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Polyphonic Anthropology

Theoretical and Empirical
Cross-Cultural Fieldwork

Edited by Massimo Canevacci



**POLYPHONIC
ANTHROPOLOGY –
THEORETICAL AND
EMPIRICAL
CROSS-CULTURAL
FIELDWORK**

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Contributors

Joana Stingel Fraga, James Marvin Smith, Mareike Wolf-Fedida, Katrina Wendel, Cosmin Radu, Ruut Veenhoven, Gaël Brulé, Maria Cecilia De Souza Minayo, Angelo Romano, Sokol Celo, Aya Chacar, Maria Stella Ferreira Levy, Cláudio Márcio Do Carmo, Motohide Saji, Claudia Velez, Nazarova

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Meet the editor



Massimo Canevacci is Professor of Cultural Anthropology in the University of Rome “La Sapienza” (Italy) – Now is Professor in the University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ-Brazil). Visiting Professor in many Brazilian Universities - CUCN University of Nanjing (China).
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Preface

The concept of polyphony was incorporated by many anthropologists thanks to Mikhail Bakhtin's work. Analyzing Dostoevsky's literature, Bakhtin's conclusion was the following: he was the first to multiply any character; so the relationship between *hero* and *author* was decentralized. Before him, the writing was a monological projection of the author's psychology and style on the hero and, consequently, the making peripheral all the other characters. Polyphony is a method that multiplies the researcher's glance, the style of representation, the presence of several subjectivities inside the text expressing their own voices. Polyphony is in the *object* (the fieldwork), in the *subject* (the ethnographer and the informants), and in the *method* (different styles of representation).

It is possible to read this book as a polyphonic textualization, in which every author has his/her own way to elaborate contemporary anthropology. Polyphony is inside the anthropological corpus. Such an "undisciplined discipline" has an articulated complex of focuses: physical, cultural, social, psychological, communicational and so on. Many of these approaches are present here. In the same time, the concept of anthropology itself is a polyphonic junction between two different words: *anthropos* meaning human being (not "man") and so it refers to any gender; *logos* may be translated by logics, i.e. a rational system of human thought based on the principle of identity and so of objectivity; or yet with discourse, making explicit both subjectivity and inter-subjectivity dialogical imagination.

My final translation of anthropology is a *dialogical* research on human being through a *polyphonic* inter-subjectivity representation; and a *syncretic* mix of writing, visual, musical, performative multi-sensorial and multi-logical textualization.

As other human sciences, recently cultural anthropology has been suffering hard challenges. A radical mutation happened about its traditional "object" of study. The so called "natives" cultures are changing their life system in many different ways. They are rejecting both the homologation and museification; they are facing a process of criticizing the same concept of "native", the one that has a problematic and perhaps colonial matrix. Many so called "native" persons are affirming their de-nativization claim as a political and cultural statement. Everybody is native in his/her own place. So there is no need to employ such a term only for Cherokee, Xavante, Txotxil, Bororo. It is more correct to use their own system of calling themselves: Cherokee or Bororo.

They are using digital technology in order to represent their own rituals as well as to represent anthropologists. So, the fundamental concept of representation is going to change: there is a political and communicational *self-representation* growing practice. This concept is a key-word in order to develop a relation with such changing cultures. This same process has been changing *Cultural Studies* paradigms: every young person at any central metropolis or peripheral places has the power both to represent him/herself and to interpret the "other": the ethnographer.

At the same time, digital culture and communication has been transforming not only traditional way of life, but also psychologies, styles of writing and knowledge, bodyscape and gender relationships, the way one works, territorial friendship and so on. Ubiquity is another key-word if you want to understand the psycho-cultural context of any subjectivity nowadays. "Identity" has become always less singular and every time more plural. Is it possible to understand contemporary cultures without penetrating into digital communication?

Finally, another hard crisis grows inside the classic space of university: the traditional system of defining faculty and department does not work anymore. It is urgent favoring trans-disciplinary for students, scholars, researchers, professors. This problem also directly affects our anthropology: but, at the same time, it is possible to discover that any reader of this book has to cross philosophy, anatomy, psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology, architecture, archeology, biology and urban rituals, systemic sports, working class struggle, a tropical forest inside Rio de Janeiro or Chinese immigrants in USA.... I believe in an *anthropological* mutation inside anthropology discipline. And I hope this book may face such a challenge.

"Polyphonic Anthropology" has three sections:

1. Anthropology and Theory is the first one. I think is still important to present at the beginning five essays that are offering different theoretical perspective about our book:

a. Prof. Ferreira Levy Maria Stella, *The matter of the sovereignty of the heathen peoples*: in this ethno-historical excursus about the conquest of the American peoples, the kings of Portugal and Spain, the Catholic Church and the colonists of the New World were the main players, in the sense that they all subjugated the natives of Brazil.

b. Prof Radu Cosmin, *Frontier effectand tidemarks: a commentary in the Anthropology of Borders*: this paper is dealing with the transformation of the borders. It claims that the border is not just enacted, but an actant. Consequently, the border is considered beyond the territorial dimension - a multiplicity of spaces imbued with subjectivity reflected in areas of crossing and dwelling, a space in its continuous becoming: a tidemark.

c. Dr. Do Carmo Claudio, *Culture, language , and knowledge about the syncretism*: his paper intends to review the phenomenon called syncretism in Brazil in its possible relation to the racial issue, presenting previous studies on the subject within the social sciences, particularly anthropology in an interdisciplinary way.

d. Prof Saji Motohide, *To experience differently: on one strand on Kant's Anthropology*: this paper will present a connection between a philosophy and anthropology, focusing about methodology, concepts, reason, sensibilities, and arts.

e. Prod Wolf-Fedida Mareike, *The relationship between clinical phenomenology and psychoanalysis: anthropological origins of psychotherapy*: in the beginnings of clinical psychology, physicians referred to philosophy and "psychology of the depths". At this stage, human condition and what we might call "anthropology" will become more complex and only philosophy will help us to understand this situation.

2. Ethnographic Fieldwork is the second one. Ethnography as a method of research was initiated by antropologists. Now is a fundamental trans-disciplinary method for scholars who wants to make innovative and empirical researces on fieldwork.

a. MSc. Velez Claudia, *Contributions of anthropology to the study of organization: the case of funeral home*: this paper will focus contemporary world and the new conception of the dead, dying and death, its ritual and its ceremony, which allows the existence of companies engaged in the handling of the corpse, its final disposal and holding of the funeral rite.

b. Dr. De Souza Minayo Maria, *Imprints of the entrepreneurial state and privatization on worker subjectivity. A study of iron ore mine workers in Itabira – Minas Gerais – Brazil*: this paper presents a study on changes in subjectivity of a segment of workers from a Fordist mode of production to a Toyotist or post-Fordist model in the iron ore mining and processing industry in Minas Gerais.

c. Joana Stingel Fraga - Rogério Ribeiro de Oliveira: *Social metabolism, cultural landscape, and social invisibility in the forests of Rio de Janeiro*: the authors are examining these interrelationships through the study of the paleo-territories of charcoal producers in the XIX/XX centuries in secondary forests in the mountains of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

d. Dr Romano Angelo, *Which interdisciplinarity? Anthropologist, Architects and the City*: his focuses are the political, economic and cultural perspectives employed up to now have shown themselves incapable of grasping the ways in which cities are changing and their inhabitants are reinterpreting these urban transformations.

e. Dr. Aya Chacar Kauffman - Celo Sokol, *An Anthropological approach to understanding the process of legitimating : an examination of major league baseball emergence*: this paper will study the process by which organizations gain legitimacy, focusing the Major League Baseball. So, Baseball is a microcosm of USA moral and Taylor's scientific management principles

f. Dr Smith James, *Ethnic Identities, Social Spaces and Boundaries: Habitus and Fundamentalist Doxa Among Second-Generation Chinese American Evangelical*: the recent resurgence of ethnicity has surprised social theorists who expected culturally-articulated group association to diminish with the rise of modernization and its

society. Social research that conceptualizes identities as a dynamic motivating force for actors can shed a light on contemporary challenges of multi-ethnic societies.

g. Prof. Gaël Brulé and Veenhoven Ruut, *Why are Latin European less happy? The impact on Social Hierarchy*: life in Mediterranean countries is often characterized by the term *dolce vita* (sweet life in Italian), which carries the idea of a pleasurable life in the sun, with good food and rich cultures enjoyed by friendly relaxed people. This stereotype fits the experience of tourists fairly well, but contradicts with the results of survey research on happiness.

3. **Bio-Physical Anthropology** the last one. Finally I would like to stress the immanent importance and deep connection between abstract theories, empirical researches and the biological dimensions in order to understand human beings:

a. Nazarova Ariadna, *Biological, Archeological and Culturological Evidences of Paleoasiatic Origin of Northern Mongoloids, Caucasoids and American Indians*: this paper presents a dendrogram of the relatedness of the population from the data of the matrix of genetic distances of the human populations of Europe, Asia and America. She made the assumption that the differentiation from the common ancient Asiatic population of ancestors of American Indians (Amerinds) probably occurred around 50,000 years ago.

b. Katrina E. Wendel-Mitoraj – Michael E. Osadebey, *Applying Craniofacial Metrics to Adapt 3D Generic Head Models*: this final chapter introduce an integration of how anthropology can lend to and improve a personalized neuromedicine through the study of physical characteristic, the relationship between race and gender.

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Part 1

Anthropology and Theory

The Matter of the Sovereignty of the Heathen Peoples

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1. Introduction

The objective of this study is to provide as evidence certain facts and legal provisions in which, since the conquest of the American peoples, the kings of Portugal and Spain, the Catholic Church and the colonists of these matrices in the New World were the main players, in the sense that they all subjugated the natives of the Americas, in our case Brazil.

We begin our considerations with the controversy surrounding to whom the “discovered” territories belonged and how the inhabitants and their lands were to be treated. This is followed by the ambiguous and contradictory positions of the Church, the king’s letters, the regulations and authorizations of the metropolis and the laws of Brazil and its governments since the time of the “conquest” up to the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Lastly, we turn to the rebirth of the indigenous peoples that survived and that still try to exist and survive through an endless struggle.

2. Discovery or invasion?

The question of the sovereignty of heathen peoples following the Iberian territorial conquests in North Africa and South Asia is to be found in the ecclesiastical milieu since long before the “discovery” (finding, as some would have it) and conquest of America, and was fundamental in the argument about the legitimacy of Spanish and Portuguese title to the New World.

With the arrival of the Spaniards on the Islands, the controversy about their inhabitants begins, namely that if they were not Hindus but rather Aruaks, they should be treated as infidels or heathens since if they were unfamiliar with the “good word” they should be persuaded and there would be no place for the “just war”¹, unless they remained deaf to the word of God. A huge theological, moral, intellectual and legal debate takes place in the conquering/colonizing nations, above all on the Iberian Peninsula, especially given the symbiotic relationship between those royal households and the Catholic Church. There were

¹ The “just war” was defined in Mércio Pereira GOMES, *Os Índios e o Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Vozes, 1988, page 69: “declaration of war based on a joint decision made which ruled on the correctness of the war it was intended to wage against a given indigenous people”.

two opposing theses regarding the attitude of the conquerors towards the Native Americans²:

On the one hand, the archbishop of Ostia, the XIII century canonist and author of *Summa Aurea*, based on the assumption that the heathen peoples had only enjoyed sovereignty until Christ came down to Earth. The latter was invested with all spiritual and temporal powers, and through his delegation it was now incumbent on the pope who could take and distribute their domains, which afforded legitimacy to the Treaty of Tordesillas and several others that followed it.

On the other hand, “the canonist pope Innocent IV, also in the XIII century, had argued that the papacy could not strip the faithful of their domains and jurisdictions ... [and] Thomas Aquinas argued against the Ostian that the coming of Christ had not annulled the chattels and sovereignty of the heathen peoples”.

It is in this environment that what the authors³ refer to as the “Valladolid Debate” arises, with repercussions way beyond the debate that took place between the canonist of Córdoba – Ginés de Sepúlveda, the official historiographer of Charles I of Spain and V of Germany and mentor of his successor the future Philip II of Spain; and on the other side, the Dominican monk Bartolomé de Las Casas “Indian Defender”, who incited Charles V to enact in 1542 the *Nuevas Leyes* which ordered the extinction of the *encomiendas* and “laid down the basic rules of life and administrative organization of America, dealing with the condition of the natives, the Council of the Indians, the awards and recompenses for those who discovered new lands, etc.”⁴

The *encomienda* was a piece of land and its inhabitants, in this case natives, handed over to the “*encomendero*” (grantee) who was entitled to exploit the land and the natives. Under the law it was non transferrable and limited to a short time span that grew as the years passed. “The ‘*encomienda*’ went from an initial servitude, the so-called “*encomienda de servicios*” to a “*encomienda de tributos*” using the economic system of the principal American peoples based on taxes by caste or people, also called the Asian production mode”. This legislation of domination, applied to the regions where the natives themselves were organized under this tax system, subjugates the natives, exchanges the chiefs for “*encomenderos*” and uses their organization to structure the colonies.⁵

² According to Cunha, Maria Manuela Ligeti Carneiro da, *Os Direitos do índio Ensaio e documentos*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1987, pages 53 to 58.

³ Term used by ROULAND, Norbert, PIERRE-CAPS, Stéphane & POUMARÈDE, Jaques. *Droits des minorités et des peuples autochtones*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1996. pg 113

⁴ Carlos Frederico Marés de SOUZA FILHO, in the chapters: “As leis de Índias” and “Las casas, jurisdição e territorialidade indígena” in his book *O renascer dos povos indígenas para o Direito*, Curitiba, Juruá, 1999. For those interested in the opinions of Las Casas himself, it is worth taking a look at the chapter *Princípios para defender a justiça dos Índios*, taken from the work of Las Casas and published in: Carlos Frederico Marés de Souza Filhos (org.), *Textos clássicos sobre o direito e os povos indígenas*, 93-124, Curitiba, Juruá/NDI, 1992. The controversy between the authors mentioned is dealt with by Enrique DUSSEL, from the very particular point of view of the “origin of the myth of modernity”, in his book *1492: O encobrimento do outro*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1993, pages 75 to 88.

⁵ Carlos Frederico marés de SOUZA FILHO, *O renascer dos povos indígenas para o Direito*, Curitiba, Juruá, 1999, pages 51/52.

The subject of the deep controversy that ensued between Las Casas and Sepulveda was the defense of the freedom of the peoples and recognition of nations and societies organized according to their own criteria. For Las Casas, the expropriation of native lands was a violation of the peoples' rights; to Sepulveda, the need for evangelization. According to Ruggiero ROMANO "the position of Las Casas, who wanted to free the natives from the tutelage of the 'encomenderos' is a good reflection of that of the Crown, while Sepulveda, a supporter of the "just war" against the natives and sure of the real right of the Spanish to enslave them, is merely the spokesman for the encomenderos"⁶ This author goes on to say that Sepulveda received money from the Mexican encomenderos, while Las Casas was well-received by the central power. But it is evident that where such complex situations involving such a long period of time are involved, it would only be possible to isolate one or other justification for determining the behavior of the theologians mentioned.

Thus Bartolomé de Las Casas, who was a grantee on the island of Hispaniola in 1502, went to war against the natives in the search for gold, but was later to witness one of the cruelest massacres of the occupation, on the island of Fernandina, whose "strong images and such cruelty were to mark his life for ever [and] there and then he began to reflect on the iniquity of the procedures of the conquest", becoming a fervent defender of the natives⁷. Promoted to bishop of Chiapas, Las Casas contests Sepulveda, saying that the Spanish should give the natives back their dignity, freedom and the goods violently confiscated willfully, using the legal concept of the "restitutio in integrum"⁸. "Founded on the natural rights of the heathens, the Dominican believed that each nation or people had a chief and an empire ... and his legal and theological position was that all peoples were created by God and that it was up to Catholics to only take the good news of the revelation, without interfering in the life, social organization, right and property of the heathens"⁹.

For Ginés de Sepulveda, "brilliant and feral jurist" who published in Rome in 1550 "Treatise on the just cause of the war against the Indians"¹⁰, these were no more than "homunculi" (sub-human) – and it took a papal bull from Pope Paul III of 1537, *Sublimis Deus*, to say "sunt vero homines". Transcription of part of its text, according to Pablo RICHARD, reveals what the ideology of evangelization was concealing: "submit with weapons, if no other path is possible, those who by their natural condition must obey others and deny him the empire. ... It is just and natural that prudent, upright and human men prevail over those who are not .. With perfect right the Spanish rule these barbarians of the new world and the neighboring islands, who in prudence, genius, virtue and humanity are as inferior to the Spanish as children are to adults and women to men, there existing among them the difference between ferocious and cruel peoples and merciful people ... and almost I would say between apes and men. What more convenient or healthy thing could have happened to these barbarians than to be subjugated by the empire of those whose prudence, virtue and

⁶ ROMANO Ruggiero, *Mecanismos da Conquista Colonial*, São Paulo, Perspectiva 1973, pages 48/49

⁷ SOUZA FILHO, *O renascer dos povos...*, pages 46/48

⁸ ROULAND, Norbert, PIERRÉ-CAPS, Stéphane & POUMARÈDE, Jaques, *Droit des minorités* page 114.

⁹ Marés de SOUZA FILHO, *O renascer dos povos...*, pages 46/48

¹⁰ See ROMANO, Ruggiero. *Mecanismos da ...* page 75.

religion is likely to convert barbarians – who barely deserve to be called human beings – into civilized men insofar as they can be so; from sordid and libidinous, into upright and honorable; fromimps and servants of the devils into Christians and worshipers of the true God?”¹¹

These arguments especially afforded legitimacy to the right of conquest established by law¹². For Sepulveda, according to Enrique DUSSEL, the foundation of the barbarism lay, among other evidence, “*in its non individual manner of establishing its relations with people and things; through having no experience of private possessions or personal inheritance contract*”¹³

This controversy was put to rest in legal terms during the XVI century by the also Dominican Brother Francisco de Vitoria, a theologian and jurist educated in Paris in the Thomism doctrine and in canon and Roman law, later a teacher in Salamanca and considered the grandfather of International Law, as he is attributed with the merit of having formulated “the law of the peoples” before Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist who in 1625 published *De jure belle ac pacis*. According to the teachings of Saint Thomas, Vitória believed in the existence of a natural law common to all men¹⁴.

In spite of agreeing with Las Casas about the injustice of Indian law of that time, Vitória “suggests keeping Spain in America – which Las Casas repudiated, [and in this sense contradicts certain recently-mentioned affirmations by Ruggiero ROMANO] – “*but with Indian law that could serve the differences between the existing peoples, creating law that is truly international or of the peoples*”¹⁵

Vitória says: the land discovered when the discoverers arrived here already belonged to someone, it was not a no-man’s land, and “*contests the arguments that denied the Indians original domain and jurisdiction ... and establishes the question of the Indians’ original sovereignty that Domingos Soto and the Portuguese jurist Francisco Soares, a professor from Coimbra, are in charge of developing*”¹⁶. Vitória also went so far as to justify colonization in his doctrine, “*using a sweet version of Sepulveda’s prejudices ... [arguing that] the Indians had an intellectual weakness (debilitas) close to that of children. Thus one can apply the well-known concepts of the jurists: incapacity, paternal power (puissance paternelle) or tutelage, which makes it legal for the king and Spain to govern them, like a father governs his children*”¹⁷. This is possibly the origin of the question of orphanhood in the king’s letters and the relative capacity in our Civil Code. This question of tutelage arose in Brazil with one of the king’s letters between 1686 and 1689 and was later revisited by the law of October 27, 1831.

¹¹ RICHARD, Pablo, 1492: a violência de Deus e o futuro do cristianismo, (Concilium – A voz das vítimas) Petrópolis, Vozes, 1990 pages 60/61

¹² ROULAND, Norbert, PIERRÉ-CAPS, Stephane & POUMARÈDE, Jaques, Droit des minorités sections I and II of chapter III, pages 109 to 116

¹³ DUSSEL, Enrique, 1492: O encobrimento do outro, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1993, page 77.

¹⁴ See ROULAND, Norbert, PIERRÉ-CAPS, Stephane & POUMARÈDE, Jaques, Droit des minorités page 113

¹⁵ Marés de SOUZA FILHO, O renascer dos povos..., page 51.

¹⁶ This quotation was taken from CUNHA, Maria Manuela Ligeti Carneiro da, Os Direitos do índio Ensaios e documentos, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1987, page 55.

¹⁷ ROULAND, Norbert, PIERRÉ-CAPS, Stephane & POUMARÈDE, Jaques, Droit des minorités et des peuples autochones page 116.

Then in 1454, Pope Nicholas' papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* guaranteed Portugal the right to conquer new lands from barbarians and heathens, and submit their peoples to servitude through war, while Spain secures its right to conquest under the *Inter Coetera* bull issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493¹⁸. And although the papal writings stuck to the official doctrine which stated that Indians were "people" and should be treated with humanity, in practice and in theory the positions and behavior were somewhat ambiguous and contradictory. What is more, many of these same writings had a foot in both camps. It is worth making a brief visit to several significant landmarks of the treatment meted out to the Indians ever since they appeared on the European scene, when men's physical and spiritual rights were defined by the Catholic Church which also quibbled about them.

Countless papal writings were published about how Indians should be treated. The *Inter Coetera* itself, edited by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 (following the discovery of America) "recognized the ability of Indians to accept the faith and the teachings of the Catholic Church"¹⁹ but the manner of winning over the heathens to the Catholic flock has always been something of a surprise, not only currently, but even haunting people at that time as can be seen from the controversies we can only glimpse through the cracks in these writings²⁰.

Thus, the *Inter Arcana* bull issued by Pope Clement VII on May 8, 1529, when Brazil had already been discovered somewhat previously, as Mércio Pereira Gomes²¹ stresses, reiterates the right of the Portuguese to conquer new lands using any means – in spite of Las Casas' argument on behalf of the inhabitants of the Indies and their physical and spiritual integrity – as is made clear in the extract "*let the barbarian nations get to know God, not through edicts and admonitions, but also by force and at the point of a gun, if required, so that their souls may partake of the kingdom of heaven*"²².

On May 28, 1537²³, the brief *Pastorale Officium* of Pope Paul III once again proclaimed that the Indians were human beings and that they were capable of being evangelized, in addition to prohibiting their enslavement: "*We, therefore, taking into account that these same Indians, although not residing within the bosom of the Church, are not and should not be deprived of their freedom or ownership of their chattels; and as human beings, and therefore capable of the faith and salvation, should not be destroyed by slavery, but rather invited into the (Christian) life through preaching and example*"²⁴.

According to Alípio MIRANDA & Manuel BANDEIRA, several briefs were set down in writing whose purpose was to prevent Dom Manuel from sending missionaries to Brazil since "*with the arrival of the Jesuits there began a protracted struggle between them and the*

¹⁸ According to Mércio Pereira GOMES. *Os índios e o Brasil*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1991, page 66.

¹⁹ COLAÇO, Thais Luzia, "Incapacidade Indígena. Tutela religiosa e violação do direito Guarani nas missões jesuíticas. Curitiba, Juruá, 2000. pages 87/88.

²⁰ Especially interesting are the books by DUSSEL, 1492: *O encobrimento do outro* and Ruggiero ROMANO, *Mecanismos da Conquista Colonial*, both already mentioned.

²¹ *Opus cit.*, to note 4 page 66.

²² *Apud* Mércio GOMES, page 66, citing *Mecenas Dourado*, in *A conversão do Gentio*.

²³ MIRANDA, Manuel Tavares da Costa & BANDEIRA, Alípio, *Memorial acerca da antiga e moderna legislação indígena*, in: Carlos Frederico Marés de Souza Filho (Org) *Textos clássicos sobre o direito e os povos indígenas*, Curitiba, Juruá/NDI, 1992 page 30.

²⁴ *Apud* Thais Luzia COLAÇO, page 98 citing Paulo SUESS (Org) on page 269.

Portuguese interested in the slavery of the savages, enslavement whose monetary and other results would assure them of easy riches, conveniences and pleasures”²⁵

The already mentioned *Sublimus Deus* bull (1537), considered by Thaís COLAÇO “*the first social encyclical intended for the American peoples ... declared the Indians free and capable of the Christian faith, prohibiting their enslavement and reiterating their peaceful conversion through the word of God and good example*”.

Nevertheless, it took another script by Paul III, the *Veritas Ipsa* bull of June 9, 1537, placing the Indians on the same level of humanity as other men, prohibiting slavery under penalty of excommunication. In Brazil, according to Mércio GOMES, this bull only came to light a century later on April 22, 1639, with the *Comissum Nobis* bull of Urban VIII.²⁶

3. The origins of the colonization in Brazil

Ever since Brazil was conquered/found/invaded by the Portuguese, the Indians initiated their Calvary towards genocide/ethnocide as their freedoms were physically and morally affected by the enslavement of their person and their labor, and by the plundering of their lands which literally removed the ground from under them, since their form of social organization, language and culture disappeared together with the manner in which they coexisted on their land.

When the Portuguese colonizers arrived, the aboriginal inhabitants of this land were/had been considered a people, with their own customs, traditions and language, that is, a way of life, a culture of their own which was described in prose and poetry ever since the letter of Pero Vaz Caminha, but what in fact was seen was the lighting of a candle to God and another to the devil.

For example, as J. Isidoro MARTINS Junior²⁷ writes, partly citing Oliveira Martins in his work *O Brazil e as colonias portuguesas*, “*since 1511 the ship Bretôa had carried from the Portuguese possession to the metropolis ‘more than 30 Indian’ captives; that the letters and charters of the port administration entitled the captain to “rescue an indeterminate number of slaves, sending thirty-nine to Lisbon each year, and using them as he saw fit without paying any taxes; ... and as many others as needed for the sailors and cabin boys on his ships”*. This at the same time shows the omnipresent ambiguity surrounding the consideration regarding the humanity and the treatment to which the natives of Brazil were entitled by mentioning “*that the main reason for having Brazil populated was to reduce to the Catholic faith those who did not believe, seeing to it that they were well treated, and in the event they were hurt or molested, reparation was to be made to them and those responsible punished*”.

According to Marés, although many laws were decreed regarding the Indians of Brazil, *Portugal built nothing resembling the “Leyes de Índias”*. *The Decrees of the Kingdom applied in full and were adapted quite often by interpreting non-explicit mutations, as was the case of the land tenure (sesmarias)*²⁸.

²⁵ MIRANDA, Manuel Tavares da Costa & BANDEIRA, Alípio, *Memorial acerca da*, opus cit, page 30.

²⁶ Mércio GOMES, pages 57 and 109. this is also the opinion of ALMEIDA, Naíde Azevedo de, *Índio II*, Enciclopédia Saraiva de Direito, 43, São Paulo, Ed. Saraiva, 1977, page 463.

²⁷ J. Isidoro MARTINS Junior, *História do Direito Nacional* (Co. 1895), Pernambuco, Cooperativa Editora e de Cultura Intelectual, 1941, 2nd ed., page 203.

²⁸ Carlos Frederico Marés de SOUZA F^o., *O renascer dos povos ...* page 53.

On the one hand, there were the colonists interested in enslaving the Indians and taking possession of their lands; and on the other, the representatives of the Catholic Church, and their intention of converting the heathens to the Catholic faith and of obtaining temporal power in the form of lands; and furthermore, given the unknown immensity of the land conquered, there is the fact that the metropolis served these two masters and therefore, maintaining lax control, pursuing a contradictory policy – see the King’s letter of 1537 which expressly enshrined the enslavement of the Caetés – seconded as it was by D. Sebastian on March 20, 1570, which stated that it was impossible to render the Indians captive unless “*they were taken in a just war and those that usually set upon the Portuguese and other Indians, but, says TOURINHO NETO*²⁹ “*when taken in a just war authorized by the king or governors, or in morning rushes in which they attack and rob the houses, assassinating the inhabitants, or when they kill their enemies and eat them*”. The truth is that the use of weapons for indoctrination and land tenure was continually a reason for declaring and pursuing “just wars”.

The 1548 Regiment, which succeeded the King’s Letter of 1537 dates from this time, “*of dubious intention and contradictory to the hilt. That is why, ordering the governors to treat the Indians in general well, at the same time it commanded them to wage war against those who were the enemy, destroying their villages and settlements, capturing and killing them, and executing in their own villages, for example, any chiefs they could imprison*”³⁰.

This behavior of the authorities in Brazil and the discussion at hand also suggest the disintegration that was appearing in the medieval world, and which would culminate in the Renaissance and the Reformation which exploded in the XVII century.

4. From the XVII century to the republic

The XVII century, now under Philip II, begins with a positive reaction to freedom, as is made clear in the provision of July 5, 1605 and the law of June 30, 1609 which entitled the Indians to private law and a curator of their interests. But this legal protection was short-lived, since as they advanced inland – the official incursions (Bandeiras), the explorers and the expeditions to imprison and capture Indians for slave labor – there was lobbying in Portugal by both the Church and the colonists for and against Indian slave labor, all with the intention of settling and taking possession of their lands. Papal bulls, king’s letters, writs and regulations were published, some asking for leniency and humane treatment, like the king’s letters of 1605, 1609, 1647, 1648 and 1680, immediately followed by others like those of 1611, 1667, 1673 and 1684 which encouraged mistreatment and enslavement.³¹

Enlightenment and the valuing of so-called natural man, which deemed to find man through reason, made possible the transition from metaphysical natural law to rationalist natural law, and enabled jus naturalism to consider individual rights as not representing a

²⁹ TOURINHO NETO, Fernando da Costa, *Os direitos originários dos índios sobre as terras que ocupam e suas conseqüências jurídicas*. In Juliana Santilli (coord.) *Os direitos indígenas e a constituição*, Porto Alegre, Sérgio Fabris, 1993, page 12, citing Joaquim Norberto de Souza Silva in an article published in the *RIGH* of 1854.

³⁰ MIRANDA, Manuel Tavares da Costa & BANDEIRA, Alípio, *Memorial acerca da antiga e moderna legislação indígena*. In Carlos Frederico Marés de Souza Filho, *Textos clássicos sobre o direito e os povos indígenas*. Curitiba, Juruá/NDI, 1992 page 31

³¹ Manuel MIRANDA & Alípio Bandeira, *opus cit*, pages 31 et sec.

creation of the state, but that the latter had to ensure that these were observed and preserved. Especially to the fore were the right to life, liberty, security and property³², while one of the approaches of this new attitude was the famous bull issued by Benedict XIV on September 20, 1741, already in the XVIII century, confirming the briefs of Paul III and Urban VIII “once again, excommunicating latae sententiae, the violators of Indian liberty. And including them all in the same irrevocable condemnation, it hurled threats not only at those who henceforth were to be guilty of selling, buying, exchanging Indians or giving them as presents, set apart from their families, dispossessed of their chattels and farms, taken to other lands, transportation or other deprivation of liberty, but even those who gave advice, favor and help to whoever did such things, whatever the pretext for doing them.”³³

The relations between religious missionaries and the Crown agents were always tense, with disagreement on how to “civilize” the Indians. D. José I enacted the Pombal Directory created by the Writ of May 3, 1755, referring only to Pará and Maranhão, later extended to Mato Grosso where it only made itself felt in 1761³⁴ when it substitutes the action of religious missionaries with laymen in Indian villages; grants liberties to the Indians and orders lands to be demarcated for them.³⁵ But the king’s letter of May 12 1798 abolishes the Pombal Directory “and promotes the Indians to the condition of orphans, while returning to the concept of defensive wars and allowing white men to settle freely on Indian lands”.³⁶

In the XVIII, therefore, we see the continuation of casuistry and contradictions, servitude of the Indians and the despoiling and occupation of the lands where they lived, quite often with the support of the law while the authorities turned a blind eye when the interests of the colonists, the Crown and the Church were concerned, contrary to the interests and rights of the indigenous peoples. And what is more, as J.F. Lisboa observes, “Portuguese legislation was an uninterrupted series of hesitations and contradictions until Pombal. Today, unrestricted capture was decreed; tomorrow, absolute freedom, then a halfway house between the two extremes. Decrees were made and revoked, compromises made”³⁷.

In spite of the Declaration of Virginia in 1776, the Rights of Man and the Citizen, 1789, the French Revolution of 1798, the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves which began with the arrival of D. João VI, the first three king’s letters were published in 1808 and another in 1809, turning back the clock on cruelty and extermination and evidencing the strength of local power in the face of the king’s proximity. These laws were relatively relaxed by the king’s letter of 1811 and by the writ of May 1812 to the Governor of the Relation of the city of São Luiz do Maranhão, which did not consent to mistreating the heathens, or coercing them into forced labor for arbitrary prices and time periods.³⁸

³² Se LEWANDOWSKI, Enrique Ricardo, *Proteção dos Direitos Humanos na Ordem Interna e Internacional*, Rio de Janeiro, Forense, 1984 pages 8 to 12.

³³ Apud Alípio MIRANDA & Manuel BANDEIRA, opus cit., page 35.

³⁴ LEVERGER, Augusto (Barão de Melgaço), *Apontamentos cronológicos da Província do Mato Grosso*. Rev do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 205: 1949, pages 252/253.

³⁵ See page 73 of the book *Os índios e o Brasil*, by Mércio GOMES, Rio de Janeiro, Vózes, 1988.

³⁶ Mércio GOMES, idem.

³⁷ Citation in Manuel MIRANDA & Alípio Bandeira, *Memorial acerca da antiga e moderna ...* page 30.

³⁸ OLIVEIRA SOBRINHO, *Os silvicolos brasileiros e a legislação pátria – O decreto legislativo No. 5.484 of 1928*. In Carlos Frederico Marés de Souza Filho, *Textos clássicos sobre o direito e os povos indígenas*. 93-124. Curitiba, Juruá/NDI, 1992, page 104.

While this was going on, in Imperial Brazil of 1823, especially on the private initiative of the congressmen Carvalho e Mello, Souza França and José Bonifácio, the Indian question on several occasions became the center of attention of the Constituent General Assembly of the Empire. The Indian policy inspired in José Bonifácio and his Annotations offered to the respective committee, concerned *“the problem of two suffering races – the African and the American”*, whose wise concepts regarding the Indians were only taken up again and disclosed in full 87 years later with the creation of the Indian Protection Service (SPI) in 1910³⁹, since D Pedro I dissolved the constituent assembly and José Bonifácio was deported as a suspicious element where public order was concerned.

However, also according to OLIVEIRA SOBRINHO, the ideas of creating a new nation appear. The Empire’s Indian policy based on *“Decree No. 426 of July 1845, officially baptized as Regulations concerning the missions for indoctrinating and civilizing the Indians ... the law of public service organization in regard to the Indians”*⁴⁰ creates the village settlement regime, establishes the general directives for the Indians in the provinces, which in turn created partial directives for villages and groups of villages, favors indoctrination, prohibits servitude and mistreatment of Indians, obligates them to public service with a salary and to military service, but without coercion and correctional imprisonment of up to 6 days.⁴¹

The government of the first regency, on behalf of the Emperor, *“issued the famous law of October 27, 1831 [which revoked the king’s letters of 1808] ... of a protective nature, releases the Indians from all servitude, orders them to be considered orphans, subjecting them to the Ordinance regime, book I, title 88... Also in the sense of considering them as orphans, the decree of June 3, 1833 was issued under which by virtue of the extinction of the chamber ombudsmen who were private judges and administrators of Indian chattels, the judges of orphans became responsible ... The regulations of 1842 once again stipulate that it is incumbent on the judges of orphans to administer the Indian chattels”*^{42 43}.

In the second half of the XIX century, inspired by the evolutionism of Auguste Comte, we see the beginning of the Positivist Apostolate of Brazil movement whose proposal was to have the Indians considered as peoples of free and sovereign nations and whose voice made itself heard at the time of the Republican Constituent Assembly *“on behalf of the poor heathens*

³⁹ OLIVEIRA SOBRINHO, opus cit, pages 107/108.

⁴⁰ According to Carlos Frederico Marés de SOUZA Fº., *Tutela aos índios: Proteção ou Opressão?* In Juliana Santilli (Coord) Os direitos indígenas e a constituição. Porto Alegre, Sérgio Fabris/NDI. 1993, 296-312, on page 300.

⁴¹ Mércio GOMES, opus cit., pages 79/80.

⁴² According to MIRANDA & BANDEIRA, opus cit., pages 41 to 45..

⁴³ Carlos Frederico Marés de SOUZA Fº begins his already cited chapter *Tutela aos índios: Proteção ou Opressão?* by telling a sad case judged by the Supreme Court of Maranhão on October 25, 1898, which denied the plea of habeas corpus of the Indian Helena to have her son who has been placed in the care of strangers returned to her, alleging that the orphan courts enjoy special attributions in regard to Indians and their possessions and, as a result, if the mother is unable to manage her own life, how could she even manage that of her son, as she is a real savage with no knowledge at all of the Portuguese language. This decision, according to the author, was published in vol 79 of the monthly journal of Legislation, Doctrine and Jurisprudence, The Law, referring to May-August 1899 on pages 780-2. This interpretation, that in addition to the chattels the courts were competent to rule on the persons of the Indians, which included relieving them of their paternal power, involves an error, as Marés comments. I ask was this not the interpretation that was to leave traces in the Brazilian Civil Code of 1916?

... proposing recognition of the “Brazilian American States” [in opposition to the other states of the Federation, the Brazilian Western States] which would be supported by federal Government protection and fully respected in possession of their territories And when the legislators voted article 63, subsequently 64 of the Constitution, it did not transpire that they left to luck the real owners of the Brazilian land, handing over to the States, together with the unoccupied lands, those lands that were occupied in the most legitimate of manners”⁴⁴.

The Constitution of 1891 did not concern itself with the Indians scattered across the national territory, and article 64 already mentioned declares as belonging to the state the mines and unoccupied lands, and to the Union only the portion of the territory indispensable for border defense, fortifications, military constructions and federal railways, not including the Indian colonies or settlements. Nor did it reserve the right of the Indians to possession of vast and diverse tracts of land which they legitimately occupied, committing a regrettable injustice and a huge political error by once again leaving them subject to local polices, without proper protection, since plunder and pillage were and have been a constant behavior of the state and the Brazilian people.

For José Afonso da SILVA, the lands are the Indians’ original entitlement – the *indigenato*, an old and traditional Luso-Brazilian legal institution whose roots go back to the time of the colonies. Citing João MENDES JR, he says “The *indigenato* is the primary and congenital source of land tenure: it is a hereditary right, while the occupation is a vested right”. João Mendes Jr. goes on to add “as the lands are congenitally possessed, they are not unoccupied, that is, they are originally reserved ... These considerations on their own show that the relations between the Indian and his lands are not governed by the rules of Civil Law”⁴⁵.

He goes on to say “the relations between the Indian and his lands ... his possession extrapolates the purely private sphere and is the basis for his habitat in the ecological sense of joint interaction between natural and cultural elements that afford the balanced development of human life .. This type of relation has nothing to do with the individualist limitations of private law”⁴⁶.

This article 64 of the Constitution of 1891, which associates without differentiating unoccupied lands from Indian lands, including the latter in the former, is the result of countless still unresolved actions, or those resolved to the detriment of the Indians, in transit in our courts. Here I would cite the summary published by Aurélio Wander BASTOS⁴⁷:

⁴⁴ MIRANDA, Manuel Tavares da Costa & BANDEIRA, Alípio, *Memorial acerca da antiga e moderna legislação indígena*. In Carlos Frederico Marés de Souza Filho, *Textos clássicos sobre o direito e os povos indígenas*. Curitiba, Juruá/NDI, 1992 page 50.

⁴⁵ SILVA, José Afonso da, *Terras tradicionalmente ocupadas pelos índios* In Juliana Santilli (coord.) *Os direitos indígenas e a constituição*. Porto Alegre, Sérgio Fabris/NDI. 1993, 296-312, page 48. Several researchers have also spoken out on this point, like Aurélio Wander Bastos, C.F. Marés de Souza Fº, Fernando da Costa Tourinho Neto.

⁴⁶ Bruna FRANCHETTO, *O que é “Terra Indígena”? Uma decisão do Supremo Tribunal Federal*, In: Silvio Coelho dos Santos et alii (orgs.) *Sociedades Indígenas e o Direito – uma questão de direitos humanos – Ensaio*. Florianópolis. UFSC/CNPq. 1985. page 107 cites José Afonso da SILVA in a lecture given at the USP Law School, October 1983.

⁴⁷ Aurélio Wander BASTOS. *As terras indígenas no Direito Constitucional brasileiro e na jurisprudência*. In: Silvio Coelho dos Santos et alii (orgs.) *Sociedades Indígenas e o Direito – uma questão de direitos humanos – Ensaio*. Florianópolis. UFSC/CNPq. 1985. page 88

“The Writ of Mandamus No. 20.234 (MT) of the Federal Appeals Court (STF) dated June 4, 1980 (RTJ journal No. 99, p.70) explicitly states in a decision regarding the constitutionality of Decree No. 84.337, of 21/DEC/79 that establishes the boundaries of the Parabubure Indian Reservation: the right to dominion and possession of the State of Mato Grosso (the first grantee of the lands) has been conferred upon it by the Constitution of the Republic of 1891, and no document can be demanded of it as proof of its dominion”. This guideline has been a dominant feature within the STF starting with the decision handed down in Extraordinary Appeal No. 51.290 (GO) of 24/SEP/1968 (RTJ magazine No. 48, p. 49) regarding dominion of public assets, which in that sense recognizes the validity of the acts of transfer of the unoccupied lands by the states of the federation”.

Article 4 of the Federal Constitution of 1946, according to Ney LAND, speaks of lands occupied by savages, *“without care all their lands were the property of the union, which has been creating more difficulties when it should have made indispensable reservations regarding:*

1. *the lands donated to the Indians for them to establish their villages;*
2. *the lands donated by one Indian to another – usually a tribal chieftain – for him to establish his village;*
3. *the lands donated to Indians in payment of services rendered;*
4. *the lands acquired by the protecting entity (FUNAI) for establishing Indian villages.*

As one can see, these four types of Indian lands should not only be demarcated, but rather they should have a normal deed of title properly registered with the Registrar of Deeds”⁴⁸.

5. The XX century

The ideals of the Positivist Apostolate were not very successful and the means of communication at that time reverberated with complaints of mistreatment, which worsened in the south when the German colonies began hiring professional Indian hunters (bugreiros) “to exterminate Indians who were preventing the progress of civilization”, so as to be able to occupy their lands. The echoes of these actions were heard in Europe, and at the Congress of Americanists held in Vienna in 1907, severe accusations were leveled at Brazil for “allowing enslavement and even encouraging the extermination of the Indians”⁴⁹. Thus, under external pressure, on June 20, 2010 the government of Nilo Peçanha approved Decree No. 8072 which created the Indian Protection Service (SPI) and Domestic Workers Localization.

The soul of this decree were the supporters and members of the Apostolate led by the future Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who had already traveled throughout Brazil putting up telegraph poles, and whose motto “die if needs be, but never kill” was not mere

⁴⁸ According to Ney LAND, an Indian specialist with 20 years of services to the Indian cause. In: O Índio e o Direito. PAINEL. Rio de Janeiro. OAB/RJ (Brazilian Bar Association/Rio de Janeiro Chapter). OAB/RJ Debate Series. 1981. pages 87/88

⁴⁹ According to what several specialists in the Indian question have written and described, among them, Darcy RIBEIRO, *Os índios e a civilização – A integração das populações indígenas no Brasil moderno –* São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 1996; Carmen JUNQUEIRA & Eunice PAIVA, *La legislación brasileña y las poblaciones indígenas en Brasil*. In: Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Derecho indígena y derechos humanos en América Latina* Mexico, Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos/El Colegio de México, 1988; Mércio Pereira GOMES, *Os índios e o Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro. Vozes. 1988; Roberto Cardoso de OLIVEIRA, Roque de Barros LARAIA, and many other anthropologists, jurists, indigenists and persons with extensive knowledge of the dry Brazilian uplands (sertão).

rhetic as witnessed by his countless followers, intellectuals, liberal professionals, armed forces personnel and many who had worked with him in building the telegraph lines, in addition to historical and scientific documents. Of special interest is the book by Darcy Ribeiro: *Os índios e a civilização*. Unfortunately the pacification of over 100 tribes facilitated their future extermination through the failure of the Brazilian state to act, on the one hand, and on the other hand, that state's permissiveness and complicity in plundering the lands, even after ratifying the international laws for the protection of minorities, like the Convention 107 of the ILO of June 1957 on the protection of Indian populations, ratified in 66; and that of the UN, of December 65, ratified in 69, regarding the elimination of all kinds of racial discrimination.

