating and sharing stories people contrive to restore viability to their relationship with others' (Jackson 2002: 16, 18). The relational and intersubjective understanding of storytelling resonates with the young participants' imaginations and performances of La Gloria's past: potentialities of interaction are created through these performances. Memory and storytelling work together and to a certain extent can be seen as interrelated parts of the same process. The intersubjectivity of storytelling bears possibilities of constituting individual and collective memory as 'stories are inevitably revised in memory and reworked as they pass through the hands and minds of a community' (Jackson 2002: 231).

Young La Gloria-residents do not only relate to others (peers as well as the older generation) by performing the past but also contribute to the collective memory processes by re-telling and mediating the uniformly told La Gloria-story. These memories are not based on eye-witnessed first-hand experiences of events but rather constitute themselves in the act of listening to stories from older community and family members. As Bellino points out, young people in Guatemala 'did not live the violence but inherited its legacies

[...] the symbolic remnants of the conflict [...] and the uncertainty about whether and when the future might get better' (2017: 5), and this seems to be the case also for young people in the Guatemalan diaspora in South-Mexico. Marianne Hirsch's conceptualisation of postmemory resonates further with the case I am describing, where 'descendants of survivors [...] of massive traumatic events connect so deeply to the previous generation's remembrances of the past that they have to call that connection *memory*' (2008: 105-106).

Precisely here lies the arguments of my article. Young people in La Gloria not only reactivate and re-embody the past in the present through the telling of 'their (his)story', but also become active participants in the making of anticipatory memory. The term 'anticipatory memory' will be used throughout the article referring to the young interlocutors' engagement in the acts of storytelling about contemporary (US-bound) migration. Their own biographies (and those of their parents and grandparents) are interlinked with the present since they feed the young interlocutors' expectations, aspirations, and the futures they imagine. The constant telling and re-telling of narratives around a specific trope constitutes something that could be called 'memory'. Young people are engaged actors in the process of creating memory through retrospective (postmemorial), as well as anticipatory storytelling around the topic of migration. The relation between the past and the future will be explored in the second part of the article, showing how La Gloria is situated as a transitional, yet stable location between the two temporalities, and inhabited by youths who negotiate both notions narratively and include them in their project of self-making. As Bellino puts it, young people 'interpret, reconstruct and place themselves within these narratives' (2017: 8), which make the past relevant in the present as well as in the future. The young actors express their postmemorial repertoire aesthetically and creatively through the play in which they become active participants in the social making of memory. The telling creates new forms of inter-subjectivity with others (inter and intra-generational), which has further implications not only for the retrospective postmemorial processes but also for the anticipatory story-telling and memory of migration. The young interlocutors mediate and negotiate their very own ways of remembering and aspiring (past, present and future), which through storytelling and memory become shared and collective processes; 'once verbalized the individual's memories are fused with the

inter-subjective symbolic system of language and are, strictly speaking, no longer a purely exclusive and inalienable property' (Hirsch 2008: 110). These forms of sociality and inter-subjectivity through memory and storytelling are equally found in postmemorial and in anticipatory memory processes. Neither of these processes are without conflict, as we can see in the following instance when lived memory and the storytelling of postmemory collide:

> A week has gone by since the *Jocox* theatre troupe presented their play for the first time in La Gloria and today is my first day back. I get dropped off by the *combi*[12] at the main road, people greet me friendlily and I am keen to know what they thought of the event. 'Good, very good, we liked it,'[13] I hear some of them saying, but nobody really wants to go into details. I walk a bit further and run into Don Gonzalez, a cordial, slightly older man whom I know from the local high school. He is an active member of the parental committee, always around doing maintenance work or talking to the head-teacher. He is also well known in town for having been involved with the *guerrilla* back in Guatemala in the 1980's, as have many others. However, he is one of the few that I have heard speaking about it rather openly. 'How did you like the play?' I want to know. He thinks for a moment and then says:
>
> 'Yeah it was alright, but you guys really should've mentioned the names of the towns in Guatemala where massacres happened and why were they all dressed in black? They didn't look like soldiers, *guerrilleros* or *campesinos*[14] at all, they were all wearing the same thing and that is not what people looked like back then. I know what they looked like; I saw it with my own eyes.' (Fieldnotes 12/06/2018)

[12] This is a term commonly used in Chiapas referring to mini vans used for public transport.

[13] The phrases that appear here in quotation marks are paraphrased adaptations of what people said as they appear in my fieldnotes.

[14] 'Farmers' (my translation).

Marianne Hirsch notes that 'postmemory is not identical to memory' (2008: 109) and precisely the distinction between lived memory and staged postmemorial display becomes clear when Don Gonzalez insists on the play's failure to authentically represent 'what really happened'. Don Gonzalez's account takes issue with what he deems to be a 'misrepresentation' of the events he saw 'with his own eyes'. The young actors' postmemorial mediation and imagination suddenly stand in contrast to the claims of truth and authenticity made by Don Gonzalez. These clashes between contemporary witness accounts and the staged postmemorial performances showcase the work that postmemory does and how it engages young people in a process of making, imagining, embodying, and performing the past rather than factually remembering an experience; 'the index of postmemory (as opposed to memory) is the performative index, shaped more and more by affect, need and desire as time and distance attenuate the links to authenticity and "truth"' (Hirsch 2008: 124).

The dispute about the 'authentic' representation of the past brings other contemporary conflictive dynamics to the forefront, especially regarding the social dynamics between older and younger residents in La Gloria. During an interview, Ivan, one of the young actors, said:

> The older people here don't think much of us young people [...] I think the majority of them would say that we young people are not like back then anymore […] that we are just out there smoking and drinking […] that we don't give a damn about anything and don't even care about working and I think they would even say that the youth here is going to shit.[15]

I came across these conflicts in many different domains of everyday life in La Gloria. It was common for young people to feel misunderstood by the older residents, and for older residents to lament over the younger people's failure to uphold their customs. In numerous conversations young residents expressed how they felt excluded from town-wide decisions

[15] Interview 05/09/2018 (my translation).

and that older residents dismissively talked about them as the 'good-for-nothing' generation. These tensions are present in Don Gonzalez's lament of the young actors' failure to represent history 'in the right way', as he seems to have misunderstood their artistic interpretation and mediated performance of the La Gloria-story. These conflicts give way to questions that inquire the ownership of history – more specifically, 'What do these tensions between different generations' ways of knowing and representing the past tell us about their relation to history, to the future, and to one another?'

The relationship described by Diana Taylor (2003) between the archive and the repertoire as modalities of memory comes to mind here. The archival forms of remembrance 'from the beginning sustain power' since they are linked to myths of endurance (transcending time and space), as well as possessing a supposed nature of incorruptibility, being 'immunized against alterity' (Taylor 2003: 19). In contrast, 'repertoire', refers to the embodied acts of memory that are considered ephemeral and nonreproducible types of knowledge which could be prone to manipulation. Taylor describes how these two modalities of memory 'exist in a constant state of interaction', however, also how 'the tendency has been to banish the repertoire to the past' (2003: 21). Coming back to our example, we can understand Don Gonzalez's statement about historic authenticity as a claim to his direct eye-witness accounts being the type of archival memory which supposedly is resistant to change. Don Gonzalez stresses a certain authority that his account, as an eye-witness, has over the way in which young La Gloria-residents imagine the past. His claim is that what he saw with his own eyes cannot be changed and that any attempt of representing it, will have to strive to come close to his account. The insinuated authority of the archive is juxtaposed with the seemingly subordinate embodied forms of knowledge and memory (which Taylor describes as repertoire) and their representation through the *Jocox*-group's performance. However, Don Gonzalez is not the only person making claims of authenticity.

> It is the last week before the first showing of the play and one of the first times Matias joins us for a whole session to rehearse how his narration will fit in with the scenes already developed by the group. We are in the middle of rehearsing a scene that shows the re-building of livelihoods in the UNHCR camps in 1982-1983 immediately after the first mass-exodus. In pairs the young actors are creating images with their bodies representing different tasks such as lighting a fire, making *tortillas*, and most importantly, re-building houses. A couple of weeks earlier we had a conversation with the group about how to display these actions. It was agreed that the use of props would complicate many of the procedures on stage and we decided that this scene would mostly rely on gestures and bodily expression. Matias looks at Danny and Ivan who use their invisible hammers and nails to construct an equally invisible house. The scene stops and the young people turn to Matias to say hello. We form a circle and I point out that with Matias, we now have someone here amongst us, who lived exactly these experiences *en carne propia*[16]. Matias must have been two or three years old when people were living in the camps. Everyone is looking at Matias now and he explains: 'Well yes, you're doing well, but pay attention to the details of what you are showing.' He turns to Danny and Ivan: 'Look, for example, in the camps people were living in tents not in houses, there was no wood, there were no nails, it was all plastic sheets and branches; that's how we lived.' (Fieldnotes 01/06/2018)

Matias's role as a narrator within the play meant that he became an integral part of the creative process itself, which further opened up analytical spaces that illustrate notions of the relationships between eyewitnesses and those born after the events. Matias's claim is similar to Don Gonzalez's: he also appeals to an authentic representation of the events. However, he is doing so from a genealogically different perspective. Matias himself (genealogically speaking), belongs to what could be called 'the generation in-between'. He experienced *la violencia* and *el refugio* as a very young child, most likely having been too

[16] Literally 'in one's own flesh' (my translation). This is a frequent phrase in Spanish meaning 'first-hand experience'.

young to actively participate, and potentially remembering very little of the events' details. His role as an intermediate in the genealogical tapestry of memory in La Gloria, creates links within the sometimes-tense relationships between the generations. Within the process of the play's development Matias often took on the role of a 'bridge' between the eyewitnesses that experienced the violence and fled as adults, and the young participants who were born many years after. This is reiterated by his role as narrator of the annual re-telling during the patron-saint celebration, which Matias himself calls a 'reminder' and an appeal directed at the younger residents to give continuity to the telling of this narrative.

The young actors who have heard Matias tell the La Gloria-story multiple times throughout their upbringing, decided to make his narration a central part of the play. It is exactly here where the seemingly archival (historical) eye-witnessed memory (in form of Matias's narration[17]) and young people's postmemorial repertoire of imagination and mediation collide, interact, and sometimes clash with each other. The participants decided to include Matias in the play as a narrator, representing the generally-accepted and reproduced La Gloria-story, which can be read as an effort to maintain a certain connection to the archival 'authenticity' and social authority of former generations. It seems that the young group-members felt a need to validate their 'version' of the La Gloria-story by connecting it to the already approved and commonly accepted historic account that initiates the most important festivity in town.

The La Gloria-story starts with the 'Akateko-ethnogenesis' (the appearance of Saint Michael a narrative that has been circulating since the evangelisation of the region in the 16th and 17th century). In their play the *Jocox*-members portray the appearance of Saint Michael, thus, establish a metaphysical and perennial link to their predecessors. This link goes further than relating to those who were alive in the 1980's, many of whom the young actors will still have met in person. The link to the 'ethnogenesis' rather creates an ontological connection to the whole tempo-spatially disperse spectrum of *antepasados*[18] and the very

[17] That is based on what has been told as history in La Gloria since the first *Feria de San Miguel* in 1985.

[18] 'Ancestors' (my translation).

origins of the Akatekos as a people. It is a claim of specific importance in a cosmological landscape where ancestral connectivity plays a major role. Pre-hispanic *costumbre*[19] is rarely practiced in town, however, ancestral authority continues to play a major role in many domains. Both older and younger residents in La Gloria refer back to the generations before them in order to justify decisions made in the present. It continues to be a strong argument for any type of situation to invoke the ways of *nuestros abuelitos*[20] – a term that is used to refer to the whole spectrum of ancestors. In this case the *Jocox*-members strengthen their case of telling the town's history from their perspective. Storytelling and memory interact with ancestral connectivity; 'Stories are thus like ancestors [...] so too in time do stories become ancestral, abstracted from our individual preoccupations so that they may articulate, as myths, a vision of a shared humanity' (Jackson 2002: 250).

It is important to clarify that the publicly and collectively told La Gloria-story should not be taken at face-value when it comes to memory. Neither Don Gonzalez's own account as an eye-witness nor Matias's intervention from the perspective of 'in-between', and even less so the La Gloria-story itself, are unmediated archival accounts and therefore, not unbiased or 'resistant to change' as Taylor describes it (2003: 19). Generations of postmemorial mediation through telling and re-telling are implicit in all of them. Especially the uniformly told La Gloria-story has been mediated, altered, and interpreted in its transmission from generation to generation, thus, forming 'a collective imaginary shaped by public, generational structures of fantasy and projection [...] a shared archive of stories and images that inflect the transmission of individual and familial remembrance' (Hirsch 2008: 114). The narration however is strategically treated as 'perpetual truth' in certain moments to reiterate contemporary hierarchies.

[19] Literally 'custom'; the term encompasses ritualistic practice and cosmovisions that exist in Mesoamerica and are labelled 'Maya'. The pantheistic nature of *costumbre* puts the spiritual connection to 'mother nature' and the *antepasados* into the centre of worship where for example, the moon, water, trees, animals, etc. are linked to and treated as ancestors (Cochoy Alva 2006: 63-67).

[20] Literally 'our grandparents' (my translation).

The questions this article started with involved the ownership of history. As we can see, the tense and productive relationship between postmemory and memory provides a helpful lens through which we can see and understand the young participants' postmemorial storytelling and performance. The analysis of the archive / repertoire binary has shown how young people actively participate in the making of memory through narratives. By expressing their concerns and critiques of the present embedded within the most important narrative of La Gloria's history (what I have called 'La Gloria-story'), they establish a connection between themselves and the past; thus reinforce their belonging to the recent as well as ancestral collective genealogy.

Storytelling between Ancestral Past and Contemporary Division

At several stages of the creative process conversations within *Jocox* came to the topic of contemporary issues that exist within La Gloria. Just as the initial title of the project, Past-Present-Future (*Yetu'-Nanik-Satajtoj*), suggested, investigating the past naturally led to collective thinking and analysing of the present and future. The political, economic, and religious divisions came up frequently in our group-debates, which is why the young participants decided to incorporate them into the play.