The initial project of the Civil Code, according to CLOVIS BEVILÁCQUA, did not highlight the Indians among those considered incapable, nor did it even mention them, just like TEIXEIRA DE FREITAS in *Esboço*, as it was believed that they deserved special arrangements like any other autonomous people and which best served their condition as individuals "*strangers in the nest of Civilization that the Civil Code represents, although organized society insists in sitting them on its lap*". Incapacity took place in the Senate on the proposal of Muniz Freire, labeling them as individuals of restricted capacity. According to CLOVIS, to whom the savages are inhabitants of the forest and not those who were mixed in with the general population, the matter of special arrangements began to be resolved with Decree No. 8.072 of June 20, 1910⁵⁰.

The SPI was created under the Ministry of Agriculture, subsequently linked to the War Ministry, before returning to Agriculture. Under the Statute of the Indian, mediation between the natives and state was to have been the responsibility of the FUNAI, created in December 1967 and linked to the Ministry of the interior. However, "*the FUNAI is run by the military, when this task should belong to the Judiciary, with better access*" says Nilo Batista⁵¹ and citing a friend "*a colonel running the FUNAI is as logical as the battle of Monte Castelo being won by an anthropologist*".

In 1961, president Jânio Quadros created new forest parks or reserves in areas with dense concentrations of Indians, including the Sete Quedas National Park on the border with Paraguay and the Xingu Indian Park Reserve (PIX) in the region that begins with the tributaries of the Xingu⁵², to which the ferocious participation of those who defended the Indians and their way of life made an enormous contribution, in this case the Villasboas brothers. But Bruna FRANCHETTO⁵³ writes, "*In 1953, while Congress was analyzing the bill of law that sought to create the Xingu Indian Park Reserve with a larger area than that of today, the Lands Department of the State of Mato Grosso began selling lands throughout the state in order to pursue a 'colonization policy' ... which included two-thirds of the Park Reserve area*". On August

⁵⁰ Clovis BEVILÁCQUA, *Código Civil dos Estados Unidos do Brasil - Comentado*, Rio de Janeiro, Franciso Alves Bookstore, 1921, vol. 1, 2nd ed. page 185.

⁵¹ Nilo BATISTA, professor and Director of the Research Division of the OAB/RJ Chapter. In: *O índio e o Direito*. PAINEL. Rio de Janeiro. OAB/RJ. OAB/RJ Debate Series. 1981, page 97

⁵² MOREIRA Neto, Carlos Alberto. *Constante histórica do indigenato no Brasil*. *Antropologia* 2: 175-185. São Paulo/USP, 1967, page 178

⁵³ Bruna FRANCHETTO, *O que é "Terra Indígena"? Uma decisão do Supremo Tribunal Federal*, In: Silvio Coelho dos Santos et alii (orgs.) *Sociedades Indígenas e o Direito - uma questão de direitos humanos - Ensaio*. Florianópolis. UFSC/CNPq. 1985. See note (1) pg. 116 and page 99.

10, 1983, after the BR-080 highway had cut the PIX from end to end, the STF handed down a decision condemning the Union and the FUNAI to pay for the indirect expropriation of an area of land of around 10.000 hectares which had been sold by the State of Mato Gross in 1959.

Paulo SABOYA⁵⁴, when asked why Indian lands cannot be demarcated, which should have happened according to the Statute of the Indians (1973) within five years following its enactment, says that the shock begins because it is communal, not condominium ownership, resulting in a basic difficulty, namely *“society is unable to swallow the pill of communal ownership within the capitalist system”*.

The coup of 64 removed the SPI management from office, finally extinguishing the entity, but not before a fire took place in its confidential files that were never published, which by then had been transferred to Brasilia. The FUNAI “linked the meaning of work to the ideology of development with security” based on contacting new autonomous groups, demarcation of lands, providing formal education and health, and all this very quickly. Not all targets were fully attained, fortunately, according to Mércio GOMES⁵⁵.

The Constitution of 67 and the Additional Act of 69 made the Indian lands non negotiable and their possession permanent, with the exclusive right to enjoy their natural wealth. The Indian land, the matter of relative incapacity and the definition of who is or is not an Indian has been the fulcrum of many injustices and transgressions against the dignity and rights of the Indians, and the Gordian knot of the biggest portion of the Indian question since its origins⁵⁶.

The Statute of the Indians created by law 6.001 of December 19, 1973 was the FUNAI’s work tool, but did not provide guardianship as it should have, partly because of the lack of political will, or by the pressure of economic power, taking land away from the Indians for hydroelectric plants, railways and highways, abusing the powers of guardianship as illustrated in several works, as it was its own inspectorate; or through lack of personnel, in part trained personnel; or because of corrupt employees, among other causes. From an individual viewpoint, the case of Juruna is especially exemplary⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ Paulo SABOYA, Director of the OAB/RJ Chapter. In *O índio e o Direito*. PAINEL. Rio de Janeiro. OAB/RJ, page 25.

⁵⁵ Mércio GOMES, opus cit., pages 88/90.

⁵⁶ There are countless works dealing with these three topics. Here we have only mentioned a few, but in the publications found in the bibliography, the reader will find the points of view of jurists, anthropologists, indigenists and former and current specialists in matters of the dry Brazilian uplands dealing with this matter in some depth.

⁵⁷ *“In 1980, the chief of the Namunkurá Xavante village was Mario Juruna, who had become the most important representative of the Indian struggle in Brazil, and elected president of the Commission of the 4th Bertrand Russell Human Rights Tribunal”, “having been invited to travel abroad to present the situation of the Brazilian indigenous populations to human rights protection agencies. Taking advantage of the guardianship imposed by the Statute of the Indians, the Interior Minister, hierarchical boss of the President of the FUNAI, forbid him to leave the country”* (see SOUZA FILHO, 1993, and the chapter of Carmen JUNQUEIRA & Eunice PAIVA mentioned below, respectively). According to what Rafael José de Menezes BASTOS, who saw the case notes of this proceeding tell us *“Having taken the dispute to the courts, the Mário Juruna affair basically involves the writs of habeas corpus filed with the Federal Appeals Court under No. 4.876, (dated November 13, 1980) and 4.880 (of the 17th) on behalf of the Xavante Chief’s freedom to come and go, so that he could appear at*

The military government, and even those that succeeded them, paid scant attention to the demarcation of lands, and from the developmentalist perspective allowed many projects to be installed on Indian lands – which, among other problems, transmitted diseases and spread epidemics among the Indians – highways (like the Transamazônica and Cuiabá-Santarém in the 1970s); and railways (the Carajás-Itaqui railway); dams and hydroelectric power stations, inundating their habitats (for example, the traditional lands of the Parakaná at Tucuruí); the installation of companies: farming and livestock companies like those of the “Polonordeste” Program, not to mention lands invaded by colonists and farmers, as was the case of the Pataxó Indians in Ilhéus whose legal struggle to have their lands returned to them continues to this day; mining for gold and precious stones (see the cases of the Surucucus and Yanomani Indians); exploitation of timber (among others, Mato Grosso, on Cinta-Larga lands) and minerals like bauxite and cassiterite, predominantly in the States of Pará and Minas Gerais (as is the case of Paranapanema and Vale do Rio Doce on lands belonging to the Kaiapó, Guajá and Waimiri-Atroari Indians). Many of these projects are based on matters of national security, but whose exploration was granted not only to state-owned companies, but also to private Brazilian and multinational companies⁵⁸.

Civil movements and societies that appeared through the involvement of Indians from different tribal societies, anthropologists, jurists and other defenders of the cause were able to muster their forces to have the current articles 231 and 232 and their paragraphs included in the 1988 Federal Constitution. This was an enormous step forward towards the belated enfranchisement of the indigenous peoples. The new constitutional rulings enable the structuring of a large number of indigenous associations registered as civil societies, which in the Amazon region rose from 10 to 80 in a single decade, covering only the 6 states of the Amazon (Amazônia (AM), Rondônia (RO), Roraima (RR), Acre (AC), Pará (PA) and Amapá (AP)), and which currently, since the advent of the XXI century, are estimated at over 250 if we consider only the territory covered by the Legal Amazon area which has been fighting for its rights, although aware from experience ever since the time of its ancestors, that more injustices and prejudices exist and are yet to appear.

Nevertheless, the fact that favorable legislation exists for the primeval inhabitants of this land has been insufficient to change the mindset and the attitudes of part of the Brazilian population. Laws have a positive effect on possible behaviors, as expressed in this increase

the Bertrand Russell Tribunal. It is notable that the FUNAI and the Ministry of the Interior publicly – through newspapers, magazines, etc - refused to grant approval for Mr. Juruna to appear at the event, which was evidenced in practical terms by the refusal of the Federal Police to issue him with a passport. The writs having been filed, the first by Mr. Jorge de Oliveira Beja, and the second by José Oliveira Costa and Antonio Modesto da Silveira, both of them were dedicated to only one manner, the reporting party being Minister Adhemar Raymundo”. This author concludes: “the case having been won by Mr. Juruna, precisely on account of the inspiration that the ministers of the Federal Appeals Court sought in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Constitution” even so, “the habeas corpus received 15 votes in favor and nine against, whereby he was able to leave for Holland where he accompanied the final part of the work of the 4th Tribunal”, according to Carmen JUNQUEIRA & Eunice PAIVA, opus cit., page 267.

⁵⁸ I suggest reading the chapter of Carmen JUNQUEIRA & Eunice PAIVA *La legislación brasileña y las poblaciones indígenas en Brasil*. In: Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Derecho indígena y derechos humanos en América Latina* Mexico, Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos/El Colégio de México, 1988; and the chapters of Mércio GOMES, on pages 165 to 186 for a better understanding of the difficulties and atrocities imposed on the Indian tribes.

in civil societies among the indigenous peoples. But on the other hand, there is the example of the new Civil Code, law 10.406 of 2002, which once again puts the Indians under the main paragraph of the relatively incapable, a guideline which is barely suitable for the approach of the latest Magna Carta.

This historical social inheritance, a sad memory of over 500 years of mistreatment suffered by countless groups of Brazilian indigenous peoples retains its presence in different strata of Brazilian society, while certain economic and political interests speak louder, which for the different aboriginal peoples of our nation means an endless struggle.

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Frontier Effects and Tidemarks: A Commentary in the Anthropology of Borders

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1. Introduction

Dealing with the issue of transformation at borders, this paper is aimed at a critical review of some contributions to the scholarly field known as the anthropology of borders. Taking a position against some of the assumptions this literature has developed, it claims that the border is not only enacted, but also an actant. It argues for conceiving the frontier as an activity and agentive capacity itself, beyond the state or an assumed centre to which it is usually referred as a margin. Consequently, unlike much of the body of work undertaken so far, the border is hereby considered beyond the territorial dimension and appears as a multiplicity of spaces imbued with subjectivity reflected in areas of crossing and dwelling, a space in its continuous becoming, a tidemark, to use the Green's (2009) suggestion. The border is therefore much more than as a fixed geographical, marginal location, concentration of state institutions or site of culturally-patterned negotiations.

The chapter argues that there are important contributions from anthropology that open borders to full spatio-temporal consideration and multiplication at different scales. The border, as my ethnographic vignettes show, is both a conscious and unconscious domain, both visible and invisible. The border, through its subjective productions of dwelling and crossing, is multi-form, representable and unrepresentable, known and unknown – a view that can stimulate further visions of spatiality and give way to more everyday subjective modes to relate to the edges of the state. Subjectivity and various spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces involved in crossing and dwelling constitute traces of the continuous transformation of the border-object.

2. The problem

The chapter proposes an anthropological literature review on borders that takes into account recent developments in this particular area of research. My approach to this already vast literature is selective and critical. Criticism comes from the observation that, although anthropology is equipped with the methodological practice necessary to enable the understanding of everyday spatio-temporalization of borders, research done so far at frontiers has been poorly engaged to that aim. Instead, anthropologists usually analyse borders as secondary objects of inquiry and thus take for granted and reiterate

representational canons of space and time developed in approaches to international frontiers in other disciplines. By holding on conventional views of territory and its relations to states and sovereignties, anthropologists obscure the complex interactions between individuals and regimes of border crossing. This essay is therefore committed to locate borders at the level of the intersubjective relation in order to enable an analytical framework for scholars to understand why borders do sometimes stay the same and why do they change significantly over short periods of time, what are their spatio-temporal creations, how they enact themselves or how are they enacted from outside. Borders are seen as sites of permanent spatio-temporal production, by means of both borderlanders and hinterlanders' everyday engagement with practices of crossing and dwelling. As an implicit intermediary effort, the paper is thus aimed at indicating the ways in which borders serve reification by obscuring and minimizing intersubjectivity.

'What is a border' is a question usually asked by scholars, unless frontiers are secondary focus of analysis. Although important, the ontologization of the research object is more effectively answered through a different question, related to praxis and transformation. Following this, I argue that more useful interrogations would be 'how borders are (re)made' and 'how do borders become actants'. The how-question is indeed complicated. It is assumed in this question that a border does not change with the transformations in the limits of sovereignty or with the state-making processes only. In the last 20 years, the experience with the borders across Europe, to speak about a small area of the globe only, reveals numerous transformations in the border-crossing regimes which affect both perceptions and practical involvement with living and crossing at frontiers. Therefore, the transformative activity that lies behind borders and border regimes is understandable not only from a statist point of view, but also from a more detailed account which takes into consideration issues of (inter)subjectivity, space, and time. 'Who makes the border' and 'what makes the border' are also meaningful questions to answer. Taking into account the scope and potentiality of the anthropological inquiry, the essay advances the idea of the border as activity, thus subsuming the series of questions mentioned above. The border as activity also entails the possibility to scale down and up the frontier's spatiality and temporality according to the reference that concentrates the transformative activity which is considered to make or remake the border.

Another contestation deployed in the chapter departs from the observation that borders have been seen by anthropologists as territorial and socio-cultural annexes of the state and, consequently, as a sort of unproductive notion of politics and power. This implies seeing the border as a simple duality and place of negotiation and confrontation between asymmetrical forces: representatives of the sovereign state and crossers/non-crossers. Using the notion of border as a duality of state and society without a clear understanding of a spatio-temporalized subjectivity, anthropologists contribute to the reification of 1) the state and 2) border populations. First, anthropologists offer a sort of state centrism fully referred in various concepts of borders they use. Second, anthropologists emphasize border populations as stable, with limited and predictable movement/mobility in relation to the state. Using this sort of duality, and others that reinforce meanings of the frontier as separation, the border, as worked by anthropologists, assumes a limited understanding of space and time, producing an analytical isolation of the border in time and space. My

contention, however is that borders interact in various ways with other times and places. Two notions recently developed in relation to these prove particularly helpful. One of these notions is Green's (2009) concept of 'tidemark'. The other one is Donnan and Wilson's (2010) 'frontier effect'. Although not explicitly stated, these two conceptual developments in relation to the anthropology of borders constitute in my reading a major opening towards an intersubjective spatio-temporality of the border and a glimpse into conceiving the border as activity and process, rather than a fixed entity and as an actant, rather than an entity enacted from the 'outside'. In the same logic, an earlier attempt to redefine the border's spatio-temporality has stressed the border as becoming, rather than dwelling (Radu 2010). The hereby argument is that anthropologists will be more beneficial to borders, and viceversa, if they consider the frontiers as processes and activities and redirect a closer look at both internal-personal and relational experiences of crossing and dwelling the frontier in their multiplicity and various scales.

3. Ethnographic illustration of the problem

With the aim of introducing empirical ways to see and understand the scales and spatio-temporalities of the border, this chapter reflects a part of my recent ethnographic work at the border between Romania and Serbia. The discussion refers to ways in which my respondents speak in the present about their past (generally socialist, pre-1989) experiences with the border. The border has apparently been closed and fixed for decades in the post-WWII period, until 1989. It was part of a Cold War border regime that enforced harsh restrictions to crossing and dwelling in the border areas, restrictions that, will become clear, had not stayed the same. Restrictions had been either enforced or relaxed, negotiable or mandatory, and that various subject positions and practices that (re)made the border spaces and times in many different ways. In the postwar context, Romania has historiographically been described as an anxious and restrictive state due to a heavily centralized economy and its vicinity with the 'revisionist' Yugoslavia. In the face of such evidence, it was the life at the border with its peculiarities and the always-changing conditions of crossing and dwelling, which disenched the strict socialist bordering. The Iron Gates I dam had been opened on the Danube, the Southern Romania-Serbia border, in the early 1970's, in the middle of the country's party socialism, after almost a decade of preparation, work and massive displacements of the local populations, also reflected in urbanization, industrialisation and significant migration flows from the inland into the border area. The dam had prompted important changes in the life of borderlanders as much as it transformed the state relations between Romania and Yugoslavia significantly. On the one hand, it generated insecurity and internal and material disown to people as many had lost their houses, properties and even entire places that were flooded, such as the island of Ada-Kaleh. On the other hand, it gave way to possibilities of border crossing, after twenty years of absolute restrictions. Crossing had stimulated a wide range of 'entrepreneurial' activities in a socialist period in which the private room of manoeuvre of this kind had usually been very limited. Everyone from the border used to love smuggling. The journeys across the border to Yugoslavia provided borderlanders opportunities for extra cash incomes and access to the Western consumerism.

While these new practices produced a consistent joy with life, a deep dissatisfaction was at times connected to the living conditions, due to increasing control and surveillance and

heavy shortages that affected a wide range of areas of private and collective life. It was crossing and the small trade that had largely fallen beyond the party-state's control, whereas the deceptive dwelling was directly stimulated through the interaction between individuals and the coercive institutional apparatus. Therefore, the border meant very different things and had subjected borderlanders in various realms of their lives. The splitting subjectivity perpetuated by the duality of dwelling and crossing has been a constant force of generating different senses of the border, by multiplying spaces and temporal references.

An account from Ilie, one of my respondents is suggestive to this point, describing the experience of dispossession and the perpetuation of the sense of marginality in the present dwelling, since the construction of the dam.

"People have no work here. People live off day labour. Everybody runs off outside the country. Especially the young people. Even me - before autumn comes, I'll be gone again. What can I do here?"

When he looks at the deceptive landscape of his neighbourhood he immediately reminds, in contrast, of the good life in his family house at the Danube, in Vârciorova, which is now under the waters of the Danube. He recollects that they were almost entirely part of a friendly natural landscape.

"People go to the border with cigarettes now, they take a chance, but it's not worth it, as far as I am concerned. When people don't have what to do, they still need to do something".

This illustrates the place of crossing in a context with no proper opportunities. On the other hand, crossing had clearly been stimulated by the dam, and it probably offered the only compensation for the loss of properties and the familiar in their lives. Ilie told me that the small cross-border trade was the only memorable good thing about the dam.

"A lot of people here have led a good life (before and after 1989) just because of the small trade across the border."

However, crossing has been engaged with differently. In socialism, Esin and his wife did not go to Yugoslavia for the small commerce, but they have got to cross regularly after 1989. Esin's brother-in-law had worked in the local police and he constantly prevented him get a crossing pass before 1989. By doing this in the context in which commerce was however officially disapproved, they just wanted to avoid any possible reason that could undermine his relative's public position. Avoiding doing business openly was a common tendency amongst those with good authority positions in socialism. However, Esin crossed the border a lot after 1989. They used to buy cheap stuff from Orșova, then went to the other side and sold everything.

Another respondent, Constantin, had never gone to Yugoslavia before 1989. Constantin had a leading position within the local party's hierarchy. Although the construction of the dam and the relocation had affected him and subverted his loyalty to a considerable measure, he still uses the 'socialist' rationale against crossing in the present. He says he was all the time a real patriot so that he could not try the advantages of the small smuggling across the border. He associates the small trade with the factories being robbed and the transportation and

selling of materials into Yugoslavia. As he reminds me, many border crossers have done that.

“Those who went into this had no character. They made a fool out of us. Those who knew how to make real trade ended up real bosses today. That’s where it all started”.

Constantin recollects that the peak of crossing has been the embargo and the contraband in the 1990’s (Radu 2009). Besides those doing the small trade, there were people enjoying the real advantages on account of them.

“The poor man was carrying 5 liters and others were carrying 4-5 tones, by the same ship. The powerful were using the small to make profit. It was done under the impression of small trafficking. But they were all on big embargo”.

Although he did not cross the border, he would have done if the context would have been more secure for him.

“Freedom, that was dearly missed, the freedom to cross whenever I wanted the Danube.”

One of the numerous small smugglers in cigarettes I have met in my fieldwork was Mariana, a poor woman living with her old and unhealthy mother. Her only income was secured from selling unstamped cigarettes. She has got fined and seized cigarettes two times in 2010 by the local police because of the illicitness of her job. From 4-5 years on, this small smuggling is the only available occupation to her. Mili, one of her customers and the owner of a small bar where she comes to retail the merchandise, tells me that the small smuggling is probably the only motive for the heavy concentration of police and patrols in town. It is a complicated relationship between those who pass the cigarettes through the customs, those who sell them in the city, the border policemen who let the cigarettes pass through the border checkpoint and the local policemen who hunt those petty traders in the city. Mili is right asking: “Why on earth do they let the cigarettes come into town? What happens in the customs?”

Coming up from the above stories, crossing and dwelling appear as different, yet related modes of subjectivation. Although crossing appeared all the time as a desirable alternative to a deceptive dwelling, it had been engaged with as everyday activity very selectively. The experience of dwelling and crossing at the border, in both everyday practice and fantasy, is therefore very fragmented and producing a multiplying effect in the border’s space-time.

“The Danube is Danube; it has historically been no border”, as Sorin, another respondent, told me. Although it formally was a state border, he considers that people had no perception of the river as a barrier, until socialism. To Sorin, the river appeared in socialism as a frontier which is dangerous to cross. And he never crossed it. Unlike Sorin, Daniel, another respondent, had lived much of his experience of socialist crossing with the impression that the border does not exist. “In my mind there was no border”, as far as he could cross it so easily, for every need or purpose, backed by his friends working in the border post. Although residents of the same border area, Sorin and Daniel, Mili and Mariana, Ilie, Constantin and Esin have all developed different experiences of space and time in relation

to the socialist and post-socialist border and its changing mobility regime. These experiences form a productive context materialized in activities that (re)create the border.

4. Border scenario 1: Territory, state and culture

Departing from the previous ethnographic vignettes, this section is devoted to pointing out two main explanatory fashions in the anthropology of borders. These are the territory, with its assumptions of marginality of border areas and the centrality of the state as the main actant in the border space, and culture. The main argument is that the unproblematic use of these notions in explaining border situations overlooks much of the everyday dynamics at borders and disown the border of spatiality and temporality.

In social sciences, borders are considered to represent marginal territories of the state, relatively fixed in space and continuous in time (Donnan, Wilson 1999; Wilson, Donnan 1998; Heyman 1994). Fixity and continuity produce a homogeneous notion of the subjective experience of the border: people are expected to react in similar ways to the opportunities and restrictions enacted through the presence of the border. Marginality and the significant presence of the state create the impression that the border is acted from afar, by a different entity. Territoriality, linked with the enforcement of sovereignty leave us with the understanding of the border as duality, barrier and separation. All these ideas linked to territoriality converge to the representation of the border as a line (Green 2009). However, an unproblematic notion of territory seems less desirable in explaining borders. The appearance of the border as a territory constituted a good reason for many to treat borders in their dimension and capacity to separate cultures, societies and sovereignties, thus reiterating the magicalities and fantasies of states in relation to their geographical margins. Yet, it is more to borders than their capacity to separate and demarcate. In Eastern Europe, even during the Cold War, as the previous section showed, there were created border regimes in which fixity and continuity had permanently been challenged (Berdahl 1999; Green 2005; Radu forthcoming a; Radu forthcoming b) through interventions and transformations of the territory and landscape. The effects of these interventions had not necessarily been restrictive to crossing and dwelling. Rather, such interventions had multiplied the possibilities to live with the border and to redefine it. It is not just the engineering by the state that pressures borders to change and become different spaces, but also the daily activities by borderlanders and hinterlanders, all related to crossing and dwelling the border.

First, the problem with the territory is that it includes the assumption of the naturalization of borders as the limits of sovereignty enacted by the state and its apparatuses. A significant counter-argument to this comes from Elden (2009), who demonstrates that 'territory' is primarily a political-strategic term. It represents a bundle of political technologies, a measure of control. Only secondary it can be taken as a reference to the spatial organization of the everyday activities. Also, territory is considered as a fixed and immovable thing. All in all, the concept constitutes a mere ideological construction, less reflected in the everyday life of border dwellers and crossers. My fieldwork on the Romania-Serbia border confirms the absence of the territorial dimension in the everyday life. On the other hand, speaking of territory includes the assumption of an existing center and margin in its distribution and

organization, assumption with important consequences in conceiving power relations and marginality of border areas. However, marginality of borders has been widely criticised from the standpoint of confronting evasive discourses with practicalities and movements of the everyday life (Green 2005).

Second, borders are anonymously and imprecisely linked to the concept of culture. There is a positive side in the treatment of borders in relation to culture though. Anthropologists have sought to argue against the fixed parameters of borders in terms of territory by using the coexistence, sameness and the imperfect fit of cultures at international frontiers. Culture has thus been used extensively into an anti-territorial critique of sovereignty and nationalism which affected much the way anthropologists think about borders today (Cole, Wolf 1974).

There is however a risk in getting to borders via concept of culture. Culture, especially in its cognitivist, evolutionist, ecological and holist understandings (Geertz 1973; Rappaport 1971; Kroeber, Kluckhohn, Meyer, Untereiner 1952) has been fetishized to a large degree to the point that it can provide a false spectrum of the social. Usually seen monolithically, and less intersubjectively, culture promotes a 'natural' reproduction and continuity of the social life, leaving limited room to explaining disruptions of order, creative events and change. The more recent poststructuralist critique of culture points out these aspects (Marcus, Fischer 1999). Culture thus provides little manoeuvre with transformations, temporality and spatiality. In general, the cultural aspects are understood by the anthropologists of borders as autonomous, self-generating sources of patterned practices. In this context, time seems to make little sense to culture.

Culture is also highly debateable from the point of view of the ways it is being used on a daily basis as a technology, as a way to create meaning to other ideological and analytical objects of the social. In this fashion, borders become meaningful through their cultural treatment. A relevant argument of this point is the materialist and neo-Marxist critique of culture that generally points out the ways in which culture becomes the ideal tool in preserving notions of sovereignty, state apparatuses, and capitalist domination. Lukacs' (1968) discussion on the reification of both commodities and the working class' consciousness is a case in point. In order get in full shape into the realm of borders which are usually processes of political exaltation and derangement, 'culture' needs a different vision that takes into consideration its interdependence, interaction with processes of power and activity and the potential to differentiate and connect at various scales, including the intersubjective one.

"(...) I accepted that the cultural is always political, but took issue with theories that constructed culture as a specific "realm," "domain," or "signifying system." To me, such theories both re-reified culture, and rehabilitated something like a base-superstructure model, only this time with causality running in the opposite direction. I argued (though not exactly in these terms) that "culture" needed to be reintegrated into the social totality of capitalism as a moment of power. Culture was an effect of struggles over power that was expressed as a reification of meaning, certain ways of life, or patterns of social relations: it is a materially based idea (or ideology) about social difference." (Mitchell 2004: 62)

'Culture' has usually been invested in the anthropological thinking with the power to determine social life in an atemporal, ahistorical and homogeneous manner. A useful way to see how culture is imbricated at various levels of the social comes from a E. P. Thompson's discussion of experience, particularly the experience of the law, in his critique of the Althusserian antihumanism - an effort to reinstate the human agency in the imprecise forces of indetermination that shape the social and economic life.

"I found that law did not keep politely to a "level" but was at every bloody level; it was imbricated within the mode of production and productive relations themselves (as property-rights, definitions of agrarian practice) and it was simultaneously present in the philosophy of Locke; it intruded briskly within alien categories, reappearing bewigged and gowned in the guise of ideology; it danced a cotillion with religion moralising over the theatre of Tyburn; it was an arm of politics and politics was one of its arms; it was an academic discipline, subjected to the rigour of its own autonomous logic; it contributed to the definition of the self-identity both of rulers and of ruled; above all, it afforded an arena for class struggle, within which alternative notions of the law were fought out". (Thompson 1978: 96, cited in Mitchell 2004: 59)

If we are to study borders in their becoming and activity, in the ways they are made and remade and by whom, culture can be seen as a contentious object for the anthropology of borders. Fixity and continuity in both territory and culture deprive borders of (historical) time and transforming spatiality which are so common references during the border fieldwork. While the territory is organized by the state and sets the limits, culture is usually seen as a counterhegemonic, abstract entity in relation to the state and its territorial enforcement. However, this relation proves to be changing over time and it needs to be permanently re-scaled, aspects which are not always visible in an analytical framework territory-culture-state. Therefore, culture and territory may be often seen as powerful fictions and ideological constructs which are not very helpful in our understanding of borders.

5. Border scenario 2: Activity, effect and subjectivity

In addressing borders as activity and agentive capacity beyond the atemporality and fixed spatiality of culture and territory, it is particularly interesting to discuss two recent contributions in the anthropology of borders: Green (2009) and Donnan and Wilson (2010). Examining these two materials comparatively and complementarily brings to light a promising effort to spatialize and temporalize borders and a productive framework for future analysis.

Similar to their previous seminal contributions to the anthropology of borders (Donnan, Wilson 1999; Wilson, Donnan 1994, 1998), Donnan and Wilson (2010) ground their discussion in the global evidence that borders and states resist globalisation and present high ethno-territorial variation. Mobility - legal, illegal, forced or voluntary - is a key conceptual category which defines borders as areas of tension and transformation. The degree of mobility and the tensions that characterise borders to a variable measure determine the institutional concentration at borders. Borders thus appear as institutions aimed at controlling the mobility flows. The institutional nature of borders indicates that the

relation between border and state is still a strong one, analytically. The experience with the borders is thus largely seen as an experience with the state power. This experience is more precisely seen in the light of the coercive power of the state, a relation fuelled by the fact that state and economy do often come into conflict at borders. The centrality of the state at borders is well expressed in the following statement:

“in the midst of so much that is in flux some things that give substance to the social, political and economic life still remain remarkably fixed in place”. (p. 6)

It is perhaps the very marginality of the border area that pushes people into circumventing the state's rules and restrictions upon mobility. From the autonomous dynamics of the border populations overlooking the state, an important bottom-up consideration is drawn - borderlanders are active agents of change at borders. Yet, the ways in which the agentive capacity of borderlanders is set into motion and the degree to which they can transform and (re)make the border, eventually, is dependent on a series of considerations which lie at the core the authors' conception of the anthropology of borders. According to Donnan and Wilson, there are three layers and scales from which one can consider thinking analytically of borders. First, there are the 'international frontiers', defined as areas in which cultures, both national and transnational, are negotiated. International frontiers constitute the larger territorial reference for borders and function as territorial containers for cultures and arenas of the performativity and interaction of those cultures. Second, there are 'borders', articulated as areas that extend beyond borderlines. Third, there are the borderlines themselves, abstract representations of the demarcation between states (and sovereignties). Considering the border as a multi-scaled entity is a very useful argument and observation. Yet, the criterion from which this multi-scaling is considered is offered by the notion of 'territory'. All in all, whatever the scale we take into consideration for a discussion of borders, it is strikingly two aspects that are important: the territory and culture, animated through political negotiations and contestations. Therefore, the space and time of the agency of borderlanders that antagonize or not with the state, or the institutional dimension of borders, are restricted to territory and culture.

However, borders are dynamic areas in which the interactions between state and different cultures reverberate wide and far from the marginal territories of the state. Related to the fact that what happens at the border cannot be limited to a particular geographical site, the authors introduce 'the border effect' - a key notion which is hereby considered as a way to open borders to a different spatio-temporalization. The 'frontier effect' is discussed as a process of de-localization of the frontier, a spatialization which can make the border either visible or invisible to others, according to circumstances and interests. The frontier effect, as an ideological construction stemming from the presumed relation between the state and the borderland is the one that gives identity and specificity to the border area:

“This 'frontier effect' really does set borderlanders apart from others, close and distant, and does so within often stark political and economic realities.” (p. 10)

Furthermore, I argue that the frontier effect is a valuable notion from which one can start thinking to relate the border to processes and transformation occurred in time and space and not limited to specific marginal geographical areas within the territories of the states. On the other hand, the border effect allows individual and subjective variation and

situational re-scalings of the border space and time, by multiplying and opening the border far beyond the metaphor of the border as line and barrier between different national territories and cultures. As it can draw attention to an ideological, reifying construct, the frontier effect can also be a very useful tool into reconsidering the nature and role culture plays at borders. On the other hand, the frontier effect can indicate directly the agentive capacity of the border, the border as an actant.

Also against the line metaphor, Green (2009) advocates the border as a site of relatedness and connectedness. There are no absolute differences between the two sides of the line as far as distinctions are products and effect of an ideological assumption of the 'natural border'. The natural border is not reflected as such in the dynamics of life at the border, is not indicated by the changes in mobility regimes and the unexpected social worlds that go with them. In other words, the cultural negotiations that Donnan and Wilson (2010) frame in the territorial dimension and base in the duality of state and society, state and border, are not natural givens - they rather indicate a significantly different approach by the borderlanders themselves that distance from the official, ideological bordering carried by the state.

In distancing from the view of borders as lines and barriers, Green (2009) proposes two alternative representations of frontiers. First, it is the border as 'trace', that incorporates both space and time, simultaneously and irreducibly. How negotiations and activity are able to change the relation between state and border? How activity produces respatializations and re-territorializations of the 'marginal' areas? Green claims that the space-time of borders are crucial vectors of permanent change that set the border as "something that is best thought of as an active entity". (Green 2009: p. 12) It is the permanent movement and transformation into something else, the constant becoming of the border, the author considers, that describe relations and the frontier in spatio-temporal terms. The high variability of border spaces and temporalities already assume rescalings and negotiations, by "evoking a notion of absolute difference, without necessarily implying either inequality or separation". (p. 12) Difference and permanent transformation involve multiplication:

"all borders are multiple, generated from multiple vantage points - though of course, this does not mean that people are free to imagine border in any way they please: the simultaneity of-stories-so-far, and the entanglement of relationships and 'power-geometries of space' regularly constrain whatever vantage point emerges". (p. 16)

Starting from Massey's (2005) idea of a multiple and lively space as condition and product of politics, a second conceptual alternative developed by Green (2009) in the same context of conceiving the border as a permanent process is the 'tidemark', that incorporates both the idea of 'trace' and the 'line', in their multiple instantiations and spatio-temporal transformations.

"Tidemark also partially evokes the sense of trace, without as yet being clear how much of that is a Taussig kind of trace, with visceral connections to histories that have been erased from view; and/or a Derrida kind of trace, where borderli-ness is generated from the always-already existence of difference and otherness that did not ever exist, but whose traces are crucial to the sense of border. Tidemark also retains a sense of line - or rather, multiple lines - in the sense of connection and relation, in the sense of movement and trajectory, and in the sense of marking differences that make

a difference, at least for a moment. Most of all, tidemark combines space and historical time, and envisages both space and time as being lively and contingent.” (p. 17)

The metaphor of tidemark implies both divisions and connections within sites of ongoing reterritorializations. The territory is not stable, nor eternal, and the border as tidemark is a valuable conceptual tool that points to transformations, both top-down and bottom-up, with full consideration of the various scales and lenses of crossing and dwelling activities at the border. The border as tidemark is also open to interdisciplinary approaches of subjectivity, particularly useful in examining the border as activity. Cultural geography and psychoanalysis are here valid bodies of knowledge of which anthropologists need to be aware as they provide “categories are already thoroughly spatial providing theoretical orientation to examine complex cultural practices, identities, discourses, and landscapes” (Kingsbury 2004: 110) and as they enable “powerful critical explanations at various scales.” (p. 119)

6. Agentive borders, instead of conclusions

There has recently been established significant agreement on the fact that international borders are not natural entities, but constructions through which political fictions and realities live. Borders’ fixity and stability were challenged by both the everyday dynamics of social relations and the scholarly work of dereification of analytical objects. It took effort and much research in social sciences to view borders beyond their naturalness, to realize that frontiers are discursive and material fields aimed at artificially separating states, communities, cultures and social relations. In particular, social anthropology has taken a great deal of scholarship in border studies and has got a special merit in showing, by means of its specific approach to fieldwork, that borders are in many ways different from what they are aimed to represent. However, anthropology, as well as other disciplines, is often in position not to reformulate the analysis of borders, but to reiterate some of the stately constructions of international frontiers.

Here comes the point of this chapter. Dealing with the issue of how transformations occur at and within the “margins” of sovereignty, this paper argued that the border is as much agentive as is the political center supposed to make and reinforce it. As far as we analytically see that the border is much more than the territory line assigned to it in many different ways, we realize that the border is a space imbued with subjectivity reflected in areas of crossing and dwelling, a space in its continuous becoming, a tidemark, to use the Green’s (2009) suggestion. It argues for the border as activity and productive capacity, rather than as a fixed geographical, marginal location, concentration of state institutions or site of cultural negotiations.

The invitation of rethinking the international borders has been suggested by a number of important scholarly contributions. For example, Paasi (1996) has pointed out an alternative way in which we can look at borders: borders are not just stretches of territory, but also places invested with subjectivity. The significance of this is that whereas a territorial representation of the frontier stands for a limit, for an end, a subjective meaning of the border might be the place where relations and connections precisely start. Similarly, Van

Houtum and Struver (2002) show that borders are arguments, and activities of connectedness, acting like bridges, as much as they sustain separatedness. These statements suggest that borders are hardly analyzable as entities speaking about clearly demarcated territories. The idea is that frontiers are rather processes which dynamize both the border spaces and the political and social hinterland in relation to them. From this point of view, Van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer (2005) suggest that borders are interesting especially for the processes they entangle, for the question “how” which is contained in actions and operations of bordering, rather than for the location they suggest – a point with which this chapter also started its inquiry. Also against the border as a simple marginal location, Hassner (2002) points out the invisibility and complexity of borders. In line with this, the author argues that the territorial vision of the boundary is too simplistic and fixed to allow scholars think of the ways in which borders change, disappear and appear, restrict or allow relations.

I have argued that two important contributions from anthropology discussed earlier (Green 2009; Donnan, Wilson 2010) offer important clues for such rethinking efforts and open borders to full spatio-temporal considerations and multiplication at different scales. The border, as my ethnographic vignettes also show, is both a conscious and unconscious domain, both visible and invisible (Balibar 2002). The border, through its subjective productions of dwelling and crossing, is multi-form, representable and unrepresentable, known and unknown – a view that can stimulate further visions of spatiality and give way to more everyday subjective modes to relate to the edges of the state. Subjectivity and various spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces (Lefebvre 1991; Pile 1996) involved in crossing and dwelling constitute traces of the continuous transformation of the border-object and (re)make the frontier as an actant itself.

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Culture, Language, and Knowledge About the Syncretism

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1. Introduction

In this paper I intend to review the phenomenon called syncretism in Brazil in its possible relation to the racial issue, presenting previous studies on the subject within the social sciences, particularly Anthropology, and later introducing the linguistic point of view in an interdisciplinary way.

In contrast to the thought of Andre Valente (1976), to whom the syncretism could be considered an exhausted topic, the observation of the frequent use of the word syncretism in the media shows instead that the issue is still in the spotlight today. The changes related to the kind of attention the issue has been receiving lately, which are imposed by its recontextualization and adaptation in these vehicles, as well as its own insertion in the media environment bring different nuances to the issue that need to be analyzed.

Due to the importance of this phenomenon, this paper will be dedicated to a close reflection on syncretism from two distinct, yet interrelated, theoretical perspectives represented by the fields of Anthropology and Linguistics.

To the introduction of the linguistic view, I review the syncretism in its relation to the Brazilian racial issue in order to demonstrate how it is represented in two Brazilian newspapers (*O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*), and two Brazilian magazines that cover general issues (*Veja* and *Época*). Those vehicles were selected, mainly, due to the far-reaching circulation of each of them, and their consequent social insertion.

In this paper, the lexis is taken as an analysis category, but in a different perspective from what is traditionally worked in the field of the Lexical Studies - Lexicology, Lexicography, Terminology and Terminography. According to Biderman (2001), the lexis can be considered a way of registering the knowledge of the universe since there is a process of nominalization of reality which enables the man to label entities, appropriating the real. In other words, to the author, "the generation of the lexis was processed and is still processed through successive cognition acts of reality and categorization of the experience, crystallized in the linguistic signs: the words" (p. 13).

From the statement above, it is clear that the lexis carries in its meaning important aspects of the world view that individuals have. According to the author, the words that are generated

by the system of lexical-grammatical categories of a language are labels by which humans interact cognitively with their environment.

In this paper, I intend, differently, but considering what was mentioned above, show the lexis not only as an element of registering knowledge or label entities or an element that carries a meaning in itself, but also as an element that helps in the construction and representation of a particular "reality" which is a result of the dialogism between humans and the environment and between the humans and society. Then, in line with Eggins (1994), the lexical relations are taken here as gateways to social and cultural issues capable of assisting in the understanding of the relation among language, society and culture. Here, I look at the syncretism issues as a bias of the Brazilian race relations.

The theoretical and methodological basis is constructed in an interdisciplinary way by Social Sciences, especially the Anthropology since it is a field that traditionally studies the syncretism; the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Corpus Linguistics. The latter was used as a tool for data collection.

The corpus is constituted of texts that were published from 1998 to 2003 in the media vehicles mentioned above. The selected texts were the ones in which the word *sincretismo* (in English: syncretism)¹ had occurred at least once. This lexis was taken as a socioculturally relevant item in accordance to what was proposed by Raymond Williams (1976).

The base category is the lexical relations established with and from the word *sincretismo* which will be expanded to the category of interdiscursivity, as proposed in the Critical Discourse Analysis.

Our reflections are organized in two sections, as follows: 2. Syncretism in Brazil: from the universe of the Social Sciences ..., 3. ... to the universe of language in the media - discourse, society and culture in interaction; the latter was subdivided into: 3.1. Presentation of Data, 3.2. Lexical relations and semantic profile of the keyword *sincretismo*, and 3.3. Lexical relations, interdiscursivity and representation: understanding the syncretic tension in Brazil. Finally, the last part of this paper is dedicated to the conclusion and references.

2. Syncretism in Brazil: From the universe of Social Sciences...

Silva (1994) begins his reflections on syncretism saying that the syncretism is a result of the intimate contact between Portuguese and Africans, with their respective religions, cultures and languages. Therefore, we can consider syncretism an inter-religious, intercultural and inter-linguistic process². Pierson (1945) had already noticed the power relations that could be inferred from this phenomenon when he said that the syncretism is a process that aims to solve a cultural conflict situation characterized by the struggle for status. As Valente (1976, p. 11-12) clarifies, one of the hallmarks of this phenomenon is the intermixture of cultural

¹ As the corpus of the present research was in Portuguese, the keyword that triggered data collection was *sincretismo*, which means "syncretism" in English. Therefore, throughout this text whenever I use this word referring to the methodology and the research keyword, it will be treated as *sincretismo* and when I discuss the issue of syncretism itself, I will use the word in English.

² It is worth mentioning here the acknowledgement of the also great indigenous contribution (cf. Vainfas, 1995), albeit it is not the focus of the present study.

elements in an intimate interfusion; a true symbiosis in some cases among the components of the cultures that are put in contact. This fact can connect the syncretism to two phenomena, which are, (1) the accommodation: a starting point for a further external adjustment process. It is very often fast processed, being considered a conscious experience which contributes to individual's connection with the values that belong to his/her original culture; and (2) the assimilation, in which the change occurs in the individual's inner experience due to the interpenetration and fusion of traditions, feelings and attitudes among the individuals and the different groups that start to share their experience and their history in order to constitute the "same" cultural life. In this case, the process is gradual and is considered unconscious. As Valente (1976, p. 13) emphasizes, "the phenomenon of syncretism seems to be very clear in the situation of religious conflict imposed by the shock of fetishistic Black -African conglomerate with the Luso-Brazilian Catholicism". On a first instance, it can be argued that there was an apparent correspondence which was consciously established between the Christian saints and African pantheon deities. The effects of this conscious reflection were, gradually, automating. They became thoughtless and unconscious, since the Africans' religious field, and of their descendants in Brazil, was being developed in close relation to the Portuguese's one. For Valente (1976, p. 15), "although the African fetishism in Brazil has suffered the influence of Spiritualism and other native American religions, the dominant action which the Catholicism exerted on the Fetishism is incontestable." What was and may still be extremely discussed by theorists who study the Africans is whether there was a catechesis of Africans indeed, or if all that happened wasn't just a dissimulation; an apparent catholic catechesis.

From the etymological point of view, according to Cunha (1982, p. 725), *syncretism* is a word derived from the French *syncretisme*. The latter derived from the scientific Latin *syncretismus* that was in its turn derived from the Greek *sygkretismós*. According to the author, this word designated the amalgamation of different doctrines or conceptions. In philosophy, it designated a group of artificial ideas or thesis from disparate origins.

This "disparate", in Brazilian terms, can be interpreted in relation to the methods used to analyze the contacts between African and European cultures: the comparative method which came to replace the historic method.

As the historic studies about the African people were limited, an ethnological research based in comparative methods gains strength with the support of the teacher Raimundo Nina Rodrigues' works. He was a student from Bahia who was considered a landmark on the studies of Africans and their descendants in Brazil. After his death in 1906, there was a stagnation moment in the field that lasted until 1926 when the anthropologist Arthur Ramos and, later, his disciples go back to his writings and proceed with his research in the field. Since then, the African studies have gained new directions in Brazil, and have being also developed by sociologists (cf. FREYRE, 1961).

Thus, the studies of cultural contacts that would later lead to the origin of Afro-Brazilians studies in the field of Human Sciences get strength and many of the gaps found in the works of Nina Rodrigues are fulfilled.

It should be emphasized that the studies of Rodrigues, regardless the value of all research on African culture and heritage, were impregnated by a view full of prejudice about Africans and their descendants. Such view is also present in the works of many other

authors. Like Rodrigues, many intellectuals and many institutions of that time were being influenced by the ideas of Evolutionism and Darwinism. Those ideas brought a sense of evolution that was based on a European and Western "ideal". This notion served as a basis to the construction of the concept of race (Schwarcz, 2001).

In this sense, seeking the origin of this term when associated to the Brazilian race, Ferretti (1995, p. 41, 2001, p. 15) begins his analysis pointing out that the founder of the so called field of African-Brazilian studies was the doctor Nina Rodrigues, who discusses the syncretism without using the term, although this term was already known in that time. According to the author (2001, p. 15), Rodrigues uses "words / terms such as: fusion of beliefs; juxtaposition of externalities and ideas; association; adaptation; equivalence of deities; and, mainly and significantly, catechesis illusion."

According to Ferretti (2001, p. 14-15), the term syncretism was rejected by many researchers for having negative connotations and being considered inaccurate and ambiguous. Unlike Nina Rodrigues, who does not use it, his disciple Arthur Ramos uses the term syncretism in an attempt to change his master's evolutionist and racist perspective for a culturalist one. At first, Arthur Ramos considered the syncretism a harmonious result of cultural contacts, but later he has acknowledged that such contact does not always occur in a harmonious way, especially when it is associated to the colonization and the slavery.

Without dealing specifically with the problem of syncretism, Moura (1988, p. 18), in a different perspective from Nina Rodrigues', observes that the African studies are developed subordinated to methods that are not able to and do not intend to penetrate the essence of the problems in order to solve them. According to him, the essence of those problems is related to the tensions created around the contact between European and African cultures. Perhaps this happens due to the racist point of view pointed out by Ferretti. According to Moura, Arthur Ramos relies on both psychoanalysis and the American cultural-historical method to work with what he calls the "world of black Brazilian". That is what explains his culturalist approach.

Moura's and Ferretti's arguments presented below suggest that Nina Rodrigues did not believe on his own concept of syncretism as a soothing element, what could explain the difference related to Arthur Ramos' original approach. He, at first, had a vision of syncretism as a harmonious contact of cultures (cf. Ramos, 1942), while Nina Rodrigues used terms that indicated the opposite, like his most used term: catechesis illusion, which also points to the European supremacy present in his speech (cf. Robinson, 1935). In other words, Nina Rodrigues saw the relation between cultures and the supposed "harmony" among them as an illusion. The juxtaposition of externalities also points to this thought, since it indicates a polarization between exterior and interior, and, therefore, the impossibility of a real fusion. It is only later, when Arthur Ramos connects the phenomenon to the colonialism and to the slavery, that he seems to converge to Nina Rodrigues' approach, giving strength to it, even acknowledging Rodrigues as the founding father of the field of studies that he called Afro-Brazilian.

Another highlighted name mentioned by Ferretti (1995, p. 53-58, 2001, p. 18-19) is Roger Bastide, who gave little emphasis to the concept of syncretism. Ferretti considers him as the most important author in the field entitled in Human Sciences as African-Brazilian studies. According to Bastide (1971a), the idea of syncretism remembered fusion, mixture or

identification. However it did not imply mixture or identifications, but similarities and equivalences.

Ferretti (1995, 2001) also notes that Marcus Aurelius Luz worked with the idea that the syncretism was concerned with the process of whitening (cf. Luz, 1983) and Pierre Verger worked with the idea that syncretism did not exist in reality, because the mentioned mixture did not really take place. To him, the cultural and religious sincerity contributed to keep different culture and religions (such as Catholicism and *Candomblé*) split up as a form of resistance (cf. Verger, 1963).

For Sanchis (1983), the syncretism takes place in a relation of inequality and in a relation of religious, cultural and political domination. According to Consorte (1999), it is connected to the process of insertion of Africans and their descendants in the Brazilian society, and to the construction or reconstruction of their identities. In Ferretti's opinion (2001, p. 24), the syncretism is possibly related to issues of resistance.

As it is summarized by Ferretti (1999: 113), the "syncretism is considered an evil word," since many researchers avoid using it due to its meaning negative, used as a synonym of a jumble mixture of different elements, or as an imposition of the evolutionism and the colonialism. Droogers (1989) clarifies that the term has double meaning: an objective, neutral and descriptive one which refers to mixture of religions and a subjective meaning since it involves the evaluation of that mixture.

Moura (1988) shows that the different works produced about the Africans and their descendants sought to verify, study and interpret the Africans and their descendants merely as a simple component of a culture that was different from the national ethos. This contributed to the dissemination of racism and to the production of extensive ethnographic research on the African religious world and on everything that was meant to be different from the western style, which was taken as normative. The author points out that studies about Africans and their descendants are a reflection of the very structure of Brazilian society. This implies the idea that Brazilian society is racist and perpetuates the difference.

Reflecting specifically on syncretism, Moura (1988, p. 34) criticizes the fact that anthropologists and sociologists have not properly discussed certain concepts concerning the relation between who has African heritage and who has European heritage in Brazil, such as the concepts of syncretism, assimilation, accommodation and acculturation. For the author, when you forget the position and structure of ethnic groups which have different culture patterns, the vision you have is an academic understanding of the problem and not of the process of social dynamics. The author says: "before we examine these cultural contacts, we need to situate the mode of production in which they take place. Otherwise, we will be incapable of analyzing the social content of this process" (Moura, 1988, p. 34).

To Moura, it is important to review these concepts since they are linked to a colonizing social science and being used by the colonized. To him, the origin of Anthropology leads to realize its original purpose as "arming the colonial system," because its practical activity sought to rationalize the colonialism due to its Eurocentric position. It is important to highlight the need to critically reevaluate the situation and "the ideological heritage that permeates and is manifested in a series of basic concepts, used by anthropologists in a significant level until today" (Moura, 1988, p. 35).

According to Moura (1988, p. 38), the concept of syncretism used by Brazilian anthropologists is "a prolonged and permanent religious contact among members of superior and inferior cultures." The author's criticism to the studies of anthropologists and especially to Valente (1976)'s point of view, previously mentioned, concerns the argument that a culture called superior can also be influenced by a so-called inferior culture.

The religious syncretism is strong because Christianity played an important role called by the author as "ideological apparatus of domination". However, the African religions became important elements of social and ideological resistance. That is why Moura highlights the fact that Waldemar Valente had not seen the opposite possibility, that is, "the growing influence of those religions called fetishists at the heart of the 'delicacies' of Christianity" (p. 35).

According to Moura (1988), these problems are still connected to the process of acculturation- a term used to express a process of relation and incorporation of cultural items from one culture to another - and matches the idea of racial democracy. Quoting the author:

in the process of acculturation the mechanisms of economic, social, political and cultural domination persist determining who is superior or inferior. (...) [So] by completing the process of acculturation we will culminate directly in the concept of racial democracy, so dear to many sociologists and politicians in Brazil (Moura, 1988, p. 45 and 48).

Therefore, the author stresses that the reality shows the opposite of this democracy, since it has a dependent capitalist way of production. This way, by fractioning the society into classes, it generates conflicts due to inequalities coming from the struggle of classes where the most affected class was the African descendants that came to occupy the lowest position in society.

What can be gathered from this is that there seems to be a racist discourse permeating the discourses about syncretism. This racist discourse remains as a vestige of slavery. That is, slavery and racism are interrelated from the racial ideologies perspective (cf. Ianni, 1988) along with issues related to prejudice that this interrelation can generate.

Francisco (1992) analyzes two issues, the whitening and the racial democracy, and says that racism as a doctrine generates a racial and racist politics in the form of racial discrimination and / or racial segregation, what implies the diffusion and the engendering of a coherent ideology both with politics as well as with the racial and racist doctrine that it illuminates. This way it leads to prejudice, such as a prefabricated judgment which is then broadcasted.

Peter Fry (1984) states that the concepts of pure, mixture and syncretism are essentially social constructions and tend to appear on occasions of struggles for power and hegemony. Fairclough (1992), looking for productive interfaces between language studies and the society, argues that the focus of current studies must be on the social change and on the discursive practices that strive for hegemony, since it is within the discursive practices that the concepts are both constructed and also challenged. Being challenged, they can lead to social changes.

This summary, which shows some constructions of the notion of syncretism, justifies the need to study this social, cultural and religious phenomenon as a discursive aspect of

cultural hybridism in Brazil. This is possible by taking the keyword syncretism and associating it with the racial issues through a discursive linguistic approach, taking into consideration the view of racism as a support of processes of exclusion and differentiation in the country.

The studies related to culture and / African-Brazilian religion are developed in most cases, within the Sociology, Anthropology, History or Psychology (cf. Cupertino, 1976; Silva, 1994; Prandi, 2000) with no interaction with the linguistic studies. This is indeed due to the fact that traditionally it is taken for granted that the fields of studies have boundaries and each discipline, specially, Linguistics, tend to work within its boundaries. And, as noted by Ferretti (2001, p. 26), "syncretism, culture, identity, ethnicity and other complex social categories demand to be thought and rethought, with the collaboration of different sciences and chains of thought."

The point of view from the evolutionism and from comparative methods used in studies about the Africans and their descendants, their culture and religion, as noted, helped to perpetuate a racist discourse that, even later when was opposed, remained. Today, this discourse seems to be challenged, since there seems to be a tension presented by the media which is contributing to value the African descent.

Analyzing the African-Brazilian religions, Prandi (1999, p. 93) explains that their history can be divided into three stages, named (1) the Syncretism with the Catholicism, as observed in the traditional religious modalities such as the *Candomblé*, the *Xangô*, the *Tambor de Mina* and the *Batuque*, (2) the whitening that originated the *Umbanda* between 1920 and 1930, and (3) The Africanization that aimed to transform the *Candomblé* in a universal religion, denying the syncretism (from the 1960s).

Consorte (1999) analyses this context, indicator of change, highlighting results coming from the Second World Conference of Culture and *Orixá* Tradition, held in Salvador, from 17 to 23 July 1983. At this conference, different communities (scientific, religious, groups of black consciousness, among others) analyzed the situation of the African descendants, especially the religious situation. Some of the exponents of the *Candomblé Baiano* decided to make a rupture with syncretism. This discussion gained space in the media and soon gained large dimension.

Ferretti (1999, p. 115) corroborates this fact. According to him, nowadays, many leaders and militants, specially the most intellectualized ones, tend to follow that strategy of condemnation of syncretism in the field of Afro-Brazilian religions. To him, the organization of the Second World Conference of Culture and *Orixá* Tradition, held in 1983 served to diffuse this new perspective. According to him, there is a movement of re-Africanization spread in the south and in expansion throughout Brazil. This movement not only criticizes but also fights against the syncretism, seeking an African purity, in the form of a return to primitive Africanism.

Prandi (1999, p. 106) warns that to africanize does not mean being African, to wish to be Africans or even to live like Africans, since the majority of the *Candomblés* disciples are constituted by adepts from other origins. To the author, to africanize means intellectualization, access to a sacred literature containing the reorganization of the cult, in

accordance to models brought from Africa, which implied the appearance of a priest able to overcome an identity as poor, ignorant and discriminated Baiano.

According to Consorte (1999, p. 73), the cult to the *Orixás* shows up as a religion of African origin that existed prior to slavery itself, since it was constituted in Africa and was brought from their homeland by the own Africans. To the author, the rejection of syncretism seemed easy, because it suggested a matter of awareness of the imposition process that came from the slavery. In addition, this denial was also linked to the process of insertion of the African descendants in Brazil, and to the reconstruction of their identity, which would be considered much more complex (p. 79).

Silva (1999, p. 154) says:

If in earlier periods a re-africanization lived next to syncretism, the same does not hold in more recent times, when some of the main leaders of *Candomblé* engage in a concentrated movement to move away from the Catholic and Amerindian influences, understanding that the African tradition is an African tradition in Brazil, as if the influences of the Catholic and other mixtures in *Candomblé* were deleted, and a new Africa arose here in its pure state, as it would have been brought by the slaves in the past.

However, it is clear that the ideologies that supported the syncretism - the whitening, the perfect mixture of cultures and religions in Brazil and the racial democracy - still seem to remain in the media.

According to Silva (1999, p. 155), the discourse of de-syncretization proposes to change a tradition supported by selective reading of certain scientific explanations of the same tradition. That means that there has been an incorporation of explanations about syncretism as domination and that it is possible to revoke it.

So, despite all the discussion, Consorte (1999) also notes that little has changed because of the strong tradition that the syncretism has. From the discursive perspective, I think this shows that the different codes engendered in the process of syncretization cannot simply be deleted, but the speech can be a space to promote change.

These arguments only triggered the transformations. Different discourses are still struggling for legitimacy and hegemony. Therefore it is important to make room for the study of these discourses that seek to modify a state of affairs already established, challenging the dominant and hegemonic discourse in an attempt to change the social order, presenting again some issues related to the Brazilian racial issue in a different way.

In these terms, it is fair to say that there is an undeniable dialogue among text, society and culture, because the texts - as places for discourse materialization - are social and cultural products that are historical and culturally situated, and used as vehicles of thought and re-contextualization of the discursive and social practices. In a moment of potential transformation, the texts are configured, therefore, as vehicles for the materialization of many engendered discourses within the institutions from which they derive, in a state of tension and struggle that tries to make their voices legitimate and hegemonic, however, always in an unstable way.

In the case of syncretism, it seems that both the media and the scientific institutions are the arenas that carry the voice of social and religious institutions which are at the heart of the

discussion. From the engendering of the first in the process of serving their communities, and the confrontation established by the latter, the space and the ideal moment for a transformation process were created. This can enable a change in the existing social order from the questioning of syncretism which, in its turn, leads to a questioning of the racial and social inequality.

Silva (2000), analyzing the origin of racial inequalities in Brazil, says that it was born in the very social origin, in the educational and occupational attainment, and especially in the people's incomes. For him, the groups of people who identify themselves as black or mulattoes would already be subject to a process of subjection and inferiority. This brings up the processes of social exclusion that value the white people and their culture instead of the black people and their respective culture.

According to the author, the individuals' socioeconomic life cycle would be divided into social mobility and income acquisition, reflecting the profile of a more modest occupational achievement for those groups. Thus, it reinforces the subjugation of the black individuals and mulattoes to a living condition that is extremely inferior comparing to the ones faced by the white people in the Brazilian society.

The social inequality is therefore the result of the process of the white domination over black, connecting to the forms of differentiation and exclusion of which racism is part of. Francisco (1992) shows that the racism is a component of the class domination process, both in a coercive level as in an intellectual and moral level of society. Therefore, according to the author, it is perceived as by the black, as by the mestizo and white in the economic and social levels. The author adds that this perception is not clear in political and ideological terms. It is worth to highlight that, as Francisco explains, there is no evidence to say that the black discrimination is practiced consciously by any segment. However, it is indeed an expression of the political and ideological consciousness of the dominant and hegemonic class.

That is, it is possible to observe that there is a close relation among syncretism, racial and social inequality, and domination. It must be highlighted as well that, although Smith (2000) and Francisco (1992) have adopted an economic basis for their reflection, it is undeniable that the exclusion is also projected in the cultural and religious matters. Therefore it is a broad issue, as this study seeks to demonstrate.

The syncretism as a concept linked to the whitening ideology presents itself also as an extension of the forms of differentiation, since it masks the African culture. Then the syncretism can be seen as a result of a racist thought, because it is born in the subordination of the African descendant who needs to whiten his skin to be accepted.

When the African descendant is aware of his value, he begins to see himself, his religion and culture as just important as any other. He challenges everything that keeps him in a subordinate position, both ideologies and other forms of social asymmetry that generate exclusion and inequality.

Moura's (1988) orientation is that the black people, African descendants, would be a reflection of their own social structure that puts them in an underprivileged position. This is reflected in the difficulty with which they ascend socially. As Figueiredo (2002, p. 99) clarifies, "the integration of the black people in the Brazilian society takes place through

assimilation of the codes and values of the dominant culture". The real problem, as already pointed by Bastide (1971b, p. 525), is that "they [the cultures] do not necessarily go together, neither they are unfolded in the same temporality, but they remain always united to each other in a certain way."

In this context, Fernandes (1972, p. 16) shows that getting into what he calls "white world" requires a "process of becoming Brazilian that is, inescapably, a systematic process of whitening." For the author, in order to have a social ascension, the Africans and their descendants must deny themselves. At this point the tension among the discourses about syncretism is justified, since the syncretism has been precisely the notion that engenders the whitening process and the anti-syncretism the one which challenges it, making it to lose ground by a re-valuation of the African descendants.

To Figueiredo (2002, p. 104):

The black culture is often identified by religion, cuisine, music and dance, while the white culture is associated with more general aspects such as formal education, information, politics, technology, that is, with almost all aspects of social life. In this sense, it seems impossible not to experience the daily aspects of "white culture" or better, whitening is apparently inevitable.

In the specific case of this research, I will try to explain how the media, particularly the newspapers and magazines that cover general issues have represented this process of transformation. To do that, I borrow the concept of interdiscursivity from Critical Discourse Analysis. In this field of study, the term intertextuality refers to the presence of other texts in a local articulation in the text. Interdiscursivity, in its turn, refers to a more complex process in which there is a global interweaving of discursive genres and discourses that generates a re-articulation that can affect the discourse itself and the genres, changing them.

This is the space to which Applied Linguistics can contribute by showing how the tension among the discourses towards the Brazilian syncretism is developed and its possible relation to the racial issues.

Therefore, I advocate for an interdisciplinary scientific perspective that makes room for the research I present here, since as a new interdisciplinary space, the Applied Linguistics can bring a contribution to the studies on the discursive aspects of the Brazilian cultural hybridity. Bringing new light to this discussion, it may help to raise questions and seek linguistic evidences, textual and discursive, that can bring out some new positioning on the many variables involved with the notion of syncretism. This is done through the analysis of the lexical co-occurrences of the word syncretism, and their intra-textual and discursive correlation in media texts. The media discourse is taken here due to its important role in the construction and reproduction of thoughts in society.

3. ... to the universe of language in the media – Discourse, society and culture in interaction

In this section I present a research first developed in Carmo (2005), with subsequent developments in Carmo & Magalhães (2010) and Carmo (2011a, 2011b). This approach takes as a theoretical reference the view proposed by Fairclough (1992, 1995) who proposes a three dimensional perspective for language studies: language as text; discursive practice – since it

involves the process of production, distribution and consumption of the text; and social practice. I also take some other theorists affiliated to the Critical Discourse Analysis, who make use of Corpus Linguistics in order to establish a qualitative-quantitative framework for language analysis (cf. Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Krishnamurthy, 1998; Magalhães, 2004). The first step taken to develop the research was to collect the corpus in the site of the researched media vehicles and preparation for the screening in the program WordSmith Tools. The next steps were the ones that follow:

1. production of a frequency table of the word *sincretismo*, whose words of the same root were not included, for statistical verification of the word *sincretismo* in order to view its use as a node, that is, the keyword that has been used to trigger the search in the corpus and to orient the analysis;
2. production of a frequency table of the word *sincretismo* in which words of the same root were included (lemmatization function in the WordSmith Tools) due to their cohesive potential and the relation established as maintenance element of a field;
3. production of the list of concordances with the keyword *sincretismo* for analysis of the typical co-text of its occurrence and a further analysis of the semantic prosody originated in these lines;
4. production of the list of lexical groups (clusters) created from and with the word *sincretismo*, in order to examine possible patterns with the word *sincretismo* in the corpus;
5. production of tables of collocation and collocation patterns to facilitate the observation of usage patterns created with the word *sincretismo*, and to help in the analysis of evoked semantic prosodies in order to draw the semantic profile to the lexical item in question;
6. verification of the main lexical relations and collocations built with and/or from the word *sincretismo*, using the tables of collocation and collocation patterns;
7. production of a table with the most frequent words in the corpus for verification of their relation in the texts.

The instruments used within the package WordSmith Tools were: (a) WordList: to list the words, (b) Concordances: to list the lines of concordances, obtaining the word search and its co-text (c) clusters: to list the lexical groups, (d) collocate: to list the collocations, that is, the co-occurring words, and (e) Patterns: to obtain the table of collocation patterns (cf. Berber-Sardinha, 2004). After that, other actions were undertaken like:

8. search for the most frequent words;
9. search for the main lexical relations formed with the word *sincretismo*;
10. verification of the language fields associated with *sincretismo*, using the lines of concordances;
11. analysis of the syncretism as a discursive aspect of the Brazilian racial issue, based on the lexical relations and the related fields, in the light of Critical Discourse Analysis;
12. contrast among the analysis carried out on the newspapers and magazines of general issues.

3.1 Presenting the data

As general data, we had a corpus of 163 texts with 108,088 tokens (items), divided into 16,152 types (forms). In the case of *O Globo*, there were 75,589 tokens, in 13 185 types and 107 texts. The sub-corpus of *Folha de S. Paulo* had 20,942 tokens, 5016 types, in 30 texts. In the

magazines, we had *Veja* with 3,728 tokens, distributed in 1247 types, in 14 texts, and *Época* with 8,137 tokens, 2,853 types and 12 texts.

In the corpus as a whole, the word *sincretismo* occurred 211 times, representing 0.19% of the corpus. With lemmatization (operation that allows to aggregate other items to the word being analyzed such as words variations and inflections), this rate increased to 223 occurrences, corresponding to 0.20%. Of those 211 occurrences of the word *sincretismo*, 130 occurred in *O Globo* (0.17%), 39 in *Folha de S. Paulo* (0.19%), 16 in *Veja* magazine (0.32%) and 26 in *Época* magazine (0.38%). With the function lemmatization, this figure rises to 134 in *O Globo* (0.17%), 42 in *Folha de S. Paulo* (0.20%), 31 in *Época* magazine (0.40%), remaining unchanged only in *Veja* magazine.

Together, the newspapers have 176 occurrences of the word *sincretismo*, which represents 0.17% of the sub-corpus formed by the two newspapers together. Making use of lemmatization, this number increases to 183 occurrences, corresponding to 0.18% of the sub-corpus. The magazines together used the word *sincretismo* 42 times (0.35%), a number that increases to 47 with the lemmatization, equivalent to 0.40% of the sub-corpus. The difference in the number of occurrences of the keyword in the two types of media is due, mainly, to the mass media communication periodicity, since the newspapers are daily and the magazines weekly distributed.

In general, the collocation does not demonstrate the existence of many possible lexical relations with varied items. In *O Globo*, it is formed just with the following items: *sincretismo*, *religioso*, *afro-brasileiro*, *cultura* and *mistura* (syncretism, religious, African-Brazilian, culture and mixture). This result is given in a range of five columns to the right and five columns to the left of the reference word - the keyword *sincretismo* (measure of the program WordSmith Tools). Likewise, in *Folha de S. Paulo*, the relations are formed, with the same range, but only with *sincretismo* and *religioso* (religious).

These relations do not indicate any connotation neither neutral, nor positive or negative, contributing to a production of a neutral semantic profile for the word syncretism. They indicate that, in the newspapers surveyed, the work syncretism is in first place related to the religious field, which can be corroborated by the representation of the *religioso* (religious) collocate in the production of lexical groupings, collocation and collocation patterns.

As these lexical relations and the collocation, by itself, did not indicate the semantic prosody, we analyzed each occurrence manually and verified that the semantic prosody - association between lexical items and connotation (negative, positive or neutral) of semantic fields - of the word *sincretismo* is predominantly positive, specially by the phenomenon/process of being placed as characterization of Brazil as a country that brings within it many ethnicities, religions and cultures (e.g. *A estátua é belíssima e sua imagem me fez lembrar do sincretismo religioso da cultura brasileira*. - The statue is beautiful and its image reminded me of the religious syncretism in Brazilian culture. - *O Globo*).

Although there are different concepts attributed to syncretism and divergences around those concepts in the fields of social sciences, particularly the Anthropology, the current usage of the term in the news media seems to be most frequent in co-text with the word *mistura* (mixture) and, in most cases, with positive connotations that associate it with the hybrid constitution of the country in cultural, religious, human, ethnic and artistic terms (including in the last case, the music and the carnival).

As for the times in which the word *sincretismo* occurs with negative semantic prosody, it is associated with words that can be interpreted negatively (e.g. *escravidão*, *rebeldia*, *absorção*, *massacre*, *dor*, *exterminio*, *combate*, *choque*, *fascism* - slavery, rebellion, absorption, massacre, pain, extermination, fighting, shock, fascism, among others) or clearly denied in its own structure (e.g. *O sincretismo é resquício da escravidão...* or *...teve a coragem de dizer não ao sincretismo* - Syncretism is vestige of the slavery ... or ... dared to say no to syncretism - *O Globo*).

Similarly to what happened in the analysis of the newspapers, the co-textual analysis, and therefore the analysis of the semantic prosody of the word syncretism was only possible through the examination of the concordances. In *Veja* magazine, the semantic prosody of the word *sincretismo* is positive in all occurrences. The collocation and the collocation patterns showed in all occurrences only the word *religioso* (religious) listed as collocations to the word *sincretismo*.

In *Época* magazine, the examination of the collocations and collocation patterns showed only 6 occurrences of the word *religioso* (religious) as collocate to *sincretismo*, all of them distributed on the range of five columns to the right. The difference here is that there was the possibility of a negative semantic prosody.

In other words, in *Época* magazine, most of the time, syncretism has negative connotations due to its use with the prefix *anti* (*anti-sincretismo* - anti-syncretism), or because it was used with words like *combato*, *crítica*, *contra*, *revogação*, *desafia*, *opõe-se*, *abaixo*, *liberdade*, *colônia* (fight, criticism, against, repeal, challenge, oppose, below, freedom and colony). From the 26 occurrences, only 8 were positive and the other 18 brought negative semantic prosody.

There was not enough frequency of different collocates in the sub-corpus of each magazine to enable the production of grouping tables through the WordSmith Tools. Therefore, this grouping was done by hand, using as reference the most productive collocate, *religioso* (religious). It was also possible to relate the keyword to the item *cultural* (cultural) in the two magazines, and to the *musical* (musical) and *brasileiro* (Brazilian) only in *Época* magazine.

Thus, the biggest contrast between the magazines is due to the fact that *Veja* magazine brings positive semantic prosody, associating the syncretism to artistic events, especially concerts in which there is a naturalization of the ideal construction of syncretism as a perfect mixture. *Época* magazine, on the other hand, brings a predominantly negative semantic prosody for the term.

3.2 Lexical relations and semantic profile of the keyword syncretism

Assuming that the collocates of a particular node can draw a semantic profile for it, we could notice that, opposite to what is argued in anthropological and social sciences (that there is a negativity or conceptual fluctuation regarding the concept of syncretism), in the surveyed newspapers and general issue magazines, the word *syncretism* has a much higher frequency of positive semantic profile than a negative one. Only in *Época* magazine, the semantic prosody of the word *sincretismo* is paradoxically negative in most cases. The lexical relations are not produced with many varied items, as seen in the previous section. The number of items may vary, but these items remain, evoking even the same fields.

Another important information was that it was only through the analysis focused on the concordance lines, with expansion to paragraphs and sometimes to the text (length of

horizon according to the WordSmith Tools), that it was possible to view the associations that helped construct different connotations for the word *syncretism*.

The collocations of the word *syncretism* show, in general, a more positive connotation, both in the newspaper *O Globo* as in *Folha de S. Paulo*, since it establishes relations with fields that show *syncretism* as a phenomenon or process that values Brazil and its people.

The magazines, on the other hand, show a tension between positivity and negativity. In *Veja*, the connotation is positive, and in *Época*, it is negative. This negative connotation is not traced by the collocation patterns. It is only verified beyond this level, reaching the level of paragraphs and/or texts.

Due to a political issue, there is a clear attributed negativity in the item *anti-sincretismo* (anti-syncretism). By assigning negativity to *syncretism*, a contrary view is produced that is signalized by the negation imposed by the use of the prefix *anti*, which marks not only the lexical item, but a new way of perceiving the phenomenon. This can be seen in the paragraph below:

1. "Da nossa parte, o anti-sincretismo é também uma questão política", confirma Mestre Didi, sumo sacerdote do culto aos ancestrais no Candomblé. / Mãe Stella, mãe-de-santo do terreiro Ilê Axé Opô Afonjá, foi uma das primeiras a dar seu apoio ao anti-sincretismo. Ela afirma que o uso de imagens católicas no terreiro é profanação. "Sincretismo é resquício da escravatura", diz. "Não precisamos disso." - "From our point of view, the anti-syncretism is also a political issue," confirms Master Didi, High Priest of cult to ancestors in Candomblé. Mother Stella, mother-of-saint of the Ilê Axé Opo Afonjá, was one of the first to give her support to anti-syncretism. She says that the use of Catholic images in the yard is profanation. "Syncretism is vestige of slavery," she says. "We do not need this." (*Época* magazine).

In the example above, it can be seen the two models that are indicated in the discourses which are in tension. The first, which can be presupposed by the negation, intends to understand the *syncretism* as a phenomenon / process able to delete conflicts, the result of the naturalization of the ideology of whitening and also associated with the ideology (and myth) of racial democracy. The second is presented as a reaction to it. Both of them are heard from the voice of two important members of *Candomblé Baiano*. It is exactly the anti-syncretism, as a reaction to *syncretism*, that imprints a negative semantic prosody to the studied item.

This negative semantic prosody to *syncretism* and the positive prosody to the anti-syncretism come from the manifestation of African descendants that belonged to these religions and cultures, and because of that, were aware of its existence within those practices. The effect it produces, in the case of the negativity of the notion of *syncretism*, grows stronger, gaining more emphasis from the voices that are recognized by other supporters and African descendants. They become aware of this reaction and adhere to this discourse.

In structural terms, when analyzing the word *syncretism*, it can be verified that it always occurs as the nucleus of a nominal group (which has a noun as the nucleus: *o sincretismo religioso* - the religious *syncretism*). Sometimes it helps to form a prepositional phrase (group started by preposition as in: *do sincretismo religioso* - of the religious *syncretism*). Thus, the semantically constituted position is immediately to the right of the node and fulfilled,

almost always by a qualifier (e.g. *sincretismo* → *cultural; religioso; afro-brasileiro; sensorial; estético, instigante and explosivo; musical; eleitoral; plástico; inaceitável; artístico* - syncretism → cultural, religious, African-Brazilian, sensory, aesthetic, exciting and explosive, musical, electoral, plastic, unacceptable and artistic) and sometimes by adjectival phrases (e.g. *sincretismo* → *das religiões africanas; do Campo Grande; do culto africano; à americana; desta festa milenar* - syncretism → of African religions, of Campo Grande, of African cult, to America and this ancient festival). Few times it was constituted by relative clauses (e.g. *sincretismo* → *em que tudo se equivale; que remonta à época da escravidão* - syncretism → in which everything is equal, that dates back to the period of slavery). The position of a qualifier to the left of the word in analysis is uncommon. It has occurred only once with the word *aparente* (apparent) (*ao abrigo de um aparente sincretismo* - sheltered by an apparent syncretism - *Folha de S. Paulo*) and twice with the word *curioso* (curious) (e.g. *o curioso sincretismo entre a Bahia e a Índia; O "curioso sincretismo" a que se refere Gil* - the curious syncretism between Bahia and India; the "curious syncretism" referred by Gil - *O Globo*).

From all the qualifiers which are in the corpus, only *inaceitável* (unacceptable) (e.g. *Com base nos fatos acima, inclusive no sincretismo inaceitável...* - Based on the above facts, including the unacceptable syncretism ... - *O Globo*) produces a negative prosody. All the others help produce a neutral or positive semantic profile, for example, in: *Omolu, Orixá identificado com São Lázaro no sincretismo afro-brasileiro; ...a cantora que melhor traduziu o sincretismo musical brasileiro; Carlos Drummond de Andrade defendia o sincretismo cultural* - *Omolu, Orixá* identified with St. Lazarus in the African-Brazilian syncretism; ... the best singer who translated the Brazilian musical syncretism and Carlos Drummond de Andrade, who defended the cultural syncretism (*O Globo*).

The word *sincretismo* shows its connotations when it is inserted in certain contexts. In such cases, it is possible to verify the cultural models that support them. At the same time, those connotations help to revive its history under certain perspectives, positive or negative. At these moments, it is possible to access the universe of discourses and ideologies which underlies its use and coinage to explain the Brazilian cultural hybridity and social and racial relations in the country.

In a comparative dimension of analysis, we can see that of the 142 positive occurrences, 93 are from *O Globo*, 25 from *Folha de S. Paulo*, 16 from *Veja* magazine and 8 from *Época* magazine. Of the 60 negative prosodies, 30 are from the newspaper *O Globo*, 12 from *Folha de S. Paulo* and 18 from *Época* magazine. In the case of the neutral prosody, 7 were recorded in the newspaper *O Globo* and 2 in *Folha de S. Paulo*.

From these data, it seems that syncretism has, mostly, a positive connotation in the studied media vehicles. The hypothesis of semantic neutrality is very reduced, since only the newspapers pointed out to this possibility, although but with little representation. *Veja* magazine was the only vehicle to present, in 100% of the cases, a positive prosody. Similarly, *O Globo* also presents the syncretism in this way because it has a very expressive number of positive connotations compared to the number of negative and neutral prosodies. It is interesting to note that the only vehicle to present the syncretism mostly in a negative way was *Época* magazine, showing a different perspective from the other vehicles.

When the semantic prosody is positive, the fields/issues associated are: knowledge, religion (Catholic, *Umbanda* and *Candomblé*), identity, belief, history, music / dance (*samba, Jongo*,

jazz, Congo), origin, mixture, art, literature, philosophy, singing, smells, tastes, faith, customs, tradition, honor, Bahia, esotericism, original ideas, fortune telling, crystals, meditation, angels, culture, carnival, football, prestige, revelry, pilgrimage, celebration, freedom, blackness / survival of black culture, events, architecture, reconstruction, heritage, symbols, humanism, mixing, dialogue, character and linking. The following quotation may illustrate this analysis:

2. *Ninguém representa tão bem as religiões afro-brasileiras quanto o professor Agenor. E ninguém, como ele, é tão representativo do sincretismo, do ecumenismo e da tolerância religiosa que caracterizam essas crenças. Filho de Oxalá, ele se considera católico por ter sido batizado, acredita na reencarnação, como os kardecistas, e admira as religiões orientais.* - No one represents so well the African-Brazilian religions as the teacher Agenor. And no one, like him, is so representative of syncretism, of the ecumenism and of the religious tolerance that characterizes these beliefs. Son of Oxala, he considers himself Catholic for being baptized. He believes in reincarnation like the Kardecists and he admires the oriental religions (Folha de S. Paulo).

The example demonstrates the notion of syncretism as beneficial. And this positive point of view seems to be anchored again in the whitening ideology and in the ideology of the perfect mixture from which it originates. This is so, because the word syncretism in such occurrences is associated with items such as *tolerância* (tolerance) and with the idea of "association". Thus, when the conflicts are deleted, there is a union that, according to the statements mentioned in this paper, does not really exist, consisting only of a masking of conflicts.

The associations that produce the negative semantic prosody are made with the following items: problema, catequese, escravidão, rebeldia, absorção, massacre, competição/luta, adversário, liberdade de crença, associação, colonialismo, desafio, revogação, fidelidade, crítica, enfraquecimento religioso do catolicismo e do Candomblé, dor, modificação, miscigenação, profanação, animismo, macumba, separação, polêmica, oposição, rejeição, purismo, reação, racismo, fascismo, substituição, manifesto, aceitabilidade, necessidade de se esconder, credence, amalgamamento, mistura "comportada", aparências, xifopagia, interpenetração, acusação, extermínio, imposição, tropeço, velório and choque (problem, catechesis, slavery, rebellion, absorption, massacre, competition/fight, opponent, freedom of belief, association, colonialism, challenge, revocation, fidelity, criticism, religious weakening of Catholicism and of Candomblé, pain, modification, mixing, profanity, animism, voodoo, separation, controversy, opposition, rejection, purism, reaction, racism, fascism, replacement, manifesto, acceptability, need for hiding, superstition, amalgamation, "behaved" mixture, appearances, conjoined, interpenetration, accusation, extermination, imposition, stumbling, funeral and shock. All of this added to words such as combate (combat), to clear negative connotations (result of a negative structure or the use of the term anti-sincretismo - anti-syncretism), and to the use of words such as the preposition contra (against):

3. *Desde o primeiro momento no cargo ele [Dom Lucas Moreira Neves] combateu o sincretismo religioso.* - From the very first moment in his position [Dom Lucas Moreira Neves] fought against the religious syncretism (*O Globo*).
4. *Não querem mais saber de sincretismo com os católicos.* - They do not want to deal with syncretism with the Catholics anymore (*Época* magazine).

5. *Ela [Mãe Stella] é contra o sincretismo religioso.* - She [Mother Stella] is against the religious syncretism (*Época* magazine).

The analysis of the semantic prosody is essential both to draw the semantic profile of the word syncretism and to analyze the fields to which the word is associated. This is so because when indicating evaluative processes that show connotations to the word syncretism, being them positive, negative or neutral, discourses are also revealed. These discourses are in a process of tension and conflict and many times are masked by the positive or neutral connotation.

3.3 Lexical relations, interdiscursivity and representation: Understanding the syncretic tension in Brazil

As we have seen, the syncretism dates back to the period of the constitution of Brazil as a colony. It presents itself as a result of different cultural models that were put in contact. Moreover, it is shown as a discourse that attempts to explain and / or to pacify the conflicting nature that is inherent to Brazilian society. This discourse is rooted in the ideologies of whitening; of the perfect mixture of different cultural traces and religious; and the ideology of the racial democracy.

The study of lexical relations that was developed here could also show that the European cultural model is still present in the discourse about syncretism. However, there is an opposing evaluative discourse model that stems from the black movements, especially from the religious authorities of *Candomblé*, which seeks to make a change.

This possible change comes in the early 80s of last century, when the discourse about syncretism is challenged by the anti-syncretistic discourse and by the discourse of re-africanization, preached mainly by important members of *Candomblé*, within the order of religious discourse. This is one of the possible reasons why the religion is the field which is more evoked when the syncretism is mentioned.

Nevertheless, what the present analysis indicates is still a reproduction of the notion of syncretism as a perfect idealized mixture of races, religions and cultures.

This is due to the collocations and to the lexical associations that are formed with and from the word *sincretismo*. In the production of texts and discourses that vehicle the notion of syncretism, the collocations and lexical associations constructed with the word *sincretismo* show an oscillation between notions that convey ideas of being in favor or against it. This happens not only in the media and in the religious field, but also in the academy that has been acknowledged as another discussion arena.

Therefore, the keyword *sincretismo* can be considered relevant for raising the discourses that are dialogically articulated in the representation of this social phenomenon, in order to understand some aspects of the Brazilian racial issue.

In the corpus, we could find a sum of 97 occurrences of the words *branco*, *brancos*, *branca e brancas* ("white" considering its plural and gender in Portuguese). A higher sum of occurrence was found for *negro* and its variations, derivations and inflexions, like *negões*, *negra*, *negras*, *negreiro*, *negreiros*, *negrinho*, *negritude*, *negro*, *negros*, *neguinho*. The amount of occurrences clearly show how deep the phenomenon of syncretism is related to the Afro-descendants, since the frequency of the words *branco* and *negro* (white and black) shows how the word *negro* is more marked in the texts.

The discourses about the syncretism refer, in this sense, to the discourse of the dominant and the dominated bringing along their cultural models in a relationship of confrontation, going back to the slavery and colonialism issues. It was found 97 occurrences of the word *escravo* (slave), including its inflections (related to gender and plural forms) or derivations, such as slavery. There were 57 occurrences of the word *colônia* (colony), including its inflection or derivations like *colonial*, *colonialism*, *colonialist*, *colonialistas*, *colônias*, *colonização*, *colono*, *colonos* - colonial, colonialism, colonialist, colonialists, colonies, colonization, settler and settlers. Therefore, these issues create a negative semantic prosody, as in the excerpts below:

6. *O sincretismo é um resquício da escravidão.* - The syncretism is a vestige of the slavery. (*O Globo*).
7. *Na apresentação Carlos Diegues, cineasta filho do etnólogo alagoano Manuel Diegues Júnior, se refere ao ponto de partida de investigação do autor: o negro perdura como negro no tempo brasileiro, não obstante a miscigenação no sangue e o sincretismo na alma.* - In the presentation, Carlos Diegues, filmmaker, son of Manuel Diegues Junior, ethnologist from Alagoas, refers to the starting point of the author's research: the black remains as black in the Brazilian time, which has not avoided the miscegenation in the blood and the syncretism in the soul. (*Época* magazine).
8. *A isso, acrescente-se, conforme sabemos da sociologia do açúcar, que na cultura popular os rios de Portugais encontram-se nas águas do Capibaribe. Ou seja: o negro no Brasil é invenção do açúcar explorado pelo colonizador português latifundiário.* - To this, add, as we know from the sugar sociology, that in the popular culture the rivers from Portugal meet in the waters of Capibaribe. That is: black in Brazil is invention of the sugar which was explored by the Portuguese colonist landowner. (*Folha de S. Paulo*).

In these terms, it should be noted that the analysis undertaken so far suggests the existence of a racist discourse permeating the syncretism discourses. Such discourse works in the maintenance of the differences that are reflected in the social, economic, religious and identity environments. Perhaps, that is why, there were 53 references to racial issues distributed among the exact occurrence of the word *raça* (race) and the following derivatives or inflections: *raças*, *raciais*, *racial*, *racialmente*, *racismo*, *racistas* - races, racial, racially, racism and racists. As for *etnia* (ethnicity), its derivatives and inflections, there is a larger number of varieties, but similar number of occurrences (46): *etnias*, *étnica*, *étnicas*, *étnico*, *étnicos*, *etnocêntricos*, *etnografia*, *etnográfica*, *etnográfico*, *etnógrafo*, *etnológicos*, *etnólogo*, *etnólogos*, *etnomusicologia* - ethnicity, ethnic (considering its plural and gender forms), ethnocentric, ethnography, ethnographic, ethnology, ethnologist ethnologists and ethnomusicology. This small difference may point to the struggle between the racist discourse and the academic one. The former sustains the processes of differentiation between superiors/inferiors, dominants/dominated in the form of exclusion based in biological categories. The latter, on the other hand, states the difference in identity terms, with the possibility of choice and negation of the physical character. African descendants' dissatisfaction with their own history and their ability to reflect on it seem to be generating modifications or changes in their own positioning in the social, cultural, economic and religious condition. These changes include to reaffirm and to reactivate their cultural models in the production of a new model that is appropriated for the Brazilian socio-cultural situation. That is why the anti-syncretism discourse has gained strength.

To the extent that the discourses represented in the texts of the corpus are re-articulated, especially the words *brancos* (white) and *negros* (black), in an associative process of dominant and dominated, the anti-syncretism reacts to the syncretism; the latter being the

result of ideologies that support the social inequalities that subordinate the African descendants to the white people. This is due to the permanence of the ideologies of whitening, of the cultural, social and religious perfect mixture and of the racial democracy.

In other words, the syncretism, in this sense, is a hegemonic discourse associated with a non-existent democracy. The anti-syncretistic discourse arises in reaction to it; in response to this hegemonic discourse, struggling for insertion in the society and causing discursive tension as well as the review of the cultural models to which it is bound.