> The first public showing of the play almost reaches its end, the young actors are portraying the foundation of La Gloria by showing infrastructural advances of the 1990's (the building of the clinic, the water-well, schools and electricity-posts). This is usually the moment where the scope of the La Gloria-story ends; the young actors, however, remain on stage and form a circle. They drink a glass of water which represents the foundation of the water-well, then suddenly one of them steps into the circle and shouts the word 'politics', makes a gesture of pulling 'invisible strings' which leads the other actors to be pulled around on stage. Everybody ends up in uncomfortable body positions, dispersed randomly on stage. Another actor steps forward and yells 'Economy', again causing the other actors to be pulled around on stage. (Fieldnotes 05/06/2018)

Jocox-group displaying the 'division scene' during the first public showing of the play in La Gloria. 05/06/2018 Copyright Octavio Hernandez

It is during this scene that the play deviates from the uniformly told La Gloria-story. Despite being the play's shortest scene, it is here where young actors make a direct statement which links their own theatrical production to contemporary issues that dominate La Gloria's day-to-day life. The divisions are felt by the young La Gloria-residents who are invested in the ways adults divide along a variety of lines. A range of socio-economic factors divide families and individuals, for example, households regularly split into different political party-fractions (intensely felt during the 2018 national election campaigns). There is also the division into different religious denominations (specifically catholic and evangelic), which is felt rather permanently. And economic differences that further cause separation and conflict, especially, between households which receive large sums of remittances and those who do not. Such divisions are oftentimes framed as 'adult problems' by the young people, which reiterates the tense relationships between the generations (as we have seen in the interaction with Don Gonzalez and in the opinion Ivan voiced that 'adults don't think much of us young people').

However, young people do not seem to think much of adults either, or at least during the play's development I heard a lot of critical voices about the ways La Gloria is run. In the play these observations are expressed in the short scene described above. The positioning of the scene about contemporary local hierarchies is important to highlight. The young actors' own opinions and contributions are placed right after the end of what the La Gloria-story would usually cover. Working the binary of the two memory-modalities that Taylor mentions (archive and repertoire), she concludes that 'the archive and the repertoire [...] usually work in tandem' (2003: 21); and this is precisely one of the main points of the article. The young interlocutors' postmemorial, performative repertoire is shaped by 'archival' memory and their performances are embedded in a collective repertoire of narratives. In their performances, the young actors fuse and mesh aspects from the domain of widely accepted and uniformly told memory-narratives (La Gloria-story) together with their rather ephemeral and present-oriented aspects stemming from their own observations, opinions, and critiques of their surroundings. The young people here actively participate not only in the telling and re-telling of their town's history but also in the making and re-making of collective memory, grounding their narratives in the 'archival' and accepted uniformities transmitted through genealogical lines, however, also adding their very own ideas and opinions to the account.

Ancestral connectivity allows the young actors to couch their own concerns and opinions within a continuum of ancestral storytelling. Through their active participation they manage to contextualise and situate themselves within the 'story of their town/people', thus drawing on their ancestors' authority to give weight to their own message. So when the young actors point out the political, economic, and religious divisions in town, after having portrayed their own version of the La Gloria-story, they are not speaking just as themselves anymore, but with the weight of history, tradition, and continuity behind them. Through postmemorial performance the young people's contemporary claims and concerns seize to be singular and isolated opinions but rather become collective claims that result from a shared history. Contemporary concerns and claims merge with the performances of postmemorial repertoires in order to create potentialities of collective identification with the action on stage.

Anticipatory Memory-in-the-making: Migration-gossip, Storytelling, and Future Aspirations

The play ends with the two young people from the very first scene re-appearing on stage. One wears a backpack ready to go to the US and the other comes to say goodbye. Ivan asks Yeni to look after his mother and siblings while he is gone; Yeni tells him to take care of himself throughout the journey and hands him a bottle of water: 'Here, you will need it'. They hug and each one goes their way.

Two young actors from the *Jocox*-group displaying the farewell scene during a public showing in Nuevo San Juan Chamula (Chiapas) 27/08/2018 Copyright Malte Gembus

Stories about past migration are present in La Gloria. However, an equally common trope in daily conversations are stories about present-day migration (to the US) which also made their way into the theatre play. In La Gloria friends, relatives, neighbours, and *conocidos*[21] regularly debate who just left and who came back, who is sending money from *El Norte* and who just lost their job, who is doing well and *a quien le va mal*[22]. Older people who came to Chiapas as refugees in the 1980's relate to these migration-narratives and stories through their own experiences. Younger La Gloria residents, most of whom reckon with leaving at one point or another, are exposed to and invested in the narratives and expectations regarding migration as a future prospect, trying to learn from successes and mistakes of the ones who left before them. Young people find themselves in an interesting position located between different layers and temporalities of migration. They are situated in between their grandparents' refugee experiences in form of postmemorial imagining and repertoire, while their own future-aspirations are continually shaped by the tales and stories that circulate about migrating and sending remittances.

Young people imagine retrospectively (postmemory), as well as anticipatorily, when they aspire to yet-to-be-lived futures within a continuum of migration as the principal source of their own and their family's subsistence. The young *Jocox* members playfully mediate the stories from the past and include them in their own project of self-making, while they also partake in the creation of new forms of memory through anticipatory storytelling – the memory of contemporary migration with all its inherent expectations and possibilities. The ambivalent notions and emotions attached to migration narratives are embedded in a wider system of economic necessity, however, develop a dynamic and importance of their own through consistent re-telling. Far from being static, unchangeable, or 'archival', memories are in constant creation and re-formation, engaged in the flux of real-life trajectories: a form of quotidian contemporary memory emerges that finds its expression and meaning in the play through the interaction between actors and audience, through telling and listening.

[21] 'Acquaintances' (my translation).

[22] 'Who is not doing good' (my translation).

Bellino describes young Guatemalans as 'stuck' in a situation of 'wait-hood' in the 'liminal condition between *Guatemala at war* and *Guatemala after war*' (2017: 10). In this context, quotidian decisions of 'embracing or avoiding risk [...] when to act and when to withdraw' (2017: 12), as well as different forms of violence become expressions of their active participation. Young people in La Gloria experience waithood similarly in-between different temporalities of migration. They have neither come to Chiapas as refugees in the 1980's nor have they migrated to the US (yet)[23] in order to send remittances back to La Gloria. However, far from being passive, the liminal space of waithood is filled with young people actively invested in stories about past and future. The concerns about the future due to a lack of opportunities and hope is felt by young people in Guatemala and in the Guatemalan diaspora alike. The desires and expectations to counteract precarity by ways of migration specifically stems from growing up in a situation of wait-hood. The respective imagination and telling of such futures link different temporalities of migration. The young *Jocox*-members actively participate in retrospective storytelling when performing postmemorial repertoires about *la violencia* and *el refugio* (mediated with their very own contemporary concerns and opinions). However, their contemporary lives (and future aspirations) are also profoundly shaped by the omnipresent narratives around migration as one of the most pressing issues in the here and now.

Migration is not only a constant trope of conversation but deeply affects the material and social tapestry of town: individuals negotiate its significance differently according to their own experience (first or second-hand) and the context within which it is talked about. The complexities of these processes mean that migration narratives take different forms which can span from the genre of a warning-tale to the telling of an adventure-story. Among the many ways in which migration stories are narrated and negotiated one aspect is specifically relevant to our discussion of young people's role in the making and re-making of memory

[23] At least that was the case at the end of fieldwork in 2018; since then (as of March 2020) most of the 12 young people involved in the theatre play have left La Gloria.

in La Gloria. I want to focus on the aspect of migration as a 'Rite of Passage' which speaks to underlying, intergenerational structures and relationships in town.

Migration is reflected in the play through the beginning and end scenes, which frame the entire story (the two young actors that say goodbye to each other). It was unthinkable for the group not to give the contemporary emigration some space within the play, however, instead of creating a scene of its own it was decided to use the farewell-story as a framing device that brings the stories from the past into the here and now. The topic of migration and the narratives around it formed part of the group's creative process since their lives as fifteen- sixteen- or seventeen-year-olds are constantly framed by migratory expectations and desires:

> It is a weekday in March, the commemorative event and the first public showing of the theatre play are still at least eight weeks away. I am sitting on the *plaza* with Marco who has been one of the most regular participants in the creative workshops. We are waiting for the rest of the group to arrive and kill time doing a bit of chit-chat and cutting papers in half in preparation for an activity. Marco's face suddenly turns serious when he says: 'Malte, I have to tell you something.' I put the scissors down and look at him. He continues: 'I might not be able to participate in the event after all. It's not because I don't like what we do or anything, it's more that I don't think I will be here – like – I will soon leave to the "other side", maybe already after the vacations'. I am a bit disappointed since he had been an integral part of the group so far but also don't want to make him feel bad so I say: 'Well the school-holidays start in June, after the event so you could still take part.' 'Noooo', Marco exclaims, 'not the end of term holidays, I am talking about theeeese holidays, right now after Easter. You know both of my siblings have asthma and the medication is expensive, and well, we have a *conocido* who is reliable and organises these journeys, but he is leaving very soon so this my chance'.

> I realise that Marco looks worried and am not quite sure what to do with the situation. Do I tell him about the dangers of the journey (things I have only heard but not seen for myself)? Do I remind him of the importance of finishing his high-school degree? Or do I abstain from giving him any advice at all? I ask him how he feels about leaving. His face changes immediately. He smiles at me and now looks almost enthusiastic. 'Well I don't know what is going to happen, but I've heard so much about that place and I want to see it. Go there to see and experience different things, you know? But yeah at the same time I am sad about leaving everybody behind here; my family, friends and all the other people in town'. (Fieldnotes 12/03/2018)

Excitement plays a role in the way Marco talks about his anticipated journey, however, mixed with nervousness. Nervous-excitement seems to be a rather typical feeling for a young man in his last year of high-school, who is reckoning with different options for the future. In Marco's case this occurs within a framework of inter-family and town-wide pressures and expectations. Marco is the first-born of his family, which means that his desire to leave is initially driven by economic necessity. However, now being in a position where leaving becomes a real possibility, emotions of nervous excitement are invoked which make us think of general sentiments related to young adults leaving home for the first time. Despite the drastically different circumstances, I could relate to Marco's excitement which made me remember my own eagerness to explore other places when I was his age and left my family-home in Germany to work for an NGO in Guatemala.

Migration manifests itself in La Gloria in both concrete and pliable ways which are inter-connected. Two (or more)-storey houses and large (and expensive) *trocas*[24] stand as material manifestations of remittances, fuelling the 'successful migrant' narratives that circulate in town. The re-telling of these stories together with the concrete material symbols are connoted with expectations towards young people growing up here. For many adults

[24] Spanglish word for 'pick-up truck' or any other type of SUV, used in Mexico particularly for large, new and expensive looking models.

in La Gloria the departure of a young family/community member represents a certain *prueba de fuego*[25], which shows their capability to provide for others. This is specifically true for young men who are often seen as the family-figures responsible to provide economically and materially, however, it is not uncommon for young women to migrate, especially, when they have family 'on the other side'.

Both, young men and young women, are more likely to be taken seriously as full and active members of their families (and community[26]) once they manage to send money via remittances. As Weston notes for the migrating community of Todos Santos Cuchumatán (Guatemala): 'While young men most frequently made the journey to the States during my fieldwork it was becoming almost as common for young women to the extent where several people where referring to it locally as a rite of passage' (2019: 23-24). While these expectations are strongly felt by young La Gloria-residents, they also open up seemingly exciting opportunities of escaping the controlled and limiting *pueblo*-life (as an adolescent), which gives us an insight into the ambivalent world of Marco's emotions – in between the extremes of feeling apprehensive and exhilarated. The telling of stories that link in with notions of coming-of-age confirms the practice as locally and socially meaningful and represent one of the ways in which migration is understood and experienced locally.

In the theatre play, the young actors ground their own contemporary opinions within a continuum of past narratives (the La Gloria-story) which enables their active participation in local hierarchies. Storytelling (retrospective and anticipatory memory) in combination with the actual physical act of migration gives us an insight into these 'strategies' to make their voices heard i.e. the symbolic-ephemeral and physical-concrete ways in which young people claim their active role and place in local hierarchies. In the play, the young actors situate themselves within the continuum of ancestral storytelling, thus, draw on the authority of past narratives to make their own voices heard. At the same time, they emigrate

[25] Literally 'trial of fire,' a phrase frequently used to describe an indicative or decisive test, similar to 'litmus test' in English.

[26] As is evidenced by the recent appointment of several early- or mid-30-year-old returnees from the US as local representatives.

(and engage in the narratives around it) in order to be recognised as full and active community-members. The young people's active participation in form of storytelling is framed by structures of family and genealogical hierarchies and expectations (i.e. migration as coming of age), however, more than a simple reaction to these structural boundaries, I suggest that these strategies and narrative-acts are modes of participation in their own right. They are constituted in what Ortner describes as the 'dialectical synthesis of the opposition between "structure" (or the social world as constituted) and "agency" (or the interested practices of real people)' (2006: 16-17).

Conclusions: Giving Meaning to Memory Through Narration and Storytelling

Narration and storytelling are central aspects in the process of creating memory, and thus, link different temporalities of migration. The young actors participate in retrospective storytelling when performing postmemorial repertoires about the *conflicto armado* and *el refugio* (on and off-stage) and their contemporary lives (and future aspirations) are continuously shaped by migration and its attached narratives which create expectations, fears as well as possibilities. The young interlocutors are subject to and actors in the telling of stories about migration when they playfully partake in the creation of new and contemporary forms of memory through storytelling. The ambivalent notions and emotions inherent in past and contemporary migration narratives are interconnected and give us an insight into the complex picture of the ways in which migration is talked about in La Gloria.

Young people take ownership of past and contemporary narratives, and thus claim their active role in the making of memory, always framed by hierarchies, intergenerational tensions, and expectations. These aspects are not singular to migration tales, however, equally link in with the postmemorial processes of the young interlocutors' 'past-making'. Through consistent re-telling these narratives develop a dynamic and social importance of their own. Young people's strategies to be heard (which include active participation in narrative-acts as well as emigration itself) re-negotiate their relationships to older residents and subsequently their position in local hierarchies.

The young participants in the theatre process have neither come to Chiapas as refugees in the 1980's (most were born in the early 2000's) nor have they embarked on a migration-journey to the United States or elsewhere (yet). The lack of first-hand experiences, however, does not prevent them from actively taking part in the telling of both retrospective and anticipatory memory-narratives. These processes of memory and identification always seem to be happening elsewhere. For the young interlocutors, La Gloria appears to be a transitional but at the same time safe space. The core aspects of their future-selves, however, are formed elsewhere. They are rooted in a past shaped by the accounts of the 'refugee-generation' and their anticipations drawn from the collective telling of migration. La Gloria as a place, is key in giving continuity between the imaginations of the past and future of these 'transitional' young people (who have neither come here nor left), which is reiterated by the active role they play in the making of memories and identities in town.