Conceptually, the "mixture" is the best attributed meaning to the term syncretism in the texts. There are 91 occurrences of words that connect the syncretism to the mixture distributed among: *misto*, *mistura*, *misturá-*, *misturada*, *misturadinho*, *misturado*, *misturados*, *misturam*, *misturamos*, *misturando*, *misturar*, *misturaram*, *misturas*, *misturavam*, *misturou* - mixed, mixture, mixtures, mix, to mix, have mixed and mixing.

The analysis, in general, shows that, with this sense of mixing, the syncretism is seen as a "pacifist" discourse, able to end up the conflict and generate confluence which is highlighted in the example below:

9. *Dona Canô fala da confluência dos hinos católicos com os pontos de Candomblé do sincretismo religioso baiano. Tom Zé teoriza que a letra da cantiga de roda "O cravo e a rosa" descreve o defloramento de uma virgem. O pesquisador Antônio Risério afirma que a malícia do Recôncavo é perceptível na voz de João Gilberto, que é de Juazeiro, em "A falsa baiana". E o músico Roberto Mendes avisa: ouvir Caymmi fora da Bahia, nem pensar.* - Dona Cano talks about the confluence of Catholic anthems with the points of the religious syncretism of Candomblé in Bahia. Tom Zé theorizes that the lyrics of the nursery rhyme "o cravo e a rosa" (the clove and the rose) describes the deflowering of a virgin. The researcher Antonio Risério says that the malice of the Reconcave is noticeable in the voice of João Gilberto who is from Juazeiro, in "A falsa baiana." And the musician Roberto Mendes warns: to listen to Caymmi outside Bahia, no way. (O Globo).

The syncretism is above all a reality linked to the very hybrid constitution of Brazil. It is therefore one of the key words for the understanding of the Brazilian diversity, in discursive terms.

As a lexical item, the term syncretism can be the organizer of lexical relations and the originator of the confluence of different fields and the cultural models associated to them. It can also be the element that allows the textual cohesion, since it redirects different, and most of the times conflicting, discourses, fields and models, linking them pacifically around itself as a head of relational possibilities.

From the anthropological and social point of view, the syncretism is not always seen as positive, contrary to what was observed in the media discourse that tried to construct it mostly as a positive mixture of traits from different cultures, although the *Época* magazine points out to the tension between positivity and negativity, pending for the latter.

Perhaps, that is why that throughout the text whenever the word *sincretismo* occurs, it seems to (re) arrange the other words and/or expressions so that they are not taken as discrepant or conflicting in the place where they occur. Thus, words that indicate different discourses (from *Candomblé*, *Umbanda*, Catholicism, Islamism, etc. or from different fields such as religion, music, theater, concerts, etc.) are used in the same text without causing astonishment. In these

terms, along with the words with the same root, it brings cohesion to the text as a whole and helps in the maintenance of the fields and in the appeasement/attenuation of the tensions among the several discourses and cultural models that are called to dialogue in the texts.

4. Conclusion

The analysis presented here shows not only a socio-cultural pressure exerted by the hegemony of a considerable portion of society, but also a tension between the several other models and discourses involved with Brazilian social, religious, racial and ethnic issues. This hegemonic part of society is still influenced by a Eurocentric cultural model, taken as a historically built and perpetuated pattern that many times leads the African descendants to deny their own condition and identity in the sake of an integration hope.

From the racial standpoint, it seems that the concept of race does not hold anymore, although it still resonates, since it is present in the texts, making emerge an idea of "racialization" which is revealing of a process of transformation of the racism. It is no longer violent, but is assumed in the daily representations. It is grounded in the idea that the racism does not stand anymore, that there is a racial democracy. This assumption was observed in the relations established with the keyword *sincretismo*.

According to Hofbauer (2003, p. 59), the concepts of "white" and "black" were developed as an ideological discourse, which does not take race into account, and is derived from the ideology of whitening which is still been the basis of patrimonial power relations. It is this ideology that, according to the author, became a major argument of the discourse of the Brazilian elite (politicians and scientists) who wanted economical changes, but were still concerned with and feared the possible changes in the once established power relations.

In this sense, the use of the word ethnicity and their variations and inflections reinforces a new way of interpreting socio-cultural traits without the need to rely on a scientific discourse of biological basis, as it happens in the understanding of the concept race. In other words, the combined use of both race and ethnicity as categories in the analysis of representations and social relations creates a discursive tension, since the word race has a biological basis and the word ethnicity presupposes a socio-cultural heritage sharing. That is, the lexical choice itself can reveal the tension between the scientific discourse of a biological basis and one grounded in culture and the social element, reason why the social sciences (particularly Anthropology) have influenced many groups of African descendants. This influence led the African descendants to engage in movements of African-Brazilian religiosity and culture recovery, revaluation and reorganization. This discussion is relevant because discrimination is the behavioral manifestation of prejudice, and is supported by ancient myths and ideologies (especially of the racial democracy and of the whitening) that insist on keeping negative stereotypes and representations to the African descendants. In this sense, this discussion is imperative in order to put down the racism, seen here as an institutionalized practice of discrimination, and, more than that, as an ideological and theoretical construction. This way, racism can be considered a social practice, because it operates through discriminatory practices that are disseminated through language.

Perhaps the only way to end up the problems related to racism and ideologies that support it is to have those movements of African descendants through which they deny everything that erases their ethnic identity with other discourses like the discourse of anti-syncretism

and/or re-Africanization. At those moments, we advocate for a possibility to create new representations, since the prejudice, a negative representation or stereotype are constructions that do not originate in the individual. They are assigned to him by others. In other words, a representation is not inherent to anyone or any group, but it is projected, consciously or unconsciously, by someone else or by another group. And a change or reaction can only be achieved if everyone, without distinction, engages in building a truly democratic Brazil, born from the reconstruction of the negative and stereotyped representations that still "haunt" the Brazilian imaginary.

In the words of Gonçalves (2003, p. 15), "in the game of social representations, mental categories are created that classify us, sometimes deceive us, other times plaster us, but they also construct and reconstruct us". These representations are born in the cultural models that we adopt. This means that it's possible the reaction, the re-articulation and the reconstruction.

According to Farr (2003, p. 41), "language is not only a distinctive feature of human beings, but also, in modern societies, probably almost the only one important source of collective representations". That's why it is necessary that our discourses and representations are reconstructed, creating a pluralistic society that recognizes and respects the difference, making room for the socioeconomic and cultural inclusion of cordial racism marginalized groups, as it is the case of African descendants.

On the other hand, to rethink the relation that can be established between linguistic studies of lexical basis (see Biderman, 2001) and socio-cultural analysis, it is also important to reflect again about the processes used to treat the object of the so-called Lexical Sciences in order to contribute also with language studies. The Lexicology, science that deals with the general lexis of languages, works with the semasiology process of decoding (seeks to "translate" the meaning of a part of an existing item) and, in this sense, relates to the cognition of reality, acting in the analysis of the item to the concept to which it refers. Therefore, a lexical item may indicate views of the world, which can lead human beings to access these views and interact with their environment. This seems to be a way of understanding the meaning of the item syncretism in the media and all that underlies it. In turn, the terminology works with the process called onomasiological, of codification (takes a "phenomenon" and seeks an item that can be labeled) and, in this sense, it is related to the record of experience. That can help us understand one of the possible reasons why some anthropologists do not work with the term syncretism or consider it ambiguous.

In this direction, as it was already mentioned in the introduction of this work, the present study shows the value of the lexis goes beyond its function as a knowledge register element, label of entities or element which carries a meaning in itself, to be understood as an item capable of acting in the construction and representation of a particular "reality". This reality being the result of the dialogism that takes place between the human being and the environment and among the human being, the society and the culture system in which he participates.

In this sense, expanding the study to the established lexical relations with and from the word syncretism brought to light different cultural models and discourses that constitute dialectically the views about this phenomenon / process, with its tensions.

As explained by Warnier (2003), one should not confuse language and culture; however, it is undeniable that both maintain close relations. At this point it is important to highlight the

need of making efforts to work across disciplines and go beyond the single views that are offered when working within the boundaries of isolated disciplines.

This also requires us to look at a language in a different way. This new perspective being able to make it possible to say in line with Santos (2000) that it is time for a transformation of the science and the common sense, which comes from a double and dialectic rupture of the knowledge itself. It is accomplished by observing and rethinking the difference between the sphere of the science and the domain of common sense. This means that it is possible, relying on this dialectic, to transform the way to see this dichotomy, putting down the idea that science and common sense are mutually exclusive. So in doing science, we would not need to get rid of common sense. On the other hand, we would try to change this common sense based on this science. Through this double transformation, while adopting a truly dialectical perspective of this rupture, the researcher should be able to create what he calls a clarified common sense and a prudent science. Therefore, in the author's view, knowledge can establish a clarified practice and this practice, by being wise, can be democratically distributed. This is an important aspiration that imposes a big challenge on the research field. The work presented here is our attempt to gather science and experience, contributing to this debate by exploring the relations among language, society and culture.

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To Experience Differently: On One Strand of Kant's Anthropology

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1. Introduction

Immanuel Kant's critical philosophy presupposes the normal functioning of our faculties in everyday life, whether concerning knowledge, morality, or pleasure and displeasure. (I explain why I use the term "normal" shortly). According to Kant, "critique" means an examination of "all the claims that these powers [our cognitive faculties] make, in order to place these powers within the boundaries of their rightful [use]" (Kant, 1987: 15). These claims include illegitimate claims that lead us into predicaments such as what Kant calls antinomies. It is part of our faculties' normal operation in everyday life that they make such illegitimate claims. Kant's critique thus tries to set the division between our faculties' legitimate and illegitimate use in their normal functioning. If Kant's critique assumed that there are different ways in which our faculties operate, it would examine whether we can distinguish between their legitimate and illegitimate use in each of these different ways. If we can, it would make the distinction in each of these different ways. Kant's critical philosophy leaves aside the possibility that our faculties may operate differently. His anthropological writing, however, addresses this possibility.

The present chapter aims to spell out Kant's idea in his anthropological writing that our faculties can operate differently than in their normal way, we can thereby experience differently, and the range of what we can make of ourselves can be expanded. I said "normal." On the one hand, Kant employs the language of mental illness when describing an experience where our faculties operate differently than in the normal way. Here the term normal means not suffering from mental disorder. On the other hand, Kant thinks that we should appreciate both a different exercise of our faculties than in their normal fashion and a different mode of experience thereby generated. Here the term normal means standard or ordinary in everyday life. I use the term normal because these two meanings of it capture these two manners in which Kant characterizes a different operation of our faculties.

To explain Kant's idea a little further, the world is extremely rich and constantly changing in its every aspect. A large part of such richness and change usually escapes our awareness so that our faculties operate in their normal way without being sensorially overloaded. At certain moments, however, the world affects us so that our sense faculties are overloaded and forced to function differently. At such moments our senses become unusually heightened. Sensations and perceptions different from normal ones are generated. Our

faculties become more vitalized than when they are functioning in the normal way. Aspects of the world hidden from us when our faculties are operating in their normal fashion are revealed. We experience in a new, richer way. The mode of experience is thereby favorably modified.

This idea of Kant is one strand of his reflections on what the human being can make of himself/herself, and such reflections constitute part of anthropology for Kant. Posing the question of “what is a human being?,” i.e. the problem concerning the essence of human nature, Kant states that this is the question to be answered in “anthropology” (Kant, 1988: 28-9; 1999: 458). In his *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* Kant finds the essence of human nature in the fact that the human being is a self-creating being. Anthropology for Kant explores the essence of human nature in this sense. That is, Kant’s anthropology is a discipline that inquires into what the human being “makes of himself [/herself], or can and should make of himself [/herself]” (Kant, 2006: 3). If today a discipline that investigates the essence of human nature is regarded as philosophical anthropology, Kant’s anthropology counts as philosophical anthropology.¹ The present chapter then addresses a topic in philosophical anthropology (i.e. that of what we can make of ourselves) using the method of philosophical argument based on a reading of a philosophical text (i.e. Kant’s text). My study has two key results. First, an under-researched dimension of Kant’s thought is revealed because his idea just noted has been unexamined.² Second, it is shown that Kant’s idea finds support in contemporary empirical research. The moral to be drawn from Kant’s idea for our self-understanding is that we are capable of more, the range of what we can make of ourselves is wider, and there is more to sense, perceive, and think in the world, than the normal functioning of our faculties leads us to believe.

2. Explication

We explicate two passages from Kant’s work in which he expresses his idea noted above. First, we introduce these two passages and mention our faculties whose normal functioning Kant says is suspended. Second, we examine Kant’s remarks on astonishment, dreaming, and imagination. Third, we consider Kant’s view on artistic activity. This is because Kant suggests that artistic activity is an example in which our faculties operate differently and that our experience of artistic activity illustrates what the experience described in the two passages would be like. Fourth, we look at Kant’s descriptions of how exactly our faculties function differently. Fifth, we spend a few words on Kant’s usage of the terms supersensible, abyss, and wisdom in one of the two passages. Lastly, we conclude by suggesting the implications of my argument for Kant scholarship as well as for research in anthropology.

2.1 Two passages

The first of the two passages to be explicated occurs in the *Critique of Pure Reason*:

¹ See Van de Pitte (1971), as well as three recent books on Kant’s anthropology indexed under the heading of philosophical anthropology: Jacobs & Kain (2003), Loudon (2011), and Wilson (2007).

² It is unexamined in the works mentioned in note 1 above, Cohen (2008), and two books on Kant that can be said to represent recent Kant scholarship: Guyer (1992, 2006).

The present world discloses to us such an immeasurable showplace of manifoldness, order, purposiveness, and beauty, whether one pursues these in the infinity of space or in the unlimited division of it, that in accordance with even the knowledge about it that our weak understanding can acquire, all speech [*Sprache*] concerning so many and such unfathomable wonders must lose its power to express, all numbers their power to measure, and even our thoughts lack boundaries [*alle Begrenzung*], so that our judgment upon the whole must resolve itself into a speechless [*sprachloses*], but nonetheless eloquent, astonishment [*beredteres Erstaunen*]. (Kant, 1998: A622/B650)³

In experiencing this we feel as if we are in a “dream [*Traum*]” while awake (A624/B652). The second passage appears in the *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*:

Surprise [*Verwunderung*] (confusion [*Verlegenheit*] at finding oneself in an unexpected situation) at first impedes the natural play of thought and is therefore unpleasant; but later it promotes the influx of thought to the unexpected representation all the more and thus becomes an agreeable excitement of feeling. However, this affect is properly called *astonishment* [*Erstaunen*] only if we are thereby quite uncertain whether the perception takes place when we are awake or dreaming [*träumend*]. A newcomer in the world [*Ein Neuling in der Welt*] is surprised at everything, but he who has become acquainted with the course of things through varied experience makes it a principle to be surprised at nothing. On the other hand, he who thoughtfully and with a scrutinizing eye pursues the order of nature in its great variety falls into *astonishment* [*Erstaunen*] at wisdom that he did not expect... However, such an affect is stimulated only by reason, and is a kind of sacred awe at seeing the abyss [*Abgrund*] of the supersensible [*Übersinnlichen*] opening before one's feet (Kant, 2006: 160; emphasis in original).

In what follows, when I refer separately to these two passages I say the first passage and the second passage, when I refer to them together I say the two passages, and when I refer to the experience described in the two passages I say the experience at issue.

We read the first passage in terms of Kant's anthropology. The first passage appears when Kant critiques a physico-theological proof for the existence of a necessary being in his discussion of transcendental theology (Kant, 1998: A620-30/B648-58). Kant's critique, however, “does not belong to transcendental theology because of its strong empirical premise” (Allison, 2004: 509, n. 34). It properly belongs to anthropology. It should occur in Kant's anthropological writing rather than in the first *Critique*. It is no surprise that the notion conveyed in the first passage is also expressed in the second passage from the *Anthropology*. The “strong empirical premise” just noted consists of two ideas. One is that we go through the experience at issue. The other is that those who have undergone the experience at issue are psychologically compelled to assume and believe in the existence of a necessary being (A622-4/B650-2). If the premise in question were part of transcendental theology, it would entail that people necessarily go through the former experience and that the former experience is necessarily followed by the latter experience. That the premise is a “strong empirical” one means that people do not necessarily go through the former experience and that the former experience is not necessarily followed by the latter experience. People can undergo the former without going through the latter. The present

³ References to Kant (1998) are given with the standard A and B paginations.

chapter treats only the former experience (i.e. the experience at issue). To interpret the first passage in this manner requires us to decontextualize it somewhat from the first *Critique*. Such a reading can be justified because the content of the first passage properly belongs to anthropology.

We interpret the two passages in light of the preface to the *Anthropology*. Kant's anthropology, as noted, considers the human being a self-creating being and investigates what he/she "makes of himself [/herself], or can and should make of himself [/herself]" (Kant, 2006: 3). One way to explore and expand the potential of what we can make of ourselves is to coordinate one faculty with another in an unusual way. For instance, "perceptions" can "hinder," "stimulate," "enlarge," and make "agile" "the faculty of memory" (3). Presumably, here the faculty of memory, while hindered from operating in its normal way, is unusually heightened (stimulated, enlarged, made agile, etc.). The idea that perceptions activate the faculty of memory in an extraordinary way in exploring and expanding the potential of what we can make of ourselves reminds us of Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*. The preface to the *Anthropology* indicates that if our faculties operate differently as described in the two passages we would experience differently and thereby the range of what we can make of ourselves may be expanded.

Referring to a "newcomer in the world [*Ein Neuling in der Welt*]" in the second passage, Kant indicates his view on how the normal functioning of our faculties emerges. A "newcomer in the world" is a person who is new and has little experience in the world (not in a specific activity or situation). Presumably, by "newcomer in the world" Kant means an infant or a person whose mode of experience resembles that of an infant. Initially, the world impinges on a "newcomer in the world" so that he/she is "surprised at everything" because everything he/she encounters is unexpected and unfamiliar to him/her. Somehow, his/her faculties gradually begin to operate in a fixed, stable way while his/her mode of experience gradually becomes fixed and stable. Eventually, such a fixed, stable functioning of his/her faculties somehow becomes their normal operation, which establishes his/her normal mode of experience. He/she now "has become acquainted with the course of things through varied experience." The unexpected and unfamiliar turns into the expected and familiar. While losing a sense of surprise, he/she gains a sense of order and security concerning the world and his/her relation to it.

The normal functioning of our faculties thus established becomes suspended in the experience at issue. Since what is in question here is an experience of the world, our faculties involved in experience, such as the faculty of the senses, all temporarily lose their normal power. That all speech or language loses its power to express means that the normal power of signifying thought is lost. Speech or language in the first passage is meant to refer to "the faculty of using signs" in its highest function (Kant, 2006: 84). Kant argues that for the human being "thinking is *speaking* with oneself... inwardly" and "language" is the "best way of signifying thought" (86; emphasis in original). That is why Kant says in the first passage that "our thoughts," including the categories, empirical concepts, moral concepts, and Ideas of reason, lose all their boundaries or definiteness (*alle Begrenzung*). A sense of purposiveness and beauty, which concerns what would soon be called the judgment of taste, is lost. Concepts losing their power to signify include the categories of causality ("effects and causes") and quantity ("all numbers") as well as concepts of "ends and means" (Kant, 1998: A622/650). Thus the understanding, whose concepts these categories are,

temporarily loses its normal power. So does reason because with “ends and means” Kant refers to reason. Kant defines philosophy as the “science of the relation of all cognition to the essential ends of human reason” (A839/B867). “Essential ends... are either the final end, or subalternate ends, which necessarily belong to the former as means (A840/B868).” Moreover, “the former [the final end] is nothing other than the entire vocation of human beings, and the philosophy of it is called moral philosophy” (A840/B868). The concept of the “final end” too loses its conceptual power. This means that our moral capacity along with moral concepts is also suspended.

While ceasing to function in the normal way, our faculties operate differently. This transition is stressed in the two passages through contrasts between “natural” and “unexpected,” between “unpleasant” and “agreeable,” between an experienced person and a “newcomer in the world,” between “surprised at nothing” and “astonishment,” between “awake” and “dreaming,” and between “speechless” and “eloquent.” With these contrasts in mind, we turn to an explication of the two passages.

2.2 Astonishment, dream, imagination

Astonishment in the first passage is said to be a “speechless” but “eloquent” one. We can consider these two apparently incompatible characterizations compatible. Astonishment is “speechless” in terms of our faculties’ normal functioning because they temporarily lose their normal power including that of all speech. Astonishment is “eloquent” in terms of the possibility that our faculties operate differently. There are many ways in which they function differently and we thereby experience differently. Astonishment is felt and expressed in a manner corresponding with each of these ways. Astonishment is “eloquent” in terms of these different manners in which it is felt and expressed.

Astonishment is characterized also by seemingly incompatible elements about reflection. As the second passage shows, for Kant surprise is an affect. So is astonishment, which is a type of surprise. Kant defines “affect” as the “feeling of a pleasure or displeasure in the subject’s present state that does not let him rise to reflection [*Überlegung*]” (Kant, 2006: 149; emphasis in original). “[A]ffect... makes reflection [*Überlegung*] impossible” (150). But Kant also says that “surprise [*Verwunderung*]... already contains reflection [*Überlegung*] in itself” (153, translation modified; emphasis in original). Astonishment “makes reflection impossible” and “contains reflection in itself.” These two apparently inconsistent characterizations can be likewise rendered consistent. Astonishment makes the normal functioning of reflection impossible (involving an “unpleasant” feeling) and contains a different exercise of reflection (involving an “agreeable excitement of feeling”). We will examine Kant’s discussion of the faculty of reflection later.

Kant’s stance towards the affect of astonishment reveals two ways in which he characterizes an experience of a different exercise of our faculties. On the one hand, Kant’s stance in the two passages that astonishment is an “eloquent,” “agreeable excitement of feeling” indicates his view that we should appreciate such an experience. On the other hand, Kant’s attitude is like the one toward a sick mind. Kant states that a person seized by an affect should “probably always” be regarded as suffering an “illness of the mind [*Krankheit des Gemüths*]” (Kant, 2006: 149; emphasis in original). Such a person “resembles a deranged person” (151). “Affects are generally diseased occurrences [*Krankhaften Zufälle*] (symptoms)” (154). When

our faculties operate differently, we would feel in terms of their normal functioning as if we are afflicted by a mental illness. Kant, however, thinks that we may not necessarily feel in this way because the words “probably always,” “resembles,” and “generally” imply, respectively, not always, not exactly the same, and different in rare cases. We could instead appreciate a different exercise of our faculties.

Astonishment is an affect by which we are seized when the activity of the mind is modified. In the second passage Kant states that “such an affect [astonishment] is stimulated only by reason.” By reason Kant does not mean the faculty that concerns ends and means, Ideas, and morality. Otherwise Kant would contradict his view that our normal thoughts including Ideas of reason and moral concepts lose their power. We would have to attribute to Kant the idea that this faculty induces a state close to that of mental illness. We would have to think that this faculty stimulates the process in which perception becomes abnormal, because “this affect [surprise] is properly called *astonishment* only if we are thereby quite uncertain whether the perception takes place when we are awake or dreaming.” As we will see shortly, Kant’s characterization of dreaming leaves no room for the role of reason in this sense. That astonishment “already contains reflection in itself” indicates that it has to do with the activity of the mind as a whole because, as we will see, reflection involves the activity of the mind as a whole. We should think that by reason here Kant means the activity of the mind as a whole. We should think that in saying “only by reason” Kant stresses that, while the world impinges upon us so that it forces our faculties (mind) to function differently, astonishment is an affect stimulated by the mind differently operating rather than directly by the world impinging upon us.

Kant thinks that something akin to what is happening in dreaming is occurring when our faculties operate differently so that we feel like we are dreaming while awake. Kant expresses this when he states, as just cited, that “this affect is properly called *astonishment* only if we are quite uncertain whether the perception takes place when we are awake or dreaming.” To understand what is implied by Kant’s reference to dreaming, we look at how he characterizes the phenomenon of dreaming. Its three characteristics capture Kant’s attention: involuntariness, the power of imagination, and the vitalizing of the mind’s forces. Kant defines “*dreaming*” as “an involuntary play of one’s images in *sleep*” or the “play of fantasy with the human being in *sleep*” (Kant, 2006: 60, 68; emphasis in original). “The power of imagination, in so far as it also produces images involuntarily, is called *fantasy*” (60; emphasis in original). Dreaming occurs involuntarily. We cannot dream at will. Similarly, in the experience at issue our faculties involuntarily operate differently. We cannot induce this at will. Presumably, in certain moments we are involuntarily affected by the world such that our faculties are forced to function differently. Kant suggests this when he says in the first passage “the present world discloses to us...” At certain moments the world somehow discloses itself to us in an overwhelming way. The faculty of imagination has its productive and reproductive functions. It is “*productive*... as a faculty of intuition without the presence of the object... that is, a faculty of the original presentation of the object... which thus precedes experience.” It is “*reproductive*” when it “brings back to the mind an empirical intuition that it had previously” (60; emphasis in original). As we will see, Kant argues that the power of imagination in its productive function plays a crucial role when our faculties operate differently. Dreaming animates the “powers of the soul more than when everything goes smoothly” (Kant, 2006: 83; also 69). The phrase “when everything goes smoothly” is meant to characterize the time when our faculties operate in

their normal fashion in the waking state where the course of things is expected and familiar. Our faculties are more vitalized when operating differently as portrayed in the two passages than when functioning in the normal way.

The issue of mental disorder enters here again. Discussing what it is like "if it [what is occurring in dreaming] happens while the human being is awake," Kant states: "it reveals a diseased condition [*Krankhaften Zustand*]" (Kant, 2006: 68). Note that this statement amounts to describing what the experience at issue would be like. This statement is also in agreement with Kant's view noted earlier that cases in which our faculties operate differently are "diseased occurrences [*Krankhaften Zufälle*]." An activity of our faculties is seen as revealing a "diseased condition" if it differs from their normal activity so that we feel something going wrong, like suffering from mental disorder. We may not feel in that way, however. If we do not, such an activity would be described and appreciated simply as an activity different from the normal one. That is why Kant considers the experience at issue both to be appreciated and to be characterized in the language of mental illness.

Kant thinks that the activity of our faculties has its neural basis in the brain. Treating the same three characteristics of the phenomenon of dreaming, Kant states that imagination's activity is based on a "nervous energy that proceeds from the brain, the seat of representations" (Kant, 1996: 320). Kant also says that to explain the "power of imagination" we need knowledge of "the brain" and of the regions in it where representations enter into relationships with one another (Kant, 2006: 69). By the term representation (*Vorstellung*) Kant means all kinds of mental content generated by our faculties. Under the "genus" of "the representation in general" there is the "representation with consciousness" (Kant, 1998: A320/B376). This refers to all kinds of mental content we are aware of: sensations, perception of the external world, memories, concepts, thoughts, Ideas of reason, whatever is produced by the power of imagination, and the feeling of pleasure and displeasure (Kant, 1987: 47-8; 1998: A320/B376-7; 2006: 45, 54-9, 75, 90, 126, 128). There are also representations we are unconscious of (Kant, 2006: 23-6). Kant's reference to a "nervous energy that proceeds from the brain, the seat of representations" indicates his idea that we need to examine the brain and neural circuits in it to know how our faculties function.

2.3 Artistic activity

Kant suggests that artistic activity is an example of a different exercise of our faculties and that our experience of artistic activity exemplifies the experience at issue. Artistic activity covers what is happening in both creating and appreciating artworks. As Kant's remarks examined below indicate, his view on art and artistic activity is similar to the "formula" proposed by Eldridge: "the formula that works of art present a subject matter as a focus for thought and emotional attitude, distinctively fused to the imaginative exploration of material" (Eldridge, 2003: 259). We do not go into a definition of art, however. Nor do we examine in what respect Kant's idea on art may or may not require revision in light of art after Kant. We deal with Kant's view on artistic activity insofar as it helps explicate the two passages. Our discussion helps illuminate Kant's descriptions of how exactly our faculties operate differently, as we will see in the next section.

In his *Anthropology* Kant suggests that in artistic activity our faculties function differently than in the normal way. Kant says that there are moments when we encounter "the *startling*

[*das Auffallende*], something that... arouses the mind [*Gemüth*] to collect itself for reflection [*sich zur Überlegung zu sammeln*]" (Kant, 2006: 153; emphasis in original). This remark is followed by Kant's statement, a part of which we have looked at: "it [the startling] is the stimulus to *surprise* [*Verwunderung*] (which already contains reflection [*Überlegung*] in itself)." Kant goes on: "This does not happen so easily to the experienced person; but it is proper for art [*Kunst*] to present the usual [*das Gewöhnliche*] from a point of view that will make it startling." When we adults live everyday life, we are each an "experienced person" who tends to find the "usual" everywhere. There are, however, moments when we find ourselves engaged in an activity that makes the "usual" present itself as the "startling," i.e. artistic activity. In these remarks Kant speaks of the mind as a whole (*Gemüth*), not of this or that individual cognitive faculty. As we will see, reflection involves the activity of the mind as a whole. That the mind is aroused to "collect itself for reflection" indicates that its or reflection's activity is suspended. Otherwise it would not need to "collect itself for reflection." Presumably, what is suspended when we encounter the "startling" with a sense of "surprise" is the normal activity of the mind or reflection, i.e. its activity when it operates with the "usual." This corresponds to Kant's notion that surprise or astonishment makes reflection impossible. At the same time, a different exercise of the mind or reflection is promoted when the "usual" turns into the "startling," as shown by Kant's statement that "surprise... already contains reflection in itself." Collecting itself for reflection in this manner, the mind is vitalized to modify its activity. Surprise arises through such a modification. This is how artistic activity affects us by making the "usual" manifest itself as the "startling."

These remarks can be seen as illustrating the experience at issue. Not this or that individual faculty but the mind as a whole loses its normal power. Our normal speech is suspended. While Kant does not discuss artistic activity in the two passages, to be faced with a great artwork is surely one of the experiences where our "speech is inhibited" (Sallis, 2008: 2). As we have seen drawing on Kant's reference to dreaming, the activity of the mind as a whole is animated toward a different exercise of our faculties. As we will see in the next section, reflection, while hindered from functioning in the normal way, operates differently. Kant's remark that "this does not happen so easily to the experienced person" has a counterpart in the second passage: surprise or astonishment does not arise in a person "who has become acquainted with the course of things through varied experience." As the "usual" manifests itself as the "startling" through artistic activity, an "experienced person" experiences differently with a sense of surprise. Similarly, the world that we have become acquainted with presents itself differently in the experience at issue, so that, while the "natural" flow of representations is impeded, an influx of "unexpected" representations is promoted. We experience like a "newcomer in the world," "surprised at everything."⁴ We thereby experience differently. Astonishment as a type of surprise arises through a modification of the activity of the mind. I suggest that, given these parallels, Kant's remarks on artistic activity discussed above can be said to illustrate the experience at issue.

⁴ This is precisely what the artists Shusaku Arakawa and Madeline Gins intended when they constructed "Ubiquitous Site Nagi Ryoanji Architectural Body" and "Reversible Destiny" series. See their works at <http://www.reversibledestiny.org>. Arakawa states that the site is designed such that, once we enter it, it makes us physically "unbalanced" and makes us feel like a "baby" whose body lacks the "center of gravity" so that "the familiar" manifests itself as "something strange" (cited in Tsukahara, 2009: 138).

In the *Critique of Judgment* Kant treats artistic activity in relation to fine art, genius, and what he calls "aesthetic ideas," referring to painting, sculpture, and poetry (Kant, 1987: 181-6). In artistic activity a representation of the imagination "prompts much thought... so that no language can express it completely and allow us to grasp it" (182). "The imagination ([in its role] as a productive cognitive power) is very mighty when it creates, as it were, another nature out of the material that actual nature gives it. We use it to entertain ourselves when experience strikes us as overly routine. We may even restructure experience" (182). "In this process we feel freedom from the law of association" so that the imagination is prompted to "spread over a multitude of kindred representations" (182, 183). Thereby we "animate" or "quicken" the "soul" or "mind", strengthening the "mental powers" (182, 183). All this concerns the normal functioning of our faculties because Kant then states that in artistic activity "we also follow principles which reside higher up [than imagination], namely, in reason" (182). The imagination operates in such a way that respect for reason's power, especially in terms of morality, is inspired. Also, the imagination and understanding are in free, harmonious play (182-6).

Certainly, analogous things are taking place in the experience at issue. The power of imagination plays a key role (which we discuss in the next section). Our standard language loses its expressive power. The mind is animated. The world presents itself differently, just as "actual nature" manifests itself as "another nature." The experience of artistic activity described in the *Critique of Judgment* resembles the experience at issue to that extent. The difference, however, is that in the experience at issue all these things, since they concern a different exercise of our faculties, occur in a way uncontainable in artistic activity treated in the third *Critique*. For instance, in the experience at issue our faculties operate differently without heeding, let alone following, principles residing in reason. Instead of our feeling "freedom from the law of association," we are affected by the imagination's involuntarily accelerated associative activity processing different kinds and amounts of information in different manners at different tempos, consciously and unconsciously. Instead of a "multitude of kindred representations," that of "unexpected" representations is generated. Kant says nothing about whether the imagination and understanding are in harmonious play. We will see all this in the next section. When he suggests the similarity between artistic activity and a different exercise of our faculties described in the two passages, Kant thinks of artistic activity close to that discussed in the *Anthropology*.

We can read Kant's view on artistic activity in the third *Critique* in terms of that in the *Anthropology*. If we do so, Kant's suggestion that artistic activity is one example in which our faculties operate differently helps illuminate what the experience at issue would be like. Some scholars read Kant in this way. Pillow shows that Kant's argument on aesthetic ideas can be understood as implying that through the "disclosive power of imagination" "aesthetic experience has the potential to challenge "natural" seeming habits of thought, to destabilize taken-for-granted patterns of judgment," and to "cut new paths of sense" or "significance" in which we make sense of life and the world (Pillow, 2000: 5-6). By "aesthetic experience" Pillow means "the artistically creative dimension of our interpretive responses to each other and our worlds" (Pillow, 2000: 9). This is a dimension of experiencing life and the world. Pillow's view is closer to Kant's in the *Anthropology* than that in the third *Critique*. For example, the "usual" would display itself as the "startling" as our ""natural" seeming habits of thought" are "challenge[d]," "taken-for-granted patterns of judgment" are

“destabilize[d],” and, in Kant’s words in the second passage, the “natural play of thought” is “impede[d].” To “cut new paths of sense” or “significance” instead would require the mind to “collect itself for reflection.”

Hughes reads Kant’s discussion on artistic activity in the *Critique of Judgment* as implying that “artworks make us see differently” and “expand” our “perception of nature” (Hughes, 2010: 172). This amounts to interpreting Kant’s idea in the third *Critique* in terms of that in the *Anthropology*. If “it is proper for art to present the usual from a point of view that will make it startling,” we surely see differently through artistic activity. Kant states that there are moments when “nature... displays itself as art” (Kant, 1987: 168). This would be one example in which “actual nature” presents itself as “another nature” through artistic activity. We can consider this statement in terms of Kant’s view on artistic activity in the *Anthropology*. That nature manifests itself as art would then mean that nature ceases to appear in its “usual” form and presents itself as something “startling.” We can say that nature manifests itself as art in this sense when we experience the world in the way described in the two passages.

Drawing on Kant’s remarks about fine art and nature as art in the *Critique of Judgment*, and taking Cézanne’s painting as an example, Hughes further argues that “it is as though nature has become Cézanne’s painting” so that we can perceive nature differently through that painting (Hughes, 2010: 172). The way Cézanne perceives nature (or the way he is forced by nature to perceive it) differs greatly from the way we normally perceive it. If we perceive it in the way Cézanne does, we would “see differently” and “expand” our “perception of nature.”⁵ Kant’s reference noted earlier to the neural basis in the brain for the functioning of our faculties suggests that, when our perception is thus modified, the existing neural circuits in the brain would also be modified. Once this has happened, the mode of experience would no longer be the same as before and would be modified. We would “restructure experience.”⁶ All this finds empirical support in cognitive neuroscience. For instance, taking examples of artworks including those of Cézanne, Zeki shows that, as we experience artworks, neural circuits in the brain and our mode of experience are modified (Zeki, 2000). At any rate, Kant suggests that artistic activity illuminates what a different exercise of our faculties as described in the two passages would be like. We will discuss the so-called Stendhal syndrome and see the similarity between our experience of artistic activity and the experience at issue.

⁵ In this connection, Kant’s reference to a “newcomer in the world” reminds us of Cézanne’s aspiration “to see like a newborn child!”, to see the world as an endlessly new wonder. See Doran (2001: 23; also 48).

⁶ Kant’s view on artistic activity bears similarities to Robert Henri’s view on art and life. Henri says: “The world and life are common, every day,” but “[t]here are moments in our lives, there are moments in a day, when we seem to see beyond the usual” (Henri, 2007: 42, 182). Henri goes on: “We reach then into reality. ... It is in the nature of all people to have these experiences” (42). Such are the moments of art, and such are the artistic experiences. “Art... is the province of every human being,” “in every human being there is the artist,” and “art... is in everything” (11, 132, 224). Art and life are inseparable. The artist in us finds “wonders” in “the world and life,” and we are filled with “surprise” and “marvel” (42, 183). The artist in us “disturbs, upsets, enlightens, and he [/she] opens ways for a better understanding” (11), i.e. ways for a modified mode and significance of experience. We are “inventors all through life” in that sense (135).

2.4 Different operation

In the two passages Kant does not illustrate how exactly our faculties operate differently than in the normal way. Nor does Kant systematically elaborate on this issue elsewhere. Still, in several places Kant describes how exactly our faculties function differently. With Kant's view on artistic activity in mind, we look at these descriptions. It is shown that many of them capture what Kant considers in the two passages.

We begin with the faculty of the senses. As noted, Kant thinks that the power of imagination is extremely active when our faculties operate differently. The power of imagination works with sensations generated by the five senses, but it cannot produce them. "Sensations produced by the five senses... cannot be made by means of the power of imagination, but must be drawn originally from the faculty of sense" (Kant, 2006: 61). If the five senses generate sensations different from normal ones, the power of imagination functions with these different sensations. When it does, it would operate differently than in its normal fashion. Its different activity would affect us differently than when it works with normal sensations.

Kant discusses what he calls "dizziness" as an example in which we experience sensations different from normal ones. "Dizziness [*Schwindel*]" means a "fast spinning circle of many different sensations that is beyond comprehension [or exceeding mental capacity: *Fassungskraft übersteigenden*]" (Kant, 2006: 59; emphasis in original). Though untranslated, the word *Wechsel* (change) is included in this sentence.⁷ Kant is not speaking of usual cases of dizziness such as that we may feel when looking down from a great height.⁸ Kant is trying to describe what we feel when we feel many different sensations constantly changing at high speed, or rather, constantly coming one after another at high speed. Each sensation has its own degree of "intensive magnitude" (Kant, 1998: A165-9/B207-11). Sensations "*differ according to degree*" (Kant, 2006: 57; emphasis in original). If the change of a sensation means that it has a different degree of intensive magnitude, this amounts to saying that a different sensation emerges rather than one and the same sensation changes.

In normal cases we feel sensations distinct from one another (Kant, 1998: A168/B211). In the case of dizziness at issue we would feel one sensation ("a" circle and "a" change) as if many different sensations were fused with one another in a constantly and rapidly changing way. This sensation would be dissimilar to that coming from any one of the five senses. We would feel one intensive magnitude corresponding to this sensation rather than intensive magnitudes of many different sensations separately. Dissimilar to the intensive magnitude of a sensation arising from any one of the five senses, this intensive magnitude would be one in which intensive magnitudes of many different sensations are fused with one another in a constantly and rapidly changing manner. This sensation could be abnormal and this intensive magnitude could be enormous to the point of exceeding our capacity to endure (*Fassungskraft übersteigenden*).

Kant seems to think of the so-called Stendhal syndrome both in his discussion of the experience of dizziness and in the two passages. The Stendhal syndrome refers to cases in

⁷ Dowell's translation is "a quickly revolving change of many dissimilar sensations," where the word "circle [*Kreise*]" is missing (Kant, 1978: 55).

⁸ Kant discusses normal cases of dizziness later (Kant, 2006: 62, 71, 163).

which, exposed to and overwhelmed by great artworks, people become sensorially overloaded, affectively charged, dizzy, and hallucinated, and sometimes fall unconscious.⁹ Indeed, Shaviro argues that Kant's view on aesthetic experience helps illuminate the "so-called Stendhal syndrome, in which the encounter with a beautiful work of art leads to swooning and hallucinations (cf. Dario Argento's film *The Stendhal Syndrome*, 1996)" (Shaviro, 2009: 7). We can think of aesthetic experience where "nature displays itself as art." Such an experience would resemble that of a great artwork. As noted, the experience at issue can be seen as an example in which we perceive nature as if "nature displays itself as art." Those who encounter nature in this way would experience something like the Stendhal syndrome. Presumably, what is happening in the experience of dizziness and in the experience at issue is this. Nature is extremely rich and constantly changing in its every aspect (light, color, sound, smell, texture, etc.). While received by the senses, a large part of such richness and change normally escapes our awareness so that our sense faculties operate without becoming overloaded. (As we will see, Kant's remarks on the association of representations reveals his notion that the senses are processing far more information than we are aware.) As Kant says elsewhere, however, "one and the same representation affects the sensation in quite different degrees according to the different mental state of human beings" (Kant, 2007: 72). Our senses can be unusually heightened so that what otherwise normally escapes our awareness surfaces to consciousness. Depending on our mental state, we may become aware of those changes in aspects of the world that have hitherto been hidden from our awareness. Sensations generated thereof may be brought to consciousness so that we feel sensorially overloaded. Also depending on our mental state, we may or may not fall unconscious when we experience dizziness. This is what is implied when Kant says that "*unconsciousness* [or swooning or fainting: *Ohnmacht*]... usually follows dizziness" (Kant, 2006: 59; emphasis in original). The word "usually" implies that we may not faint. Even when we do, the many different sensations at issue would be processed under the threshold of consciousness, as we will see when examining Kant's remarks on "dual personality." When we do not fall unconscious, we become sensorially overloaded with the senses being unusually heightened while remaining conscious. We would see and experience differently. That the Stendhal syndrome typically involves hallucinations further suggests that Kant thinks of the syndrome in the two passages. Hallucinations are perceptions in the waking state when external stimuli are absent, so that these perceptions are taken to be about the external world. When we have such perceptions in sleep, we are dreaming. When we have hallucinations, something like what is occurring in dreaming is happening in the waking state. That is precisely what is occurring in the experience at issue: we are "quite uncertain whether the perception takes place when we are awake or dreaming." This experience would be akin to that of the Stendhal syndrome.

What is implied by Kant's reference to "a newcomer in the world" in the second passage? Kant thinks that in the experience at issue we experience like a "newcomer in the world" does. As noted, by "newcomer in the world" Kant means an infant or a person whose mode of experience resembles that of an infant. What Kant is suggesting is this. In infants

⁹ The syndrome is named after Stendhal's experience by psychiatrist Graziella Magherini in her *La Sindrome di Stendhal* (Ponte alle Grazie Publishers, Florence, 1989). Magherini's book and Stendhal's experience are cited in Malkin (1999: 24-25).

sensations of their own state are undifferentiated from perceptions of the world, that is, the former are fused with the latter in infants (Stern, 2000). For Kant "sensation" is a "perception that refers to the subject as a modification of its state" (Kant, 1998: A320/B376; 2006: 45). In the experience at issue, which is that of adults, it becomes difficult to differentiate perceptions of the world from modifications of one's state. External perceptions become fused with internal sensations. This occurs in adults when perceptions of the world are excessively intensified and overwhelming, because here "external representations [perceptions of the world] are changed into internal ones [sensations]" (Kant, 2006: 48). There are two cases in which external perceptions become excessively intensified and overwhelming. The first case is that in which they literally become so while our senses remain normal (e.g. when a sound becomes too loud). The second case is that in which our senses become so unusually heightened that otherwise unconscious external perceptions become conscious and otherwise normal external perceptions become intensified. Kant thinks of the second case in the two passages. In the experience at issue, as our senses become unusually heightened, hitherto hidden aspects of the world are revealed in an overwhelming flow of perceptions of constantly changing light, color, sound, smell, etc. These perceptions modify our state and generate sensations. These perceptions are fused with these sensations thereby generated. We become sensorially overloaded. We would feel an unusual, much faster and larger influx of sensations-fused-with-perceptions than in normal cases where sensations are differentiated from perceptions. We would feel dizziness. This is what is implied by Kant's reference to a "newcomer in the world." We will draw its further implications when we discuss synesthesia.

Our senses can be coordinated differently so that they operate differently. For instance, those who innately lack a sense (e.g. sight) compensate this lack with the use of another sense or other senses (e.g. hearing, touch, and olfaction) through exercising the "productive power of imagination to a high degree" (Kant, 2006: 65-6). Certainly, those people would not come to have the same sensation as that for which they lack a sense. The senses of those people, however, become coordinated with one another differently, so that those people lead a life smoothly as much as those with the five senses do. With the help of the power of imagination (recall Kant's reference to its neural basis in the brain), the sense faculties can work more flexibly and coordinate themselves differently than they normally do. Another example showing this is the phenomenon of synesthesia, which we will discuss shortly. Yet another example would be the experiment in which subjects, after wearing eyeglasses that invert their vision for a certain amount of time, see things flip back to the right way even with those eyeglasses on. Kant would have referred to this experiment if it had been conducted in his lifetime (it was first carried out by George M. Stratton in the 1890s).

Kant suggests that our conceptual power can operate differently. The issue of reflection (*Überlegung* or *Reflexion*) enters here. As noted, Kant argues that the affect of astonishment "makes reflection [*Überlegung*] impossible" and "already contains reflection [*Überlegung*] in itself." There are two types of reflection. Kant says that "to reflect...[*überlegen*] is to hold given representations up to, and compare them with, either other representations or one's cognitive power [itself], in reference to a concept that this [comparison] makes possible" (Kant, 1987: 400; translation for *Vorstellungen* modified from "presentations" to "representations"). Holding given representations up to and comparing them with other

representations is called logical reflection, and holding given representations up to and comparing them with one's cognitive power, transcendental reflection (Kant, 1988: 100; 1998: A260-3/B316-9).¹⁰ That affect makes reflection impossible means that reflection, logical and transcendental, is prevented from operating in its normal fashion. That astonishment contains reflection in itself means that reflection, logical and transcendental, functions differently with "unexpected" representations.

Logical reflection has to do with the formation of concepts. By logical reflection Kant means "the going back over different presentations, how they can be comprehended in one consciousness" (Kant, 1988: 100; also 1998: A262/B318). Here the normal functioning of our cognitive faculties is presupposed. Kant offers an example of the concept of tree. Strictly, objects called trees are each unique and unequal in every respect. Somehow, however, presentations of these objects are compared with one another, their relevant and irrelevant aspects are sorted out, the latter aspects are left aside, and the former aspects are associated and equated with one another to generate the concept of tree. In the experience at issue, our normal conceptual and concept-generating power is suspended, but new concepts would be ready to be generated out of "unexpected" representations. Logical reflection would operate differently.

Logical reflection requires transcendental reflection. Transcendental reflection refers to an act of the mind that determines both "the relation of given representations to one or the other kind of cognition [to sensibility and, if so, which sense, or to understanding]" and "their relation among themselves" (Kant, 1998: A261-2/B317-8). In the experience at issue transcendental reflection is prevented from operating in its normal fashion and is at work with "unexpected" representations toward a different exercise of our faculties. For example, transcendental reflection would operate differently than in the normal way when the sensations in dizziness are fused into one sensation dissimilar to a sensation arising from any one of the five senses or when external perceptions become fused with internal sensations. Transcendental reflection coordinates the relations among "unexpected" representations as well as the relations among these representations and our faculties.

Again we can see why Kant considers the experience at issue both to be appreciated and to be characterized in the language of mental illness. It is not that we choose at will to execute or not to execute transcendental reflection in which way. As Henrich says, transcendental reflection always occurs unconsciously "without any effort on our part," constituting a "precondition of rationality" (Henrich, 1989: 42). Somehow, it usually takes place in the way it normally does, so that it gives us, as Pillow says, a "self-feeling" for the "proper functioning of our cognitive powers" (Pillow, 2000: 23; emphasis in original; see also Lyotard, 1994: 11). There is, however, no guarantee that transcendental reflection always operates in its normal fashion. It may involuntarily work differently. When it does, we would have a "self-feeling" for a functioning of our faculties that is not "proper." We may feel and appreciate such a not-proper exercise simply as a different functioning of our faculties. We may feel it as a deviant or abnormal operation threatening a "precondition of rationality." In the latter case our "self-feeling" would be close to that of mental illness.

¹⁰ Kant uses the words *Überlegung* and *Reflexion* interchangeably (e.g., Kant, 2006: 7, 138, 141).

Language loses its normal power to express in the experience at issue. Kant's reference to "eloquent" astonishment and our discussion on reflection indicate his idea that some new potentially creative use and form of language may emerge instead as we are sensorially overloaded and our faculties thereby operate differently. As Fenves says in stressing the implications of the first passage, "all language has been lost, yet something of language, or another language," a "language unlike all others" survives or arises. "This newly overheard language of an outstanding pathos is incommensurable with the language of measurement, schematization, counting, cognition, and representational thought in general" (Fenves, 1993: 7-8). Given Kant's use of the language of mental illness and his view of artistic activity, it is worth emphasizing that his idea just noted is confirmed in psychiatry and art. Patients with certain mental illnesses are sensorially overloaded, and have a different relationship to language and thus speak and think differently than those without such mental illnesses do (Fink, 2007: 17-20). Expressions of patients with certain mental illnesses bear remarkable similarities to creative expressions of artists, especially of modernist artists (Sass, 1998). Indeed, Kant's account of artistic activity resembles that of mental illness. Artistic activity makes the "usual" present itself as the "startling" and makes us see differently. Likewise, Kant sees mental illness, to which he gives the word "derangement [*Verrückung*]," as "a totally different standpoint into which the soul is transferred, so to speak, and from which it sees all objects differently" (Kant, 2006: 110). An adult would feel similarly when he/she sees and comports himself/herself as a "newcomer in the world." Present in everyone to varying degrees, artistic activity manifests itself in different manners. Equally, Kant argues that "unreason [*Unvernunft*]," which is another name for "derangement" (Kant, 2006: 108-14), is present in everyone to varying degrees and in different ways (Saji, 2009). Artistic activity is a positive form in which our faculties operate differently. Likewise, rephrasing "derangement" in the sense above as "positive unreason [*positive Unvernunft*]," Kant stresses that "unreason" is "something positive [*die etwas Positives*]" (Kant, 2006: 110, 112; emphasis in original; cf. Saji, 2009).¹¹ Thus understood, it is no surprise that Kant suggests that the experience at issue is illuminated by both artistic activity and mental illness.¹²

"Unexpected," normally unconnected representations may become associated with one another, so that our faculties virtually operate differently. Kant argues that there are cases in

¹¹ Maintaining his life-long, intense interest in mental disorder, Kant offers a discussion of mental illness not widely off the mark in light of the current standards. See Butts (1984). Cf. Nevid (2007), where Nevid argues that Kant's epistemology in his critical philosophy has significant relevance to the contemporary practice of cognitive psychotherapy concerning people with cognitive distortions and emotional disorders.

¹² Kant, as noted, argues that those who have undergone the experience at issue are psychologically compelled to assume and believe in the existence of a necessary being. Presumably, these people are thus compelled because otherwise they would be overwhelmed by such an experience so that they feel like they are suffering from mental illness. For example, they may feel as if the world would "sink into the abyss of nothingness" (A622/B650). Note that Kant describes them as using normal language to assume and believe in the existence of a necessary being. That is, after they have experienced losing the expressive power of normal language, they recover and stick to it instead of trying to develop some new potentially creative use and form of language. In the part after the first passage Kant describes only those who regain and adhere to normal language and, even though he refers to "eloquent" astonishment, leaves aside those who may or do cultivate some new creative use and form of language instead.

which representations can be understood as effectively belonging to faculties to which they normally do not belong. As in dreaming, the key is the power of imagination. The “productive power of imagination” can “involuntarily” generate unusual connections among concepts, sensations, and affects (Kant, 2006: 66). Kant draws attention to the fact that a series of representations of one kind can be involuntarily coupled with “a host of representations of an entirely different sort” (67). Representations attached to different faculties can be coupled with one another. A case in point would be the phenomenon of synesthesia.¹³ Strictly, perhaps we should say that even in such a coupling a representation belongs to an appropriate faculty. Representations attached to different faculties, however, are coupled in such a way that a representation belonging to an appropriate faculty is involuntarily activated whenever other representations attached to other appropriate faculties are at work. This would amount to an experience in which our faculties operate differently. It can be said that in such a coupling representations virtually belong to faculties to which they are normally not attached.

In the *Anthropology* Kant refers to the phenomenon of “derangement of the senses [*Sinnenverrückung*]” (Kant, 2006: 36). Kant thinks of the case in which not this or that sense but all the senses together function differently than in the normal way. Kant seems to think of something like a derangement of the senses in the two passages. It helps to look at Kant’s explanation of derangement concerning the faculty of sense elsewhere. Kant defines “derangement [*Verrückung*]” as a characteristic of a person who, “while being awake and without a particularly noticeable degree of a vehement malady,” is “representing certain things as clearly sensed of which nevertheless nothing is present” (Kant, 2007: 71; emphasis in original). Kant then characterizes a person revealing the feature of derangement as a “dreamer in waking” (71). This characterization indicates that Kant thinks of something like a derangement of the senses in the two passages. It is also likely that “derangement of the senses” is meant to refer to synesthesia because Kant’s definition just noted seems to be a plausible description of synesthesia from the perspective of nonsynesthetes. For instance, some synesthetes, while “being awake and without a particularly noticeable degree of a vehement malady,” perceive sounds, letters, or numbers as inherently and distinctly colored, but for nonsynesthetes no color at all is present. We might be prone to regard synesthesia as a case of derangement of the senses, but we can also appreciate it as an example of a different exercise of the senses.

Kant’s reference to a “newcomer in the world” indicates that he also thinks of something like synesthesia in the two passages. Empirical research shows that “newborn babies perceive all their sensory impressions as a single whole” and as a “sensory primordial soup” rather than separately (van Campen, 2008: 29). As noted, external perceptions and internal sensations are undifferentiated here. Such a “single whole” or a “sensory primordial soup” where all kinds of sensations are fused with one another reminds us of what Kant refers to as dizziness and derangement of the senses. In this sensory primordial soup babies have their “neonatal synesthesia,” that is, “presumably everyone is born with a kind of synesthesia” (van Campen, 2008: 30, 160). Hidden in our senses, synesthesia is an ability that can be developed even if we are now adult nonsynesthetes, so that the line between “synesthetes” and “nonsynesthetes” becomes “blurred” (van Campen, 2008: 165; also 151-

¹³ For synesthesia, see Cytowic (2002) and van Campen (2008).

166). Artistic activity is a case in point, as shown by the title of van Campen's book "The Hidden Sense: Synesthesia in Art and Science." Indeed, discussing Kant's view on art and the *sensus communis aestheticus* in the *Critique of Judgment*, van Campen argues that "the *sensus communis aestheticus*" can be understood as a "personal gift to perceive special aesthetic qualities in multisensory domains (as in personally colored sound synesthesia)" (van Campen, 2008: 154; also 146-9, 151-6). Experiencing in the way described in the two passages is similar to experiencing in the way a "newcomer in the world" does, so that a kind of synesthesia could be cultivated.

We have seen that Kant seems to think of the Stendhal syndrome both in his discussion of dizziness and in the two passages. In fact, Kant seems to think of the experience of dizziness in the two passages. In the section in which he treats dizziness, Kant makes the following remarks: "when awake one can suddenly be seized by confusion [*Verlegenheit*] while deliberating what to do in an unforeseen case, an inhibition of the orderly and ordinary use of one's faculty of reflection [*Reflexionsvermögens*], which brings the play of sense representations to a standstill" (Kant, 2006: 59). This "is to be regarded as like a momentary sleep that seizes one and that requires a *collecting* [*Sammelns*] of one's sensations" (59; emphasis in original). "Sleep" is a process in which "a gathering of power [*Sammlung der Kräfte*] for renewed external sensations" occurs so that on awakening "the human being sees himself [/herself] as a newborn in the world [*neugeboren in der Welt*]" (58). These remarks seem to illustrate the experience at issue. Kant speaks of "confusion [*Verlegenheit*]" that seizes one who finds oneself in an "unforeseen case," just as he refers to "surprise" (astonishment) as "confusion [*Verlegenheit*] at finding oneself in an unexpected situation." One feels as if one is seized by a "momentary sleep" although "awake," just as one feels as if one is dreaming although awake. Kant does not say in the remarks at issue that the power of reflection is inhibited in its entire use. What Kant says is that its "orderly and ordinary use" is inhibited. What is implied is that its different, extraordinary use is available. That is, the faculty of reflection operates in a disorderly way or a differently orderly way. When it does, one's faculties also operate differently including a "collecting" and a "play" of "one's sensations" because it involves the activity of the mind as a whole. The mind's power is "gathered" so that one goes through "renewed" (i.e. revitalized and transformed) sensations like a "newborn in the world," just as the mind's power is animated so that one experiences like a "newcomer in the world." Kant turns to his discussion of dizziness with these parallels and implications.¹⁴ I thus suggest that Kant thinks of the experience of dizziness in the two passages.

In the two passages Kant also seems to have in mind the phenomenon of involuntary association of representations that occurs in the waking state. Discussing the power of imagination in its productive function, Kant states: "this association often extends very far, and the power of imagination often goes so fast from the hundredth to the thousandth that it seems we have completely skipped over certain intermediate links in the chain of representations [*Vorstellungen*], though we have merely not been aware of them" (Kant,

¹⁴ The section in which Kant treats dizziness is entitled "On the inhibition, weakening, and total loss of the sense faculties" (Kant, 2006: 58). Note that what is inhibited, weakened, or lost is the normal functioning of our sense faculties insofar as we are conscious. This is compatible with cases in which our faculties can operate differently, consciously and unconsciously, as we have been discussing and will discuss shortly.

2006: 69). As noted, Kant thinks that there are unconscious representations. Clearly, Kant thinks that the mind has different activities processing different kinds and amounts of information in different manners at different tempos, consciously and unconsciously. In this context Kant again refers to dreaming. If the association of representations when we are awake is too strange to make sense of from our normal perspective, we feel as if we are “dreaming” (70). Involuntary, accelerated associative activities of this sort would be taking place in the experience at issue.

Elsewhere Kant argues that representations that do not surface to consciousness are processed when we are in deep sleep. Kant gives an example of “actions of some sleep-walkers” who occasionally show “greater understanding in this state” than they do when awake (Kant, 2002: 325). In this case, while in deep sleep we have “representations clearer and more extensive than even the clearest of the representations we have when we are awake” even though we may not at all remember them upon awakening (325). Kant calls this phenomenon a “certain dual personality” because it is as if there is a state of consciousness different from our normal state of consciousness. A “dual personality” exists in us even if it does not appear as behavior like in the case of sleep-walkers (325). Kant does not seem to be widely off the mark. Neurological research suggests that the brain is activated differently in dreaming than in waking and that dreaming and waking constitute two different states of consciousness (Hobson, 2005). Sensations in dizziness would be “clearer and more extensive” than normal ones we have when awake, because the senses are unusually heightened in dizziness. This suggests that sensations in dizziness, even if we fall unconscious, are processed below the threshold of consciousness.

Kant likens a process in which new representations and associations among them are generated to a process in chemistry in which “an entirely new thing emerges (somewhat like a neutral salt in chemistry)” (Kant, 2006: 70). Kant goes on to argue: “the play of forces in inanimate as well as in animate nature, in the soul as well as in the body, is based on the dissolution and union of the dissimilar. It is true that we arrive at cognition of the play of forces through experience of its effect; but we cannot reach the ultimate cause and the simple components into which its material can be analyzed” (70). Clearly, Kant thinks that the mind is capable of generating new, “unexpected” representations out of dissimilar representations although we cannot fully analyze this process. Kant’s argument discussed in this and the previous two paragraphs applies to perception because perception is one type of representation. That is, Kant thinks that when perceiving the external world we are actively and creatively processing information, consciously and unconsciously, rather than passively receiving and recording information. Kant’s view is supported by empirical research.¹⁵

The mode of experience is modified through a different exercise of our faculties. We have seen this in the case of artistic activity along with support in empirical research. Kant argues for a general case of this. Different or “unexpected” representations we have when our faculties operate differently would generate new sensations. Kant says that “all representations [*Vorstellungen*] in us,” be they “sensible,” “intellectual,” or “unnoticeable

¹⁵ See Hoffman (2000) and Goodale & Milner (2005). Visual information is processed in different ways at different speeds, consciously and unconsciously. Such a process is creative. It actively creates what we see.

[i.e. unconscious]" "affect the feeling of life, and none of them can be indifferent insofar as it is a modification of the subject" (Kant, 1987: 139; translation modified from "presentations" to "representations"). Kant then equates "life" with the "mind" as a whole: "The mind [*Gemüth*] taken by itself is wholly life" (139). Representations in us affect the mind, involving modifications of our state. Sensations are thereby generated because for Kant "sensation" is a "perception that refers to the subject as a modification of its state" (Kant, 1998: A320/B376; also 2006: 45). Each of the "unexpected" perceptions in us when our faculties operate differently would generate a sensation. Sensations thus generated would be dissimilar to normal ones we have when our faculties function in the normal way. The faculty of reflection would operate with these different sensations, organize them, and coordinate relations among them and our faculties. While some of such modifications of our state may feel like mental illness, some others may feel like modifications different from normal ones. The mind would be affected differently by these different sensations and be more vitalized than when our faculties operate in their normal fashion. As Kant says in a manner reminiscent of Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*, "perceptions" can also "hinder," "stimulate," "enlarge," and make "agile" the "faculty of memory" in an extraordinary way. The power of memory, while hindered from operating in its normal fashion, can be unusually heightened by certain perceptions. The power of memory would be affected in this way by "unexpected" perceptions of the sort we have examined. The faculty of memory thus affected would better retain these perceptions than normally, change the sense of past experience, and alter the background against which and the way in which we anticipate future experience. The mode of experience would be modified through the process described above.

Kant's reference to dreaming indicates that the mode of experience would be modified favorably rather than unfavorably. Just as we cannot dream for too long, we cannot stay too long, let alone throughout our life, in the condition in which our faculties operate differently. It is not that we at once abandon a mode of experience in which our faculties function in the normal way to adopt an entirely new mode of experience in which they always operate differently. It is that, just as we wake up from a dream, we come back to a normal mode of experience after we have undergone a different exercise of our faculties. Still, our then normal mode of experience would be favorably modified by a different exercise of our faculties. According to Kant, dreaming advantageously affects our activity in the waking state. Indeed, Kant's point when he says the "powers of the soul" are animated while we are dreaming is that these powers are thus vitalized so that they can operate in a more active way when we are awake than otherwise. Kant's point finds empirical support in contemporary research. Drawing on Llinas (2002), Hobson says of the "sense of self" and the "sense of moving in dream space": "we dream, perforce to reactivate the brain basis of self-hood that is embedded in our built-in capacity to generate movement. Put another way, our dreams—so constantly and elaborately animated—remind us that we were born with an already huge talent for movement and for the sensorimotor perceptions of movement that become the center of our sense of self as agents" (Hobson, 2005: 65-6).¹⁶ Moreover, in his 1786 piece "On the philosopher's medicine of the body," Kant says that the affect of

¹⁶ Hobson discusses other aspects in which dreaming affects us in the waking state (Hobson, 2005: 77-9, 89). Bodily movement and the motor system shape cognition, a sense of self, and the mind (Gallagher, 2005).

“astonishment” is conducive to the health of body and mind (Kant, 2007: 184). The mode of experience would be favorably modified by a different exercise of our faculties. Our modified mode of experience would become our normal mode of experience, which would in turn be favorably modified through a yet different exercise of our faculties. And so on.

2.5 Supersensible, abyss, and wisdom

We spend a few words on Kant’s usage of the terms “supersensible,” “abyss,” and “wisdom” in the second passage. In the *Critique of Judgment* Kant speaks of the “supersensible” to make sense of the situation in which our faculties are in accord internally with one another such that they are in accord externally with nature. The supersensible in the second passage differs from that in the third *Critique*. Unlike in the third *Critique*, in the second passage our faculties operate differently than in the normal way. In the third *Critique* Kant says that the antinomy of taste requires us to postulate the “supersensible” in order to find the “unifying point [*Vereinigungspunkt*] of all our faculties” in it (Kant, 1987: 214; translation modified). The two passages have nothing to do with the antinomy of taste. Unlike in the third *Critique*, whether there is an accord or a discord among our faculties is not at issue in the two passages. As indicated by the two ways in which Kant characterizes a different exercise of our faculties, what may look like a discord may well form a different internal accord. Above all, that we lose our “speech” and feel “speechless” astonishment in the experience at issue indicates that this is an experience inexpressible in our standard vocabulary including the words supersensible, abyss, and wisdom. Still, Kant tries to describe such an experience using these words.

My interpretation of Kant’s use of these words is this. In her discussion of the supersensible in the *Critique of Judgment* Hughes argues that “the supersensible is... the activity of the mind understood in its fullest extent as incorporating a range of cognitive powers” (Hughes, 2010: 141). What is under consideration in the third *Critique* is the fullest exercise of our faculties in their normal functioning. In the experience at issue our faculties are more heightened and vitalized than when they operate in the normal way. In that sense, the mind can be said to exercise its powers beyond the limits of its normal functioning. Kant, I suggest, uses analogously the term supersensible in the second passage to refer to “the activity of the mind understood in its fullest extent” beyond the confines of its normal operation. I suggest two things about the expression “seeing the abyss of the supersensible opening before one’s feet.” First, the word abyss figuratively represents a wide range of different ways in which our faculties can operate to the fullest extent. Strictly, the abyss is within us because the supersensible has to do with the activity of the mind. Kant’s phrase “opening before one’s feet,” however, indicates that we feel as if the abyss belongs to the world. Presumably this is because the world involuntarily affects us differently and forces our faculties to operate differently rather than we employ our faculties differently at will. Second, it is indicated that the experience at issue could feel like something is going wrong mentally. If one were “seeing” an “abyss” “opening before one’s feet” even though in fact there is no such abyss, this would feel like a hallucination (this is one aspect in which we feel as if we are dreaming while awake). In the second passage Kant speaks of “wisdom [*Weisheit*]” that we “did not expect.” Kant refers to “wisdom [*Weisheit*]” elsewhere in the *Anthropology*, where he defines it as “the idea of a practical use of reason that conforms perfectly with the [moral] law” (Kant, 2006: 94). This wisdom differs from that in the second

passage because, while the latter is what we “did not expect,” the former is a concept of reason that (according to Kant) we know inheres in reason. I suggest that the phrase “wisdom” that we “did not expect” is meant to characterize the fact that a different exercise of our faculties somehow fits the world so that we experience the world differently and appreciate such an experience. That is, it is as if the world is arranged in a way we “did not expect” such that it embraces a different exercise of our faculties and a different mode of experience thereby generated.

3. Conclusion

Kant not only recognizes the possibility of a different operation of our faculties, as occurs in some forms of mental disorder. He also explicitly acknowledges the productive value of abnormal experience: we can experience the world not merely differently than we do when our faculties are operating in their normal fashion, but in some ways better or as well. As our faculties function differently, our senses are unusually heightened, aspects of the world hidden from us when our faculties operate in the normal way are revealed, and we experience in a new, richer way. We can appreciate and enjoy such an experience while we may also be overwhelmed by it. Once we have experienced in a new richer way, our mode of experience would be favorably modified. In this process we may notice, activate, and cultivate some creative potential that would otherwise have remained latent, as suggested by Kant's remarks on artistic activity. The range of what we can make of ourselves may be expanded through a different exercise of our faculties. All this finds support in contemporary empirical research. The moral to be drawn from our reading of Kant for our self-understanding is that we are capable of more, the range of what we can make of ourselves is wider, and there is more to sense, perceive, and think in the world, than the normal functioning of our faculties leads us to believe.

I conclude by suggesting the implications of my argument for Kant scholarship as well as for research in anthropology. There are two implications for each. For Kant scholarship, first, as noted, Kant's idea spelled out here has been unexamined. My interpretation enriches Kant scholarship by bringing out this under-researched dimension of Kant's thought. Second, a topic for future research is suggested. Even within the limits of critical philosophy where the normal functioning of the sense faculties is presupposed, their autonomy and activity are expanded in the course of critical philosophy from the *Critique of Pure Reason* through the *Critique of Judgment* (Kukla, 2006). My analysis shows that the sense faculties are granted further autonomy and activity in Kant's anthropological writing beyond the confines of critical philosophy. Then, the relation between Kant's anthropology and critical philosophy would need to be reconsidered in terms of the role of sensibility.¹⁷ This is a topic for future research. For research in anthropology, first, it is suggested that anthropology can benefit from addressing not only what we are (i.e. how and how much we are and were the same or different, physically, culturally, socially, historically, linguistically, etc.) but also what we can make of ourselves. My discussion contributes to anthropology by offering one way of exploring what we can make of ourselves.¹⁸ Second, that Kant's idea

¹⁷ Cf. Foucault (2008), where Foucault argues that Kant's anthropology serves to interrogate, reinterpret, and revise his critical philosophy.

¹⁸ For other implications of Kant's philosophical anthropology for contemporary anthropology, see

explicated here finds empirical support in contemporary research indicates that by considering the results of such research anthropologists may develop their own research in an interdisciplinary manner. Given these two implications, an intriguing topic that my argument suggests for research in anthropology is one on the connection among mental illness, artistic activity, and creative potential.¹⁹

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Cohen (2008). Cohen reads Kant's anthropology by examining Kant's view on what the human being makes of himself/herself rather than his view on what he/she can make of himself/herself. Kant's anthropology, Cohen argues, is important because it reevaluates the conception of human nature by addressing the question of human nature not only in terms of what the human being is but also in terms of what he/she does, i.e., in terms of what he/she makes of himself/herself.

¹⁹ There are some research results on which anthropologists can draw. For example, see Becker (2001), Prentky (2001), Richards (2001), Russ (2001), Sass (2001), and Schuldberg (2001).

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The Relationship Between Clinical Phenomenology and Psychoanalysis: Anthropological Origins of Psychotherapy

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1. Introduction

In the beginnings of clinical psychology at the end of the 19th century, physicians referred to philosophy and “psychology of the depths”. The idea of deepness and hidden objects about the ego was current to innovate in psychotherapy. This new practice was supposed to teach about human condition and the manner how man becomes ill. *Anthropos* means “man” or more precisely “human being” if we want to avoid any discriminating thinking about woman. In English the construction of the words “human” and “woman” includes “man” anyway. Constructions of languages show how anthropological interpretation of being together is important for speaking and understanding. So in a strictly epistemological way, we can’t really differ between psychotherapy and anthropology, because psychotherapy is the method to know about feelings and illness. Human condition is the main story in psychotherapy: the difficulty to bear life.

First, Freud was talking about “psychology of the depth” (Freud, 1895) when discovering psychoanalysis. In fact, he realized that consciousness is not homogeneous. Dreaming shows a less common way to work with perception. The only way to get information from the patient is observing by talking. His first patient, Anna O., found the well-named expression of “talking cure”. But she was not talking to herself but she felt better when talking to somebody else. She showed that talking depends on being listened by the other. It works only out by the relationship. By this way, Freud discovered that speech is meant for somebody, an invisible person. The psychotherapist listening just takes the place of this invisible person. This is called transference. It gives a quiet uncomfortable feeling about oneself as being somebody else because we have to discover ourselves. It is strange to consider that we are speaking for hiding away from something.

At this stage, human condition and what we might call “anthropology” will become more complex and only philosophy will help us to understand this situation.

2. Humain being and the paradox of empathy

Hegel (1807, 1967) and Husserl (1962) developed the transcendental approach, which means a method to understand intrapersonal (inside oneself) and interpersonal (between two persons) relationships. *Nebemensch* means “the man near”, “beside” as a neighbor or a

foreigner. Somebody supposed to exist, but we don't really know him. When being ill, the patient feels like being changed into another and he witnesses about himself. He exists without feeling well, so it is like being beside himself. When being ill, we become a stranger for ourselves. Another word is *Mitmensch*, signifies "man with", "close to". It is somebody who is able to help, to understand and to assure readiness. The unhappy person is looking for this kind of quality when searching for a friend, somebody he can trust. But usually, in normal life, if you want to find a partner, you are supposed to be able to be a partner by your own – to be on your own and for the other. This dialectical movement explains that understanding of one of these processes, intrapersonal or interpersonal, couldn't be without the other one. One depends on the other. The dimension of the other is always the limit to consider yourself and the opposite is important too in the same way: you cannot understand the other one if you take for granted that he is the same as you. This is the paradox of empathy: you need to make feel yourself like being the other to be able to realize the differences. Sameness is an illusion that is sometimes necessary for believing in change. Of course, this is another paradox too. When being in love, first you might think that the other is like you and you will be able to change together. Afterwards, you should realize that two persons are always different and that each one has the right to claim for his individuality. So psychotherapy is about learning how to be when sharing with the other (Hirsch, 1967).

Freud was reading philosophy as any studied person at this time. Hegel, Husserl and Freud have in common that there were writing in German. Philosophy, psychology and anthropology has been studied in German language. It is not the same to study in one language and not in another. English, French, Italian, Spain, Chinese, Arabia, every language will lead to different thinking's about human being and being in the world. We have to notice that German is a very special language because of its phenomenological nature. German language has different movements often included in the same word (in the beginning and in the end of one word). When forming nouns neologisms are possible because of this special grammar. This means that anyone who is speaking or listening to this language must decide for the direction of a signification. Understanding must go quickly and when listening we take an unconscious decision about meaning. When speaking in everyday life we won't search for linguistic analysis.

Binswanger was interested by this kind of intentionality and the relationship we have with language. He showed the importance of considering « direction of meanings » (Binswanger, 1954). They define how somebody thinks about himself as being in the world. Binswanger studies the different ways of being in the world of maniac, melancholic, paranoiac and schizophrenic patients. The directions of meaning will highlight falling, erasing, flowing, being compressed, running away and much more.

M. Foucault, who introduced Binswanger in France, commented the complexity of Binswanger's idea in his introduction to the French translation of Binswanger (" direction of meaning", "meaning directions", "directing meaning" or "directions meant") implying different viewpoints about how to consider speech (Foucault, 1954). But this kind of attention is often anticipated by empathy. So clinical psychology and psychotherapy have also their origins in language study and philosophy about others and yourself. Psychology, philosophy and linguistics start to have common objects in the '20 starting with Saussure and further more epistemology and structuralism helped to come closer by their methods, for example anthropological linguistics. Of course, in matter of human existence, anthropology was supposed to lead the other disciplines. Later, we will observe the

beginning of combinations between disciplines like philosophical anthropology. In fact, the references today for “philosophical anthropology” are those of existential analysis of Binswanger and his colleagues. All those works came out of the research for a method to treat psychotic patients by psychotherapy in hospital or private practice. Mostly, psychiatrists, physicians and philosophers worked together.

It would be interesting to study how those relationships between language and philosophy differs from the cultural background in middle Europe and lead to different ideas about oneself and the other. For example, one of my students wrote about the self in her research about psychoanalysis. This is quiet unusual for a French public, because psychoanalysis is about the Ego and not the self. First, I was wondering about my students’ theory and suddenly I realized that my student, coming from Ireland, is thinking French in English language structure and English grammar obliges to speak about the self: myself, yourself, himself. This example shows that it is impossible to think different than your language. In the opposite, French language expresses always by a double confirmation: *moi-même, toi-même, lui-même* (meaning myself, yourself, himself). But *même* signifies “identically”, “the same” as if French culture was afraid for becoming suddenly somebody else. It is true, that French language has also two words to identify the speaker. “I” becomes *moi, je*. So the first person in grammar, I, is not sufficient in French to assure to speak about yourself. You have to identify yourself a second time in precisising that it is you, the same. This seems very strange for foreigners, like a foolish situation about cross-cultural studies.

This linguistic example helps to understand the reason for the differences in psychiatry approaches in Italian (Calvi, 1989), Spanish (Moliner, 1987), French (Lacan, 1966; Oury, 1989; Racamier, 1992), German (Wolf-Fédida, 2010) or English (Winnicott 1971; Bion W. R., 1962; Klein M., 1987) might show that it is less a problem of theory but a confrontation of different views how to be in the world. Every language delivers expressions in risking a narrow-minded attitude by the readiness how to say something, which hinders finally to ask questions. But at the same time, the dependence of the viewpoint in a language helps to make up an opinion and to take a position. Speaking correctly means that we are supposed to think in a normal, popular way. However, this cross-cultural discussion will lead us as well to cultural anthropology as psychological anthropology. This kind of studies examines the universality of the purposes and the cultural differences. For example, in the frame of my research about “bilingual families, identity and the transmission of knowledge” I traveled to Mayotte (new French territory, Indian Ocean) and to Middle East. The subject about bilingual families will interest both because it is the universal part. But in each place they will give a different meaning about it. In one place families are worrying about preserving their culture and to avoid former colonialism. In the other place, people are afraid of war all the time and constructing, pleasure and everything that is new becomes a value to avoid depression. It is contrary to tradition but in the same time it helps to believe in tradition by being optimistic. This must seem contradictory to a foreign observer.

3. Anthropology as the common part of clinic

If we come back to the beginnings of clinical psychology, we should remember the anthropological task. Psychoanalysis gives a lot of anthropological examples: Freud wrote about totem and taboo, psychology of masses, Moses and monotheism and the Ego and the Id (Freud, 1912, 1933, 1920, 1949). This writings witnesses that he was aware about the different aspects of human condition: archaic drives, movements of crowd, the need for

religion, the need for a history telling the beginning of human kind. We can say that there is an anthropological part of psychoanalysis as well as of existential philosophy, today called psychoanalytic anthropology. We could even say that this anthropological part is the only viewpoint that psychoanalysis and clinical phenomenology have in common. Psychoanalysis has a negativistic method because of the conception of unconscious. Whereas phenomenology is a positivistic conception, because it makes believe in observation as being objective. Psychoanalysis works with interpretation and analysis (of transference). No direct access is imaginable to unconscious for the simple reason that it is not reachable by the conscious. It is the opposite.

L. Binswanger discovered *Daseinsanalyse* – existential analysis – that he called himself “anthropological phenomenology” as well. Let us remember about his writings and the principle of « here and now », method dominating in the seventeenth. For example, his book *Grundformen und Erkenntnis des menschlichen Daseins* (Principle Forms and Knowledge about Human Existence, Binswanger, 1962) has to be considered as an important contribution to anthropology – much more in a philosophical way about intentionality (Binswanger, 1957).

Both, psychoanalysis and clinical phenomenology agree about intentionality and language as a creativity going beyond all self-command. Man is speaking in spite of him. To summarize, we can confirm that the cradle of psychotherapy takes root in an anthropological situation because of the language structure and its philosophical consideration. We might say that anthropology is about language in the same way as philosophy is about confronting different thoughts (remember the Greek philosopher Platoon and oral rhetoric tradition). Man, human being, *anthropos*, differs from animal in speaking. Even, if we know about language structure of signs in animals, human being is looking for meta-theories and meanings. Yet, we might think even, that the human being is suffering from meaning. Asking for the sense of life, of the origin and the fulfilment of love, man handles all the time with frustration in emphasizing or exaggerating. Being distant or sticky shows different manners of being too. The attitude witnesses for the image that someone has got of the world and of himself.

We will see now, how two different methods of psychotherapy, because one is positivist (phenomenology) believing in observation and the other negativist (psychoanalysis) believing in interpretation, share the same principles because they are coming out of the same culture. They have in common the same idea about man, human being. Commenting Freud and transcendental philosophy make forget about these elementary relationships. We will see too that they differ in some arguments because they don't treat the same pathologies. Psychoanalysis is indicated for neurotic patients, whereas clinical phenomenology is applied to psychotic patients. Both deliver a different experiencing of human life in an anthropological way.

Nowadays, it is important to come back to the meaning of care. Modern way of life gives the illusion that progress in medicine, technology and biotechnologies will handle about health in an operational way. They are supposed to be objective and work quickly. The depths about ego won't harm anymore when taking pills. But, unfortunately, there are a lot of patients resisting to this care. Psychosomatic affection, depression, hyperactivity, addiction, suicide temptation, and dissociations figure in a long list of illnesses belonging to the same archaic motivation: to introduce man in the structure of care in an anthropological way. The unhappy and disable patient starts by asking the psychotherapist what to do. The same question comes again and again: “Tell me what to do for being happy and healthy. Can you

help me?" This kind of question proves that care starts with a global concept from one man to another, exploring the quality of living and being man in the community of others.

Independently of mental or psychic disease, psychotherapy, psychiatry or medicine, all therapeutic situations imply an anthropological part. All situations of care put one man in front of a responsibility: being responsible for somebody. It is somehow comparable to the mother/child relationship. Therapeutic treatment, from one side, defines the therapist as responsible for his patient. From the other side, the patient announces that he won't get better without the help of his therapist or physician. The situation of taking care is always about two persons recognizing to complete each other : to need help and to take care.

Let us consider an anecdote about the history of the discipline of psychology at our university (Université Diderot – Paris 7). In 1970 the first professors teaching psychology suggested to entitle the department as "Clinical anthropology". The minister refused this title. Obviously, it seems a quiet crazy idea to name one discipline by another. So what was the reason for this very serious proposition? In fact, psychology implies a lot of different orientations like group-studies, psycho-sociology, psychoanalysis and such different orientations that the only part in common seemed to be the anthropological part. But as the offer of the anthropological title turned down, finally they agreed about "Human sciences". Our psychology department of the university is the only one in the world being called "Human sciences" meaning psychology, and now, forty-two years later, we are reminded anew that this situation cannot last any more. We should find a new title and decide once for all for our identification – a clear identification. Actually, we discuss a lot about it.

4. Some basic principles about psychotherapy with a phenomenological approach

Since Binswanger, many psychiatrists¹ and psychologists² inspired themselves by phenomenology applied to clinic. Even, if we might observe some individual varieties, it is quiet possible to summarize some basic principles of this kind of psychotherapy, being somewhere universal:

1. Observation of oneself; by this way the self becomes the other. It is a positivistic conception about the possible performance to watch yourself.
2. Somatic implication in every psychical suffering and crisis; there is always a physiological translation of psychic and mental suffering. The body/mind concept is important.
3. Experience becomes an autonomous existence. Suffering and strangeness is an experience that will last. It is incomprehensible and contradictory with the wish to be beloved.
4. The body experienced (*corps vécu*, *Leib*) will be emphasized by psychotherapist because of the closeness with reality. Body-reality as an experience of reality through the body. It translates feelings, making them being real. Here takes place all possibilities and limits of experience. Everything we might know, we will experience through our body since we are born.

If we consider the four statements, we will notice that each of them characterizes an aspect of human experiencing. We realize also that there is a close relationship between the body

¹ For example : H. Ey, E. Minkowski, D. Cooper, R. Kuhn, E. Straus, H. Tellenbach, W. Blankenburg, B. Kimura, M. Balint (physician)

² For example : C. Roger, G. Pankow, J. Searles, R. D. Laing , Y. D. Yalom

and feelings. Last but not least, we notice the psychopathological implication in every statement.

Psyche signifies “soul” and pathos signifies “passion, suffering, illness”. The psychopathological dimension characterizes human nature as showed K. Jaspers in 1913 (Jaspers, 1913, 1959). He stated that it is impossible to explain everything about human being, but we can nevertheless try to understand. Comprehension may be even more objective than explanations and certainly more helpful for the patient. So psychopathology delivers also different models of existence, about how to be in the world, different ways of interpreting life. Obviously, man, human being, *anthropos*, can’t exist without the psychopathological dimension taking part of his feelings.

We will see that the four statements recited before are appropriated for interpretation of psychopathological forms too. The first one is the basis of paranoia: feeling being observed, somebody is watching. This is the anonymous version of observing oneself. The paranoid person emphasizes observation of himself as becoming the other person. By this way, he transforms this experience into “somebody else is observing me”. It is a confusion of intra- and inter-subjectivity (Husserl, Hegel, transcendental philosophy).

The second statement leads to hypochondriac tendency. The body/mind relation is affected in a typical way: as soon as there is the least change noticed by the hypochondriac person, he will be questioning his health and convince himself of being incurable. Of course, his is incurable but for a different reason as he might think: not because of an illness but because of the constant need to translate everything by a dysfunction of his body and to feel all the time sick about it.

The third one expresses the schizophrenic version about the independency or not of feelings and experiences. The strangeness about an overwhelming feeling threatens integrity of the mind and leads to alienation. Incomprehension of oneself and the others leads to the idea of being cut of the world and isolated. Love and relationships are so confused in mind that it seems out of reach.

The last statement about the limits of the body and reality is explored in hysteria, exchanging symptoms in a theatrical manner. Feelings are risky because they become visible by blushing, stuttering, trembling, for example. The hysterical person exaggerates the relationship between the body and reality to introduce feelings: “look what he did to me” accused a young lady starving because she felt in love. Whereas the borderline person denies the limits of the body, disclaims being responsible and wants to change the experience of the world. Borderline patients don’t stand any external pressure, they behave as if there was a choice. Going to work, being careful about eating or drugs, sexual relationships, everything becomes a question of pleasure and displeasure, as if there was the possibility of a metaphysical choice about essential needs of life (sleep, eating, worming, closeness). They don’t want to recognize that they could occur a fatal danger. So generally, borderline patients are flirting with death.

5. Existential philosophy and anthropology

Every country has its own conception about the separation of natural science and social sciences. This can be explained by the different histories of ideas and authors for each country. For example, in France, anthropologist and ethnologist think to be near of natural sciences (called “exact sciences”) sharing the same method and idea about objectivity. They

are also like linguistics close to formal sciences. Whereas in Germany, all the tradition of the romantic literature (in the end of the 18th to beginning of 19th century, for example Goethe "Faust") take for granted that spirit is in nature (*polyentheism, panentheism* = God is included in nature which he created; Spinoza said "Deus sive Natura"). So in German, human sciences are called sciences of spirit/mind (*Geisteswissenschaften*) to make clear the opposite to natural science. The expression "natural sciences" in English sounds more evident, "natural", than the German expression of sciences of nature; nature is difficult to predict. In the beginnings of the 20th century phenomenology entered in natural sciences in middle Europe because of the importance to have a theory about the observer. Observation and the object are close and put the observer in front of a methodological problem.

We see, that we will never agree about the comparison between these two kinds of sciences for the simple reason that the cultural background is different in each country. Anthropology takes different places because we don't speak the same language. From this viewpoint, the cultural background of each country how to consider anthropology, could open up to some new ideas.

Existential philosophy (Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, Binswanger) treats about principles of human existence as the relation to time and space. The authors showed how this positivistic approach inspires the conception about "here and now". They were very important for all new conceptions in psychotherapy: observing what happens here and now helps to understand the way of living and will give an idea of what has happened in the life of somebody, and, further more, what may happen in the future in adopting this position to life. For example, Binswanger created *Daseinsanalyse* that signifies literally "analysis of being here". It was translated as "existential analysis". In his writings, Binswanger called all the time his approach "phenomenological anthropology" too (Binswanger, 1963). He took for granted when treating about experience in psychiatry that he was revealing in the same time a new knowledge about human conditions, for example how to feel about the body/mind relationship, how psychotic experience differs from another and how this experience is translated by different manner to feel being in the world through the body (Binswanger, 1957). Existential analysis teaches how to help psychotic patients in a psychiatric treatment. One of the first medicine for depression was discovered by R. Kuhn (Kuhn, 1998, 2007) helped by the existential approach. Any discussion about the choice to take medicine or not, lead us to an existential question. It is the same about accepting or not vaccination.

Binswanger made clear that there is a difference about life events and they are improved. For example, he distinguished between the "history of the patient" and the "history of his illness" because they won't be the same³. Subjectivity is the nature of human experience and for man it will be more important to know what happened to him than to know an explanation about his bones, organs and brain. So all physicians and psychiatrists should consider the existential aspect as well as medicine if they want to deliver a successful treatment. Man needs myths anyway in despite of knowledge, we know about this since the greek philosophers (Binswanger, 1935) and ethnologists (Lévi-Strauss, 1978) .

6. Conclusion

Anthropology seems to be an invisible or overvisible science being present everywhere in sciences. This leads us to the question, if anthropology needs to be defined by its own or if it

³ See the comments of M. Foucault, « Introduction », in L. Binswanger (1954), *Rêve et existence, op. cit.*

should remain in a position of “guest star” in science anyway. Today when speaking about humanities in interdisciplinary research it is unthinkable to ignore the rule of anthropology. Except, may be, of mathematics, physical sciences and chemistry, anthropology will be invited frequently in other disciplines.