About the Author

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'This is My Life after all':

Aspirations and Ways of Life in a Taiwanese Free School

Wai Lok Ng (Independent Researcher)

Abstract

This article examines a Taiwanese 'free' school, which I name as Wholesome School, based on an ethnography of forty-six days participating and observing teachers' and students' lives on campus. Taiwan, a democratic country under the influence of the progressive education movement, provided fertile soil for education innovation. A group of educators detested the state's factory schooling model, which upholds a single ideal of academic success and the Confucius value of filial piety and obedience, and founded Wholesome. These teachers reinvented the social game rules of schooling and endowed students with liberty, equality, and independence. In the boarding school, students lived idiosyncratically and negotiated with the others on their freedom and responsibility. Responsible for their own choices, Wholesome students learned to discover their selves, make autonomous decisions, and respect individuality as well as diversity. From this research, it is evident that while social structures have a significant power in structuring habitus and limiting choices, social actors are aware of the rules of the structures they are embedded in and the serious stakes involved in playing the games and are capable of creatively accepting, rejecting, and modifying such rules by means of their agency and reflexivity.

Introduction

'This is my life after all,' Pai-han[1], an eighteen-year-old Taiwanese student in his final secondary school year, answered solemnly when I asked about his parents' disapproval of him not pursuing a university degree. On his way home, Pai-han shared with me his lack of direction; 'I don't want to study something that I am not passionate about just for the sake of getting a degree… like all others do.' One year before taking his university entrance exams, Pai-han decided to drop out and enrol in an alternative school, which I will call Wholesome School. 'Using travelling as a metaphor, studying in Wholesome is like switching from a guided tour to a custom trip. I can finally listen to my voice and explore myself (tansuo ziji),' he surprised me again with his insights.

Similar to Summerhill School, Sudbury schools, and Neue Schule Hamburg, Wholesome called itself a 'free' school (ziyou xuexiao) with democratic education (minzhu jiaoyu). The students of the boarding school are responsible for their own education, and the school is governed by direct democracy with equal-weight votes from teachers and students. Despite the freedom granted by the school, Pai-han still felt pressured by the expectations of his parents, previous teachers, and schoolmates to enrol in a university. Having lived at the school for forty-six days, I was intrigued by the conflicting expectations among students, teachers, parents, and society. The students' stories of self-discovery prompted me to wonder: Why did these Taiwanese students at Wholesome put so much emphasis on leading a self-determined lifestyle and aspiring to professions that could fulfil their self-actualisation? How did the school as an institution help create this culture of individuality?

Climbing up the education ladder in Hong Kong, I had almost always been a 'good' studious student in my teachers' and parents' eyes. During my undergraduate Psychology degree, I met people from all sorts of backgrounds, with wonderful hobbies and elaborate

[1] Pseudonyms, following Taiwanese romanisation conventions of names, are employed to preserve privacy and Mandarin Chinese Pinyin is used to romanize the names.

repertoires of 'non-textbook' knowledge. I compared myself with them, feeling incompetent and disgruntled. Inspired by various developmental theories, I imagined who I would be, had I had a different upbringing. Fuelled by this personal query, I encountered the field of education innovation and decided to explore the issue in an Anthropology MA degree specializing in childhood, youth, and education. My goal was to investigate the lives of students attending schools different from conventional state institutions.

In Hong Kong, with the help of the principal of an alternative school, I landed a visit to Wholesome. On the way to the campus, the taxi driver rhetorically asked me, 'The school you're going to… it's the one where rich kids don't need to study, right'? At this moment, I knew I was going to the right place. Same as me, Wholesome's Taiwanese students were from an ethnic Chinese background which normally upholds academic success and obedience to authority. Yet, compared to my youth, these students grew up in an utterly different environment. In this article, I will delineate the historical and political constituents of Wholesome and the social structure as laid out by the teachers and make a case for how Wholesome students appropriated the value of self-determination and individuality from the school.

Social and Cultural Reproduction: Playing a 'Serious Game'

Theories of social and cultural reproduction offer rich insights into the formation of one's values, desires, and habits. As Pierre Bourdieu theorised (1977; 1987), through their cumulative experience in a social structure, children acquire a 'habitus'. This concept refers to an unconsciously embodied cultural capital, which subsumes one's values, ways of life, dispositions, and a taste for what is appealing and what is not. To illustrate, Diane Reay (1995) researched girls' behaviour in two primary schools in the US. One school was predominantly attended by students of white middle-class families, while the other was mainly multi-ethnic and working-class. She discovered that the girls of the former school were more readily disrespectful of their teachers, causing trouble to the dinner ladies, and actively ignoring their classmates of ethnic minorities. Those in the latter school,

contrastingly, were more willing to help their classmates and less apt to challenge or demean their teachers. Reay argued that these children were exposed to different sets of social experience that were specific to their ethnicity, gender, and social class, and thus acquired distinct behaviours. In other words, individuals within a similar social context of class, race, gender, opportunity structures, and community norms tend to appreciate certain ways of life more than others.

However, ethnographic research has shown that children are not passive recipients of their social structures but active agents in negotiating interpersonal dynamics. This is due to the fact that an actor may live in multiple structures with contradicting values and thus can creatively interpret their idiosyncratic circumstances and choose which values to uphold or disdain (MacLeod 2009; Patthey-Chavez 1993). For example, as described in the seminal work of Paul Willis (1977), who spent time with a group of secondary students in an industrial neighbourhood in the UK, despite the school's promotion of meritocracy and obedience to authority, students from working-class families often formed gangs that resisted school cultures and instead valued labour-intensive jobs and delinquency. Echoing their blue-collar fathers, they perceived schoolwork and management-level jobs as soft and feminine. Moreover, they preferred themselves to be tough and masculine and prepared themselves for the hard, manual factory work that they would perform in the future. Therefore, the students' interactions with their parents, peers, and school authorities could function as an arena of cultural conflict and acculturation that moulded their habitus.

Capturing this idea that students are simultaneously structured by and restructuring their school culture, Bradley Levinson (2001) borrowed Sherry Ortner's notion of 'serious game' (1997) to study a Mexican secondary school. To bridge the ideas of structure and agency, as well as practice and theory, Ortner theorised that,

> social life is culturally organised and constructed, in terms of defining categories of actors, rules and goals of the games, and so forth; that social life is precisely social, consisting of webs of relationship and interaction between multiple, shiftingly interrelated subject positions, none of which can be extracted as autonomous

> "agents"; and yet at the same time there is ''agency," that is, actors play with skill, intention, wit, knowledge, intelligence. The idea that the game is "serious" is meant to add into the equation the idea that power and inequality pervade the games of life in multiple ways, and that, while there may be playfulness and pleasure in the process, the stakes of these games are often very high. (1997: 12)

Levinson (2001) discovered that despite coming from heterogenous backgrounds of ethnicity, class, and gender, Mexican secondary school students did not divide themselves across social positions and orientations. Instead, they appropriated the school's discourse on equality and solidarity and valued their similarities. For instance, pursing individual excellence by outperforming the others was scorned by the students, but the practices of sharing homework and helping others received praise from their peers. Despite being aware of their social differences, the students continued to forge a culture of equality by welcoming, declining, and shaping the rules of the social game, and negotiating their positions within it. Drawing on this understanding of the 'serious game', this article investigates first, how Wholesome students make meaning out of their schooling experiences and interactions with other students, teachers, parents, and outsiders and secondly, how they construct their selves and ways of life through notions of individuality.

Free Schools and the Progressive Education Movement

Free schools and democratic schools are alternative schooling models that have been devised by the progressive education movement. Dating back to the 1750s, the American and French Revolutions sparked the imagination of a fairer world with universal respect for reasoning, rule of law, and science (Reese 2001). In the movement, the conventional schooling system was deemed a 'factory model' that viewed teachers as 'superintendents' and children as 'subjects' to be 'banked' with knowledge that would allow them to serve businesses and factories (Cuban, 1972; Freire 2005; Katz, 1971; LeCompte 1978; Leland & Kasten 2002). Critics further condemned this form of child-rearing and schooling as 'mind-numbing, unnatural, and pernicious, a sin against childhood' (Reese 2001: 2).

Progressive educators and philosophers instead proclaim that children are active, innocent, and curious learners in need of a pedagogy that liberates them and provides them with basic human rights (Archard, 2004; Reese 2001). Several new schools with alternative educational approaches have been established over the years, such as Maria Montessori's schools in Italy (Thayer-Bacon 2012), Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf schools in Germany (Uhrmacher 1995), and A.S. Neill's Summerhill School in the UK (Stronach & Piper 2008). In particular, the Summerhill School, the Sudbury Valley School in Massachusetts in the US, and the Democratic School of Hadera in Israel are examples of 'free' schools (Graubard 1972). Their teachers aim at enabling students to explore and express their selves by allowing them to take initiative in their learning and to participate in school governance.

Taiwanese education has undergone its own progressive movement over the years. According to Chang Kyung-Sup, East Asian societies have recently been experiencing a 'compressed modernity', whereby 'economic, political, social and/or cultural changes occur in an extremely condensed manner in respect to both time and space, and in which the dynamic coexistence of mutually disparate historical and social elements leads to the construction and reconstruction of a highly complex and fluid social system' (2010: 444). Taiwan, which is also undergoing rapid transformation, currently exhibits a clash of fundamentally contradictory values among its pre-existing tradition, colonial and postcolonial cultural components, as well as modern and postmodern temporalities. At the focal point of social change, schooling and parenting strategies are in a state of constant contestation and morphing (Lan 2018).

Prior to the collapse of Chinese Imperialism, the government in Taiwan appointed civil servants on the basis of Keju, an examination that evaluates students on their understanding of Confucianism, a philosophy that emphasises respect for authority and tradition (Chou & Ching, 2012). The modern education system was introduced to the island during Japanese colonisation between 1895 and 1945. In 1949, after the defeat in the civil war with the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) retreated to Taiwan and claimed independence from the mainland. With the assistance of the US, which held Taiwan as the strategic frontline against communism during the Cold

War (Lan 2018), the country developed its modernised education system with an 'overt emphasis on the imported, US-based, English-oriented "official knowledge"' (Chou & Ching 2012: 73). The government, eager to support the industry and export-driven economy, sought to improve the country's educational level and workers' qualifications. Since then, state schools have adopted the American model of six primary, six secondary, and four tertiary school years.

The lifting of martial law in 1987 led to democratisation, introduced the values of liberty and multiculturalism, and incorporated people's voice into educational reform (Chou & Ching, 2012). In 1994, many Taiwanese citizens blamed the unacceptably high student suicide rate on the existing educational structure, which had an overly centralised curriculum and an ultra-competitive examination system. They marched on the streets in the April Tenth March to demand an education that valued 'humanism, democratisation, diversification, the development of science and technology, and internationalisation' (Kwok 2017: 56). The government implemented a reform that encouraged alternative pathways to universities, but public examinations' competitiveness was still intolerable among parents, teachers and students (Chou & Ching 2012; Lin & Tsai 2002). In the meantime, the introduction of the Western idea of providing children a 'happy childhood' (Lan 2018) turned Taiwan's highly competitive education system even more controversial.

Opposing the state-led educational system, some Taiwanese people soon began to found their own alternative pedagogies and schools, such as Montessori, Waldorf, and Confucius schools, as well as non-academic institutions, including technical, art, culinary, and indigenous schools. In response to these challenges, the government finally passed the Three-Type Acts of Experimental Education in 2014, which permitted citizens to legally establish and study in schools that do not abide by the government's mandatory curriculum (Liu 2015). From then on, schools that follow the government curriculum and those that do not are respectively called tizhinei (government schools) and tizhiwai (out-of-the-system experimental/alternative schools) (Wang 2018). It was in this historical and political context that in 1995 a group of protestors in the April Tenth March founded Wholesome School as a free democratic school.

The Site and Research

Wholesome is located on a 500-metre-high forested mountain in central Taiwan. Reaching the school by car and on foot from the nearest town requires fifteen minutes and one hour respectively. The students-to-teachers ratio is kept within seventy to ten. At the time of my research, the students were aged from ten to nineteen, but the teachers were also planning to branch out to primary education. Wholesome is a boarding school, and the students follow a bi-weekly schedule of ten consecutive school days followed by four days-off.

Wholesome parents come from all walks of life, such as project managers, professors, artists, politicians, and small business owners. The school charges a high school fee, NT$300,000 (£7500) per annum when the mean Taiwanese income at the time of my research was NT$573,708 (£14,300) (Ministry of Finance, Taiwan, 2017). This meant that the average Taiwanese parents had to spend more than half of their income on tuition fees. In contrast, public schools in Taipei City costs less than NT$16,000 (£400) and most private schools charge around NT$120,000 (£3000) (Taipei City Government, 2016). In a nutshell, during my research, alternative public and private schools were much cheaper and affordable than Wholesome. In this regard, most Wholesome families belong to the middle-class.

In total, I spent forty-six days among Wholesome students and teachers between April and July 2018. I lived in the teachers' dormitory, and while I could enter all rooms on campus freely, with the exception of the school office, I always asked for students' permission before entering their rooms. Due to the frequent visits by guests, the students appeared comfortable with my presence. I conducted my research in Mandarin, which I had previously learned in Hong Kong. I chatted informally with students and teachers, attended classes, meals, meetings, ceremonies, performances, open days, admission talks, and conferences. I tended to be quiet in order to minimise my intrusion and took brief observational notes in my notebook or smartphone, which I later developed fully on my laptop. I also examined the school's magazines, website, Facebook page, and meeting minutes.

Although I tried to interact with as many students as possible, regardless of their gender, personalities, and interests, I formed closer relationships with more sociable students, in particular three boys and three girls. Owing to the limited time and budget to complete my one-year self-financed Master's thesis, this investigation was restricted to the lives of current teachers and students for a short period of time, and did not address the lives of alumni and external social actors. Nonetheless, the participant observation, the written materials, and ordinary conversations under examination here provided a rich amount of information that helped me uncover the inner workings of the school.

Wholesome School

> Sometimes, we need to protect students from their parents and persuade them to let their children be and wait and see how they will grow. We do talk with the students too to see if they are still up for the education here. If they are not, they could always choose other schools.

Kuan-lin, the school's headteacher, explained what the Three-Party Meeting (sanfanghuitan) between teachers, parents and students was. It was the teachers' intention to set up Wholesome as a boarding school in order to isolate the students from the rest of their families and other communities and curtail the influence of outsiders (Liu 2015). As such, Wholesome can be seen as a subculture, defined by Stephen Duncombe as 'a group that has been cut off, or more likely has cut itself off, from the dominant society in order to create a shared, inclusive set of cultural values and practices' (2002: 7), and as a form of cultural resistance that challenges society's dominant educational ideology (Duncombe, 2007). This section will explain Wholesome's rationale to be isolated from the greater society and expound their reconstructed pedagogy.