We remembered in this communication several times the importance of languages and translations because people are moving, migrating - our patients, ourselves, our society. We will agree that it is difficult to imagine anthropology without language. In fact, there is even a discipline called anthropological linguistics. This is very interesting and will help to open our discussion how to define research today.

Let us conclude by introducing a concrete study case to improve the theoretical connection between phenomenology, psychoanalysis, psychotherapy and cultural differences. Our searching group works in a double approach, being phenomenological and psychoanalytical, called “Fundamental Psychopathology”, created by P. Fédida at University Diderot - Paris 7. I am directing a researching group, which is composed by bilingual searchers (because it is an international group) who are psychiatrist, psychotherapist, psychologist or psychoanalyst. They all have bilingual patients too. So we specialized about bilingual (or plurilingual) studies in psychopathology. We work with linguistic colleagues too. It will proof that this kind of study reveals anthropological aspects about how people feel by choosing one language, by speaking and how they live their bilingual family life, about teaching and the desire to learn, about sharing and acceptance of cultural differences.

We might reconsider our work about bilingual families in the field of cultural anthropology. Psychotherapy reveals that every family has her own reasons to feel about using a language and even in the same family the members don't have the same feeling of using a language. Psychotherapy is always a work concerning identity. Two ore more languages give the liberty to compose with identity. But sometimes when there are conflicts and vulnerability each language has to play a part in the family history. This the phenomenological work to speak about the experience of the practice of a language. Psychoanalysis helps to understand the signification of the hidden part. For example, one of my psychotic german patients ignored that he knows French. After two years of psychotherapy, he will start to speak French when remembering his family in the kitchen. Of course, his mother was French. But when he was a little boy in Germany, it didn't make any sense for him to have a French mother. Furthermore, he had a very conflictual relationship to his mother. So he forgot about the French language and suddenly, after two years of psychotherapy, French was back and he started to speak in French.

We are also searching empirically cultural change related to individual pathologies, for example in the case of the bilingual monoparental family. To start with, the conception of the monoparental family is very different according to the family model given by religion. Islam practice polygamy, so the word “monoparental” has strictly no meaning for this kind of family because the wives and the children are integrated in a big family. Even the village is considered as a family and members of the village can take part of the education of a child. Anything that might happen to a woman to isolate her, she will suffer from this isolation. This viewpoint will change radically if we put the same situation, mother and child, into another cultural background, for example with a catholic family model. The same woman with her child will be considered by her research for identity and individuality. But we might mistake about her, because she doesn't think in this categories. Identity is close to

her family group whereas the European idea of women's liberation includes the possibility to have a baby "alone" or homosexual parents giving "two mothers" to the baby.

We see how it is quiet difficult to define exactly the limits of our searching field. We are crossing psychology, philosophy, sociology, linguistics and anthropology. Is it typical for modern research? May be, but if we go back hundred-fifty to two-hundred years ago, when all the disciplines were not existing for their own and did not enter into university as it is established today, then we will see that this kind of examination, to consider bilingual studies with patients, was common but the methods inside the disciplines were not developed yet. So we progressed by a bigger methodical choice, but we suffer from being restraint to a representation of discipline.

Anthropology, in a way, gives a model about bilingual disciplines. The intellectual problem about crossing disciplines disappears when we apply research, as in our example about bilingual patients. The situation about human being in society needs this kind of theoretical crossings. It is quiet evident that difficulties like trouble in school, teaching a language, family problems about education of children, drugs and psychiatric treatment can't be the same. There is no confusion about it. Application of research is necessarily various. Sometimes it happens that research serves a different goal that it was meant for or leads to another goal. For example, in psychopathology the narcissistic neurosis helped to develop borderline patients and it was their turn to enable a better comprehension of drug-addiction and the nature of addiction, which is, finally, a well-known problem about human kind to overcome human condition. For example, the writings of the French author, Marcel Proust (*The Past Recaptured*), are an example of sublimation of his addiction problem by esthetics. Literature and artistic creations are examples for sublimation. Freud said that sublimation is the only psychic mechanism that is not pathological. Let us conclude by considering this need for sublimation. Taking the better part of human nature, organizing impulsion, anthropology is interested by the different ways how man handles with sublimation.

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Part 2

Ethnographic Fieldwork

Contributions of Anthropology to the Study of Organization: The Case of Funeral Home

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1. Introduction

In our contemporary world, there is a new conception of the dead, dying and death, its ritual and its ceremony, which allows the existence of companies engaged in the handling of the corpse, its final disposal and of holding the funeral rite. These companies live under a market economy, within which a system of exchange between suppliers and consumers, merchants and common people is structured, mediated by the dead body, which facilitates the encounter between two worlds, that of the undertaker and that of the symbolic references with which society represents death.

However, unlike any other kind of organization, the funeral home is, without exaggeration, a *sui generis* organization: no other organization is directly related, in its marketing and business development, with death. Management and marketing like theoretical perspectives provide to organization the way for their development; however, in the funeral home case, the anthropological perspective facilitates an extensive network of responses related to the complexity of these businesses and draws symmetrically their place into society, culture and themselves.

This research began in 1991, when I started working in the funeral sector at Promotora de Jardines Cementerios S.A. As for many, my getting in this sector was coincidental. It is not frequent that someone seeks for employment in a funeral home or in a cemetery. Initially, my entering obeyed to the labor projection of acquiring experience in the coordination of working parties. Thus, for twenty months I worked as the commercial director of one of its sale teams.

Subsequently and for three years, I carried out commercial and marketing tasks for Funeraria Medellín Ltd.; in the year 1997, I coordinated the restructuring of the commercial and services department at La Ofrenda Ltd., in the city of Pereira. In 1998, after seven years of direct linking with the sector, I carried out managerial consultancy in Latin America for the Los Parques Corporation in Guatemala City, Grupo Metropolitano del Este in Barquisimeto, Venezuela, and Prados de Ventilla in Bolivia.

These experiences in the sector generated reflections related to the *raison d'être* in the society of a mortuary and my anxiety by my role set against the different actors with whom I interacted. On the one hand, there were those who arrived requesting for their services at the same time as they experienced an intense pain due to the loss of a loved one. On the

other hand, there were the organization's directives, their shareholders, the teams of work to my charge, and with them the commitment of complying with the collecting, training, formation and maintenance of the salespersons, to reach the sale budgets, placement and design of products, development or growth of current markets, the design of "loyalty" strategies, and the permanent and direct interaction with the direction of marketing with the objective of enriching their knowledge of the market.

In that moving about, I was able to recognize a double language: one that was totally "dehumanized" toward the corpse, a distant emotion toward "the other", already dead, allowing the mortuary to be developed as such; without it, the business of the funeral sector cannot perform its social object. And another, of contained words in the external and internal messages as part of a commercial and marketing work that referred to words such as company, hope, faith, endorsement, friendship and love, all of which are promises in the time and necessary in a moment of sorrow.

Thus, I got to know a specific metalanguage nourished on nicknames for funeral workers, such as "the undertakers", "the rascals", "the vultures", "the ravens", "the lump of salt", among so many others, and which vary from region to region. Also, in my experience in organizations in which I have performed the role of worker or advisor, I have observed how each of them requires imperatively the possibility of exercising different personnel-collecting tactics out of the prototypes illustrated in the sales management literature and of marketing of services, the design of contact mechanisms and approach of the mortuary toward the family of the employees, to sensitize and diminish the group refusal toward the work that they carry out in any level of the organization.

These experiences lead to the research project: "The cultural context as factor of competence for the mortuary", written in 2002 as the thesis to opt for the title of Master's in Administration, whose director was Professor Omar Aktouf from HEC of Montreal. Subsequently, in the year 2008, I publish the book under the seal of Pontificia Bolivariana University Press, titled: "The mortuary, a task between the human thing and the economic thing"; academic works that permit me today to write this chapter, which is presented or fourth parts as follows: First part is about death, dying and marketing, which are displayed by approaches from anthropology overlapping with discipline such as management and marketing to contextualize the funeral home activities. Second part talks about the mortuary inside the economic context of the tertiary sector and a conceptualization of its existence. Third one explains the impact of meanings of death in the funerary activities. Last part deals with the characterization of supply and the demand for funeral services. Conclusions are presented at the end of the chapter.

The methodological design of this research uses ethnography, which reaches a phenomenon comprehension and social order. In-depth interview and observations were used as methodological tools. Interviews were done to directors and former-directors of Latin American and Allied Cemeteries Parks (Asociación Latinoamericana de Parques Cementerios y Afines -ALPAR-) were recorded in audio and video formats. The aforementioned led to define the funeral service in business, economic and legal contexts. Furthermore, the observation was guided around the mortuary ritual in three cities of Latin America that are Medellín -Colombia; Barquisimeto-Venezuela, and Guatemala City - Guatemala. This observation ranges from the moment that a family requested a funeral service to the actual ceremony. In some cases, I could accompany the family members in

their activities after the funeral. Families who used cremation and inhumation were observed. As part of the ethnographic work, a written record of the phenomena observed through the field book was carried out.

2. The death, dying and marketing

“The social sciences do not deal with death ever. Are satisfied with recognizing the man as the animal of the tool (homo-faber), brain (Homo sapiens) and language (homo-loquax). And yet, the human species is the only one for which death is present throughout his life, the one that accompanies the death of a funeral ritual, the only one who believes in the survival or in the resurrection of the dead”.
(Morin, 1974)



Picture 1. Dialogue. Cemetery of San Pedro, Medellín - Colombia, 1999
By Claudia Patricia Vélez-Zapata

Death is a natural and cultural event. As a natural event, the medical sciences may delay it, but they cannot eliminate it. It is inevitable because with death life ends. The opposite of life is death, and as such, it is inescapable. Beyond the presence of a corpse that shows how a human life is over, there are the meanings of death (Bower, 1996; Huntington and Metcalf, 1979). He who died does not ask more, but those who survive the death of that other continue their existence and, therefore, their questions will not be expected (Louis-Vincent, 1993). The thought of death leads unquestionably to think about life, existence, in everyday life, in the divine, the profane, in yesterday, today, tomorrow, in the future; it leads us to think about ourselves and about others.

The human concepts of life and death are strongly influenced by their cultural context. Man is a social, cultural, biological (Morin, 2000) and historical being. Humans live in continuous

imbrication with others while we are individuals who live our daily lives as a continuum of non transferable individual experiences.

It should be understood that the individual human being is social and that a social man is individual, i.e., part of mankind's structure is this apparent duality of the concept of humanity. This concept of humanity also refers to what mankind does, feels and thinks. All of the aforementioned dimensions are referenced in mankind's world of life. This is not only an organic matter, but also a psychic and transcendent one, which is diverse and complex, which ranges from creating and organizing the chaotic, between the real and the imaginary, the divine and the human.

Over time, death and the handling of the corpse have had a different connotation. Concepts about life and death are different according to the values that move a society. In a society centered in principles such as those of the capitalistic world – consumption, production, performance and profit –, death is seen as a consumer item that involves modification of the ritual expressed by culture, and therefore the principles, values and beliefs that circumscribe the death and its content are constantly changing due to political, economic, religious and moral reasons (Aries, 1998).

Death can be viewed from different perspectives. The legal concept of death implies that we are not talking about an event but a process. The perspective of the Criminal Law regarding a person's death would be to wonder about the process that led to the death of the individual. From the perspective of the Family Law, the death of an individual involves the provision of some goods among the groups of consanguinity. The legal determination of death based on medical events occurs under specific conditions. From the Judeo-Christian religions' point of view, death can be considered as the separation of soul and body, or as God's call to the heavens and the completion of a task on Earth (Eliade, 1998). Death, in this context, could be considered the result of a random ordained by God, the divine, it could be considered libelous, deserved or salvation, but in one way or another, people evade talking about it (Aries, 1983). The social concept of death, for the western cultures, determines that death is unknown, a fact which is inappropriate to talk about (Di Nola, 1995).

The pain is felt due to another person's death, which leaves a gap for those who survive (Louis-Vincent, 1993). It is the pain of death which frustrates a relationship, which somehow makes one feel the experience of death itself, although conceived as a step beyond where one expects a better life. The death of a loved one as an active part in life itself is not reached to accept or to rationalize even after a long time of grief and mourning. The death of a being for those who have built and shared a life means the loss of a part of oneself, the completion of construction together.

For the funeral home, this body means the event that connects the company with prospective clients. It is relevant to understand, contrary to what is usually heard in common language, that this future consumer is not the future corpse; the demandant is the society, motivated by the knowledge of its finitude and recognition of their moral obligation towards others.

The company is immersed in the culture; therefore, the reference point for its development is the culture in a society. The funeral home does not escape from this fact. The culture involves talking about values, ethical standards, objects and materials produced by its

members, the accumulation of signs and symbols, meanings, and traditions among its members, that is to say, the culture is the symbolic heritage.

Marketing is based on the economy, and it is assumed as a management tool linked to the organizational planning process-oriented management of markets and their demands. Marketing is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational goals (Kotler, 2002). The exchange or transaction is the key objective of the concept and practice of marketing and it is the opposite concept which has revolved an instrumental part of the proposals as a contribution to business. However, in the analysis and implementation of marketing, it is necessary to link the reading of the cultural context; since it gives reason to be to the entire human phenomenon.

Describing markets includes tasks such as review of competition, the definition of the agents involved in the purchase decision process and the characterization under quantifiable and unquantifiable parameters of groups of consumers. This means that not only marketing information aimed at defining the socio-demographic population factors is sought, but also attitudes, lifestyles, beliefs, values, which are not more than all the elements that relate to the culture that is embedded in society, establishing itself as the predominant context in their decisions.

Therefore, for an organization in charge of treating the body and facilitating the means for the ceremony and ritual of death, the cultural context should be the focus of all marketing activities. Thus, only from this understanding and interest, strategies and actions for facing the family, society and in general each agent that is related to the funeral home can be contextualized.

3. The funeral in the economic context of the tertiary sector: towards a conceptualization of its existence

The increase use of the classification of economic sectors is referenced by pioneer work of authors Fisher (1935) and Clark (1941) (Garcia and Sanz, 1992) who designed a model based taxonomic tripartite division of economic activities: primary, secondary and tertiary industry sector or services.

Having a precise definition of services is a work in progress, however, the commonly accepted definition is: "The services are benefits of working with the following characteristics: 1. They cannot be stored or incorporated into another production. Disappear in the moment of its realization. Neither originates from a previous production. 2. Assume a direct relationship between producer and consumer. 3. Its usefulness and value in use depends on how they are made, both spatially and from the temporal perspective" (Peinado, 1998: 240).

The definition of service leads to the problem of classifying or establishing types of service activities, such difficulty has been addressed by different scholars taking into account its heterogeneity and ambiguity implicit in the conceptual definition and not leaving out multiple activities. This is compounded by its continued growth and the incursion of technological advances and general science that increases the difficulty.

The criteria for classification takes into account the conditions of: 1. Distribution of social and personal production. 2. Marketable services provided in situ, durable and nondurable,

and 3. Permanent and temporary, reversible and irreversible private and collective provision, and non-marketed and marketed services (Weller, 2001), as further addressed Sachs and Larrain services may be of a tradable and non-tradable, the latter being defined as goods or services that can only be consumed, but cannot be exported or imported (1993).

Funeral services from economic standpoint, as a business unit, today could be considered as tradable services, taking into account the use of telecommunications in the service of the ritualization, therefore; a company whose business is providing the funeral service has two options: be physically located in different contexts - expansion - or use as an intermediary telecommunication channels from the place of origin to the context that demands it, in other words, the virtual delivery of a funeral service.

Beyond the economic perception, linking the cultural context that ritualization can be made in a different place of origin is impossible. You can adjust the setting in visual and symbolic terms but the socio - emotional relationship, the social status of being among those involved with the corpse, cannot be replicated in other settings.

As type of service, there are multiple services listed by national ranking and the sectorial classification of services of the World Trade Organization - WTO - but none of them mentioned the funeral service activity. Only in the International Standard Industrial Code - ISIC - that is mention in section "Other services" and classified under code 9303 that corresponds to "Funeral and related activities".

The International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities - ISIC - seeks to satisfy the requirement of classification of the data according to categories of international comparable economic activity; as well as reconcile different needs and capabilities of countries based on international requirements. ISIC classifies activities according to their nature, describing Major Divisions, Groups and Sub-Groups of activity and they represent the following major divisions:

1. Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing.
2. Mining and quarrying.
3. Manufacturing.
4. Electricity, gas and water.
5. Construction.
6. Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels.
7. Transport, storage and communications.
8. Finance, insurance, real, estate and business services.
9. Community, social and personal services.
10. Activities not identified.

Taking into account that the branches of the tertiary sector activities contributed to about 90% of new jobs that were created in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990 decade, and in the late decade of 2000, accounted for 55% of total employment (Weller, 2004), It is certain that funerary activity is no exempt in contributing to these figures, despite not being included as such, one might think that the activity is not considered relevant and is therefore not described. This may be due to two factors: on one hand are the difficulties that the sector contains, as paradoxically as it deepens its analysis, as a sector and the classification of their activities, growing uncertainty over others in the same terms. Second, the cultural conditioning regarding death and its ritual as a distant or denied reality.

The funeral service activity does not have a description of other activities, registered in various economic sectors, such as the agricultural and manufacturing. Similarly it seems that its tax contributions, generating direct and indirect employment and the large number of companies that are engaged in this business, exclusively in charge of ritualization, and setting aside service providers and new emerging manufactures, of what might be called derived demand, such as florists, marble stores, technological and waste control, funeral caskets, religious items, musical groups, among others, failed to have relevance.

A funeral home shall have the infrastructure for the provision of services, ritualization of death, such as: funeral vigil rooms, cemetery and cremation services. You can also find companies that do not have any infrastructure, but on the contrary, market or act as intermediaries of all organizations involved in providing the service and as such prepare packages sold through organized and aggressive sales teams consolidated as an intermediary agent. It is important to note that the first commitment is not exclusive of the second it is possible to find organizations with their own resources and include in their offers, other services; this also is the result of the changes and flexibilities that entrepreneurs identified and incorporated into their strategies.

While the center of activity is given by the market, it could be argued that the funeral is concentrated in two core businesses, which in turn differ from each other:

- The sale of burial space property in the ground or mausoleum and the direct provision of partial or total burial ritualization services through their own physical resources and;
- The marketing of third party services, becoming portfolio intermediaries for different funeral industry organizations.

We are clearly facing an economic activity that moves the market and trading, and generate such administrative and marketing activities allowing the purchasing preference of a target market and potential profitability stipulated on investments generally made, the use of organizational resources to the operation. Similarly, the funerary practice and companies or organizations dedicated to this function are affected by the contexts and discourses in which are immersed as business organization. Thus referring to the different frameworks that define the actions and decisions of the business are political, legal, and economic factors as well as cultural and technological conditions.

From the analyzes presented, it is possible to approach an understanding of the funeral business, and one way or another understand and comprehend, which in the words of Edgar Morin would be a contribution that the current text and the funeral, makes to "Copernizar¹ death" (1974).

Our society does not regard death as a part of life itself and all speech that always brings this proposal may be considered a contribution. The problem is not given by the death but in the attitude towards it, in denial of their existence and the consequences that come with this attitude, very human, but not manageable. Sigmund Freud says that the man is always surprised by death. It is a necessity with a tendency to deny and forget (2006). So in daily life, habits, work, activities, conversations, discussions, leisure spaces, death is not usually present and therefore its proponents as an everyday thing or a topic to be discussed could be classified as decontextualized or depressed or just boring.

¹ Copernizar is related with Copernicus.

Edgar Morin sees a need to uncover the deep passions of man before death, consider the myth of their humanity and consider the man himself as the guardian of the secret unconscious. If you want to separate repetition of the myth, from the evidence that gives it its magic dimension - religious, it is necessary to “copernizar” death (1974).

The work of a funeral home, through all its administrative and marketing practices, is for society to convene a way to think of death. It forced to link the term in the dynamics of business, communication and to release series of internal and external activities to the market that justifies the purpose. The funeral business practices might be read as a dimension e found beyond its commercial function; as an entity most likely to relativize death; as a way of contributing to scape the pathetic, the shocking and the darkness that wraps it; and as a help to the man involved in it, who will inevitably die. From the rationalization of death life is to live, preserving and respecting its cultural dimension.

4. The impact of the meanings of death on the funerary activities

"[...] In general, each individual perceives the death of the other, possibly yours, according to a perspective that comes from their own profession (and therefore, their code of ethics), the order of their intellectual interests, their ideology or group to which it is integrated.

Thus, this only brings to focus the problem of a fragmented view of death, which may be interesting, even original, but not sufficient for a thorough understanding of the problem".

(Louis-Vincent, 1993)



Picture 2. “Waiting” s.f. Original Copy on paper
Pilot Public Library Photographic Archive, Medellín - Colombia

Although in modern times, individuals seek to make death a forgotten subject, hidden, sad and lonely, the subject of a single subject, it points out to the community that something has happened, and that therefore there are large and lavish breaks. For a moment the continuity of social rhythm is affected: in the city nothing remains the same. Death is a social fact, takes place in a social context, in terms of organizations and institutions and economic activities arising from it through business and professional definitions of the different social roles involved in treatment, research and analysis, interaction and meaning.

The meaning of death is defined socially and as such by the culture, the nature of the funerary rituals and the ceremony that emanates from it, grief and mourning, reflecting the influence of social and cultural context in which they occur. Thus, cultures express and symbolize the problem differently; they understand one way or another. The concept of death and whatever comes around it, is and will be, paradoxically, as alive as the societies themselves. Small or large differences will be imposed by the very personal concept of death of each and, therefore, of each group or family unit. Death is the input of many working spaces both individually and collectively, is and will be more than an end or termination, start the engine of endless questions, search for reasons of principles of life and living, opportunities for reasoning, logic, for aesthetics, art, and things to do.

One of such social elaborations about dying, observes death from the formation of companies around the burial practice as an integral part of the economic aspect. This factor is present in the rituals of death, which generates demand for devotions, prayers, boxes, candles, burial spaces, spaces of celebration, processions, iconography and cremations; this creates organizations in charge of supply and provision of such objects and services and the sale of burial sites for small spaces or to keep human remains.

4.1 The employees of the funeral. Denial of death and double sensitivity

Belonging to an entity related to the funeral home presents interesting and relevant features from two perspectives. Firstly, the sensitivity to the event of death varies with the person's area of performance. Only the staff working directly with service areas such as funeral vigil rooms, cemeteries or crematories is directly related to the time of the ceremony and, therefore, handles a greater sensitivity to pain and the event of death. These departments witness the death. The other processes are purely operational functions.

Secondly, members of a company related with the funerary or cemetery are socially stigmatized. That is, the fact of working for these organizations is difficult for the individual in their relationship as a social being. Anyone who starts or has started working with an organization of this type has been seen like a different person and has the risk of being nicknamed with expressions linked to death by the person's family and friends, which is a consequence of the strangeness and concern regarding the nature of the person's work.

At the funeral companies a dual sensitivity can be read and in it is a contradiction to the fact of death. The sensitivity to loss, suffering and sadness of death depends on the contact and presence of employees to this reality. Therefore, only a few areas of the organization on a compulsory basis are aware of the role that the company has as the entity responsible for the ceremony of death. The other areas ignore the social order despite suffering social stigmatization for belonging to this type of business.

"Yes, I see it, for me it's different because we are in pain, we are in the midst of it. I say the seller has a point of view from outside of what pain really entails because the business for a seller is to sell. I do not care about these feelings. I only worry about selling because this is where I obtain my profit, and when the vendors are selling, the people don't have a need at that moment and administrators have no contact with anyone or the family of the deceased, they are stuck in the office in charge of the accounts, but they are not stuck in the pain. So, I always say that the funeral home and cemetery are too delicate areas. And what is our fight with the salesman? We will not disturb the customers, i.e., do not get into the cemetery. What is our complaint in the cemetery? The family of the deceased is approached by the salesmen to sell the parcel, but they say: "Look, I'm burying my loved, how can you approach me to sell a parcel at this time? Let me mourn my dead; do not come near me to sell. I want you to respect me because I'm crying my dead. Do not come near me. I do not want to see what it is seen as vultures or for you to come to take advantage of my pain, you know I'm burying a deceased and you want to sell a parcel to earn a commission?" This is the thought that the client has in that time. It is very different after you visit the client before he/she loses a loved one, because the clients will say: "Yes, it may happen tomorrow. I might pay you or not, I don't usually buy; it's scary. The important thing is not to be there then." (In-depth interview as part of the field work of the research project. Barquisimeto - Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2002).

Death is understood as an inherent fact of life. Therefore, the questions regarding death depend on the person's point of view and his/her intentions. Louis - Vincent Thomas puts it this way: "In general, each individual perceives another individual's death as possibly his/hers, according to a perspective that comes from his/her own profession (and therefore, his/her code of ethics), the order of his/her intellectual interests, his/her ideology or group which he/she belongs to. Therefore, this would only show a fragment of the problem from which death is understood. The aforementioned may be interesting, even original, but not sufficient for a thorough understanding of the problem" (1993: 10).

The feeling that death brings depends on the understanding and meaning of death based on the precepts that are given by the culture as well as the attitude assumed towards loss. While death at any level is a traumatic event, the process of overcoming it becomes linked to the psychological structure of the individual. Now, the question regarding the funeral home would be in relation to their sensitivity to the fact of death, compared to the anguish, sadness, the problematization of those who are facing death. He who dies has not built a relationship with any member of the company and this allows us to understand logical reasons and the feeling, for us, towards those who die is nonexistent. The sensitivity of service area employees, both of funeral vigil rooms, cemetery or crematories (funeral vigil rooms, cemeteries, crematories) is crossed by the continuous meetings with their own reality of finitude. Normally, we live as if we are never going to die, realizing that particular psychic process that Freud called "denial". We are aware of the existence of death only when we have the chance to test it in others, and only then we feel to be subject to the same fate. As Voltaire wrote: "The human species is the only one who knows that it must die, and this is only known through experience" (Di Nola, 1995: 11 - 12).

Regarding the consequences of social stigmatization of employees that belong to a funerary or cemetery company, the nature of the company brings unique challenges to the

recruitment of the staff, especially in the sales departments which have the highest turnover rates. Companies do not usually set out in the first instance the name of the business or activity they engage in, just as you would in any business of banking, manufacturing or marketing. What is usually done is to attract new employees for the interest in the role, functions or prerogatives of the job per se and then talk about the occupations of the company. Then, in the recruitment process it is normal to see the implementation of activities aimed at generating links with the family and the society, and the assessment of the work within the company. This is a way to demystify belonging to the funeral homes, so that one may see this occupation like something "regular".

In this sense, the organization is forced to continuously train their staff in order to prevent them from falling into states of depression and, as a result, to the deterioration in the service. Surely, these training efforts could impact employees on strengthening their learning on how to live, to understand and act accordingly to the meaning of that lived moment. However, funeral homes and correlated companies survive to the internal contradiction since other areas and its employees are foreign to the subject of death, ritualization and their meanings. As a person mentioned in Barquisimeto said, "other areas are not in touch with the situation". We can speak of many codes, whether for sale, marketing, staffing, but the issue of death and its ritual. Its content needs to be made up, dressed up, adorned and thus displaced from the language, displaced from the quotidian of funeral companies.

4.2 Characteristics of demand and supply for funeral services. The adaptation of service portfolios

4.2.1 Demand as the market power: Features of the funeral industry

Within the understanding of the market are demand and supply. This determines, from an economic perspective, the quantity sold of each item and the price at which it is sold. Thus, the consumer group determines what to buy in the market and the suppliers what products will be offered. Nonetheless, the funeral transaction's peculiarities are evidenced in how the consumer is exposed to unique vulnerable conditions, different levels of rationality and varied characterizations of what is demanded by the funeral homes or death related companies.

The funeral companies offer services known as basic services and cover legal requirements and the totality of key elements in the care of a corpse that include the preparation, licensing of burial or cremation, the body transfer, provision of hearses to transport the body, the casket funeral vigil room, and civil and ecclesiastical formalities.

The funeral also gives the possibility of hiring additional services or surplus referred to all the family requests that modify the contents of basic services, such as changes in the styles of coffin, special body preparations, number of cortege vehicles, special persons of cortege, floral arrangements, special family car, death notice or press notices, transport of companions, musical accompaniment, among others. The establishment of those basic services that satisfy the consumer needs is not adequate as it solely considers its objective nature. Consequently, defining a service standard and its complementary accessories is inappropriate, inadequate, and pretentious or misfit as the moral, religious and symbolic issues impact the economic nature of the funeral homes.

The funeral services market has particular characteristics that affect demand and allow the definition and delimitation of funeral services; also, they could be considered general for Western societies where ignorance about services and the mandatory nature of their consumption are the most relevant issues, followed by the condition of their occasional use and the lack of information.

The first characteristic is ignorance and compulsory consumption of funeral services, in which no customers can escape their cultural condition in relation to death and ritual; therefore, for consumers it is not usual to think about previous analysis around a funeral or death. Ignorance is typical of an individual's cultural background and, as such, it is involuntary. From a marketing viewpoint, unwanted products and services are considered as "consumer goods that consumers do not know or would not normally think to buy" (Kotler, 2000: 233); normally, a person does not hire a funeral service at the time of death or earlier just for pleasure or leisure. This request is due to complete a certain number of obligations with the body, the order of the legal, moral and social development. The legal arena establishes how the family or person in charge of the corpse look after the non-modifiable character of the body and places it in the hands of others, usually constituted as companies that guarantee the protection and conservation of the optimum conditions in public health and hygiene. The moral responsibility is directly related with the duty and commitment of the treatment of the inert body and the completion of the mortuary ritual of the deceased is viewed from the history and life of the deceased and how companies comply with society.

The second characteristic relates to the occasional use in the demand for funeral services. The hiring of funeral services will only be at the time of death and not before this. The frequency of use should be determined through the rate of mortality. Furthermore, this feature could be considered the main engine of creation and adoption of what has been named prearranged funeral trust or, in a few words, the prepayment of funeral services.

The third and last characteristic is the lack of technical and policy information related to the manipulation of death. The lack of information, incompetence and inexperience in what should or should not be done with the corpse is another characteristic of the demand. Surely, a consumer does not know the regulations governing the thanatopraxy, laws, burial, cremation, exhumation, transfer and handling of dead bodies, and the historical contexts that have led to current funeral practices.

4.2.2 The offer in the funeral activity: what is it and what does it sell?

"[...] Located between the time of death and the time of the acquisition of immortality, funerals (of which the sepulture is just one of the results), at the same time, constitute a set of practices that embodies and determines the change of state of the dead, institutionalizing a complex of emotions: they reflect profound disturbances caused by death in the circle of the living."
(Morin, 1974:25)

Understanding the task and the functioning of the funeral homes could be categorized as an evident one since it is just like any other organizational practice. This task is registered under an organizational problematic and its logics. However, the funeral homes are charged of a specificity frame by their own nature. Similarly, this project focuses on the understanding of the meaning of death and its complexity. From a medical point of view,

talking about death and understanding it becomes practically elemental. Death is the ending of life, or its contrary. It is its symbolic charge which makes it fascinating or banned, banished, paradoxically banished.

The supply planning, service features, pricing determiners and marketing strategies to reach the market and the communication parameters, will take the fundamental basis of demand characteristics, or what it is known as knowledge of needs from the marketing perspective.

The infrastructure of a funeral home is conceived in different ways. One of these conceptions is that it is an entity that brings together a diverse range of services which are necessary for the disposal of the corpse. Under this logic, the funeral home is a trading business. It can also have its own facilities such as cemeteries, ossuaries and vigil rooms and sell them. If this should be the conception, we are now in front of a real estate type of business without abandoning the intermediation condition.

Furthermore, the funeral homes manage five fundamental elaborations which are deduced from the conclusions drawn from this research and that are mediated by the influence that culture has on them. Moreover, they not only permeate the guidelines for the identification of their offer, but they also permeate the administrative logics.

These elaborations are as follows:

- The prevision as a communication and alignment scheme, mainly from the sales force.
- Prearranged funeral trust and the immediate need.
- The memorability as a transcendent and differentiated factor of the funeral home activity and its services.
- The funeral cortege.

The first elaboration is the prevision. For the funeral homes, the prevision as a communicational parameter means that their alignment is not related to the product on its real level (Lamb, 1998), or in other words, the promise of service or communication parameters are not given in functional terms because there is an automatic risk of weakening the sales force results and its future structure against organizational changes. The funeral homes speak in terms of anticipating the future and the assurance of financial and logistic support against the death of someone. Their promises of services are full of family benefits achieved by taking a cautious position with an ineluctable fact of life and death as it is. The funeral home does not use words, symbols or signs to support or strengthen its partnership with death when communicating with the market and this is why the concept of prevision is used.

The second elaboration is the prearranged funeral trust and immediate need. The feeling of penury and doom has created the need of solidarity in human beings around the painful events, such as disease, disaster and death; with this sense, mutual aid is reached. Since earlier times, one could purport to such social organizations for help. History can be found in Greece where guilds of craftsmen are gathered economically to help each other. Also, social organizational such as colleges or fraternities arose in Rome in order to defend the interests of the widows of the mercenaries, who died in war and assisted those who were affiliated with them, at the risk of disease and death. Organizations that were governed by statutes and ordinances, functions were specified for Presidents, Treasurers, among others,

and that formed its government. The aforementioned could be the history of what we now call Non-Profit Corporations (Velez and Montoya, 1992).

During the Middle Ages, "Gilda" appears in Europe. These were associations of merchants and artisans for the purpose of mutual aid, which aimed to help people in trouble and defend the interests of the guild. In Spain, there were the guilds, which were also designed to mutual aid and which were then replaced in the eighteenth century by Montespíos that could be said, were charity banks.

Mutual practice was inspired by the Industrial Revolution, the emergence of socialist ideas, cooperatives and trade unionism, which is why it could be argued that mutualism is the foundation of all ideas of solidarity economy that are known today.

In Colombia, the mutual philosophy is brought by Spanish missionaries, establishing a mutual aid, in these social organizations where poor people have paid fees which were collected, for helping others when someone died. Hence, the poor segments of the population began to create mutual aid funds specializing in funeral aid. The aim was to avoid begging and to achieve a proper burial at the time it was needed for the funeral. In 1864, the first company obtained official mutual legal personality, created in Colombia by a group of artisans in Bogotá, whose main objective was to assist people in case of illness or death and the only requirement to join it was to profess the Catholic religion.

For a long time, the funeral business was linked to two factors, the spot contract services, i.e., at the time of event or, by contrast, it underwent a long process of money recovery, in some cases unrecoverable. Around the eighties, the losses, the need to do profitable business and the search for increase in the rates of funeral future services causing the end of the mutual system to give way to private funerals and then, in little more than a decade, employers developed strategies and tactics for prearranged funeral business.

Pre-exequy, pre-need, pre-sale or pre-paid are some generic terms receiving these alternatives by which a person hires indefinitely the monthly payment and even weekly or fortnightly, ensuring for a group of enrollees their funeral services. Thus, pre-sale programs are a savings scheme, whereby people assume they acquire, by weekly payments, monthly or annually, usually modest and lower quantities compared to the costs of a funeral service contract at the time of death. The possibility of facing the economic problem that arises following the death of an individual within a family group disappears.

Consequently, the logic shown is this: if the manager is concerned only with the immediate need, the market would be reduced to the rate of mortality. The essence of business is, then, to think and rationalize, sale of funeral services in advance of the event of death, ensuring a steady flow of cash, so that in the financial way, the funeral business transforms into a business portfolio.

The funeral establishment sells the promise of future services. The concept of pre-sale, vital to the funeral industry, also refers to the guarantee given to persons or members of a target market to support them with the provision of one or more funeral services in the time that they so request. The average time to provide the service is between five and twenty years of age, which means that a person buys at present and is projected to use the service five to twenty years later. While this is an average utilization and the upper and lower ranges are given by the characteristics of statistical data, performance can be found above or below them; in general, considering a normal probability distribution.

Therefore, the funeral home is conceived as a socially responsible and serious business to their shareholders, who should project their future finances and reliability to provide these services and the guarantee of spaces purchased either on land or in height. The company, to calculate the future services, will use the mortality rates. Ultimately, the business is also a business of risk.

The notion of memorability: it is a third elaboration that from the perspective of marketing of funeral services is the concern for the memory that keep those duel people; it concerns that related with mortuary ritual. It aims for the kindness and respect, as well as the care of every detail, relevant into traumatic trance. The family and their environment will feel that despite the difficult time, the organization that is engaged has been responsible for all the details of the celebration and as such its content is stored in the memory of all who witnessed and celebrated the ritual as a sublime moment.

This care, from the logic of marketing, brings results focused on strengthening the brand image; brand associations focused on respect, repurchase and increased sales participation. In fact, all assessments, subsequent visits to the family and their concern for excellence in providing the service is directed from the commercial practice and the seller is trained to obtain new sales and referrals -persons recommended to then be addressed by the sales force-.

Accordingly, it is possible to observe that the funeral organization does not invest large sums of money in the planning or design of mass media. The financial efforts and organizational learning are focused on strengthening its brand through what is known as the "one to one" or "face to face", and the continuous training of staff directly involved with service delivery and commercial forces.

The increasing technological developments provide opportunities for companies. So it is possible to find within the range of options filming or recording of images to be placed in the vaults, websites dedicated to remembrance of objects, a variety of specialty products in the decoration of funerary items, photo ceramics, tombstones for niche, arrangement of tombs and mausoleums, facades and interiors of cemeteries, among others.

The fourth elaboration is the funeral cortege. It is not a new component of the celebration of the mortuary ritual; it has its historical and social background. Accompanying the body by the relatives and those close to the body is a part of the mortuary ritual ceremonial, which can be seen in many cultures. The adoption of the accompaniment, which is designated by the word funeral as cortege is an inherent and necessary activity to content the moment.

The ritualization of death has been defined by some codes that have prevailed in society since the colonial era. So the cortege has not been random, but on the contrary, it has been requested by the family in wills in order to safeguard the hopes in the "afterlife". It also participates and stands, like other ceremonial elements, for social differentiation. The cortege form will vary according to the culture and historical moment. All this can be seen in the processions that take place in rural or urban areas, the road to the cemetery is then a cultural event arguably affected by religious practices and perceptions of life and death.

The glossary of funeral terms defines the funeral cortege as the set of people that come in a ceremony. For the funeral homes, it is similar and is treated by trained personnel. This may be a service included in the contract or at an additional cost, but it will always be an added

value provided to uniformed personnel and selected under the parameters of body and physical elegance in keeping with the occasion, which will handle synchronized movements and expressions stately and additionally, will manage the logistic of ceremony. Arrangements depending on the conditions of the service involve even carrying the casket at the entrance and exit of the religious ceremony and place of burial or cremation. The funeral cortege means a factor of differentiation and competence in service provision and, as such, it is a generator of added value which allows strengthen their good name and know-how.

This could have an additional hiring cost, but it will always be an added value provided by uniformed and selected personnel under an elegant dress code and physical parameters according to the occasion, who will handle synchronized movements and polite expressions, and furthermore, will manage the floral arrangements and depending on the conditions of service could, even carry the casket at the entrance and exit of the service and place of burial or cremation. The cortege is key to a source of differentiation and competition for the funeral home in providing the service and generates an added value to its goodwill and know-how.

5. Conclusions

The becoming of man, in fact, is always a death partial and continuous.

We give up part of our lives to proceed forward, and each action accomplished is a kind of closing of accounts with a piece of our existence. From childhood to adolescence and youth, then maturity and old age, part of us is left behind and is consigned to death. So our life is built about death. Death and the subject who dies will not be found.
(Di Nola, 1995: 12)

There is no doubt that death is par excellence the event of human existence, not only because of its universal character, but because the man is the only living creature that is aware of his mortal destiny (Morin, 1974). The acceptance of death and the reproach of it are two immovable conditions of existence, of our human condition. Death is an event not only natural, but also social, religious, cultural, cosmic. Death, even without being an event foreign to nature, always somehow infringes the dynamics of a community, creates instability, worry, anxiety and distress. Death, like many other events, is social and therefore, has a cultural connotation.

In Western society, patterns of thinking and mentality in modernity as well as how are perceived and understood the facts of death and dying and their ritual have resulted in the generation of companies engaged in the manipulation of the body and elaboration of mortuary ritual (Aries, 1998). The body encourages the encounter of two worlds: the world of pain, farewell, mourning, and the world of commercial transactions and exchange of funeral services.

The different social facts are traded in a marketplace, the society itself has led them to be traded and, hence, are part of an economic world in which concur supply and demand and, therefore, administrative and marketing techniques for performance optimization and resources channeled to an economic end. Around the corpses and the fact of death are generated companies or business organizations with all their content and complexity as

companies concerned with the management of the body, the completion of mortuary ritual and the tension linked to economic problems due the death of an individual. Death thus becomes also a commercial event and as such, an object of consumption (Aries, 1998).

The funeral organization is a complex type of organization that must be understood from different perspectives. The first demarcates the funeral company immersed in commercial intermediation, in the real estate, the financial sector, and it is also subject to risk. The role with itself is profit, profitability, cash flow, liquidity, branding, recall and retention in the market.

From a social perspective, it shows that the funeral company is a type of company that deals with the activities carried out in the final rite of passage (Della Vita, 1995; Van Gennep, 1986) of an individual. Ritual activities are multiple, symbolic behaviors that occur in a sequence and are repeated periodically (Dennis, 1985). The practices related to death and burial of a person are closely related to religious beliefs about the nature of death and the existence of life after it (Bower, 1996) and include psychological, sociological and symbolic functions of the community members. Thus, the study of the treatment provided to the dead in every culture provides a better understanding of their vision of death and human nature (Morin, 1974). The funeral home participates in the desire for the immortality of man.

The call for the multidimensional perspective -administrative - social - human involves the link with human sciences such as anthropology, sociology, history and then becomes a speech designed to project its activity beyond the instrumental management approach including structural approach of the knowledge of the funeral based in a dialectical dialogue, that is built between the company, the culture and the society.

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Imprints of the Entrepreneurial State and Privatization on Worker Subjectivity – A Study of Iron Ore Mine Workers in Itabira – Minas Gerais, Brazil

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1. Introduction

This paper presents a study on changes in subjectivity of a segment of workers in the iron ore mining and processing industry in Minas Gerais, Brazil, based on their situation as employees of a state-run company that was subsequently privatized. It is not an entire coincidence that these workers went from a mode of production that was of the Fordist type to an organization of labor along the lines of the Toyotist or post-Fordist model. Therefore the entire reflection is permeated by these two diametric opposites: state-run company *versus* private company; Fordist organization of labor *versus* the Toyotist or post-Fordist model.

The concept of subjectivity employed herein includes discussions on culture. In the case of workers, according to Verret et Creusen (1996, p.120) culture is formed as “*a system of works to which a specific cultural practice may give way, a system of attitudes implied by this practice, and moreover, models of behavior that regulate these attitudes under threat of social approval or disapproval and categories of thought and action produced by these models.*” Here I use the concept of subjectivity in the same sense attributed by Sennet (1998) and Geertz (1973), understood as part of cultural and historical conscience; and along the lines of Ortner (2007) who defines it as a set of modes of perception, affections, thoughts, desires and feelings that affect the subjects acting within specific social and cultural formations. According to the author, these formations organize and provoke said modes of thought, feeling and action, making the subjects conform to a particular identity. Thus, interpretation of the concept of subjectivity swings between giving emphasis to structures that model individuals (Durkheim, 1980; Lévy-Strauss, 1958), empowering subjects and their actions in constructing reality (Weber, 1969; Berger & Luckmann, 1978) and highlighting the interwoven relations between the role of individuals in creating *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1980), which ranges from embarrassing them to identifying them in specific groups in correlation to broader society. During this study, I found both the marks of the origin and history that structured the identity and specificity of this worker group and remained *pari passu* with the social formation of the Brazilian worker class and history of the country and provide a counterpoint to the transformations occurring to their subjectivity, due to profound changes in the model of organization of labor.

The study is based on the outlook of workers who for 70 years have constructed and been molded by the company *Companhia Vale do Rio Doce* – now officially renamed simply “Vale” – despite being contextualized in the institutional contours of the company. Due to space constraints, I will base my reflection here on a few representations of workers, regarding the two defining moments in their history: the period from 1942 to 1997 when they were employed by the state-run company, and the period from 1997 to the present when they were employed by the same post-privatization company. The concept that I use considers representations (Blin, 1997) as a form of socially elaborated and shared knowledge, constituting a practical vision and contributing to construction of a common reality for a given segment or population. They are expressed through all types of language.

In the complete text (Minayo, 2008), I trace the origin, growth and transformations of this segment of Brazilian workers who, due to the significance of their production on the national and international scenario, became a prime example of the social and economic changes that took place over the past 70 years and completely revolutionized labor in the country.