Filial Piety: The Obstacle of Self-Actualisation

Wholesome teachers thought that students should be protected from the conventional teaching and parenting styles that 'dehumanised' (qurenxinghua) students by forcing them to renounce their individual selves for the collective 'good'. In particular, Wholesome principal, Chih-wei, interpreted the value of filial piety as a 'deep-rooted cultural structure of the East' (dongfang shencengciwenhua). Originated from ancient China, the Confucius philosophy of filial piety (xiao) was thought to be one of the major moral and behavioural codes in East Asia (Ikels 2004; Remmert 2020). Although the concept encompasses a gamut of ethical interpretations, it is generally understood as an intergenerational contract, whereby parents are obligated to provide emotional and material care for their children in childhood and, in return, children ought to assist their parents until old age. This code of exchange is also applicable to other relationships including husbands and wives, governors and citizens, and the senior and the junior (Jordan 1998). Across time and space, the particular content and manifestation of this behavioural code has changed with the idiosyncratic historical development of various societies, leaving the contract to have multiple versions in different East Asian countries (e.g. Kim, Kim, & Hurh 1991; Ikels 2004; Phua & Lou 2008; Sun 2017).

In modern urban Taiwan, the social debate on the fatal cases of children neglecting their dying parents amplified the moral obligation of young Taiwanese to provide for the elderly, but recent economic stagnation intensified the competition between them as earning enough resources became more difficult (Hsu 2007). This translates into high academic expectations, which connote good future job prospects, and a need for filial obedience to school teachers, who are senior and also impart knowledge for academic success. For instance, in Shaw's ethnographic studies of two Taiwanese schools (1991; 1994), students, especially marginal ones, faced immense pressure to supress their own desires and study hard for the greater good of their families and communities. On the contrary, their failure instigated them to seek intense sensations and pleasure through music, drugs, and mischief. Some Wholesome students also reported having experienced corporal punishment and humiliation in state schools due to disobedience or unsatisfactory

academic performance. For example, a student's primary school teacher used to rank-order students according to their overall school grades and ask those with the highest grades to choose their classroom seats first, leaving the poorest students to use leftover seats.

According to Wholesome teachers, filial-piety-based pedagogy falsely portrays adults as inherently authoritative and truthful, thus undermining students' in-born curiosity and capability. Chih-wei described state education at an alternative education conference as follows: 'We cut children's wings and blame them for not knowing how to fly. Kids ask questions when they are young but now, they don't know how and what to ask, just like those in our school admission interviews.' Vice-principal A-hung's theory of 'democratic fatigue' echoed that of Chih-wei: 'When the students encounter things that they don't like, they tend to tolerate and silently hope for a person in power to solve the problems. They would only carry on to be like so after graduation.' In short, pedagogical approaches based on filial piety negate students' agency, turn them hopeless and exhausted, and convince them that they have no power to question authority and change reality.

In contrast, Wholesome founders were fascinated by A.S. Neill's quote: 'I would rather see a school produce a happy street cleaner than a neurotic scholar' (as cited in Liu 2015: 94). The Wholesome website explained that, 'Human exists not for happiness (kwaile) but meaning (yiyi); meaning exists in the realisation of freedom; happiness is the by-product of freedom.' Referencing Isaiah Berlin's two concepts of liberty (2002), they expanded their guiding principles on the Wholesome website:

> Negative freedom is being free from coercion or having the right to be left alone. […] Positive freedom is a process, driven by internal spontaneous motivation, of making decisions and acting them out with dedication and seriousness, after a full understanding of all possibilities and limitations. It is also a commitment to one's self and the concomitant responsibilities.

In short, Wholesome teachers conceptualised personhood as being autonomous and free to pursue one's self-determined desires, and at the same time as being responsible for the others' freedom to be themselves.

Negative Freedom: Liberation from Coercion

The path to self-actualisation in Wholesome conceptualisation required negative freedom, meaning the liberation from external judgement and prohibition. One form of negative freedom came from students' ability to engage activities that were prohibited in government schools. For instance, unlike their Taiwanese peers who spent their entire day in class, Wholesome students were given the power to plan their daily schedule at their discretion. Moreover, they could freely select their coursework from a set of courses and decide independently whether to skip classes. One student sufficiently summed up the school structure, 'As long as we don't cause trouble to others, we can do anything.'

However, Wholesome teachers recognised that the exertion of one's will may inevitably violate others' negative freedom. As stated in the website, 'When children encounter conflicts, we willingly let them decide, and respect their democratic decision made through self-government'. The teachers maintained that a mechanism was needed in order for school inhabitants to resolve disputes and for the students to learn to be responsible for the others. This was executed in self-governing meetings (zizhihui) and a law court, both of which were organised by democratically elected students. In the meetings, teachers and students could draft, maintain, and abandon school rules by voicing their opinions and voting, with equal weight, for or against the proposals. Anyone could report cases that violated the rules and demand a form of punishment or repayment at the school court. Court cases and hearings were handled by student prosecutors and lawyers, who gathered evidence and gave sentences respectively.

In addition to the structural design of Wholesome, teachers were also committed to playing the 'serious game' of power and equality. I once overheard two teachers commenting on

students' behaviour, 'I was very happy to see the students disagreeing with us in zizhihui. I would have been more worried if they had blindly followed our opinions.' Instead of expecting the students to think like them, Wholesome teachers cared more about students' independent critical thinking. Moreover, teachers would often tease and play with their students, and discuss a wide range of topics, from romantic love and life choices to movie appreciation and mundane quotidian matters. Teachers would also be vigilant about the things they took for granted and tried to appreciate various ways of living; for instance, Chun-hsien once told me: 'The other day I found out that a student who plays a lot of computer games is also watching a lot of YouTube videos, communicating with other players, and participating in online forums, all in English! Good for him!' Finally, teachers preferred being addressed by their first names or nicknames, in contrast to government schools, where surnames are normally used, and downplayed their authority with the students. Upon my request to watch the graduation ceremony videos, Chia-yu admitted to having no power to speak on behalf of the students and instructed me to seek their permission. In short, once negative freedom was established at Wholesome, students were then able to engage positive freedom and explore themselves.

Positive Freedom: Self-Actualisation

Positive freedom is realised through exploring (tansuo) different activities and dedicating time and resources to anything that one may deem worthwhile. The following example provides an excellent illustration of positive freedom: 'If you haven't found a concrete topic to work on, does it mean that even if you have tried a lot of things during your time in Wholesome, you still have not had enough exploration of yourself (niziji)?', Chun-hsien, another vice-principal, rhetorically asked a group of graduating students who were preparing for their self-directed projects. He continued to describe how one alumnus, who did not know what to do after graduation, decided to videotape his journey cycling down from a tall mountain in Taiwan. This led him to discover his interest in photography and videography, and to subsequently apply to an art school.

Inspired by the Summerhill School in the UK at the early years of Wholesome, teachers here evolved to have their own educational philosophy of 'the person as the goal' (renweimudi, Liu 2015: 74). On many occasions, the teachers frequently asked the students questions like 'Who are you?', 'What do you want?', 'What do you think?' and 'How do you want to spend your time?'. In this direction, Wholesome had a course where students brainstormed questions and then chose to do short presentations on a few of them. Similarly, every two weeks, students held a committee intended to generate discussion questions based on recent events at school. While the teachers leading the small-group discussions invited students to voice their opinions, they never insisted when a student had nothing to say.

I argue that Wholesome teachers' trust in students' capacity to attain positive freedom was based on a view that is similar to Nikolas Rose's idea of personhood (1996). According to Rose, personhood in modern Western societies is permeated by a political, legal, and moral emphasis on individual rights and choice. Westerners come to understand themselves as 'psychological beings' who can 'interrogate and narrate themselves in terms of a psychological "inner life" that holds the secrets of their identity, which they are to discover and fulfil, which is the standard against which the living of an "authentic" life is to be judged' (23). Subscribing to this humanistic understanding, Wholesome teachers perceived students to have their own life history that shaped their bounded psychology, including their judgements, thoughts, actions, and emotions, and deliberately motivated them to understand themselves.

In short, Wholesome teachers despised the authoritarian culture of filial piety that is premised on the singular ideal of academic and occupational success. Children, who were understood to be inherently inquisitive and motivated, were subverted and 'damaged' within state schools and conventional family settings, and were thus transformed into obedient and pessimistic subjects. To Wholesome teachers, these wounded individuals were in need of 'healing' that would allow them to live meaningful lives, make self-determined decisions, and self-actualise. Wholesome teachers were careful, therefore, to play the 'serious game' and create a tolerating, accepting, and egalitarian environment, where students felt safe and empowered to explore and express themselves.

Wholesome Students

> I don't understand why. Everything [before Wholesome] was pre-arranged. I didn't have time to think about myself, like… what I wanted to do and who I was. During summer holidays, I always shuafei (wasted time). My school was so close to home that I didn't even know how to take the metro. School and home were the only things in my life.

In a badminton session, Hsiao-han, who came to me for a chat out of boredom, said that in primary school, her parents and teachers cancelled her favourite physical education and painting classes and instead forced her to do daily formative tests, take extra tutorial classes, and attend night-time study sessions (wanzixi) every day. She managed to enter a prestigious all-girls secondary school but there she was bullied. Once she was detained for slapping a girl who mocked her parents for having given birth to such a 'creep' (guaitai). From then on, Hsiao-han started to have mental issues and eventually dropped out. After one year, her parents discovered Wholesome; 'They did not know much about Wholesome, but they could enrol me pretty much anywhere different from the schools I had attended before.'

Upon arriving at Wholesome, she was still afraid of social interaction and weary of schoolwork, and spent a lot of time shuafei-ing alone, which, she thought, might have caused her to be bullied. In the first semester, her money and clothes were stolen and her bed was urinated on. She turned tired of being mistreated and reported the suspects in the student law court. Those found at fault eventually quit school voluntarily. At that difficult period, Hsiao-han, realizing that it felt empty (kongxu) not to pursue any goals, believed that it was the turning point in her life. 'I wanted to do something,' she said, denoting that she would shuafei less and 'improve herself' (lingzijigenghao). Taking classes and engaging in school activities were the choices she made at first. During her free time, she loved doing sports and reading health magazines. In two years, she said she had learnt to be independent (duli) and self-determining (zizhu): 'now I know how to take the metro on my own.' Meanwhile, after self-reflecting and talking with other school members, she realised

that she wanted to pick up her long-lost childhood interest, which was to draw and paint. Instead of finishing her final year at Wholesome, she applied for an alternative art school. At the time of writing this article, Hsiao-han had been accepted to the new school.

Just like Hsiao-han, every Wholesome student had a different story to tell, but a common thread could be identified. This section will illustrate their processes of self-discovery, when they were liberated and encouraged to explore and make decisions, their values of self-determination and individuality, and their ways of self-actualisation in face of diversity and obstacles.

Self-Discovery

Self-determination, self-exploration, and self-expression were all made possible in Wholesome, and this prompted students to comprehend that, firstly, they had been stifled by society and, secondly, that there were alternatives to such lifestyle.

Another student, Ssu-ying, told me, 'I knew that I could have my own opinion only after I saw my seniors arguing back at a teacher in class.' Having no pressure to obey anyone, Wholesome students could spend the whole day binge-watching movies, reading comics, or scrolling through their phones. Some students would label these activities as shuafei, which literally translates to 'playing like a deadbeat' and means wasting time. In addition, they ostensibly distinguished these time-wasting activities from the 'useful' ones, which included studying for classes, working out, playing instruments, assembling electronics, researching on Japanese music, mountain biking, writing poems or novels, and engaging in self-explorative activities, such as travelling around Taiwan on foot and surviving in the wilderness with limited supplies. The students said it would have been impossible to live so freely in a state school.

Moreover, this egalitarian atmosphere allowed students to regain their confidence and transform themselves. Tsung-wei, in his distinctive blue-shaded sunglasses, short ponytail, and signature tartan plaid trousers, also recounted his life-story to me. Before Wholesome, he considered himself an impulsive student:

> I would, as often as not, flip the table in front of the others, especially when I encountered injustice. The teachers would never listen to me. Even when I was right in a fight, they would punish us both. The very occurrence of conflicts between students was wrong. Their system was too conventional. But now I won't do so since I know people here listen to me. I can use rationality to explain myself.

Tsung-wei felt dignified in Wholesome as it provided him with the space to voice out his opinions and be heard. Through reflecting on their experiences, Wholesome students understood that they were capable of relying on themselves to attain their goals.

Every wholesome student had his or her own unique combination of life experiences and individual agency to interpret them. For example, Chia-jung was inspired by his seniors playing guitar and eventually fell in love with classical guitar music; Che-wei realised that he could be bisexual after interacting with a boy in an improvisation dance class; Ssu-ying discovered that she wanted to be a mountaineering doctor since she believed that she had been a caring rock-climbing and trekking instructor for juniors. The plethora of activities available to the students provided them with ample opportunities to try out different lifestyles and decide what aspirations they preferred. Relishing the liberty to make their own decisions and learn about themselves, Wholesome students see self-determination and individuality as important values to cherish and protect.

Self-Determination

Wholesome students' basic premise of action and non-action seemed to be mostly determined by themselves. One day, Che-wei was standing with his eyes closed under the pelting rain facing the forest. Curious, I asked him how it felt afterwards. He plainly said, 'Nothing much. I just wanted to try. It was just fine.' When I asked the students why they decided to do something, 'It seems interesting', 'It seems fun' and 'I don't know but I quite like it' were some popular responses. Conversely, 'I don't find the reason doing it' and 'I don't like it' were some justifications for skipping activities, such as going to school meetings or finishing an English-to-Chinese translation task for a class.

For Wholesome students, their subjective concern was neither getting good grades nor obeying authority but knowing and dedicating oneself to one's choices. Ssu-ying pitied that very few students in state schools autonomously aspired to be doctors and lawyers, and were rather mostly driven by high pay, social status and/or parents' and teachers' expectations. With a similar idea in mind, Hsin-hung told a visiting journalist that, 'I used to feel good about having good grades at school, but after coming to Wholesome I realised that there are more criteria than sheer academic success to judge a person.' Chun-hung's sharing to the school visitors in an open day could add to such thought: 'To me, what's important in Wholesome is not what exact path you choose after schooling but whether you know who you are and whether you have confidence in what you choose to do. This is the criteria I employ to judge the seniors.'

Furthermore, students disliked seeing the others' freedom undermined. At an alternative education conference, Pai-han found out about the teaching model of a culinary school, when the representative of the school proudly reported that her students learned how to socialise through authentic interactions in the context of restaurant internships. Returning from the event, Pai-han slammed the table and remonstrated with other students, 'Early socialisation? What about the students' own ideas? Are the orders to challenge themselves from that school genuinely what the students want?' Despite not having interacted with the students of that culinary school to find out the truth, Pai-han singlehandedly suggested that

those students were forced by the teachers to administer those tasks and questioned whether 'socialisation' at schooling ages meant being equalised with society and losing one's self.

Being able to decide for themselves was very, if not the most, important to Wholesome students. Once they identify their self-determined goals through self-discovery, they would proceed to actualise their selves.

Self-Actualisation

As seen in Chia-jung, Che-wei, Ssu-ying, and Hsiao-han's examples, when Wholesome students identified a hobby they liked, a lifestyle they preferred, and a future career to pursue, they took courses of action catered to their self-interests, even if this meant disobeying teachers and disagreeing with other students. For instance, while the founding teachers set a rule that no computer games were allowed at school, a few years ago, this rule was vetoed in zizhihui and two new ones were passed: (1) offering no Wi-Fi connection at night and every Saturday and (2) prohibiting any computer games from midnight to noon. Nonetheless, I had bumped into several students who used their own network to stream movies at night or play computer games at their dorms in the morning. 'As long as I don't get caught, it's fine,' one of the students told me. Some further proposed new rules, arguing that this prohibition violated the right of free information access.

In one of these meetings, the headmaster mentioned that the school did not need to provide the rights stated in the Constitution of the Republic of China (Taiwan), as the document only guaranteed the rights of adults but not underage citizens like them. After the meeting, Chun-hung told another student that, 'At the end of the day, Wholesome is a school, an institute. Our freedom here is given by the adults but not inherent in us.' Some students however, supported the existing law, explaining that their experience of not using any electronic devices was enlightening: 'It was interesting to have to look for information without the internet. It really challenges you and makes you think of creative ways to solve

problems.' The internet use dispute represented students' different perspectives, driven by their independent reasoning. Most of the time, Wholesome students respected each other's lifestyle choices and accepted differences as instantiations of diversity. When disputes, bullying, or rule violation arose, they resolved the issues in the court or in zizihui.

Diversity, however, was not always wholeheartedly welcomed. During my research out of all students, two wanted to prepare for university entrance examinations against the school norm. After studying at Wholesome for a few years, one of them decided that he wanted to study mechanical engineering or architecture because it would let him 'do practical things' (zuoshishi). Yet, he said that 'the teachers would ask me why I was less active at school' and felt that the teachers were not supportive enough. Notwithstanding these complaints, he expressed his gratefulness for Wholesome's freedom, and the fact that he was able to complete all the necessary school courses early on and spend the rest of his time watching cram school videos for public examinations and working on his electronics projects. Another student explained that sometimes she hid to study for exams since a student once told her, 'Why don't you return to state schools if you want to take those exams?' However, getting a university degree was the only way to become a teacher, her dream job, since she felt that she could right the wrong of the maltreatment in her schooling experience and create a happy learning environment for younger children. Despite facing others' judgement, both students persisted steadfastly.

Nonetheless, a number of students said they felt overwhelmed imagining having to enter 'the outside world without such freedom in Wholesome' (waimiandeshijie meiyouzhelideziyou). Chun-hsien, the vice-principal, commented that some alumni would return to the school frequently in the first two years after graduation as if they had not 'weaned' (duannai). Wholesome students were aware of the different sets of game rules played in and out of Wholesome. While still at Wholesome, they were able to learn to discover themselves, determine for themselves, pursue the lifestyles and aspirations they preferred, take responsibility of their own decisions, and appreciate social diversity.

Conclusions

This article described how, in Taiwan, a democratic country influenced by the progressive education movement, a group of educators established a school that departed from the conventional educational model upholding the single ideal of obedience and academic success, and rather adopted a liberal democratic model promoting freedom, equality, and responsibility. In the Wholesome subculture, students played by different social game rules. The school structure allowed students to determine their own ways of life and educational goals, on the basis that their behaviour would not overly intrude the others' freedom. With such liberty, students could reflect on their selves and learn to cherish their individuality and self-determination. From this forty-six-day ethnographic research, it is evident that while social structures have a significant power in structuring habitus and limiting choices, social actors are aware of the rules of the structures they are embedded in and the serious stakes involved in playing the games, and are capable of creatively accepting, rejecting, and modifying such rules by means of their agency and reflexivity.

It is noteworthy that the seemingly utopic freedom enjoyed by Wholesome students was not absolute but intentionally offered by adults for an educational purpose. Firstly, as implied by the school's educational principles, although students have their own ideas, they might not be clear about what they want or be strong enough to resist societal control. Students may also forget to respect diversity and create judgemental pressure that might obstruct the others' self-actualisation. Wholesome thus aimed to operate as a safe haven from familial and communal pressure, to offer a supportive nurturing ground that would teach students to be independent and respectful of others and eventually, to reinforce students to stand up for their individuality. However, if a student seriously threatened the school's democratic operation, the teachers had the power to suspend or even expel them. Secondly, students' freedom was heavily dependent on their parents' decisions and financial situations. Being responsible for financing students' studies, parents could also withdraw their children from the school if they changed their views on Wholesome educational principles or grew dissatisfied with their children's learning progress. In other

words, Wholesome students' liberty and independence were contingent on their teachers' acceptance and their parents' subscription to the school's values.

On the other hand, poorer Taiwanese families, who are not affluent enough to enrol their children in alternative schools, would rather choose state education, which is understood as a securer choice for upper social mobility (Lan 2018). Their children would also think that gap years 'discovering oneself' would be too luxurious and seek to start a stable job as soon as possible out of filial respect and existential necessity. Although at the time of the research, Wholesome was seeking government funding to subsidise students' tuition fees, it would still be uncertain whether lower-class families would take the risk of enrolling their children into a school that would provide a relatively more unwarranted future. On the contrary, Wholesome families, just like other Taiwanese middle-class families, have the opportunity to enrol their kids to overseas educational institutions, if they failed to continue into local tertiary education. These parents also have the financial resources to support the families' survival without their children's extra income. Allowing their children to 'find' themselves and their happiness through exploration is financially feasible and preferred. Hence, this education alternative remained to be more available to the affluent than to the poor.

After my fieldwork experience at Wholesome, I realised that it was naïve to imagine a different childhood. I, and those Hong Kong university students I envied,had experienced the same education system and submitted to the single ideal of academic success and obedience. And yet, we exhibited diverse characteristics and personalities. Similarly, both Wholesome students and I albeit educated in vastly different structures, would commonly feel confused about how to live our lives and what to aspire to. This unique interplay between the structures we live in, the individual biographies we have, and the agency we employ gives rise to the beauty of diversity, but also the commonality among us. In this sense, social structures are not stagnant but malleable upon actors' actions. Humans can pro-actively reclaim the power to define the re-constructible social structures. Being aware of the game rules, one can attempt to bend them according to one's will and the ideals one possesses.

About the Author

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We Survive Together:
Utilising Transnational Resources for Community Welfare in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya

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Abstract

This paper explores how the virtually continuous states of insecurity experienced by the South Sudanese in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, are changing their notions of family constitution and moral responsibility. The data presented in this paper suggests that the South Sudanese refugees who received remittances from family members living abroad have a shared sense of responsibility to provide for their community members who are in need through the sharing of their financial and material resources. Since the members of these refugee community networks live in a persistent state of need, the limited economic resources introduced are often invested towards the daily survival of the group rather than the personal advancement of the individual. Consequently, the data presented in this paper suggests that transnational remittances do little to promote livelihood development inside of the refugee camp; however, they do aid in the development of a necessary survival economy.

Introduction

Kakuma refugee camp, home to approximately 147,000 refugees from all across East Africa as of 2018, lies in a remote region of Kenya, only accessible by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) flights and a two-lane road filled with more potholes than asphalt. The camp and its adjacent town are surrounded by hundreds of kilometres of vast desert, with very few natural sources of water and food. From the perspective of an outsider, Kakuma might seem like an oasis in a harsh and violent world for the people who seek refuge there. Numerous shops sell an abundance of food and gadgets to make life comfortable. There are hospitals and schools that cater to both the local population and the refugees in the camp, as well as hostels and restaurants for the rare visitor and residents alike.

Although Kakuma has become a place of opportunity for savvy business people, both Kenyan and refugees, these opportunities are available to a small minority of the camp and town's population – generally those who came to the region with significant social and economic capital in the first place. The vast majority of Kakuma's population survive primarily on what the UNHCR and various aid organisations provide. As my informants repeatedly pointed out, aid packages get increasingly smaller each year and are generally inadequate to sustain a good quality of life. Although additional food, water, and other resources are available to buy, the refugees represented in this study commonly argued that they had very little money to spend on anything beyond the bare necessities for survival. Their statements point to the reality of the underfunded and under-resourced humanitarian system in which Kakuma's refugee population have lived for decades.

This paper is based on data collected during my PhD fieldwork between November 2017 and July 2018. During this time, I conducted semi-structured interviews and participant observation among transnational members of Kakuma's South Sudanese population. The

study participants ranged in age from eighteen to sixty-nine.[1] Of the eighty refugees interviewed, seventy-two had lived in Kakuma on and off since 1992 or were born inside the camp walls. Three primary themes were expressed during these interviews: the regular states of insecurity experienced by Kakuma's South Sudanese population, their coping methods, and the need to maintain their social networks and community solidarity to ensure survival. While these men and women perceived insecurity to be inevitable, particularly those who had lived in Kakuma for several decades, they argued that their relationships with extended family, friends, and neighbours were vital for their survival.

This paper explores Kakuma's South Sudanese refugee community and, more specifically, transnational participants' navigation of states of physical insecurity through community solidarity and welfare support. Conversing with existing literature on cultures of resource sharing in times of precarity, as well as with literature on South Sudanese notions of kinship, I examine my research participants' experiences of insecurity and their participation in networks of financial, material, and social resource sharing, which allow them to ensure the survival of themselves and their community as a whole.

Although all of the participants in this study were recipients of remittances from family members abroad, these remittances were small, infrequent, and primarily used to supplement basic resources necessary for survival. The participants of this study described life in Kakuma for its South Sudanese population in terms of scarcity, insecurity, and vulnerability. Among the South Sudanese men and women with whom I spoke, security – whether it be physical, emotional, or psychological – was measured by the ability to survive each day, rather than the ability to invest in the future stability of their families. Moreover, I discovered that even when a participant claimed to be financially or materially stable at the time of our interview, their survival in the future was highly dependent on their established social networks and their community's perception of whether they were a 'good' person deserving support.

[1] All of the people represented in this article were either former or active participants in transnational communities, with family and friend networks that extended across the globe.

Kakuma and Refugee Experiences of Insecurity

Kakuma was originally established in 1992 in response to large groups of southern Sudanese refugees, mostly unaccompanied minors, flooding over the border from what is now South Sudan into north-west Kenya (Scott-Villiers 1993; Chanoff 2005; Jansen 2013).[2] These refugees, originally displaced during Sudan's second civil war (1983-2005), were recognised worldwide as the 'Lost Boys of Sudan'. Many of them have since been repatriated back to South Sudan, migrated elsewhere in Africa, or been resettled under the refugee system to nations like the US, Canada, and Australia (Shandy 2007; Luster et al. 2008; McKinnon 2008; Lim 2009; LeRiche and Arnold 2012; Nastios 2012; Patterson 2016). Today, Kakuma's South Sudanese community is composed of populations that have been displaced at various points of insecurity in the history of South Sudan.

Insecurity as a refugee in Kenya in general, and in Kakuma specifically, affects all facets of daily life, regardless of refugees' nation of origin or length of stay in Kenya. Due to a combination of UNHCR and Kenyan government refugee policies, their rights and ability to sustain themselves and their families economically, physically, and politically are significantly restricted (Verdirame 1999; Horst 2006, Nyers 2006, Turner 2010; Betts et al. 2018). Due to their refugee status, members of this population are unable to move freely, are generally denied the legal right to work and earn a living wage, and are virtually incapable of living a life beyond what Newhouse identifies as their 'persistent precarity' (2015: 2293).

At the time of this study, the majority of the camp's refugee population were suffering from protracted states of dependency and insecurity due to their inability to change their

[2] Authors cite numbers ranging from 10,000 to 20,000 displaced children (Scott-Villiers et al. 1993; Verdirame 1999; Chanoff 2005; Horn 2010; Sanghi et al. 2016). It is possible that the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) could have inflated these numbers in order to receive more aid (Scott-Villiers et al. 1993). It is also well known that along their journey first to Ethiopia, back to Sudan, and then finally to Kenya, many children of this population died of starvation, exposure, dehydration, and attacks by local wildlife. There is no accurate documentation of how many children died during this period.

circumstances, a by-product of refugee policies that focus on containment and survival rather than welfare and livelihood development (Crisp 2002; Wagacha and Guiney 2008; Loescher and Milner 2008; UNHCR 2018). This insecurity within the refugee system is fostered by a structure developed on the dependence, marginalisation, vulnerability, and victimisation of people who identify as refugees (Zetter 1991; Malkki 1995; Turner 2010; Mann 2012; Jansen 2013; UNHCR 2015).

Various authors have observed that food rations and other forms of aid provided to refugees in Kenya have decreased over the years, due to both the lack of funding and the assumption that over time these populations will eventually become economically independent (Jacobsen 2005; Horst 2006; Omata 2013; World Food Programme 2017). Consequently, malnutrition rates are high, particularly among those who do not have resources to supplement their aid packages (Verdirame 1999; Wood Food Programme 2017; Betts et al. 2018). Similarly, despite the availability of effective and relatively affordable medical treatment in Kakuma Town, many refugees suffer from untreated malaria, various infections, parasites, and pneumonia, in addition to occasional outbreaks of typhoid and cholera due to the underfunded and undersupplied healthcare system to which refugees are theoretically entitled (Verdirame 1999; Bayoh et al. 2011; Gladden 2012; Just et al. 2018).