This paper is organized in four parts: contextualization; methodology; analysis of social representations, and some final considerations. In particular, this reflection seeks to answer a question in the sociological and political literature regarding how workers represent their experience with a new cycle of capitalism marked by productive restructuring. Literature on the subject, both in Brazil and abroad, often without hearing workers, tends to place them as “irreversible victims of globalized capitalism,” (Antunes, 1999; 2010; 2011, Alves, 200, 2009, 2010; (Sennet, 1998¹), which in this study is found to be overly simplistic as the reality is far more complex.

2. Contextualization

I make a clear distinction between the two stages that historically divide the workers’ lives.

The first corresponds to the period of the state-run company (1942-1997), marked by nationalist-developmental ideology and corporatism (Diniz, 1978; Gomes, 1979; 1988; Cardoso, 1999; 2001), where workers were called, trained and disciplined to produce and export in the name of the interests of the nation². In the beginning, Vale was a mixed-capital

¹ In *The Corrosion of Character: Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, Sennett argues that working conditions have changed radically in contemporary capitalism, producing profound effects in conscience and, according to him, in character. His book discusses several types of subjectivity produced under the banner of flexibility: people must be flexible, machines must be flexible, companies must be flexible. Sennett analyzes this model as producing different effects in class segments. For example, he highlights that people like Bill Gates or other members of the “Davos-Man” species feel free with and flower within the mentality of a flexible organization: “The capacity to leave the past behind, confidence to accept fragmentation: these are two traits of character that appear in Davos among people who truly feel at home in the new capitalism” (Sennett, 1998, p. 63). Yet the same character traits become self-destructive for those who work at the lower levels, says Sennett: this model corrodes your character, making people insecure and without expectation and older people - 50 years old, or even 40 or 30, depending on the line of work - feel rejected.

² *Companhia Vale do Rio Doce* was formed during the 2nd World War, for the purpose of producing iron ore to build war material for the allied countries that signed to so-called “Washington Agreement”

company, whose largest shareholder was the National Treasury. The federal government at the time held 90.91% of its shares and was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Mines and Energy. Studying the specificity of this type of entity, Lojkin (1981) showed that capitalist exploitation in them was not based on private property of capital, but on *social capital* instead, namely collective capital represented by the authority of the State that managed and directed them. At the time, conflicts between capital and labor did not appear in the form of divergent interests between an isolated private capitalist or group of capitalists and salaried workers. They arose under the form of contradictions between associated producers of a '*formally socialized*' company (pg.51) and the official representative of the capitalist class, namely the State.

Bethelheim (1970) observed a radical difference and opposition between so-called nationalization, such as that which took place in the former Soviet Union, and the idea of socialization. Directors, appointed by the State, by government authorities, were the individuals in nationalized Soviet companies who continued to hold and control means of production, fixed and working capital and not the workers. To this author, these companies, in the strict sense of the word, are historically state apparatuses and one of the places where social capitalist relations are configured. They reproduce these relations through a double separation: of workers in relation to means of production; and companies, one from another.

This double separation constitutes a central figure in the mode of capitalist production that opposes the private nature of property or ownership, the social nature of productive forces. State capitalism and nationalizations therefore constitute formal means of partially separating these contradictions, or rather, of displacing their effects (Bethelheim, 1970, p.71-72).

Engels (1990), contrary to Bethelheim (1970), speaks of an inversion of capitalist relations "taken to the zenith," inasmuch as State ownership of productive forces "formally" paves the way for effective socialization of means of production. He clarifies, however, that this inversion remains formal while the State is in the hands of the dominant capitalist class, which is true in the case of state-run companies in Brazil. Engels' opinions, given at a time of great euphoria over the construction of communism in the Soviet Union, however, were

between the United States, England and Brazil, on 3 March 1942. These allied countries predicted the continuation of the world conflict and feared a scarcity of raw material for the armaments industry. Each of the partners to the agreement committed to a type of collaboration. England was to return the iron ore deposits in the state of Minas Gerais to Brazil, formerly purchased by the *British Itabira Company*. The Brazilian government was to create a company to be responsible for mining the deposits, to take over the Vitória-Minas Railway, whose largest shareholder at the time was the same *British Itabira Company*, to extend the railway to Itabira and restore it so that it could bear exclusive exportation, for three years, of 1,500,000 tons/year of iron ore to England and to the United States. The US government committed itself to provide equipment and technicians for the restoration work of the precarious railway and mechanization of the mine and to provide loans through *Eximbank* to cover the expenditures with new equipment. Part of the agreement stated there would be a joint directorship of the national company to be created, with Brazilians and Americans, until the promissory notes issued to *Eximbank* were liquidated, when the full management of the company would become national. With the end of the 2nd World War, the agreements were not honored and Companhia Vale do Rio Doce spent the first 10 years of its existence running at a loss, paying workers very poorly and without a promising outlook for the future.

seen to be false by the real socialism that ended up creating a highly corrupt and centralized state bureaucracy, bereft of any utopian sense of class equality.

In the case of the state-run companies, the corporate State manages a social and technical division of labor, associating it to a small portion of technicians and managers, who control the concept of labor, programming of production, and act as if they were the actual owners of the capital - being representatives of the capitalist State. At the same time, it creates a majority that merely executes, whether they are direct workers, or linked to the technical management of production processes. They were responsible for obtaining the greatest value for the state directors.

In turn, at least in the case of Vale, State ideology presented the Company as also having social objectives, leading the calls to work to historically consider this idea as being to their benefit. When production decreased because domestic and foreign demand decreased, the employees always maintained a firm stance, that is, their wages decreased less or remained stable. This apparent rigidity of the staff of workers may be attributed to the specificity of the mining productive process, as the operation of equipment requires a more or less constant number of workers and technicians. Yet, Vale always considered the demands of the town and of the workers, which remain highly dependent on the company. Furthermore, different statements reveal that, despite intense internal surveillance to benefit production, when *Vale* was state-run, there were very few layoffs of workers, which only occurred for political reasons or to set examples, for instance in the event that physical violence occurred. Pressure from workers against layoffs of colleagues due to illness, for example, managed to repress this type of attitude over the years, always under the allegation that the company 'also had a social purpose' and could not act like any other that only sought profit.

After a rudimentary form of production during the first 10 years, the company gradually organized itself into a system of production that scholars refer to as Fordist. In the industrial world, the Fordist period was so named in reference to the American businessman Henry Ford (1922), who revolutionized forms of organization of labor in the 20th century, proposing the installation of production lines and promoting mass production. The design of the model was not merely limited to implementing effective forms of production, but expanded and included the sphere of social life. Ford believed that the prosperity of capitalist society depended primarily on its capacity to include the working class as consumers of the goods it produced. This would be possible as workers learned and were encouraged to save and spend within the limits of their salaries. Believing in the profound relation between the spheres of production and reproduction, Ford's interventions affected salaries and consumption, family relations, discipline of youth, formal and technical education. The locus, however, of economic hegemony and Fordist ideology in the area of production: in his view, moral and social oversight of society was the responsibility of the businessmen: "*Although businessmen do not consider themselves as leaders of social movements, they are, in reality, the ones in charge. They have more influence in society than politicians, teachers and priests*" (Ford, 2005, p.106).

Given the breadth and scope of its significance, I (Minayo, 2008) have used the term *Fordism* with two meanings: as an adjective of a type of regime of capitalist accumulation; and to characterize a mode of organization found in mining production at Vale: first mechanized

and later semi-automated: fragmentation, simplification of functions and subordination of the work pace to machines. In this model, workers were required to perform specific and decomposed tasks, in given amounts of time, without moving from their positions, under the surveillance of supervisors. A specific and technically and administratively differentiated group was responsible for understanding the entire process and planning of activities. This period lasted until the early 1990s, when a model considered more advanced began to be implemented, as a precursor to the privatization of the company.

The second stage, namely the privatization process, did away with the privileges of the state-run company and its workers, as shown by authors such as Almeida (1999); Pinheiro et al (1992); and Dutra (1991), within a national privatization plan (PND). During the entire decade of the 1990s, a total of 120 state-run companies had their ownership transferred to private initiative as well as a share in 15 others, in order to unburden public accounts and increase productive and management efficiency (Anuatti et al, 2005). The certainty that Vale would, after privatization, seek profit as its principal *ethos* is present in statements by workers, as if such an objective were not also part of the scope of the state-run company. The privatization was prepared during the first seven years of the 1990s. It began with a dramatic downsizing in the number of workers and increased outsourcing, to the point where, from the nearly 6000 workers employed in 1990, there were no more than 3500 in 1997 when the company was finally privatized. The early 1990s also coincided with an internal situation of turbulence in labor relations, as in 1989 workers staged a pivotal strike against the announced downsizing of personnel, pay reductions and increased productivity demands. This strike is well remembered by workers because it was unprecedented, as it was the first strike in 44 years and involved almost the whole employee base of the company. An unprecedented revolt of workers in the past dated back to 1945³ when the company was still being formed. The 1989 strike shook up the habitual submission of workers⁴, and was organized by CUT - Unified Workers Central (*Central Única dos*

³ The strike took place in 1945³, in a period of great economic difficulty suffered by the young company, and was repressed by a strong police force from Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais. The leaders were arrested and summarily fired. This strike took place within the following context: the terms of the Washington Agreement were being only partially fulfilled, because of the context of the post-war depression, when the international ore market entered into recession. In 1944 Vale managed to export 127,194 tons of iron ore and in 1945 sales dropped to 101,694 tons/year. These amounts were ten times lower than those prescribed in the agreement (1,500,000 tons/year). In 1945, England unilaterally cancelled its purchase contract with Brazil, while the United States decreased the pace of its collaboration. Only in 1944 did this country begin to fulfill its part of the agreement that provided the sending of equipment to fit out the railway to take ore from Itabira to the port located in the state of Espírito Santo and for the mining itself. This historical period left the Brazilian government alone to bankroll building of the Company at the same time that it was running at a loss in the country and in the international market. This meant, among other burdens, to maintain the contingent of 6,000 workers needed to run the recently-formed company, which, at the time, required intensive labor, as all the work was manual. Under these circumstances, a serious crisis began regarding the company's viability, and 1945 marked the lowest point in the recession and a spate of intense spending cuts, causing, as it always does, strong pressure on workers who were outraged and staged the only strike in its 40 years of history (Pimenta, 1981).

⁴ The Vale Workers Union was created in 1946, by the CEO of the company, to contain rebellions and avert strikes like the one that occurred in 1945. He therefore put workers he trusted at the helm of the entity, especially employees who worked in the human resources department. Therefore, the union

Trabalhadores in Portuguese) at the time considered the most progressive union organization in the country. Union leaders managed to mobilize the entire collective workforce; coordinating, convincing and concentrating solidarity of social forces in the municipality; reaching out to and attracting regional and national attention to their movement. This event, however, in the words of the Union president at the time, was “*the last gasp of an era,*” and preceded the period of “*fear and uncertainty.*”

The privatization process coincided with the productive restructuring. This began, however, before the change in the company’s status took place, precisely as a preparatory rite. Labor flexibility intensified in the 1990s, as the period of the 1970s and 1980s, which corresponded to the crisis of *Fordism* in Europe and in North America (Harvey, 2001), while here an expansion of industrial capacity was taking place, due to large-scale admittance of foreign companies, seeking to expand their production and markets. Many incentives offered by the government, among them low cost of labor, favored such a situation. The 1970s were marked by rapid expansion of iron ore mining, expansion of the labor market and investment in the State-based and triumphalist ideology called “*Great Brazil*” (“*Brazil Grande*”) which was a hallmark of the military governments (1964-1978)⁵. This period witnessed the consolidation of Vale, which had tried to make its mark in the national and international market for the previous twenty-five years of its existence. In the memories of the workers, this was the time of abundance and optimism and for Itabira a period of economic effervescence, a boom in civil construction and the real estate market, which transformed the city into a dynamic center for industrial labor and municipal tax revenue. Anxiety over changes in the management of workers, however, was already cited in strategic planning instruments prepared by Vale management since 1979, coinciding with transformations in labor organization that had been taking place in Japan, Europe and the United States (Harvey, 2001). This first period undoubtedly carried the seeds of the transformations that would later take place, that were still characterized by investments in structuring labor, increasing specialization of labor and complexity of levels of hierarchy and management of labor.

The first signs, as part of the mining expansion stage, came with the introduction of the outsourcing of processes and labor in the 1980s. This period also saw the first topical attempts to introduce new technologies of labor organization mirroring those of Toyota, such as Quality Control Circles (QCC). However, the model of production, hierarchization and discipline of the productive force continued as before.

The productive restructuring process was concluded in 1997 with privatization, and was marked by profound objective transformations based on the systematic development of a new model of productive organization. This involved the emergence of a new and tenuous labor situation and in new forms of acculturation of workers, resulting in the fragmentation

historically always functioned bureaucratically to address individual complaints and to provide some sort of social service, such as medical, dental assistance and aid to those most needy.

⁵ The so-called ideology of “*Brazil Grande*” (Great Brazil) that marked Brazil during the years of the military dictatorship (1964-1978) can be defined as a result of a set of authoritarian measures: strong intervention of the State in the economy (growth of gross domestic product (GDP) by about 10% per year), accelerated implementation of capitalism and consolidation of an urban-industrial society, with exclusion of the working classes from national political decision-making, suppression of democratic freedoms and repressive legal interventions.

of the class. Changes in objective and material dimensions corresponded to subjective and ideological transformations that modified the formal and mental structures of the workers, within certain special characteristics: alterations in the composition of labor and significant reduction in the number of jobs; decrease of hierarchies and integration of workers in enhancement of processes and results; participation of women in the productive process that had previously been totally dominated by men; increased proportion of outsourced workers; increasingly more elaborate forms of involvement of workers with company objectives; weakening of unions and flexible workers' rights. Inspired by Toyota, the changes presented certain assumptions: transfer of responsibility for production to the workers themselves; incorporation of knowledge that workers acquired in practice to the productive process and to the company environment; and increased productivity through teamwork.

All these movements of transformation sought to enhance Vale's solidity and competitiveness, as its tentacles extended and spread further across the globe, ever expanding and diversifying. The company's brain center was transported to the central offices, where the comparative advantages of its products, interests and changes in the domestic and international economic, financial, political, cultural, technological and symbolic scenarios were planned, analyzed and assessed. The accelerated pulse of the changing Vale was ever more present in the nervousness of the São Paulo stock exchange and in success indicators witnessed in the New York stock exchange.

The company was rapidly becoming a true multinational. In areas near the part that remained in Itabira, Vale bought mining companies around the state of Minas Gerais, establishing a virtual monopoly in the production of iron ore and other minerals, as well as in specialized labor. It also expanded to the Amazon region and throughout the world. It boasts clients in over thirty countries and it currently has business offices in North America, Europe and Asia.

In the predictable yet volatile business scenario, Vale became the largest iron ore producer and exporter in the world, and the second largest producer of manganese and one of the major producers of gold. The Company currently manages the two most productive railways in the country and holds shares in four others. In addition to participating in partnerships in several port terminals, it has its own maritime shipping company.

Currently, the complexity of its business goes far beyond the mines and seems quite confusing to workers, who have come to name it, *"the monster out there."* Observing the tentacles of the giant system of Vale might lead one to conclude, from the standpoint of capitalist interests, that Itabira and the workers that built it have become a tiny speck on the *map of the goldmine*. Only a historical and relatively small part has remained in the city. No one can take from this nearly 300-year-old city – which was born in the gold mining cycle in Brazil and especially in Minas Gerais in the 18th century – the merit of representing history, production, product, memory and being a monument to Vale.

Objective and subjective changes that occurred during the productive restructuring and privatization tend to overlap. As I was conducting this research, I came to realize that there is no single powerful provision that abruptly created an alternative scenario to the traditional forms of labor organization. There is, rather, a systemic set of keys concomitantly activated to lead to a progressive opening of new labor relations that is underway. And,

contradictorily, the new is constructed precisely to maintain the strength of that which is more perennial and older in the logic than what it has been replaced with: the increasingly more complete and finished realization of forms of capitalist accumulation. As Araújo (2001) reminds: *“the specific characteristics of the regime of Toyota regulation allow intensification of labor taken to a degree difficult to achieve in a regime where organization of workers in the workplace were independent and capable of obtaining concessions”* (p.36). In its subjective sense, labor organization within the *Fordist* model gave priority to serialization, standardization, hierarchization and obedience to orders. The paradigm of flexibility, however, affects the whole chain of production and reproduction of life, appealing to creativity and to group work, and may be interpreted as an ideology *“that reconstructs capitalist exploitation with objective and subjective implications and increasingly links material and immaterial work. In the sphere of collective intelligence and corporate cognition, it seeks new ballast for production of value”* (Alves, 2002, p.90).

As a counterpoint to the changes and pressure on the pace of work and demands for productivity, transformations in behavior, mentality and practices of workers are much slower, as culture does not change with the flick of a switch. Thus, there are elements of the old that configure the new, contaminating it and targeting it for resistance, just as the new existed in the old forewarning of a time to come. This becomes evident in the deconstruction of the *Fordist* logic in the *period of insecurity and fear* – an expression that refers to the time of transition from one type of organization to another – when crises of dissatisfaction with current management, technical, relation-related and ideological methods come to the fore. Two things said by supervisors speak of this dialectic movement between technique and subjectivity, making clear the contradictions these team leaders have to manage on a day-to-day basis:

In Itabira today you have two situations. A group of employees in the Cauê Mine with an average of 18 to 19 years on the job is the oldest plant. Then there's a shift with an average of 11, 12 years. Average age is steadily decreasing. The older the employee, the harder it is to adapt. People get a bit lost with this talk of participation, new technologies, and changes of pace. It's a lot harder.

The second, answering a question about what he appreciated least in his life at work nowadays, after praising the new forms of current productive organization several times, confessed:

What I like least is the issue of antagonism, the focus some people within the company have on others. Currently at Vale there are plenty of new faces and a lot of older people who were there under a different regime, a different period. So conflicts that these people create are intense, which is something you see 24/7. This differentiated focus between these two classes of people makes both work and relationships difficult.

These statements show the new face of permanent relations and hierarchy-related conflicts under either regime. A slip of the tongue led the supervisor to call the two antagonist sides *“two classes of people,”* in other words, he used terms that are now rarely heard and when used indicate contradictions between workers and bosses. He appropriated them to refer to profound differences between two cultures within the same segment of workers who are in permanent and silent conflict in the labor process.

The changes I mention cannot be interpreted merely locally. From statements and stories told by the workers themselves, they exemplify the flow of global transformations in which

restructuring of production is a part and that most scholars call *globalization*. To situate this concept – which is not the scope of this paper – I will only mention a few of its general characteristics, summarized in ideas of some of the most experienced scholars on the subject: (1) accelerated internationalization of companies, from the late 1970s onwards. This growth was spurred by liberalization of markets and by changes in the content of trades of manufactured goods for financial and telecommunications services (Kunar, 1995; Chesnais, 1996; Waddington, 1999; Harvey, 2001); (2) rapid deregulation and internationalization of financial markets, intensifying flows that now operate in real time, transcending distances and borders (Waddington, 1999; Araújo, 2001; Boito Jr, 1999) (3) technological revolution in the field of transport, communication and information transmission and processing, which has reduced times and distances, allowing transformation of what is produced and how it is produced (Araújo, 2001; Araújo et al, 2001; Alves, 1999; 2000; 2002; Mattoso, 1995; Castells, 1996; Castells, 1998; Ohmae, 1990).

It is also important to stress that this group of miners in Itabira is part of the constitution of the Brazilian worker class (Alveal, 1993; Carleal et al, 1997; Gomes, 1979; 1988), of historic changes that occurred in the country and its economy since the 1940s (Diniz, 1978; Tauille, 2001), of transformations in labor and unions as organizations of vested interest (Cardoso, 1999; 2001; Alves, 2002; Leite Lopes, 2009; Antunes, 2011); and of new forms of social relations of production, during a period of globalization and technological revolution (Minayo, 2008; Antunes, 1999; 2009; 2011; Alves, 2000; Araújo et al, 2001).

3. Method

This study is in the line of research known as “workers’ anthropology,” still in fashion, yet in its heyday it was espoused by renowned anthropologists and ethno-historians, such as Bourdieu (1963); Verret and Creusen (1996); Hoggart (1973); Leite Lopes (1976; 2009); Murard and Zilberma (1980); Thompson (1968); and Minayo (2008).

The group under study resides and works in the city of Itabira, a city of 100,000 inhabitants where Companhia Vale, which is now the largest iron ore mining and export company in the world, was established in 1942.

This paper was based on interviews with 104 miners at Vale and 10 other complementary interviews where I approached people in town and hierarchical authorities within the company. It also contains field observations. The interviews include workers of different ages, recently employed and old-timers, who worked at Vale when it was a state-run company, who lived through the transition and continued in their jobs as well as those who joined the Company only after it was privatized. Additionally, I interviewed some pensioners, both recent and from years ago, because of the objective importance of these workers to an understanding of the internal collective logic of the workers. Their own colleagues, who lived in the relatively small town whose economy continues to be dependent on Vale (Minayo, 2008) and the majority of whom have ties of kinship with them, consider these older employees a repository of accumulated collective wisdom, safeguarded and transmitted throughout the 70 years of the Company’s existence. I also participated in technical meetings of the human resources sector to discuss issues linked to workers’ culture, by special invitation of the group. The work as a whole also includes the sphere of social reproduction: a group of relatives, neighbors and town authorities.

The work was conducted in two stages: from 1984-1986 and 2004-2006. During both periods, I heard the stories of production workers in different departments of ore mining, ore treatment and equipment maintenance. Within the interviewees there were assistants; machine operators, mechanized equipment and facilities operators; qualified and specialized workers; supervisors and managers. The vision of a small number of supervisors and managers, currently completely integrated in the productive process and not only performing activities of surveillance and control, helped me to understand their logic of action, especially at the time of production restructuring when they are trained for *Total Quality Management*, TQM, a fundamental control strategy of current forms of labor organization.

I preceded the empirical research with a broad theoretical study on the subjects addressed herein, emphasizing literature on underground and open pit mining; the kind of economic enterprise that an export-oriented mining company is; the specificity of a state-run company as opposed to a private company; the two predominant productive systems: Fordist and the Toyota or Post-Fordist model; the concepts of labor processes and general production conditions that helped structure the history of the workers; and scenarios from this history: Vale and Itabira. Also part of my field work was a sample-based study of the archived documents containing the records of retired, deceased, laid-off employees or those who spontaneously left Vale, as well as access to internal communication material of the company regarding regulating the lives of employees. Likewise, I conducted a survey of bibliographical material on the city at the local branch of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and City Hall.

I focused the research unit on the workers' center that interacted directly in iron ore mining and concentration, and machine and equipment control and maintenance. As the company has several mining units, I decided to approach workers directly at a mine (the oldest mine that concentrates the largest number of workers) called Cauê, as it involves the most complex operations and is the most appropriate space to follow all of the steps of change in the labor process. It should be stressed that in the study on the current stage, I interviewed three women who worked in field operations, while in the first phase of the research, only men were working in productive activities. The only women hired were restricted to administrative activities. Whatever the circumstances, mining continues to be an eminently male-dominated activity and women in operations are still the exception.

In my field work, I adopted a basic procedure in communicating with those interviewed, namely the life story technique (in this case, the life story of the person as a worker), through open interviews. These interviews were conducted in an informal manner as a "chat with a purpose" seeking to make the interviewees feel free to narrate the steps in their lives as workers as they deemed relevant, defining their situation and attributing meanings. Together with these procedures, I also adopted the technique of direct observation. Naturally, I did not have the intention or objective conditions to work in the activities conducted by the workers, which actually would have been totally impractical. By direct observation involving the expression of my curiosity and many questions about the mining area, I visited several times, always accompanied by a worker sent by the company. Thus, the focus of my observation, understanding and interpretation was the experience and reports of the workers. I also adopted a *field diary* as a means of recording what I experienced and observed.

Some workers were contacted and interviewed by me during their working hours, a situation facilitated by supervisors informed about the topic of the study. The majority, however, were approached outside the company, in places chosen by them: their homes, a bar, the union office or even a public square in their neighborhood. After the company was privatized, I found it more difficult to interview workers in their workplace; therefore the majority of communications took place outside this space. I taped almost all conversations, always with the consent of the interviewees. This procedure sought to maintain maximum fidelity to what the informants said, justified by the fact that the analysis of their representations is the focus of the study. There were only two refusals to record, and in this case they were not production workers, but people linked to administrative areas that preferred to provide information without being identified.

Having all the basic material for the research in hand, I faithfully transcribed all of the interviews (in the case of those not recorded, I wrote them down immediately after the interviews), organized the data collected, both transcriptions as well as observations, through empirical categories that appeared in the material. Thus, I prepared different titles that held primary information, thereby creating an organized view of the whole.

I then proceeded to classify the data, based on structures of relevance established through two procedures: incidence of emphasis in certain aspects of reality, based on an ordering of field information; and comparing empirical material with existing theories on the subjects classified. For example, based on this initial classification of field material I discovered that the best form of narrating this saga would be to focus on it from the different *labor processes* and *general conditions of production* that changed over time, as in general, the stories of the workers presented these structuring elements. Both concepts, however, are highly theoretical and abstract to make them operative, and I therefore sought to attribute them with the empirical categories cited by the workers (Minayo, 2008). I thus sought to understand the implications that changes in the labor process had on the social life and subjectivity of the workers, and observed a completely unbreakable bond between the world of production, reproduction and its symbolic universe.

The attempt to configure the mining center, making it the *labor process* with *general conditions of production* as the bias (Marx, 1978) in their dynamic and change-related aspects, led me to read and consider the statements of the workers, sometimes as witnesses of a history that they recall through their point of view, and at others, as representations to understand their worldview. In the analysis, these two forms of working with the data complement each other and overlap.

4. Permanence and changes in subjectivity of workers at Vale

In my opinion the socialization of labor is not limited to the development of technical skills that make workers able to perform their tasks. On a broader scale, the objective is to constitute workers as operators, which means combining a set of technical skills in their training with a set of convenient behavior patterns, ideas and attitudes, which, from the standpoint of capital, would form the ideal worker. Reinterpreted by the workers, these provisions are internalized and organize the elements of their culture.

The initiative to reflect on the worldview of miners is specifically based on two seminal authors, Max Weber (1969), one of the founders of sociology; and Harvey (2001), an

important scholar of productive restructuring. Weber, studying the role of the protestant ethic in the implementation of capitalism observed that the entire economic attitude is informed by a system of beliefs and moreover the entire economic system, to maintain itself, requires broad concepts of the world, able to encompass different strata of a given society.

The more recent version of this theory is found in Harvey (2001), who, looking at the issue of the *Toyota model* – or as some authors prefer, post-Fordism – consider that disciplining the workforce for purposes of accumulation of capital involves a mixture of repression, familiarization, co-opting and cooperation, namely elements that must be organized not only in the workplace but also in society at large. Socialization of workers under conditions of capitalist production requires broad social control of physical and mental capacities, including education, training, persuasion, mobilization of certain social sentiments and psychological propensities.

Agreeing with the abovementioned thinkers, I sought to analyze how the broad conceptions were synthesized in the social representations of Vale workers in Itabira. Likewise, I delve deeper into what this social group specifically offers in its manner of viewing the world and life. It certainly becomes far more difficult to determine what is peculiar to miners at Vale in relation to other categories of workers, as it is the condition of the industrial worker in the capitalist mode of production (salaries, hierarchic control, cooperation in production, among other elements) that provide a common base to the categories of thought, action and symbolic expression of the working class. Specificity, when it exists, is found in the specific conditions of their production and reproduction.

The elements used herein for analysis are categories of thought and action taken from the set of interviews, enabling a discussion on their concept of labor, time and space, and society.

4.1 Representations on work

In industrial society, work is a particular virtue that the capitalist wishes to find in workers and for which he chooses and educates (Weber, 1967). In the so-called post-modern, post-industrial or knowledge and information society, work is a category looked at by many theoreticians and considered almost as a privilege to workers. Unlike the artisan whose objective is the product or the peasant whose concept of activity is linked to a social ethic (there is always something to do and idleness is a moral fault), the collective industrial workers' objective is the product in which they individually feel pride.

To Vale miners in Itabira, work, before all else, has the meaning of a "*job*." As *employment*, work presents itself as an economic function linked to a sentiment of institutional belonging. As a *salaried-job*, it is conceived as an existential need for survival and reproduction. As a *job-at-Vale*, in addition to the meaning of duty, it assumes connotations of a privilege achieved (Blauner, 1964).

The *job*, according to what most of the older workers said, enabled them to support their families (in almost all life stories there is mention of getting a job as a condition to be able to marry and have children); and "*job at Vale*" always provided them, in addition to respectability, dignity, status and prestige among workers from other companies. Comparing them to those "*outside the Company*," two elements distinguished the elder from current employees. For the former, the job gave them a salary much higher than the average

regional remuneration and a strong sense of security: to be at Vale was guaranteed job security, from admission to retirement, a situation affected only in cases of severe breach of discipline. For current miners, in the context of the profound changes in the organizational process of the company and facing a far more restrictive labor market, the *job at the Company* continues to be seen as a privilege. The idea of security, however, has changed directions, becoming less centered on guarantees offered by the company and much more focused on the individual capacity and performance of the workers.

Yesterday and today, in addition to the economic function, work to miners has a connotation of providing order to life. First and foremost, it promotes interior growth and is a source of recognition, both within the family and family groups, neighbors, friends and fellow citizens. Differences in relation to the past are due to the fact that, in relation to broader society, the older workers conceived of their work as the very practice of citizenship, considering it as their best contribution to society. Current workers, expand, in concept and in practice, the vision of social and political participation, before restricted to mining activities, becoming more critical, more active and therefore more active in local society and national debates. All, however, recent and older, work constitutes an all-engulfing concept of the meaning of life, due to objective production conditions, at accelerated pace in shifts that interfere with domestic and social routines. Around it they organize their schedules, social life, leisure, professional training, with little time left for other existential dimensions.

To understand the power that the representation of work has to workers at Vale, there is nothing better than understanding the feelings of insecurity and fear of being laid off, which is heightened right now among them. The awareness of excess labor at the moment, result of changes made by productive restructuring, (most households have one or more family members unemployed: sons, brothers or some working-age relative), heightens what is called specific feeling of insecurity of worker psychology, which translates the true essence of what it is to be a salaried worker. In almost all of the narratives I heard, this fear shows itself in a variety of forms, involving the physical and emotional energies of the miners.

Lay-offs in large numbers that occurred for disciplinary reasons or because activities in certain sectors were outsourced from the 1990s onwards, created an environment of lack of emotional compensation for those who were victims of the cuts. In the same vein, studying the living conditions of workers in Algeria, Bourdieu (1963, p.257) observed that the "*conscience of unemployment*" is the result of a capitalist advance, and that it occurs specifically among workers of large industries, as opposed to the situation of security and order in life that stable work produces. In the case of the laid-off miners, many broke up with their families, lost their references, fell into depression or even attempted suicide or actually did so, thus suffering the disruptive effects of unemployment on the totality of their lives.

Thus, we may conclude that for miners at Vale, being employed, both yesterday and today, has become synonymous with dignity and social integration, while unemployment destroys not only the basis of economic support of the family, but the entire consensus of approval of the social universe that surrounds them. Fear and insecurity of workers in the past and in the present keeps them pragmatic and demobilized, subservient to company demands, silent when faced with adverse and oppressive working conditions, so that many become complacent, in an attitude of convenience: "*It's really bad, the salary is really low, but the only*

good place is in Heaven. For us it's alright, when we look around at what's happening outside, everybody jobless, people starving, the only good place is Heaven above!" said one facility operator, reflecting the sentiments of the majority.

In turn, the existence of unemployment inside families and the conscience of insecurity, nowadays a conditioning factor in labor relations, has promoted strong solidarity, the dimension of which is striking in the group observed. Some workers support three, four, five children of working age, even married children, because they are unemployed. This dimension of mutual protection, however, does not indicate complacency with the situation among those out of work. Generally, there is strong family and group mobilization, seeking to help resolve the problems of disadvantaged members. Since Vale workers disapprove morally of those they deem "lazy," "witless," or "mischievous." unemployment is seen as shameful and almost as social mutilation.

There is a peculiar trait in the concept of work among current miners, in the manner in which they address the future of their children. This aspect is quite acute in the specific situation of the large surplus of labor and the trend to shut down the mine progressively as it has been mined with increased intensity, precisely because the machines with which they currently work allow them huge gains of scale in their mining. Thus, if, on the one hand, there is the undeniable effort of post-privatization workers to ensure that family reproduction (education, health, food) occurs under better conditions than theirs did, on the other, there is a more open attitude of letting each young person bear the concern of building his or her own future. In other words, they do not see a line of continuity in the local mining market, as was true 20 years ago, when families would settle down, because their children had almost guaranteed employment.

Therefore, to current workers, work at Vale is a guarantee of the present and increasingly less security for the future. Therefore, there is no longer the concern to ensure, for themselves or for their family, the legacy of inherited employment. Generally, strategies of workers at the privatized Vale are guided by living the present intensely and ensuring *employability*, through competence, wherever and whenever possible. Reference is made in the statements to forecast exhaustion of the mines in Itabira, and I observed a realist stance of people who have internalized the condition of salaried laborer without the sensation of existential loss, as occurs with those laid-off during the period of Mother Vale or from the transition period. Miners demonstrate a serene pragmatism, as if to say their town is their work place. Therefore, if possibilities run out here, other perspectives will appear further ahead, with the condition that one must dedicate oneself to personal enhancement of skills, competence and professional behavior. Actually, this opening up of horizons and possibilities has been occurring in practice, inasmuch as placement exams are national and sometimes international, and some workers originally from Itabira are today in hundreds of the company's other units around the country and abroad in various levels: as simple workers, technicians, engineers and even management. Everyone knows, however, that this town and this vibrant center of worker competence and culture gave birth to the colossal Company that today has 80,000 direct employees, fulfilling its mission.

4.2 Representations of space and time

Nothing has warranted so much effort of capital in the socialization of workers, as the rational organization of time and space, since, in the corporate calculation, "time is money"

and the logic of profit is based on it. Since its inception, Vale started to impress on the lives of the miners a daily routine to which not only was the physical body subject, but upon which the meaning of life was based. Any threat to this order, considered almost as second nature, causes a sensation of chaos and incoherence among the workers themselves.

In terms of space, the workers' daily life is demarcated by a triangular circuit: work-home-neighborhood. This universe, particularly in the initial phases of the workers' history, took on the dimension of the world, reinforcing, on one hand, relations of loyalty with the neighborhood, and on the other, the dichotomy between the company and larger civil society. There was the intention on the part of the company from the very beginning of the training of the workers to reinforce the political-moral investment in the mentality that organizes life centered on the mine's activities. Everything was pointed towards this: family routine, "*your home is only complete when you return,*" (a company slogan placed on the exit gate of the mine to this day, even after privatization), the role of women as wives who take care of the home to receive the husband and care for his measured and controlled rest and recreation. Thus, the general conditions of reproduction submit to the objective of causing a sort of instrumental equilibrium, so that the space outside the work unit safeguards the cycle of maintenance and recovery of energies to be expended the following day in the productive process. Authors such as Weber (1967) and later Gramsci (1978) in their studies have written much about how Puritan ideologies have become supports to capitalist progress, by controlling the sphere of the family and even sexual life. If, at the onset of capitalism, Protestantism played a fundamental role in this orientation, these ideas spread throughout the labor world, touched on by forms of organization of production and by the logic of profit.

The ordering of time and space (work time-free time, mine-home) appears quite crystallized in the mentality of workers, both older ones and those who joined the Company after production restructuring. Nowadays, however, at least one other element is inserted into this routine, especially among young people who use their rest periods to raise or enhance their formal education, due to demands of the competitive job market and due to job insecurity, which expands their space for relations.

This repetitive and restricted organization of time and space has been showing its perverse side, through those who, due to retirement, had to abandon the routine through which they socialized. Beginning in the 1970s, retirement became a routine fact in the social life of workers, a process that gained momentum with production restructuring, through voluntary lay-off plans used since the early 1990s for the purpose of lowering payrolls and other costs. Many of the men removed from their daily mining routines later experienced a sort of incoherence in the dimensions of time and space, as if some internal disorder had affected them. Work as the ordering element lost pride of place and home and neighborhood were no longer enough to provide meaning to their lives. With few exceptions – which were with workers who had a higher degree of education or were more professionally versatile – which does not invalidate the analysis of the collective, the retired miners, conditioned to the routine of time and space delimited by the company, tended to lose their frame of reference and their group of fellowship. Conflicts and tensions caused by them in their families are common and several have had premature deaths, as they had lost the very reason for their existence, which had previously been fulfilled by their working life.

Obviously, many premature deaths of retirees are caused by excessive physical wear and pollution from the mining process. This is especially true of older workers where muscular strength was absolutely necessary to perform their production tasks. Many of these premature deaths, however, may be associated, according to statements made by workers, to poor cultural and emotional adjustment. *"Either the guy stays there trying his wife's patience or he goes down to the bar and gets drunk,"* said one of the interviewees, analyzing the large number of men who currently frequent bars. Actually, as an individual educated and socialized to produce and reproduce in function of an absorbing activity, the retired miner generally is unable, by himself, to discover another social motivation that fulfills him in life. Once work has configured itself as the global meaning of existence, when the scenario changes, chaos is unleashed within the worker's personality and social life. The *"honest, serious, sober worker"* according to one of the interviewees, often gives way to the *"sedentary, alcoholic retiree (who before drank socially, so as not to compromise his work), and sometimes no longer deserves the respect of family and neighbors."*

This reality has been a concern to the medical and social departments of the company since privatization, and today they encourage employees to cultivate other habits in life. Many report that bosses tell them they should rest, go out, take vacations and that work cannot and should not be the only objective in their lives. Some even report that it is currently considered as negative in the company for workers to be obsessed with their jobs. *"Today it invests in quality of life, insists that we have recreation, and doesn't like compulsive workers, which is negative."* In practice, however, the same regime that currently includes among its premises concern with the quality of life of workers, promotes non-stop shifts, incentives for workers to study and take technical courses when off work, and demands readiness – now measured by mobile phones workers are required to carry – to answer calls in case of absence of colleagues, problems with machinery or with other devices that cannot shut down. In other words, the central place of work is complete and continuous, as it completely occupies the real and symbolic space of reproduction, demanding physical and mental dedication of its employees.

Among these workers, however, there is another meaning to the concepts of time and space. There is a relational conception that opposes the industrial form of marking shifts and production timetables in hours, days, months and years. This differentiated mode of dating occurrences in time, Evans Pritchard (1978, 122) called *"structural time."* Telling their stories, workers tend to relate their saga and events that they took part in, not by chronological order, but by the relevance that certain facts had on their lives and on the collective lives, linking them to successive management teams at Vale. In the case of the older miners, the emphasis is on two very specific time periods: the beginning and currently. Past experiences are framed in a special way in the present and it is in retrospect that stories are told. The relational perspective of narratives indicates that, beyond any technical dimension, they experience the labor process by integrating several dimensions of social and emotional life: their socioeconomic, political and ideological aspects. The sense of coalescence that joins and articulates the past and present has, for the miners, an importance function of expressing their presence, as stakeholders in the historic transformation that has taken place in the city and in the Company. Employees of the privatized Vale, emphasize *relational time* in the present: particularly in the interaction with their groups of work colleagues that increasingly act as small collectives. Many, however, question the lack of differentiation promoted

through teamwork. Many increasingly expand their concept of interactions to outside the company, investing in other environments, such as colleagues in courses, members of the same religious persuasion, community associations or among colleagues who have risen in the company or left for elsewhere.

The concept of *structural space*, also developed by Evans Pritchard (1978, p.123) to refer to the social distance between groups of people within a given system and that is expressed in values, was also quite useful for this analysis. The form of seeing territory is informed by experience that places the events experienced in more or less important positions according to their value in the person's personal history. Workers make constant references to "*here inside*" and "*there outside*" and are the spatial synonyms to the relational pair "*us*" and "*others*." "*Here inside*" is Vale with everything it means to workers in their daily lives and dreams: relations of production, salary, reproduction and expectations, both for the older as well as newer employees. "*Here inside*" is the known, protected, more or less safe world of the company and that, in other times, when it was state-run, was the haven they called "*Mother-Vale*." Even though in reality this goes far beyond the workers' experience, to them, the Company always was the space of integration, even more so in the past. In the present as well, the ideology of the "*victorious, dynamic company, the largest in the world*" feeds, gives meaning and consistency to the corporate cultural imagery. "*Here inside*," therefore, is the imaginary line drawn between miners and other workers, Vale and other companies, the city and other cities.

The workers have created a curious geography: their imagery goes from "*Company*" to "*Brazil*" and to the "*world*." "*Brazil*" and "*world*" are generic and abstract categories that to them mean the expanded space of relevance of their contribution. The ore "*goes out to the world and returns to Brazil as revenue*." This "*world comes with dollars to pay the country's debt and to make it rich and that's why we have to produce and we cannot stop*." These were typical phrases, repeated by older miners and that are now repeated with certain nuances. The incommensurable space of Brazil and the world provided the older workers with the dimension of work as "*civic duty*" – a duty that they fulfilled – but that, for most, was limited to the production unit. Allowing themselves to be exploited was confused with contributing to the greatness of the country, since to them, the state-run company also summed up the meaning of nation. Currently, such phrases are complemented by other terms, such as "*make profit*," "*competitiveness*," "*shares*" and "*productivity balances*," stripping their collaboration with the company of its social and political meaning.

Summarizing, the expression "*here inside*" that permeates the narratives of the tales of the older and younger workers, in the case of the former, feeds in them the idea that Vale existed as a self-sufficient micro-society and that it was capable of fulfilling the economic, social, political and cultural meaning of their lives. Presently, the expression still denotes a very well-constructed '*esprit de corps*,' although linked to innumerable tentacles and networks that have made the company much more complex and dynamic. The term "*there outside*" does not only refer to the ecological dimension. It may designate the city, other industries and anything beyond the bounds of Vale. In the conscience of the older miners, this binary division of space was structured by actions of the Company that pitted them against citizens, privatizing their neighborhoods, absorbing them into the world of labor and depriving them of the organic solidarity of broader society. This concept of non-citizenship that for a long period informed the conscience of the workers became

responsible for a sort of miner mentality that desolated them for a long time. Workers from the period of productive restructuring, already part of the space of the city in all its scope, present other categories of reference to address space, incorporating political entities, social concerns and solidarity into their vocabulary. The “*there outside*,” category continues to inform the worldview of those who joined Vale after privatization, no longer has such a radical meaning of structuring their lives. It also refers to other spaces that the worker-citizen should increasingly approach: the city that needs help in its construction; that of less privileged classmates in whom one should take interest, making them part of the union or in concerns regarding solidarity; that of the broader labor market, for which one must be open, prepared, alert and available.

4.3 Representations of society

Similarly to the division of relational space being processed in terms of “*here inside*” and “*there outside*,” society is conceived, by miners, as if it were divided into “*us*” and “*them*,” with strong ties between this type of concept and the previously discussed dimensions. While the representation of space in institutional and corporate life, “*us*” and “*them*” reveals a vision of class in the social structure. “*Us*,” refers to themselves and to workers in general: “*the pawns*,” “*migrants*,” the “*poor*,” “*workers at Vale*.” “*Them*” are the bosses, chiefs, those in charge, supervisors and managers. “*Them*,” also refers to the set of institutions that wield dominant power and ideology and are beyond the control and understanding of their daily affairs and limited social lives.

This division was far more clear-cut among workers who experienced the split between the public city and private city, a situation that lasted until the 1980s, when there were neighborhoods built by the company and that separated workers, technicians, engineers and bosses. This form of classifying society was extensively studied by Hoggart (1973) in his tome on worker culture in an English borough. The division highlights and acknowledges the experience of exclusion and self-exclusion of workers in relation to the dominant groups or those in the service of domination. This is the perspective of class opposition and conscience of exploitation that, if on the one hand it indicates experiences of segregation, on the other, it reaffirms the will of capital to maintain workers at a distance, under hierarchization and inside their own universe. In this sense the phrase placed at the mine entrance is eloquent “*Your family is only complete when you return home*,” as are the slogans that adorn all spaces in the mine, reminding them about seriousness, responsibility and workplace safety. The automatism created by “*worktime-freetime*,” “*mine-home*,” also contributed to the sentiment of exclusion in relation to other spheres of realization of human beings as citizens.