As indicated by the participants in this study, police harassment is a harsh reality of life as a refugee in Kakuma. Hope (2018) argues that the Kenyan police have consistently been identified as the most corrupt institution in the nation. Known for their acts of 'extortion, robbery, burglary, theft, or overzealous policing with the aim of personal advancement' (Hope 2018: 85), the Kenyan police represent a systematic failure of governance. Kumssa (2015) argues that those who suffer most from police corruption in Kenya are the poor, refugees, and those who live in slum areas, since they lack the economic and political power to defend themselves. Being a refugee in Kakuma means that, unless you have money to bribe the police, you are often subjected to arbitrary arrests and detainment (Betts et al. 2018; Refugee Consortium of Kenya 2012; Rogers 2017; Verdirame 1999).

Kenya's refugee economy is largely made up of people who rely on transnational remittances, people who are employed by the UNHCR and other NGOs, and people who work for various businesses established in the camp (Verdirame 1999; Jansen 2013; Betts et al. 2018). Due to their inability to obtain work permits, the vast majority of refugees who work in Kakuma are labelled as 'volunteers' and work for a fraction of what a Kenyan national would make for the same job (Verdirame 1999; Horst 2006; Betts et al. 2018). Therefore, the aim of this paper is to explore the means in which transnational members of Kakuma's South Sudanese population challenge their states of insecurity through a system of community solidarity and welfare support networks.

Family and Community Solidarity

Community solidarity and the practice of sharing resources in times of economic and social hardship have been researched across many sub-Saharan African communities. Studies on the Basarwa of Botswana (Fleurett 1986) and the Bambara of Mali (Adams 1993) suggest that in times of food insecurity rural African communities often establish food sharing economies based on complex systems of reciprocal exchange. Adams (1993) argues that these practices are based on friendship, kinship, and patronage, whereby the obligation to share labour and capital is embedded into local culture. Studies on HIV/AIDS-affected urban households in South Africa and Uganda similarly show that informal social networks among family and neighbours help strengthen households' ability to cope with food insecurity (Kaschula 2011; Tsai et al. 2011). Moreover, these authors suggest that participation in resource sharing activities is dependent on individuals' and families' tenure within their community; their involvement with local community organisations; their alliances built on gender, age, or moral standing; and their personality and temperament.

Studies on African refugee populations who have undergone experiences of displacement, dependency, and economic and physical insecurity identify similar community support systems (Grabska 2005, 2014; Horst 2006; Omata 2013). Omata (2013) argues that Liberian refugees in a Ghanaian camp who are relatively economically stable often share their cash, food, and other economic resources with those who have more limited livelihood and

employment opportunities.A Somali refugee living in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya argued that it was necessary for his community to share their resources because 'being a Somali as well as a Muslim entails a responsibility to assist those who have less' (quoted in Horst 2006: 124).

Grabska (2005: 2014) suggests that among South Sudanese Dinka and Nuer communities, it is common practice to borrow money from family, friends, and other tribe members in order to meet one's daily needs, particularly in time of extreme insecurity. Among South Sudanese Nuer communities, the sharing of food, kinship, and community are interrelated and dependent on each other. In *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer* Evans-Pritchard suggests that kinship (*mar*)[3] often extends beyond the nuclear family in traditional South Sudanese communities (1951). He argues that all members of a village are identified as kin among the Nuer. Kinship entails a social system built on multiple generations' worth of interpersonal relationships, and it obliges community members to care for the welfare of one another. Hutchinson (1996) expands this definition and argues that the Nuer commonly interlink relatedness with food. According to Hutchinson, the sharing of food creates a bond of kinship among Nuer communities, because *mar* combines shared substance (blood, kinship) with a shared vitality (food).

In Kakuma, it is estimated that approximately 32% of South Sudanese refugees receive remittances from family members living in places like the USA, Canada, Australia, the UK, and Egypt (Shandy 2007; Betts et al. 2018). The introduction of these economic resources has profound effects on the relationships between transnational participants, as well as on the structure and culture of receiving communities, especially for the communities of refugees who experience protracted states of insecurity.

Existing studies of the remittances sent to Kakuma's South Sudanese community (e.g. Shandy 2007; Johnson and Stoll 2008; Grabska 2010; Patterson 2016; Betts et al. 2018) fail to acknowledge factors that can influence the quality of life for remittance recipients

[3] Also spelled *maar*.

currently living inside the refugee system, including the frequency of remittance patterns, the average amount received, and the expected use of these financial resources by the participants of these transnational communities, contributing to skewed assumptions about their potential influence on the welfare of the recipients currently living inside a refugee camp. South Sudanese remittance recipients in Kakuma were barely able to manage their daily experiences of insecurity, a reality that was escalated when participants were expected to share their already limited financial and material resources with their surrounding community network.

Surviving Daily Crisis Situations in Kakuma

Between November 2017 and July 2018, I rented a small studio apartment in Kakuma Town and travelled into the refugee camp every day to meet with members of the South Sudanese population, particularly those who identified as former or active participants in transnational communities with family abroad. Although my research focused on the sustainability of refugee transnational family networks and remittance sending patterns, my participants' narratives often addressed their experiences of insecurity and vulnerability.

While all of the eighty participants in this study had received remittances at some point during their stay in Kakuma, the vast majority of these men and women disclosed that these financial resources were irregular and were primarily sent either in extreme emergencies or specifically to be invested in children's education. Therefore, while one might have assumed that these financial resources would diminish recipients' states of insecurity, the social and economic reality was significantly more complicated. My interviewees reported receiving remittances in amounts ranging from 5,000 Kenyan shillings ($50 USD) to 20,000 shillings ($200 USD) and in frequencies varying from once per month to once per year. As a result, the remittances did not aid refugees' livelihoods, or the livelihoods of those for whom they felt responsible, including their family members, friends, and neighbours.

Even though these South Sudanese refugee transnational participants were far more fortunate than many of their friends and neighbours, due to their social networks that extended beyond the refugee system, they continued to live in persistent insecurity. Based on the experiences expressed by the refugees I interviewed, I classified their insecurity into three primary categories: lack of food, lack of medicine, and harassment by the Kenyan police. These forms of insecurity impacted the daily lives of everyone I interviewed. My interviewees often argued that even when they were personally relatively free from insecurity, it was their responsibility to ensure the survival of their extended family network in the camp as well as that of their friends and neighbours within their community.

I found that food insecurity was often a daily issue,[4] with participants reporting that they received on average eleven to twenty grams of grain per person per day in food rations, supplemented by small amounts of oil and sugar. For the thirty-six men and women in this study who were fortunate enough to be 'employed' in the camp, receiving between 5,000 and 8,000 Kenyan shillings ($50 to $80 USD) per month in salaries, food was their primary expense.

Although healthcare was theoretically provided to Kakuma's refugee population by organisations like the Red Cross and International Rescue Committee (IRC), participants regularly reported being sent home with only paracetamol for life-threatening diseases such as malaria, rabies, typhoid, and cholera, due to the lack of testing equipment and medicine. Participants argued that medical emergencies were less common than food insecurity; however, such occurrences were more threatening and needed to be acted upon quickly.

Several of my interviewees expressed concerns about police harassment and recounted past experiences in which either they or their family members were unjustly jailed. The 'crimes' for which participants reported being arrested ranged from walking around the

[4] I found that many refugees struggled to feed their families even during the periods of time in which they received their food rations due to a tendency of falling into an endless cycle of indebtedness with local vendors in the attempt to provide for their families' needs. Some participants expressed the need to sell their food rations to pay their debts for that month.

camp too early or too late, travelling around Kenya, being in possession of a stolen phone, holding an unsanctioned workshop preaching peace among youth leaders, and being the wife of a man who criticised the South Sudanese government on a Facebook post. In each of these accounts a bribe was requested by the police ranging from $100 to $2000 USD.[5] Failure to pay these bribes in a timely manner threatened refugees with illness incurred in disease-ridden jail cells, further imprisonment outside of Kakuma, and possible deportation to their home nation. [6]

Each of these forms of insecurity posed threats for further impoverishment, sickness, and death for members of the South Sudanese community, as well as their family, friends, and neighbours in the camp. Although all the participants in this study were recipients of remittances, since these financial resources were primarily sent in cases of emergency, they were used to prolong survival rather than to promote a sustainable quality of life. None of my participants reported having more than 10,000 Kenyan shillings ($100 USD) in savings. Since the men and women examined in this article were unable to finance a life outside the camp, the financial support sent to them from family members abroad was spent to supplement food rations, buy medicine, pay for police bribes, and buy clothes, shoes, and school supplies for their children. Consequently, I identified all of the men and women represented in this study as insecure due to their and their families' lives being at risk in the case of an emergency without the financial support of both their family members abroad and their community support network in Kakuma.

[5] Bribes from the Kenyan police in Kakuma were frequently requested in USD, considered an international currency. This was due to a combination of the excessive amounts requested as well as the assumption that the victim would receive the money from family members abroad.

[6] UNHCR and the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK) hire protection officers within Kakuma refugee camp to help reduce violence and harassment; however, these services were notoriously difficult to access, hidden by long lines or heavily guarded aid compounds. On three occasions, I was asked to help participants in this study to access a protection officer. On one occasion, we accessed the RCK and we were told that there was nothing they could do to prevent a woman's deportation to South Sudan for her husband's crime. On another occasion, we managed to contact a UNHCR protection officer; however, since it took days, the family had already paid the bribe to the police, fearing unjust treatment in the Kenyan court system if their son were to be deported.

Challenging Insecurity through Resource Sharing

Among Kakuma's South Sudanese population, 'family' was an ambiguous term. Family was virtually synonymous with community and embodied a sense of bondedness that had arguably developed through both their cultural values and their shared experiences of deprivation and marginalisation. In many instances, members of Kakuma's South Sudanese population introduced me to their brother or sister, daughter or son, only for me to then discover that these relationships were not built on blood ties but were rather based on their friendship and loyalty to one another. For example, Simon, a forty-year-old quality control manager for Kakuma's school system, claimed:

> Brother does not necessarily mean that you share the same parents, but you are from the same people. We are one family, and we are responsible for one another. I have to be my neighbour's keeper because we are all equal. When they don't have [food], we must share what little I have together.

The men and women represented argued that within their traditional culture, family was fundamental to their social identity and crucial to their survival as a community; it represented solidarity, mutual support, and responsibility. In the extreme conditions of Kakuma, in which virtually every member of these tight knit social communities was perceived to be family, there was a general agreement that individuals and families would share what they had with the less fortunate members of their community. James, a forty-six-year-old builder said:

> When someone is arrested, I contribute [towards the bribe]. If someone says 'I don't have shoes', then I can give. This builds your relationships with the people around you. We don't just share money and things; we share our problems. If you do not do these things, then you have no relationships, and you have no one to support you when you need something.

WE SURVIVE TOGETHER

Survival within this community went beyond just meeting immediate demands driven by insecurity. My informants had long since accepted that insecurity was inevitable and unpredictable. Given the inability for the majority of this population to advance their economic situation due to their refugee status, members of Kakuma's South Sudanese population needed to rely on their community's solidarity in order to best ensure their survival. In this context, community solidarity was primarily interpreted as the provision of economic and material resources when available, and the utilisation of social resources such as mediation skills and combined social networks.[7]

People often referred to those willing to offer their resources to members of their community as 'good people', and thus saw them as deserving of similar support in the future. This culture of willingness to share resources, which distinguished between 'good' and 'bad' people among community members, was a common theme discussed throughout most of my interviews in Kakuma. Sharing the community's financial and material resources was often symbolised as the sharing of problems. For instance, people would often say, 'How can I eat if I know my neighbours have not eaten for three days?' Paul, a sixty-year-old Nuer pastor and active community leader, argued:

> Of course, it is difficult to share what little we have but that is our society. You cannot suffer here while someone has something. You must support the community otherwise many of us would have perished. So many of us don't have relatives and support outside of Kakuma. If a family is struggling, my wife and I will discuss what we can give them because we cannot let them die. How could you let a friend suffer and die while you survive? We must divide what little we have and pray that it all works out.

[7] Since all of the participants in this study were transnational participants, their active social networks extended across the globe. Through the sharing of resources gained through these social networks developed among the South Sudanese diaspora globally, all members of Kakuma's South Sudanese community could benefit to some extent from these social ties. For example, if a person's neighbour was ill, that person could call their sister in the US and ask for some money for a family member's medical emergency. Since members of this population considered their surrounding community in the camp as like-family, it was not uncommon to utilise all available social, material, and financial resources for the community's continued survival.

From Paul's perspective, the survival of the community as a whole was dependent on the willingness of every able community member to look after the collective. 'Bad people' were consequently identified as those who were known to have financial and material resources but refused to share these resources beyond their immediate family. Since 'bad people' looked out for themselves, when they eventually needed help themselves, their community was significantly less likely to support them.

Among my informants there were a few people who claimed to hide the fact that they received remittances from their family members abroad. Some of these individuals explained that if their community knew that they had money, they would be expected to share some of this money with their extended family, friends and neighbours. One young man named Michael said, 'My uncle sometimes sends money for me and my siblings to buy food. Sometimes it is just to buy clothes for Christmas. Other than my parents, I am the only person who knows. I know my friends would expect me to share and this would be difficult'.

The few remittance recipients who did not share their transnational financial resources with their wider community knew there was a risk. Every member of the community had to either share what little they had when necessary or risk the lack of future community support from others in the camp.

When asked how friends and neighbours knew that someone received money from family members abroad, respondents would often say that they could be seen shopping in the market, bathing their children with soap, or eating more meals per day than reasonable if their only income were their food rations or a refugee salary. In addition to living within close proximity to each other where everyone knew what everyone was doing, the members of this refugee community were often highly dependent on the social support of other members. One elderly woman who introduced herself as Mama said, 'I need my neighbours' help going to pick up the money because I do not speak Swahili. I also need

help getting food from the market. Everyone around me knows that I get money from my sons in the US'.

One's ability or decision to help their community members through the provision of financial and material resources was interpreted in a variety of ways. Some people claimed that they could not justify, either to themselves or their surrounding community, having enough food for a week when their friends and neighbours had obviously not bathed or eaten for several days. Others said they only tried to help their extended family, specifically anyone related to them by blood or marriage. Finally, others argued that their family pooled together resources for a community member only in the case of a medical emergency, such as when life-threatening but reasonably affordable conditions such as malaria could not be treated at the free clinics available to refugees. Thus, the responsibility to share resources was open to interpretation. I found that for the members of this population virtually all interpretations of need and responsibility were collectively accepted with the assumption that each individual or family contributed to the best of their ability.

The men and women who identified themselves as leaders within their community often helped their friends and neighbours through both acts of support and the provision of financial and material resources. For example, Paul, who organised youth leadership workshops, would actively confront authority figures whenever a member of his community was imprisoned for reasons that he believed to be unjust. Similarly, at the time of his interview, a thirty-four-year-old cafeteria worker named Isaac fostered fourteen teenage boys. Isaac said, 'They have been here ten years. It's difficult parenting so many teenagers, but if they were not here then they would be on the street'. I found that the actions of these men were not uncommon within this community, and that people tried to help in the most useful ways possible. Paul and Isaac both argued that they were luckier than most because they had jobs and wives to support their choices, and they claimed that it was their responsibility to help those who could not help themselves. Both of these men felt the need to share their relative social stability in order to care, teach, and advocate for young adults within their community.

All of my interviewees claimed that they needed help from their extended family, friends, and neighbours in the camp frequently. A person's ability to receive help from one's extended social network was highly dependent on their strength or weakness of their established transnational social networks, their current experiences of insecurity in emergency situations, and their current state of indebtedness due to past experiences of insecurity. Angela, a twenty-seven-year-old single mother of four, said:

> The food is never enough here, everyone knows that. We just have to accept it and trust the people around us will help when we need it. Sometimes I have to sell my food rations to buy my children's school supplies or to pay for medical treatment. The people around me know this and they try to help in any way that they can.

Active participation within this community of welfare support and resource sharing therefore acted as a form of social investment, ensuring that each individual and their dependents would similarly be supported in the future when they inevitably experience insecurity.

Finally, several elders and community leaders argued that it was inappropriate to ask directly for money or material resources. Paul, the Nuer pastor mentioned previously, said, 'We don't ask, it is not appropriate because we are all poor and struggling. We can talk and talk for hours but we never ask for money or food. We have to just sense it'. According to Paul, being a 'good person' meant being involved enough within your community to know when someone is struggling. It is therefore the responsibility of active community leaders to know who is continuously sick, whose family has not been seen eating, who has been arrested. Through a combination of word of mouth and efforts to find economic and material resources within the community, 'good people' contribute what they can, but also facilitate the operation of social networks necessary for a sustainable resource sharing culture.

Surviving Insecurity in Kakuma through Community Solidarity

The data presented in this article sheds light on a social phenomenon of survival which has emerged as a consequence of prolonged states of insecurity in a refugee camp experienced by these transnational participants and their surrounding local community. While none of the men and women in this study were financially stable,[8] almost all expressed a profound sense of responsibility to the people within their community. I believe that remittances under the conditions of the refugee system have a unique potential to stabilise the welfare of refugee communities; however, their ability to significantly influence livelihood development was minimal in the face of pervasive insecurity.

In the case of the South Sudanese population of Kakuma refugee camp, remittances acted as a ripple effect for the receiving community. On the one hand, members of this population were able to survive daily states of insecurity through the utilisation of their community support networks. On the other hand, in order to remain valuable members within their community, remittance recipients were also expected to share any financial and material resources that were not absolutely necessary with their extended family, friends, and neighbours. Therefore, remittances introduced into this population had a significant influence on the continued survival of the collective community in the camp and consequently had limited influence on the economic development of the receiving individual.

A common aspect in the experiences of marginalisation and deprivation among Kakuma's South Sudanese population was their embedded sense of responsibility to their nuclear and extended family members, as well as to their friends, neighbours, and other people experiencing similar difficulties. Thus, the members of this community had a shared understanding of moral responsibility and family constitution, arguably a by-product of

[8] Financial stability is defined as having enough savings to support their household with the provision of adequate food, in addition to sufficient resources to account for unforeseen medical emergencies and police bribes.

both their traditional culture and the severity of their social and economic conditions. In this community, members are responsible for being conscious of other members' suffering and offering their social and economic support when possible, thus securing the most basic survival needs of others. In this context, I found that the offering of social and financial support to those in need identified community members as 'good people' and, thus, as deserving recipients of similar assistance in the future.

It is important to note that being labelled a 'good person' was crucial for the survival of every individual. While it was important for each member to share their financial, material, and social resources to ensure the continued survival of the collective, individual survival was dependent on the strength of a person's social networks. People shared what few resources they had managed to accumulate not simply because it was perceived to be the morally right thing to do, but also because it was inevitable that they would need similar help from their community in the future.

In the context of this paper survival is both literal and figurative. My informants had to survive starvation despite the provision of food rations, as well as untreated diseases like malaria despite the apparent provision of medical care. More importantly, my informants were fighting for the survival of their dignity, the cohesion of their families and communities, and their belief that one day their lives might improve, despite having lived decades in a refugee camp in an environment of scarcity, insecurity, and socio-economic marginalisation. Survival was also multidimensional, often requiring the utilisation of multiple networks and individuals, including kinship relationships, community members, and the various organisations in the camp such as the UNHCR and IRC, which offered, albeit limited, protection, food, and medical treatment.

As suggested by existing literature, the establishment of a community resource sharing economy in times of insecurity is not unique to South Sudanese refugees, particularly among sub-Saharan African populations. Given that survival is dependent on mutual participation, and the distinction of good and bad people within the community, I argue that resource sharing under these conditions cannot simply be reduced to a moral sense

of responsibility to one's community members, but rather acts as an investment towards the individual's survival in the future. Among Kakuma's South Sudanese community, members needed to be labelled as a good person who actively contributes to their community's wellbeing and who maintains strong social bonds, so that others would also feel compelled to help them mitigate their eventual insecurity.

About the Author

Deirdre Patterson is an applied anthropologist who earned her PhD at the University of Sussex examining refugee efforts to challenge their insecurity and vulnerability through transnational participation. Her research interests include transnational migration patterns, refugee diasporas, and community empowerment of socio-economically marginalised populations. She can be contacted via email at dpatterson258@gmail.com.

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Book Review

JAN-JONATHAN BOCK & SHARON MACDONALD, editors, Refugees Welcome? Difference and Diversity in a Changing Germany. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2019, 358pp. (pb £27.95).

Jan-Jonathan Bock and Sharon Macdonald's volume *Refugees Welcome? Difference and Diversity in a Changing Germany* offers a contextualization and challenge of common narratives concerning the so-called 'refugee crisis' in Germany – a moment in contemporary German history which is not only characterized by a large influx of displaced people, but also by a sudden rise in sociopolitical tensions. In an effort to address these transformations, the volume asks a crucial question: in spite of political declarations of openness, are refugees actually welcome in Germany? To tackle this, it assesses public discourses regarding pro- and anti-refugee sentiments and challenges common modes of thinking which are held as self-evident by a politically divided public. As explained by Macdonald in her conclusion to the volume, the book follows a clear direction of thought – from fact to affect, from large-scale, universal differentiation to patterns of connectedness, and from past reality to contemporary transformations.

Refugees Welcome? offers depth of focus on unaddressed perspectives in public discourse by acknowledging that the root of the crisis is its very categorization as such. Relating

current issues to historical realities surrounding the Holocaust, the post-World-War-II occupation, work-migration and the restoration of German society, many of the chapters provide insight into the psychological consequences of Germany's efforts to rebuild its structures as well as its image. It also challenges the pro- and anti-immigrant divide of contemporary German society by analyzing the current state of assimilation politics as well as small sociopolitical venues seeking new routes for future development which embrace cultural difference.

The first part of the volume explores sociopolitical mechanisms which produce the distinction between 'Germans' and 'non-Germans'. Uli Linke argues that German language proficiency is perceived as a marker of social status and produces an environment of forced exclusion. Friedrich Heckmann and Gökce Yurdacul present perspectives of the German legal system by focusing on specific cases. Yurdacul's case offers a critical insight into the way in which the absence of equality concerning religious autonomy produces exclusion and religious hierarchies. She shows that categorizing religious fasting practices as potential child abuse while portraying the Jewish practice of infant circumcision as harmless perpetuates the ostracization of specific religious groups in Germany.

Appropriately titled *Potential for Change*, the second part of the book explores transformative events as well as the innovative concepts which redefine German society's approach to difference and diversity. Both Petra Kuppinger's as well as Carola Tize and Ria Reis' ethnographic analyses relay a dynamic state of diversification currently materializing in German society. Through interview with first- and second-generation migrants, they explore contemporary transformations set out to affect the way in which language, architecture and art shape new forms of cultural belonging, which may challenge categories based on heritage and tradition. This part, particularly the work of Naika Foroutan, delineates these new developments as both a generational social struggle and a possible goal for the future of immigrants and non-immigrants alike.

Refugee Encounters offers the reader access to the geopolitical realities of the 'refugee crisis'. This perspective also presents a direct connection to the modes of action which facilitate co-existence in German society. Kira Kosnick's discussion of the 2015 New Year's Eve attacks against women makes a compelling connection between simplistic representations and cultural attitudes toward immigrants by showing that media reports rested primarily on dramatized visual imagery and hyperbolic rhetoric highlighting words such as 'terror'. Serhat Karakayalı's analysis of Germany's welcoming culture is a result of German political memory which causes apprehension as well as guilt and a need to make up for past mistakes. The apprehension which is connected to social phenomena such as right-wing anger and the rise of populist sentiments in Germany, is highlighted by Jan-Jonathan Bock's analysis of the anti-Islam Pegida movement in Dresden, which highlights the complex role of perceived victimhood and marginalization within the movement.

Finally, the fourth part, titled *New Initiatives and Directions*, explores emerging channels of understanding regarding diversity and difference. With chapters by Jonas Tinius, Damani J. Partridge and Werner Schiffauer, it hypothesizes the possibility of bringing together political and social groups which engage these emergent formations of co-existence. By exploring initiatives for change in German society, this section places its focus on perspectives and, above all, localities which seek to facilitate difference and diversity. Be it as part of theatres, museums, films, or churches, all three authors observe a social trend of hospitality. But what makes this part of the book compelling is its multi-faceted perspective, involving a more optimistic view from Schiffauer and a critical analysis by Partridge, which do not contradict, but rather work alongside one another.

The achievement of the book and what makes it different to many other works tackling the 'refugee crisis' is its focus on the ambivalence of direction. By including, for example, an assessment of right-wing anger as well as outlining the many fragmented and interrelated sociopolitical mechanisms which lead to the delegitimization of migrant agency, the volume manages to deconstruct the stereotypes and generalizations related to the topic in order to illuminate many differing angles and perspectives. It thereby moves the discussion

away from the reductionist representations of the 'refugee crisis' commonly promoted in public discourse, toward acknowledgement of the complexity of the topic. This deconstruction effort also allows for an informed and qualified exploration of current and future avenues for change.

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About the Author

Aneka Brunßen has been observing the development of the debate surrounding the so-called 'refugee crisis' since it began and has developed a personal and professional interest in exploring new formations of thought and action generated by its public discourse. Aneka has just finished her Master's degree in Transcultural Studies at the Institute for Anthropology and Cultural Studies at the University of Bremen, and will begin her PhD studies this year.

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Book Review

OLIVIA ANGÉ, Barter and Social Regeneration in the Argentinean Andes. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2018, 236 pp. (pb £99).

Little attention has been paid to barter and Olivia Angé's *Barter and Social Regeneration in the Argentinean Andes* helps breach this gap. Historically, barter has retained an elusive and fetishized space in the economic imagination since Adam Smith first wrote of an imaginary land of barter (Graeber 2011). In *Debt* Graeber convincingly argued that barter exists in many complex ways and should be studied in its own right, beyond the crude stereotypes entertained by traditional economics (2011). In many ways, this monograph builds on Graeber's work and puts forward a competent ethnography of barter in the Argentinian Andes. Moreover, Angé significantly advances the field of barter studies by showing that barter is not merely confined to exchanges between outsiders and a community, as Graeber (2011) claimed, but can be a backbone of internal exchange in its own right.

Angé focuses on barter at religious fairs in the north of Argentina, referred to as *cambio*. These fairs are considered a staple of indigenous life. They have long existed in the margin of legality, but in recent years they have begun attracting outside tourism and even state sponsored iterations. Angé makes deft work of describing the multiple types of exchange that occur at these fairs. Fairs involve not only *cambio* (barter) but also *negocio* (trading for profit), *invitación* (a type of gift giving, usually amongst tight allies or between humans and

other telluric beings), and *yapa* (a gift added to court favour during an exchange, or, as per Lazar (2008), a measure against bias in weighing scales). Angé not only distinguishes between types of exchange but also between types of goods exchanged. Traditional foodstuffs are seen as imbued with life force from Pachamama and their producers are thus often treated ritualistically. Industrial foodstuff however, is not considered to have special properties, and is absent from ritualistic treatment and *cambio*.

One particular point of emphasis is how economic productivity remains a focal point for identity with the main distinction being between highland herders and lowland cultivators. Readers familiar with Andean studies will recognise these distinctions. While these two groups are seen as somewhat antagonistic, they also heavily rely on each other for goods that are not widely available in their ecological niche. Due to the high cost of meat, *cambio* continues to be the main way of exchanging these resources for lowlanders. *Cambio* is seen as the exchange mechanism of the *Abuelos* (ancestors/grandparents) and a method of ensuring a fair society, even amongst the divided highlanders and lowlanders.

Cambio exchanges often feature discussions about the quality and quantity of bartered goods, and raise concerns over cheating. Tensions also emerge when an individual is suspected of acquiring goods via *cambio* that they will later sell for profit (*negotio).* This is seen as a betrayal of trust not only of the living but also of the *Abuelos*. *Cambio* therefore might seem confusing to an outsider; traders seek to trade, but not for profit, while also insisting on fair deals, and they sometimes even covertly seek to profit whilst espousing the values of *cambio.* Angé however, delicately shows how these conundrums play out. This work slots neatly into the large body of existing literature concerned with hostile attitudes to money and different non-capitalist exchange systems. For instance, one may consult the excellent edited volume by Larson, Harris, and Tandeter (1995) or find examples of food as a preferential payment over money in the work of Lund-Skar (1994).

Although *cambio* fairs are a social and economic highlight for many indigenous peoples in the Andean region, the practice was imported by the Spanish who sought to distribute

resources towards mines and major colonial centres. Part of an indigenous history that is often tinted through a lens of nostalgia, *cambio's* system of values is understood to be the system of *abuelos*. The embracing of these fairs and of indigeneity ties into an Andean-wide movement of pro-Indigenous nostalgia, as described by Abercrombie (1998) and Burman (2016). This revitalization has also attracted the attention of tourists, NGOs, and the state. The state's involvement is important, given the historical margination of both these fairs and Indigenous peoples in the region. Many fairs fail to adhere to bureaucratic standards, particularly regarding the treatment of meat. As a solution to this, the Argentinian state, backed by some NGOs, is pushing 'institutional fairs', which often feature less barter and more standard purchasing. These 'institutional fairs' pose several problems for those engaged in them; do they blur boundaries between *cambio* and *negotio*? Does the exoticising gaze of tourists and the controlling gaze of the state limit the opportunity for *cambio?* Or does this new inclusion offer fertile ground for what is often an illicit activity?

The text itself may tread familiar ground for those familiar with Andean studies. One particular limitation is the significant difference in clarity in definitions of transactions as they appear in the introduction and the conclusion respectively. The conclusion rather clearly lays out definitions but the introduction, whilst certainly attentive to debates around these definitions, tends to not be explicit enough. Angé's final definition 'barter is the direct exchange of use value with no reference to a third object. The importance of use distinguishes it from the gift, while the nonmonetary regime of value distinguishes it from commodity exchange.' (p. 194) does not seem to corroborate with the rest of the text. This definition seems to not take into account the evidence that money is used as a reference for barter values in other sections of the text (especially when concerning meat, given its high value and potential resale opportunities) (p. 102). Whilst the reference to money in barter is considered something to be avoided, Angé evidences it but then does not accommodate for it in this topographical discussion. Nonetheless, Angé evidences the importance of barter, production, and ecological niches for identity in the Andes, and her monograph is an important stepping-stone towards a proper academic investigation into barter.

Angé's insights are important not only for understanding non-monetary economics, but they also provide a valuable prism to understand the complex and changing nature of indigeneity in the modern world. Indeed, this ethnography highlights how the "acceptance" of indigenous peoples by states that formerly sought to destroy their ways of life can come hand-in-hand with fetishisation, touristic exoticisation, and the regulation of traditional activities. Barter in the Andes survived the Spanish conquest, dictatorships and violent repression. Now it shows signs of surviving bureaucracy and regulation.

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Hayden Cooper is a PhD Candidate at the University of St Andrews. His research is focussed upon the economic and political consequences of the soy boom in Eastern Bolivia. As a result of such his work is a cross section of political, environmental, and historical discourses in both the Andes and the Amazon. hc210@st-andrews.ac.uk

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Book Review

RADHIKA GOVINDRAJAN. Animal Intimacies: Interspecies Relatedness in India's Central Himalayas. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 2018, XIII+220 pp. (pb. $27.50).

Anthropologists have been at the forefront of understanding human and other-than-human lives as being intimately entangled with each other. However, only recently haves they pondered upon these lives as being equally consequential, albeit not symmetrical, in the making of their relationships and of the world. Animal subjectivity and agency, decisively, have become loci of resistance, contestation, and negotiation of antipodal categories of nature/culture; human/non-human; domesticated/wild; subject/object; or person/non-person.

Radhika Govindrajan's *Animal intimacies: Interspecies relatedness in India's Central Himalayas* is an astute, beautifully written illustration of this new direction in anthropology. Unlike other scholars, whose engagement with the animal turn has focused on a single species, Govindrajan's interrogation of human-animal relationships looks at how Uttarakhand villagers' lives become entangled in gendered, political and cultural ways with multiple species: goats, cows, monkeys, pigs, and bears. Each chapter of the book teases out how interspecies relatedness emerges from individual bodies living alongside each other and the intercorporeal intimacy they afford.

The first chapter, *The goat who died for family: Sacrificial ethics and kinship*, deals with the ethical intimation of goats sacrificed to gods, arguing that 'violence could generate ethical ways of engaging with the world' (p. 60). The sacrifice, argues Govindrajan, becomes '*truly* a sacrifice' (p. 37, emphasis in original) only if met with loss and grief, brought about by an intimacy of entangling bodies in the everyday labour of care. Through everyday labour and care, the animal that is cared for by a woman becomes kin, and is further entangled in relations of reciprocal, sacrificial debt. Thus, the logic of 'systems of [sacrifice's] symbolic representation become[s] meaningful when grounded in lived material relations' (p. 39).

Chapter two, *The cow herself has changed: Hindu nationalism, cow protection, and bovine materiality*, moves away from this dialectic of kinship to pinpoint the amalgamation of material relations between species, different breeds, and ideological imaginaries. The indigenous cow of the mountains (*katu Pahari*; p. 66) has been obstinately upheld as a sacred symbol of Hinduism and of the Indian nation in general. In ideological discourse, this serves to set aside Muslims – consumers of beef – as potential threats to the sacredness of the Indian nation itself. When a new breed, the Jersey cow, is introduced, the lower quality products (e.g., thinner milk) serves in reaffirming the Pahari cow as superior. As a symbol of Hindu identity, the Pahari cow, and its perceived superiority over the Jersey cow, serves at the same time as a way of bolstering nationalism and its adjacent Pahari cow protection law. However, as in the case of one of Govindrajan's female interlocutors, the everyday care for a Jersey cow imbues individual human-animal relations with intimacy, setting aside breed differences and ideological assertions. As highlighted repeatedly throughout the book, this intense everyday intricacy between individual bodies transgresses politically infused human-animal divides. This transforms humans and animals into porous subjects, capable of affecting and being affected.

Chapter three, *Outsider monkey, insider monkey: On the politics of exclusion and belonging*, offers a perfect illustration of individual and community struggles in light of wildlife protection, and their consequential hierarchical quandaries: city dwellers over mountain villagers; rich over poor; policy and law-makers over those affected; (wild) animals

over humans. The narratives are primarily threaded around the boldness of newcomer monkeys and their aggressiveness towards humans, as opposed to their mountain (*Pahari*) relatives. The simian bodies become a site of situated difference between indigenous and foreign, outsiders and insiders. Their habituation with city dwellers is reflective, in Govindrajan's interlocutors' assertions, of a behavioural and moral deviance. In light of this, Govindrajan argues, human-animal proximity or even cooperation, is not always understood in practice in terms of promissory, positive effects, as is usually the case with multi-species ethnography.

In the fourth chapter, *Pig gone wild: Colonialism, conservation, and the otherwild*, Govindrajan examines an even more complicated relationship. She shows how India's colonial past and current modernisation efforts become entangled through wildlife conservation. The chapter begins with the story of a runaway pregnant sow, escaping into the forests from the Indian Veterinary Research Institute (IVRI), one of the most prominent (post)colonial landmarks in Uttarakhand. As Govindrajan's interlocutors describe, the sow could not be captured and its domestic progeny became mingled with wild boars. This has resulted in a bodily, ontological and political *otherwild*: 'a messy wildness that reconfigures, unsettles, and exceeds the ways in which it is framed in projects of colonial and caste domination or in fantasies of human mastery of the nonhuman' (p. 123). The *otherwild* – the fluid domestic/wild product of the sow's progeny – is consumed by superior castes as clean, wild pig meat, unlike the domestic pig meat, considered unclean and consumed by inferior castes. However, the consumption of the *otherwild* unveils the precarity of this system in postcolonial India. Thus, the mixture between domestic and wild can become a source of challenging caste hierarchy by its members. Moreover, the free roaming of domestic pigs into the wild – a common practice in Uttarakhand – articulates the fragility of these categories and their exposure to the possibilities of becoming simultaneously with and in the absence of humans.

The final chapter, *The bear who loved a woman: The intersection of queer desires*, moves to the realm of the household and the domestic contestation of patriarchal power. In Uttarakhand villages, women tell stories about married women being abducted by male bears who have sex with them, and how women end up loving their animal lovers and appreciating their tender affection. These stories voice the failure of their husbands and the caste system that supports them, who ignore women's desire and sexuality. However, these transspecies expressions of desire, as Govindrajan argues, 'are not only transgressive of patriarchy ideology, … but also of an anthropocentric hierarchy in which the boundary between humans and animals is inked on the troubled terrain of desire. As such, what gives this genre its power is precisely the fact that it is given life in a world where human and animal bodies are porous and open to being affected by one another …' (p. 171).

The book concludes with a reflection on the myriad ways human and other-than-human lives come to be lived in 'knotted relatedness' (p. 177), despite the sometimes-violent outcomes of their living alongside each other. This form of relatedness – of being and becoming with another, either human or other-than-human – is an ever-transformative process producing an intimate knowledge and a consequential sense of kinship in a multi-species world. Apart from being a delightful read, the book is an important addition to human-animal relations studies. On the one hand, humans do not stand against a heterogenous 'animal kingdom', but animals are acknowledged in their unique differences across species. On the other, inter-species relations can be shaped in manifold ways by individual, inter-subjective experiences of bodily intimacies. This is, I believe, a fundamental contribution of Govindrajan's book and a direction that opens countless possibilities for conceptual thinking about, and for practices of living with, more-than-human beings.

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About the Author

Cristina Douglas is a medical anthropologist working towards her PhD at the University of Aberdeen. Her PhD research project explores the relationships between people living with dementia in Scottish care facilities and therapy-animals (dogs and owls). Currently, she is working with Dr Andrew Whitehouse as editors of a collective volume about the entanglements between ageing and more-than-human companionship (to be published at Rutgers University Press). Her research has been funded by Parkes Foundation and Elphinstone Scholarship (University of Aberdeen).

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Book Review

MIKKEL BILLE, Being Bedouin Around Petra: Life at a World Heritage Site in the Twenty-First Century. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2019, 210 pp. (hb £99.00).

While UNESCO recognition is often presented as the celebration and safeguarding of cultural diversity, the consequences of inscription for those living on or near designated sites are rarely taken into account. In 1985 Petra, Jordan, became a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and in 2007 it was added to the list of the New Seven Wonders of the World. For the semi-nomadic Bedouin communities who lived there, the most immediate effect of UNESCO recognition was their forced relocation to permanent settlements in an effort to protect the site and make way for tourism development. In 2005, the Bedouin themselves were recognised as Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage by UNESCO, despite the fact that many of their former practices were intimately tied to the land on which they no longer live.

In *Being Bedouin Around Petra*, Mikkel Bille focuses on the changes brought about by these inscriptions for the Bedouin of Petra and Wadi Rum and the consequences of the universalising claims of world heritage and conservation agendas. At the same time, he questions how parallel universalising claims also affect the ways in which the material

presence of the past is negotiated and contested in the present. In taking a multi-scalar approach, shifting between local events and international agendas, Bille critically explores the politics of preservation in Jordan and their ramifications at Petra in six detailed chapters.

In the first two chapters, based largely on archival sources, he traces the relationships between modernisation projects, heritage conservation, and the construction of national identity in Jordan. He shows how Jordanian national identity is mediated through the material world and rests on claims to a common heritage centred on the figure of the Bedouin. In addition, Bille argues that the universalising claim of world heritage and UNESCO-backed legislation at Petra has simultaneously led to the construction and deployment of new identities amongst the Bedouin themselves. By focusing on both the local and national construction of identity, Bille aims to make clear that the processes involved in determining the intangible heritage of the Bedouin of Petra and Wadi Rum are not entirely the result of decisions stemming from government or UNESCO committees. Rather, interpretations are also constructed at the local level and offered as 'authentic' practices to tourists and heritage organisations. At the same time, what is claimed as authentic is contentious, and the process of making heritage leads to what he terms 'cultural freezing,' rendering static what is fluid and transforming (63), and leading to disputes concerning what constitutes the performance of Bedounity. In this vein, Bille defines 'heritage' as a 'practice of assembly […], rather than an object per se, even if an intangible one' (56).

In addition, he focuses on the processes involved in creating Petra as a cultural heritage site and the multiple parties involved, including archaeologists, the Jordanian royal family, and private organisations and companies and their various stakes in conservation and development projects. He shows that the preservation of heritage is not simply about protecting remnants of the past, but is also a vehicle for development, although the benefits of such development remain unequally distributed, with those with the strongest ties to sites often receiving the smallest share. While showing how heritage is a vehicle

for both identity formation and state development in Jordan, Bille similarly attends to the central role of the state in operationalising heritage sites to further political agendas, through using heritage as a means for economic growth and legitimation. In this vein, he illustrates how heritage as a social construct is intimately bound up with identity-making processes, power dynamics, and the many ways in which the production of heritage always entails the exclusion of other pasts. To this extent, he seeks to demonstrate that the processes through which heritage is defined are less about the objective recording and preserving of human history and much more about the politically motivated selection of one narrative of the past from many.

The following four chapters rely on qualitative ethnographic research and focus on exploring the tensions between intangible and tangible heritage, formal and informal practices, and purist and 'folk' Islam. His analysis here focuses on conflicting claims to the past in order to paint a picture of how intersecting universalisms impact heritage discourses and material practices. Bille thinks through the implications of these competing claims to history, namely the universalising discourses of the Islamic revival movement, heritage preservation, and the construction of identity, and he shows how they overlap in their deployment of the past. He also highlights how claims to authenticity come into conflict with each other, such as when the universal claims of UNESCO clash with the universalising claims of the Islamic religious movement. For instance, saint veneration, while recognised as intangible heritage by UNESCO, is seen as un-Islamic by many and is contested amongst the Bedouin of Petra and Wadi Rum, some of whom believe that practices which are perceived to be un-Islamic should be abolished in order to return to an original Islamic way of life. At the same time, some align themselves with UNESCO aims in seeking to preserve the 'authentic' Bedouin past, one that includes magic and saint veneration. Bille's ethnographic chapters reveal that Bedouin practices are not static cultural traditions, but are framed and contested in various ways in response to change.

In focusing on what heritage does, rather than what it is, the book provides an account of how strategic narratives about the past produced in the present have much broader implications for those living near Petra. As a way of critiquing the universalising discourse produced by the processes involved in heritage preservation, the author brings to light the contradictions and tensions between UNESCO's stated agenda and the lived reality of conservation practices. One drawback of this approach is that his focus does not appear to stem from the concerns and experiences of the local communities themselves, but from UNESCO discourse, as the main themes of his study were selected from a list of cultural attributes recognised by UNESCO as Bedouin intangible heritage (22-23). While his comparison of particular aspects of Bedouin culture that have been recognised by UNESCO to the lived realities reveals the problematic nature of inscribing intangible heritage, readers are left wondering about the concerns, projects, and aspirations of those who live and work at Petra. While his project is an attempt to approach 'heritage from below' (Robertson 2012), his preference for attending to national and supranational processes rather than the socio-political and economic changes on the ground leaves much room for further investigation. These remain urgent questions, as the consequences of heritage preservation Bille observes are not unique to Petra; around the world, local communities are displaced in favour of preserving what are framed as pristine and uninhabited sites, and yet these communities are rarely incorporated into decision-making processes. At the same time, despite the increased scholarly attention to cultural heritage, few studies have focused on those who live and work on what has come to be designated as heritage or archaeological sites in the Middle East. Thus, despite its drawbacks, Bille's ethnography of rural communities around Petra comes as a welcomed contribution to this emerging area of study.

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Reference

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