The strategy of maintaining the social division in the work structure is even clearer at present when, by demanding *participation* as an essential condition of productive restructuring, the company reduces it to the level of enhancing labor methods and processes. If everything related to personal needs and demands of workers was scarcely considered in the past, currently this type of problem has no place for expression in the formal mechanisms of social labor relations. Objectives, goals, intensified production, care of machinery and equipment completely occupy these spaces, times, minds and hearts of the workers. The *Quality Control Circles* (QCC) where workers gather and use their creativity – and are even rewarded for it – are at no time willing to discuss personal issues, as they are

exclusively focused on improving or innovating production processes. In turn, some forms of profit sharing and holding of stock were introduced to the collective of the workers. These are so strictly controlled by the bosses, however, that they do not allow any possibility for the workers to have any level of identity between them and management.

Another point of difference between “us” and “them” is the political field where Vale similarly interferes, albeit, indirectly. In the past, politics appeared as a supra-structural sphere of power similar to the idea of State to government. Submission to several management teams appointed by the federal government is part of the business culture, because Vale was state-run. This link was so strong that during the years of the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1979), the city of Itabira as a whole became an area of national security. Workers were closely watched at work, outside work and in their expressions of opinion. Yet, the idea of politics was always presented to the worker as a field of action of the “others,” “them,” as something inaccessible, as “workers are incapable,” “don’t know how to speak,” “don’t understand,” “don’t know how to make speeches.” Contrarily, the sense of personal impotence for participation has always been associated, by workers, to the vision of “politics” as a space of corruption, underhandedness and disgust. In their view, politics as done by “them” (politicians) may even speak in name of the people, but rarely truly include the needs and interests of the “poor.”

Speaking of how the company addresses the question nowadays, one of the workers in the equipment maintenance workshop carefully commented: “The Company is liberal. In general, bosses don’t persecute anybody because of politics, but we feel that they prefer quiet workers to go home when they leave work.”

Older employees revere President Getúlio Vargas⁶ as the “second God who came to Earth,” as the governor who “did something for workers,” and that “gave us social legislation.” Notwithstanding, the political meaning attributed to the government of Getúlio Vargas is that of one that resolved an important problem for the poor, that is, he offered them a gift: “He gave us workers Labor Legislation.” Younger employees have a keener awareness of rights and for the most part critically follow the news on national and international politics. They know, more than ever, that actions and decisions outside the sphere of public and private authority affect their daily lives. Still, the wall separating “us” (workers) from “them” (politicians) continues in their minds. As mentioned previously, the level of participation generally includes only social solidarity movements, a type of inclusive insertion encouraged by the company.

It is important to stress a point that unites past and present in the scope of political behavior. Most of the miners have always voted and vote in opposition parties or more to the left: is this in disgust with those in power who are corrupt and “do nothing for them?” This type of behavior shows that politics is seen more for its effects than as a space of participation and

⁶ Getúlio Vargas was born in 1882 and died in 1954. He was the 13th President of Brazil, leader of a civil revolution that ended a period of Brazilian history called República Velha. He governed the country for 15 uninterrupted years, from 1930 to 1945: from 1930 to 1934, as head of the “Provisional Government”; from 1934 to 1937, as President of the Republic via the Constitution, from 1937 to 1945, by means of a coup d’état. Getúlio was called by his supporters, especially the newborn working class, the “father to the poor,” due to the fact that he enacted many of the social and labor laws in Brazil. His doctrine and political style became known as *Getulism* or *Varguism*.

expression of citizenship. Some workers over the years were bold enough to run for mayor or city councilman and are considered courageous by their colleagues, though they are exceptions to the rule. Some assess and highlight, however, that many of their colleagues have entered politics, “interested in personal gain or to advance in life or to make a name for themselves,” in a tone of disdain to those who left jobs at Vale, considered as honest and more gainful employment. Are they disillusioned with reality or is it reality itself that deludes them? (Marx, 1984)

Similar to politics, issues that mobilized the city until recently were considered the domain of “them,” of “others.” Categories that divided workers in relation to problems in Itabira, at first glance, may be understood by the fact that many are migrants. This argument, however, is not valid today. Over time, the majority settled in the city and many statements discriminate people from Itabira as workers who came some 20, 30, 40 years ago to the city. In almost all of the interviews, until quite recently, the topic of the decadence of Itabira as a consequence of the progressive shutdown of the mine, pollution and environmental degradation caused by the pit excavations, or to think of alternatives for the economic and social future of the urban center, was seen as a subject that was the responsibility of the people of Itabira, from which the workers were excluded. “People from Itabira are lazy, they have no initiative,” “they didn’t know how to handle Vale,” “people not united”: these were and to a certain extent continue to be the most common judgments of workers and technicians regarding the inhabitants of the city. The issue, therefore, does not only refer to the status of migrant, rather, of feeling “outside,” which can be understood, first because the terms *people of Itabira*, *problems of Itabira* are always used in the political sense, that is, in reference to those in power to govern. Second, this occurs as a long-term vision of class, encouraged by the ideology of the company. By delimiting the world of the worker as being a space of production, family, and at most, the neighborhood, Vale always implicitly reduced the meaning of citizenship to these spheres.

New workers evolved in relation to the feeling of belonging to Itabira society and social issues, through several movements of change. In the late 1980s, as part of *Novo Sindicalismo* (New Unionism) (Alves, 2000), there was more scope for debate and legitimacy of social discussions. This transformation can be seen in the *Sindicato Metabase* journals that began including topics referring to the city after the 1989 strike. The dissolution of incentive mechanisms such as segregated living spaces, educational system and healthcare contributed to this (Minayo, 2008), making workers perceive that they shared a common destiny with the local population. Yet, the *period of insecurity and fear* and the excessively technical and controlled discourse of the *Toyota model*, contaminated time and space of the miners with a type of *collective individualism* (Piore & Sabel, 1984, p.306)⁷ that compromised their social insertion. To me, use of this term refers to inciting concomitant processes of individual competition and group cooperation by the company within the labor process, which obviously transcends this scope. In a certain manner, the *ethos* of order, seriousness, quality and accountability for productivity replaced the national-developmental discourse

⁷ Piore and Sabel speak of “collective individualism” to characterize the new type of *ethos* of groups of workers, characteristic of the information age, considering it the equivalent to what is called “competitive cooperation” that characterized artisan production in the 19th century. Here I reinterpret the terms used by the authors to speak of “small owner democracy” referring to what occurred in relations between small and large companies in what has been called the “Third Italy” since the 1960s.

of national progress to which the worker had to contribute, yet it promotes the same result: total dedication to work, also consuming a large part of the time for recouping strength and social reproduction.

The view of the miners is that the Union occupies an ambiguous place: at times it is considered “us”; at times it occupies the place of “them.” Until privatization, almost all workers were union members and the company itself encouraged this. The union, however, was not an entity for formation of class, as referring to it workers recognized it as “theirs,” and very important, only for the medical, dental services and certain small social benefits it provided. Some felt the degree of legitimacy of the union went somewhat further: *“The union is seen as a boss by the workers. Sometimes the worker there is unjustly considered guilty and sometimes he isn’t strong enough to defend himself alone. But it is not for anything serious. It only resolves minor issues.”* Therefore, created by the company itself, (Minayo, 2008) the workers conceive the union as always having been an instrument more to the benefit of Vale. This is why it is more “theirs” than “ours.” One older operator said: *“The union fights, but it fights more for the Company. Every Company needs a union. It defends the company more than us.”*

The perception of the union as an ‘*arm of the company*,’ an expression used by several interviewees, explains a great deal of the mistrust felt by many miners. This belief hinders them from complaining about violations of their rights and from participating more actively in the formulation of demands. Only exceptionally has this traditional class entity appeared, in worker representation, as a collective space to be guided by right as a mouthpiece of the workers. The exceptions have always succumbed to a diffused yet widespread and strong fear of the sword of Damocles, exemplified by the singling out of leaders for dismissal, as shown in a broader study (Minayo, 2008).

Younger workers are no longer co-opted by the national-developmental ideology, as the management practice of the company leaves no doubt that their primary objective is profit. The current experience of exploitation of all, recent and long-timers, and the comparison of their lives and personal stories with the economic progress and expansion of Vale makes us doubt the belief, in the past almost unquestionable, that there was a convergence of interests between the company and its employees. The union, on the other hand, in a rare show of protagonist zeal in 1989, managed to demonstrate that it was committed to defending the interests of the workers, though the brevity of its appearance did not allow for a modification of the corporate culture. The union and the strategies of new unionism were soon swept aside by the premises of productive restructuring as relics of the Fordist model. The “us” and “ours” today, in relation to the union remain through the power of institutional reproduction, the rites of election and collective bargaining, possibly betting on future redefinitions.

Within the productive unit, supervisors, managers and directors are also targets of the division between “us” and “them”: even today, in full exercise of mechanisms of greater horizontality and group and relational cooperation and participation in ongoing enhancement of the labor process, most of the factors that affect the lives of the workers occur outside their domain: *“The thing I like least in the company is that I’m the last to know about things that affect me,. It’s true that when I signed a contract I knew that they could do what they wanted, but I don’t like it”* said a facilities equipment maintenance mechanic. Actually, the distinction that exists within the labor process tends to identify and personalize the

immediate “exploiter” as the real exploiter, and forego any analysis of the broader mechanisms that subordinate and expropriate them.

The self-exclusion by the workers in relation to a universe to which they feel foreign (politics, union, public administration, bosses and others) reflects not only the abandonment of a space for social protagonism, but also the active and positive value of repudiating the action of different social, institutional, political and union stakeholders, from which they exclude themselves. The statements of the workers did not spare criticism of “them” to which they are opposed. In the reports, politics appears not only as a space for corruption but also a refuge for “*clever guys who want to earn more*” or “*exploiters of the people who live off of promises.*” Likewise, events narrated about internal corruption during the period that Vale was state-run are always attributed to the levels of ‘*management*’ and the ‘*big fish.*’ “*If this Company wasn’t solid, these management teams would have done it in.*” It is as if the division that they have imposed authorizes them to show a sort of indifference or disdain for values and codes imposed by the managing group.

5. Some conclusions: Traits of identity and subjectivity

The attempt at working on certain categories deemed most evident in the set of reports may leave a sense of false homogeneity in the worldview of the collective workers. Certainly there are some highlighted statements that reveal a more defined conscience of exploitation and place under scrutiny the monopolization by one group in society of the means of power, production and knowledge. These workers, however, are the exception. Miners who are more united and representative of the group studied, in the past and in the present, still see work as the center of their personal and social identity and the manner in which they can realize their participation as citizens. Therefore, although there is perennial resistance to exploitation, they value their job and believe that through it they will achieve their place in society. This miner is peaceful (which contradicts the violence of the productive process) law-abiding, who emphasizes family relations and has, in the family, the symbol of his peaceful and orderly character. He knows the “*place*” he is assigned in society and, assuming the division of class, excludes himself from participating in institutions and values that he deems foreign. Thus these workers are in themselves the expression and symbol of the mode of production to which they are submitted and the denial of that, in a divided society, which expropriates and excludes them. This conclusion seeks to extract all the external injunctions that make up their profile, to emphasize the sense of the collective that considers itself victorious because it is part of the founding group of the largest open pit iron mining company in the world.

The first workers were muscular, large-shouldered, firm-stepping with their heads bowed to the ground. Almost all of them black. They said little. Their dense words were full of wisdom that the fight for survival always results in. Their short phrases, penetrating because of the eloquent silence that subordination and resistance teach, are fragments of an epic history experienced in the harsh daily routine of the mines. Their eyes, sometimes lost in time, still sparkle with profound, proud light, transcending time and space, to glimpse the world of dreams, the drop of sweat carried in the millions of tons of ore wrenched by their arms, and carried over vast oceans.

Current workers differ from their pioneering colleagues in characteristics that show higher formal education and the labor process. The link to the past comes from the fact that almost

all of them are the third generation of the first workers. More than mere coexistence in the same excavated pit – than the contemplation of the same deep pits left in remembrance of a Cauê that no longer exists – their identity passes from a generation of miners who were trained and disciplined by Vale and left in it their mark of pride and of their own transformation. We have approached some fundamental aspects. The fruit of labor unites their worlds, transforming them into universal artifices and interweaves their destinies with those of all other workers who, through them, shall also work with that iron. From their universe of mining, they join hands with this entire class of salaried laborers, slaves of time, their time past. Contradictorily, however, those of today feel privileged at the simple fact of being employed, of having a work card signed and for having certain rights that changes in the world of labor have not yet managed to achieve, namely the secrets of the wealthier capitalist. Now more than ever, the paradox that labor is the opposite of freedom and that no freedom is possible without it is realized in them, despite all academic discourse to the contrary.

Conscience? To the miners it is not only an extension of their antagonist vision of the company. They do not think or express themselves in abstract terms of economic and social relations. Their thoughts are concrete. The first, the pride of being the “*lions of Vale*” is clear. They were sure that, without them, the country’s economy would not have been the same. Yet today, as yesterday, their solidarity with colleagues is apparent: solidarity that comes from the fact of being real people who work hard to survive and live from the fruit of their labor. Yesterday and today, the economic rationale of capital opposes the moral value of justice, of recognition and relations of loyalty. On the one hand, everyone knows they are being exploited and even consider it normal that the company should profit from their toil, while on the other, they always hoped to earn more, to grow and progress. They mistrust bosses just as they mistrust any change proposed to them, because they always imagine that it will only prejudice them, even when they adhere to it through a pure sense of convenience and opportunity.

In the initial period, workers withheld “*pulo do gato*” (tricks of the trade), in other words practical knowledge acquired through which they managed to enhance production, but that would benefit their supervisors more than themselves. Contrary to those who preached total expropriation of their knowledge, they discovered that their wisdom and art could be a mainstay of resistance to the tyranny of capital. The precious wealth of practical knowledge acquired in implementing the gears, adjusting them to the real operating conditions, in corrections required over time, led them to capture, in their daily routines, secrets and tricks of the tools of their trade. Their necessary and complementary knowledge, serving as a weapon of resistance, has now become a collection of participation. Participation led by and appreciated by the company, but of which they know the limits. They value it because it puts all other potential into action, before fragmented in the organization of labor. They mistrust it because it is all capitalized in favor of productivity: therefore the relation is horizontal; to personal demands and interests, everything must continue to be engulfed by or submitted to the rites of bureaucracy.

Today they have even relinquished this through exchanges, i.e. subtle forms of symbolic domination, and their knowledge is being incorporated into the equity of the company. Before, they prided themselves on the difficulty of their work, which was tough and dangerous, and compared themselves to the “*bigshots*” whose production, to them, was

despicable and superfluous. Yet, if in the past they were timid before engineers who dominated the reading and appropriated their knowledge, today their practical knowledge is valued in participatory strategies and approximates them to the benefit of the competitiveness of the company. They measured their progress by job security, good salary and the upward social mobility of their children. Today, flexible logic motivates them to dedicate body and soul to enhance their value and compete: security is no more, salaries have decreased and the horizon for their children must go beyond the gates of the mines.

To them, the *Company* that previously was a “mother” who was almost never questioned continues to be the space from which they see the world and expand their horizons. They say, however, that it is “no longer a mother, nor even a stepmother,” it is “just a company” and is no longer sacred, but that continues to warrant respect due to its size, dynamism, leadership and the fact that they helped build it by contributing the strength of their physical and mental, material and immaterial labor. They take from it the salary that sustains them. Evoking the company name gives them respect, honor, and credit in the city and in society and they can raise their families. Vale has always marked their present and future, imprinting on them a profound sense of dependence, and continues to write them into the culture of new customs in the labor process. To the younger workers, this feeling of belonging to the company and being up to date with productive flexibility translates the very essence of their condition as salaried workers.

The first *Men of Iron* cultivated, throughout their careers, a beautiful dream, albeit beautiful and fragile: “*The Company is ours, the deposits are ours, the railroad is ours, and the port is ours. Everything is ours.*” This phrase of collective authorship, whose relevance corresponds to the sharp historical and ideological inflection experienced by the collective, brings to light the sweet illusion that motivated and encouraged them. It gave them courage to face the rain, wind, dust, weight of the tools, monotony of the work, the deafening roar of the machines and the arrogance and oppression of their superiors.

Today, as time goes by and the distance between them and the giant company grows, relations of the type of the “larger family” unravel in the impersonal measurements of productivity. Very little illusion remains: what is “ours” is not synonymous to what is “mine.” They discover that it is all nothing more than a figure of speech and part of the disguise of exploitation. Many have been left by the wayside: they have lost their jobs and been replaced “without mercy or care” by the impersonal urgency of profit: they were old, rigid and their skills became disposable. Others were lowered in rank: they continue to serve the company, but with lower status, as underlings in outsourced companies. Many of those who experienced life in the state-run Vale lived through the transition and are coming to the end of their careers do not recognize themselves in the changes and only try to conform and to forget. They are aided by the voice of an abstract, superior and unarguable authority: productivity indicators, share price, company profits.

Thus, workers at Vale who called themselves the *Men of Iron* and who today are *Iron but Flexible* continue to be proud of their sweat and labor and transmit this to their families and children. The period of uncertainty, however, taught them an essential lesson. They understand perfectly that, under the present circumstances, they must remove the weight of the rigid metal from their shoulders and look at the world of labor with the same dexterity of spirit that the bosses have to resize and restructure it. They know they need to focus their

minds on the strict demands of their daily work shifts. At the same time, they understand that they must make their minds fly abroad, far away, to other horizons and other dreams, projecting a future without a predetermined space. They know and repeatedly say that it is fundamental they invest in the construction of that which is flexible, cumulative and imponderable, which no company can ever capture: their professional growth, technological education, their interests and social life.

Therefore, personal goals of the great majority today take the path of personal enhancement and unequivocal investment in education of the highest quality possible for their children. Immersed in and coexisting with the current universe of uncertainties and opportunities, they manage to perceive that the point of support cannot only be in the world of work. The basics are their skills and individual performance and points of equilibrium, recognition in work, family life, and participation in the achievement of civic rights both locally and throughout the country.

With their gaze lost in space or feet planted firmly in reality from their experience, these men, both today and yesterday, speak of the country that grew rich on their sweat and toil; they speak of the Company as an unquestionable mother or as a successful company; they speak of successive management teams, which in their view are always imperfect. They feel themselves as citizens, but they do not forget their salaried condition, and conclude: *"The rope always breaks prejudicing the weaker side ... that's how it's always been."* Therefore, they know what they have to do, in addition to heavy investments in all their individual abilities, to reconstruct the class union that makes them strong and powerful, today more than ever made difficult by the ideology of productive restructuring that expects *collective individualization* from them.

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Social Metabolism, Cultural Landscape, and Social Invisibility in the Forests of Rio de Janeiro

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1. Introduction

Rio de Janeiro is the second largest urban center in Brazil and one of the largest economic and cultural centers of Latin America. Fully 70.7% of its territory is already urbanized and it has about 6.3 million inhabitants. The city is located between the mountains and the life-giving sea - a unique geography that enchants visitors and enamors those that live there. The city spreads between two coastal mountain ranges - the Pedra Branca and Tijuca massifs - and displays specific peculiarities because of these monolithic neighbors (Figure 1).

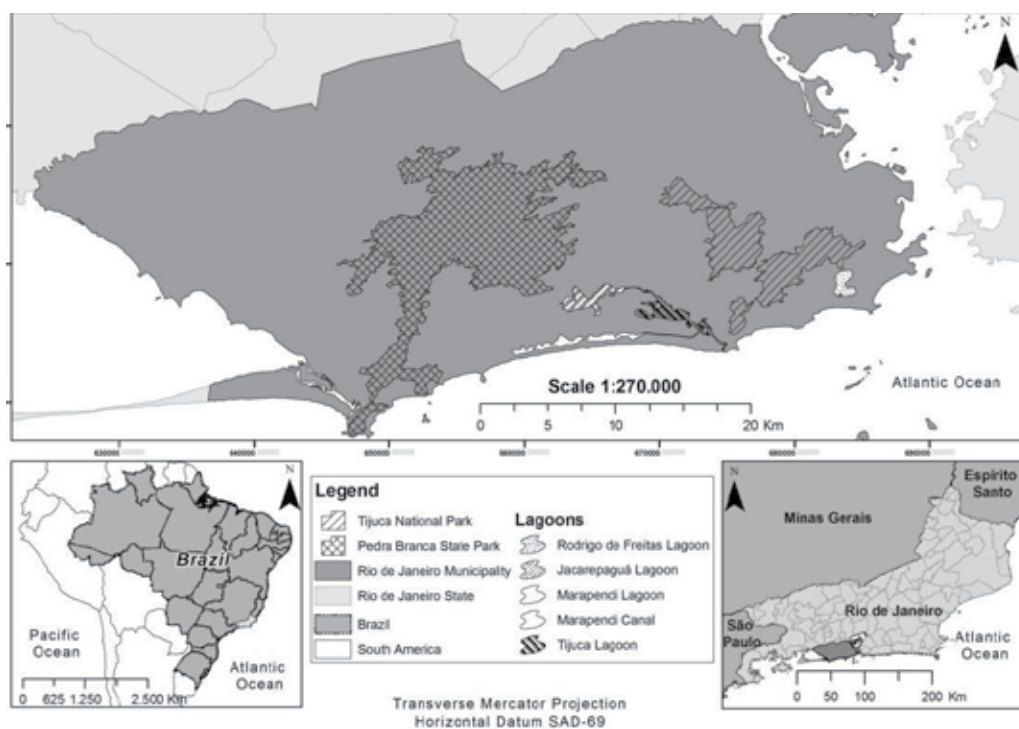


Fig. 1. The municipality of Rio de Janeiro and its main physical features.

The lush Atlantic Forest that covers the mountains in and around the city contrasts markedly with the blue sea and the lagoons scattered throughout the urban landscape. This contrast between natural and anthropogenic landscapes has created the identity of the city of Rio de Janeiro, with its forests and lagoons appearing as pristine landscapes separated from the artificial city.

But these forests are actually very far from being pristine landscapes, and the process of landscape transformation has a long history in this area. Among the analytical categories used in many social sciences, the concepts of “landscapes” and “landscape transformation” have a special place. The concept of landscape is closely linked to the polysemic concept of culture, which Crumley (1994) considered to be the spatial manifestation of human-environmental relationships. The complexity of this concept can be seen in the fact that the landscape is at the same time both a physical reality and a social construct. Landscapes have long been shaped by a history of human management and natural disturbances (Balée, 2006). Understanding the dynamics of these ecosystems requires an understanding of how social and ecological factors interact, and how these interactions change over time. As such, any attempt to understand ecological systems without taking into account human participation is to deny the origins of many of the geographic and ecological patterns observed in present-day ecosystems. In terms of the landscape, that which we now deem to be “natural” may often reflect systems that have been managed for many centuries by historical populations (Oliveira, 2008). Many papers have illustrated that what we currently consider “natural nature” is in reality a vegetational mosaic, due to direct and indirect management of former systems.

Authors from many different disciplines have attempted to address the dichotomous paradigm of nature versus society. Morin (2002), for instance, suggested the theory of complexity for contemporary science; Capra (2006) proposed understanding life through physics, as webs of relationships at different levels; Toledo & Molina (2010) worked with the concept of social metabolism to explain the relationships between society and nature; and Padua (2010) defined environmental history as an open, not reductionist, investigation of the interrelationships between social and natural systems over long periods of time.

The inseparability of society-nature begins with the presumption that humans not only need nature to survive, that they not only transform it and reproduce it, but are transformed by it and are part and product of nature. The history of any society implied in these dialectic and binding relationships, in which men have to adapt to their environment while also adapting the environment to their necessities by way of techniques acquired slowly over time, represent co-evolutionary systems that have resulted in the landscapes that we see today (both “anthropogenic” and “natural”).

Our starting point in examining these interrelationships is the study of the paleo-territories of charcoal producers in the XIX/XX centuries in secondary forests in the mountains of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Since the beginning of the XIX century, charcoal had a fundamental role as an energy source for the many activities related to metallurgy. Iron was converted into valuable articles like horseshoes and tools, and by using charcoal forges; stonemasons in the growing city could sharpen their chisels. The urban forests of Rio de Janeiro were the main sources of wood that was to be converted into charcoal, and we discuss here the processes of resource appropriation using the concept of social metabolism – which connects the city and the forest based on energetic demands supplied by that charcoal.

Within this general view, the present chapter examines the historical processes related to human presence in the ecosystems now contained within the city of Rio de Janeiro, and evaluates the importance of the historical appropriation and modification of that landscape.

2. Social metabolism: The interface between society and nature

Analogies and metaphors of natural and social organisms help us to better understand how nature and society are related. Fischer-Kowalski (1998) used the term social-economic metabolism to describe the material and energy fluxes between society and nature. In biology, metabolism implies the sum of all the chemical processes that occur within a living organism, including growth, energy production, useful work, locomotion, reproduction, and excretion. The analogy with social systems is therefore appropriate in terms of the reproduction of human populations as well as economic production and consumer processes that require fluxes of material and energy. According to this author, these processes are subject to the laws of thermodynamics and other physical limitations, including the availability of space.

For Toledo & Molina (2007), the metabolism of society and nature constitute the way in which human societies produce (and reproduce) the material conditions necessary for their existence. Human beings organized into societies (and independent of their particular spatial/temporal situations) appropriate, distribute, transform, consume, and excrete materials and energy coming from the natural world. These authors proposed the study of social metabolism based on five processes: appropriation, transformation, distribution, consumption, and excretion. Appropriation constitutes the specific concrete moment in which humans interact with nature through work and it represents the ecological dimension of the production process itself. This represents the internalization or assimilation of natural resources by the social organism (Toledo & Molina, 2007) and these operations have real effects on nature (Molina, 2010), as they occur in conformity with the biological and physical laws that direct natural systems.

As such, and from an ecological point of view, fluxes of material and energy within systems (whether natural or anthropogenic) follow the laws of thermodynamics. According to the first law of thermodynamics, energy can neither be created nor destroyed, only transformed. From this follows the second law, in which each energetic transformation suffers losses in the form of heat (entropy). Entropy is a measure of dissipated energy that is no longer available for work (Odum, 1988). As a consequence of these two laws, energy flow is unidirectional and there must be a continual input of energy into this ecosystem, a flow that originates from solar energy.

The metabolism of a society is likewise subject to the principles of thermodynamics in terms of social exchanges. A relevant point in the understanding of social metabolism is the association of the laws of thermodynamics with the question of physical space. The first law of thermodynamics is essentially an affirmation of the principle of energy conservation in thermodynamics systems (Fermi, 1956). The second law of thermodynamics can be understood in terms of the degradation of energy within the system - no energetic transformations can occur without a loss of energy in the form of heat (entropy). Entropy grows as the numbers of possible trajectories resulting from the increasing complexity of the system (Herscovici, 2005). The metabolism of a society incorporates the principles of

thermodynamics for social exchanges. Energy and material are transformed, disassembling and reorganizing for other uses, articulating themselves in what are called ecological pyramids.

Ecology uses the concepts of biomass, energy, and nutrient pyramids to express the changes at the different stages of energy transformation. The accommodation of a trophic web in an ecological pyramid also presupposes spatial relationships between each of its levels – as a function of heat loss that occurs at each stage of energy transformation. A practical example would be an area of 40,000 m² that can produce a given quantity of rice (representing the producer level of the pyramids) sufficient to feed 24 people (primary consumers) during one year. If this same area were used for animal pasture (primary consumers) the quantity of meat produced could feed only a single person during a year (secondary consumer) (Sariego, 2002). Therefore one must be aware of the fact that fluxes of material and energy have territorial costs (Casado & Molina, 2007). In the same way, human labor must be considered an integral part of the metabolism of a social group or of an economic activity. Although physical work can be considerably reduced by way of technological artifacts, the interactions of these fluxes continue to be biophysical processes and therefore subject to the laws of thermodynamics (Winiwarter, 2010).

The concept of social metabolism therefore seeks to analyze a given production system and its conjunction at a given historical moment with social, ecological, and physical dimensions.

3. The city of Rio de Janeiro in the 19th and 20th century and its energetic demands

Until the beginning of the 19th century, the Tijuca and Pedra Branca Massifs near the city of Rio de Janeiro were largely used to produce sugarcane and for extracting lumber and firewood. In the 18th century, coffee began to be planted on the Tijuca Massif (and on a lesser scale on Pedra Branca Massif). Starting in 1860, the government began efforts to recuperate water sources on the Tijuca Massif, and at about this same time charcoal production began to increase on the Pedra Branca Massif (Table 1).

Massif	Century		
	XVII	XVIII	XIX / XX
Tijuca	Wood, firewood, sugarcane	Wood, firewood, and principally coffee	Water supply for the city
Pedra Branca	Wood, firewood, sugarcane	Wood, firewood, sugarcane	Sugarcane, firewood and charcoal

Table 1. Principal economic uses of Tijuca and Pedra Branca massifs near the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The forests of the Pedra Branca Massif have furnished firewood to sugar mills since the 17th century. Firewood was fundamental to the functioning of these mills during the colonial period (Engemann et al., 2005), and to have an idea of the impact of the sugar industry on the Atlantic Forest one must consider that the Capitania of Rio de Janeiro alone had 131 sugarcane mills functioning at the beginning of the 18th century (Abreu, 2010).

The evolution of the city of Rio de Janeiro and its urban forest from the point of view of charcoal production requires the examination of the energetic and material needs of that society. The functioning of the city was largely dependent on charcoal as an energy source. It was the principal energy matrix of the time and was used: a) to prepare foods (as well as for ironing clothes); b) for transportation, as the city was being paved at that time and large numbers of mules and work horses were being used, and their horseshoes were made in small blacksmiths shops scattered around the city. Also, starting in 1858, railroads were being built and their locomotives were largely fueled by charcoal; c) in industry (principally glass and textiles in the 19th century); d) for the production of tools and utensils; e) in smelting, in the process of direct reduction of iron ore (removal of oxygen); and f) in civil construction (possibly one of the most significant uses, as all stone masonry involved tempering and sharpening iron tools). Thus large amounts of charcoal were used in Rio de Janeiro at this time, and its production greatly influenced the evolution of the material dialectic between the city and the forest.

4. The social invisibility of the charcoal workers

Who were the people who made charcoal? What made this rather marginal activity (in relation to the central economy) expand so greatly at that time? It should be first pointed out that this was a portion of human population that was largely socially invisible. In a society that still retained a slave mentality (even after the abolition of slavery), manual work was considered degrading and only the poor could not avoid it. With the exception of Magalhães Corrêa (1933), who made a point of describing the lives of charcoal workers in his book, they were practically forgotten by the writers of their time. Some expressions still used today in Portuguese demonstrate the bias that existed against these men. If you wanted to say, for example, that someone had dirty hands, you would say that they had "charcoal maker's hands". But we can go even further: this social invisibility was based on profoundly prejudiced ideas and associations; the color of the workers (largely blacks), the dirty nature of their work and the remote locations where these people worked - also attributed to their race.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the non-slave population was compressed between two extremes on the social scale - slave owners and slaves - and they had only marginal and uncertain occupations (or no occupations at all), thus drifting, residual social group that orbited around organized society (Becker & Egler, 1998). Thus work, a necessary condition for survival, was guided by social demands. Heavy industry was only beginning in the mid-19th century, and even when extensive industrialization had taken hold, there was a lack of qualified labor and internal commerce showed it to be a plausible source of income.

However, this social invisibility was a two-way street, principally as it refers to the forests of Rio de Janeiro. On one side, society did not recognize these slaves' and former slaves' rights to citizenship. On the other hand, this marginalized group had the ability to escape to safe havens within the forest in times of conflict or abuse at the sugar plantations. The exploitative nature of slavery is most apparent in its system of rewards and frequent punishments (Fogel & Engerman, 1979). In times of heavy punishment or conflict, many slaves escaped and formed small fugitive communities (*quilombos*), generally settling in the forests (Gomes, 2005). They then became small scale subsistence farmers who would also

trade goods with white society. The mountains surrounding Rio de Janeiro supported the establishment of these *quilombo* communities. Today, ruins of *quilombo* settlements, homes and charcoal producing sites can be found in the middle of the urban forests still covering those hills as seen in figure 2.



Fig. 2. *Quilombo* ruin (possibly a home foundation) found within the forest of the Pedra Branca Massif.

It is very possible that charcoal production was the work of newly freed slaves or small planters, and was not actually an integral part of the sugar mill productive system. Even before the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 the slaves took little part in productive activities. With abolition, the blacks came to constitute a large contingent of unemployed workers, without sufficient resources for their own survival. As such, charcoal production allowed for certain independence. This makes sense. In the 19th century the materials required for charcoal production were minimal – just an axe, a hoe and a rake. They used baskets made of bamboo and vines as can be seen in the painting by Debret made in 1827 (figure 3). References to cloth sacks were only made much later, in the 1920s (Corrêa, 1933).



Fig. 3. Charcoal sellers, by Jean Bapiste Debret (1827).

5. Metabolic processes involved in charcoal production

5.1 Appropriation and transformation of forest resources

Appropriation is a process by which members of a society appropriate and transform ecosystems to satisfy their necessities and desires. In addition, it refers to the concrete and specific moment in which humans articulate themselves with nature through work; it therefore constitutes the first step in the general process of social metabolism (Toledo & Molina, 2010). As such, the manner which this appropriation is performed, exactly how the natural elements are extracted from nature, will determine the effects of those actions on nature. This is the material basis of all social production. The quantification of the appropriation of forest resources reflects, in turn, not only the demands of society for certain resources but also the economic necessities of the appropriation unit (in this case, the charcoal workers)¹.

¹ *Sensu* Toledo & Molina (2007). The appropriation units (P) operate as resource transformers, converting basic resources into socially consumable energy fluxes. They can be businesses, cooperatives, families, a community, or just one individual.

Historically, wood has always been used as a primary energy source for human necessities. Its transformation into charcoal increases its caloric value while reducing its mass, making transport over long distances relatively easy. Unlike coal, charcoal can be produced locally and its production costs are almost negligible, consisting exclusively of the labor invested in its fabrication (Olson, 1991).

Charcoal production was undertaken in the forest itself by way of a primitive process of distillation of the firewood. The construction of a charcoal kiln required cleaning and leveling a piece of ground using just a hoe, and slightly altering the local landscape (figure 4). This appropriation of forest resources by the charcoal makers was an extremely simple process, even considering the technology of the time. A small oval plateau (35 - 50 m²) would be cleared and leveled at a chosen spot on the forest slope using a hoe (Oliveira et al. 2012). The wood used was not selected according to species, and any tree was considered appropriate (Corrêa, 1933).



Fig. 4. Scheme of a charcoal kiln, showing the cut into the hillside.

After leveling small plateaus, the firewood was piled up in the form of a large cone, with the vertex composed of smaller pieces of wood (figures 5 and 6). The cone was then covered by leaves and a layer of humid soil (about 30 cm thick) leaving only a central chimney as well as some lateral orifices to allow the smoke to exit. The numbers of lateral openings could be increased or decreased to control the combustion rate. The burning process could last several days, and the charcoal makers would have to be present both day and night to avoid rapid combustion (which would result in the loss of all the charcoal) (Corrêa, 1933).

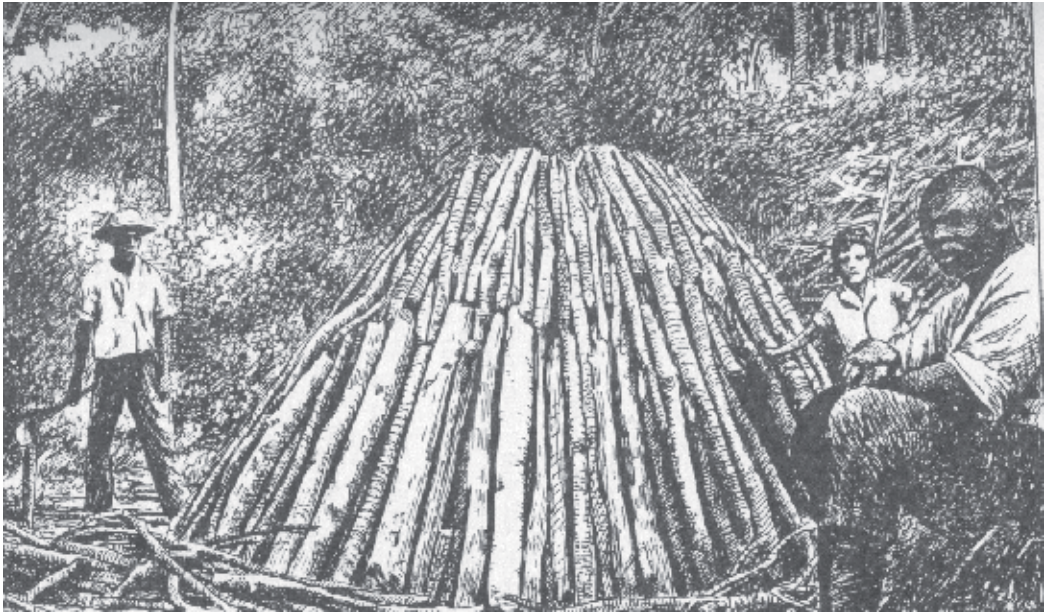


Fig. 5. Constructing a charcoal kiln (Magalhães Corrêa, 1933).



Fig. 6. A 19th-century charcoal kiln in the slope of Pedra Branca massif.

The use of these resources was studied during field work by the authors in a forested area of about 400 hectares located on the slopes of the Pedra Branca Massif (between 20 and 600 m a.s.l.). We searched the area for vestiges of earlier charcoal fabrication in the form of kiln plateaus, alterations in the local flora, the presence of exotic plant species, archaeological objects, etc. We used our experience as ecologists to identify these remains in the region, and approximately 50% of the total area was covered. The searches for these vestiges had many limitations, however, such as the accentuated declivity of certain sites, dense vegetation, and the physical limitations of attempting to survey a large area. As such, the true number of the vestiges of these activities must be significantly greater.

Fully 150 years after clearing, the forests have returned but still contain historical records that can aid our understanding of the relationships of the charcoal makers with their environment. Vestiges left in the forest help us to decipher the logic behind the exploration of these resources. The remnant signs of the charcoal makers were not regularly distributed along the forest slopes. Localities with talus deposits (large blocks of fallen rocks covering large areas of the forest floor) showed few signs of past charcoal-making activities. This was probably due to two factors: a) the difficulty that the workers would have had in transporting logs along those slopes, and b) the impossibility of constructing plateaus on

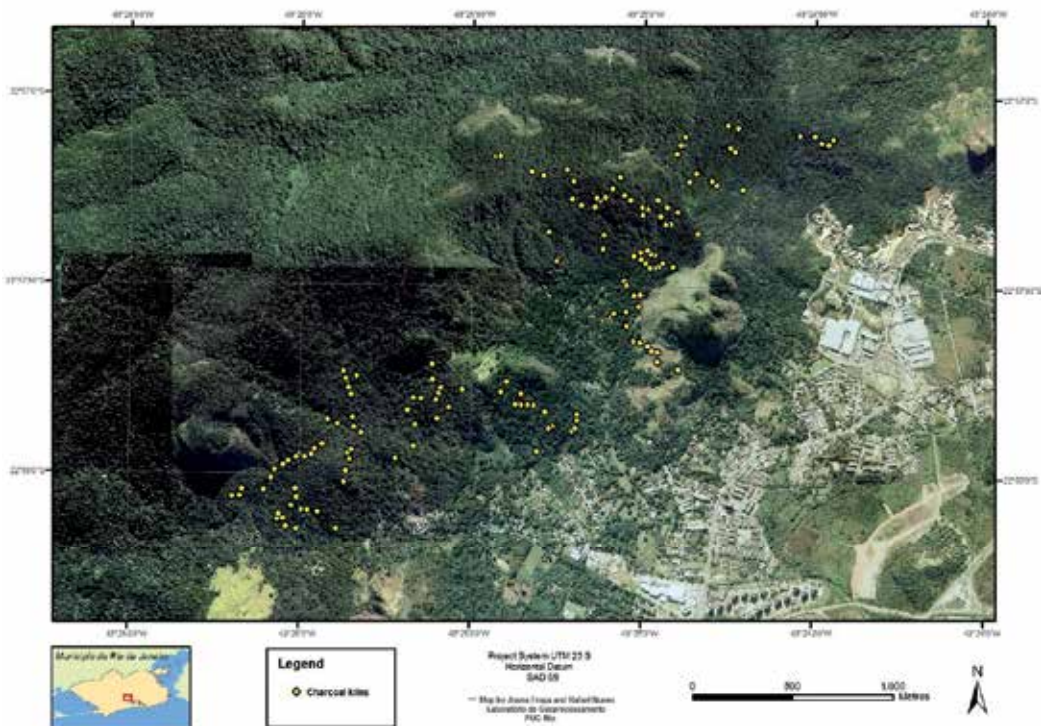


Fig. 7. Localization of sites of charcoal-kilns remnants (in yellow) on the southern slopes of the Pedra Branca Massif, Rio de Janeiro.

these blocks of fallen stones. 168 abandoned charcoal kilns were identified during the fieldwork, and were located as in figure 7. But there must have a much greater number of vestiges in the forest. However we could not find out them due to the terrain's difficulties. Our fieldwork indicated that the Pedra Branca Massif had been intensely occupied and used from the 19th century until the middle of the 20th century. It would be extremely difficult to evaluate the dates of each charcoal producing site, but most of them showed evidence of intense incorporation of carbon fragments throughout the soil profile, which suggests they are quite old - dating at least to the beginning of the 19th century.

5.2 Distribution and consumption of the goods produced

The processes involved in the distribution of goods initiate when an appropriation unit stops producing everything it consumes and consuming everything that it produces - leading to economic exchange (Toledo & Molina, 2007). Different historical times had specific consumption demands, as well as different technical possibilities and resources for their production. What is produced and how it is produced follow from those factors (time, demand, and technical ability). As such, an historical-cultural context is fundamental to understanding the processes involved in each of these systems.



Fig. 8. Charcoal transportation in the mountains of Rio de Janeiro with the use of mules (by Jean Baptiste Debret, 1827).

Charcoal was distributed over relatively short distances, and involved transport by mules in the mountainous parts of the route, basically from the Pedra Branca Massif to the city center (about 40 km) where it was sold (Fig. 8). According to Corrêa (1933), charcoal was transported from the forest to the city principally by mule trains, and later by trucks.

The charcoal was destined for different appropriation units, from household stoves to growing industries. At that time, there was no electrical energy or petroleum (for energetic consumption), and charcoal was a highly sought after energy source, as can be seen below.

Consumption	Destination of the charcoal	Relative volume of the required charcoal
Domestic	Stoves, ovens, and irons	low
Transport	Locomotive fuel	medium
Manufacturing	Four shoes, axes backspace, hoes, diverse utensils (chains, wheels, hinges, etc.)	high
Industry	Industries (textile, gunpowder, glass, etc.)	high
Metallurgy	Direct reduction of iron ore (removing oxygen)	high
Civil construction	Sharpening masonry tools	very high

Table 2. Consumption of charcoal in Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century

It is very probable that civil construction was one of the largest charcoal consumers (especially by stonemasons). Whenever stone work was done, it was necessary to sharpen the chisels and other cutting tools used. In constructing a meter of doorframe (as can be seen in figure 9) a mason would need approximately 30 chisels. When blunted, they could not be sharpened on a sharpening stone (or they would lose their temper) and would have to be heated in a forge and reshaped on an anvil. Forges using charcoal multiplied throughout the city with the exponential growth of civil construction at the turn of the 19th century.

The production of charcoal, from its appropriation to final consumption, follows the second law of thermodynamics. In its transformation by way of oxygen-limited combustion there is reduction of the mass of the material (firewood) but with an energetic increase (charcoal). The change in the form of this energy (from that contained within a living tree in the form of cellulose to that of charcoal) is induced by heating (oxygen deprived combustion), and the caloric content of charcoal per unit of weight is almost three times greater than that of firewood. The energy contained in the biomass of one hectare of standing forest is much less concentrated than that of the charcoal that the same hectare furnished. That is, the forest represents a diffuse energy source, while charcoal represents concentrated energy.



Fig. 9. Detail of a doorframe constructed in the 17th century in Rio de Janeiro.

6. Social metabolism and cultural landscapes

Together with Historical Ecology, the study of social metabolism helps to understand the interactions through time between societies and environments and the consequences of these interactions for understanding the formation of contemporary and past cultures and landscapes (Balée, 2006).

The growth of Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century depended on this "food" source, just as a living organism needs to feed in order to generate energy for its development. Material was transformed into energy to supply social demands "from the most humble dwelling to the most important industry" (Corrêa, 1933). These demands drove the relationships between society and the natural environment around it, and nature was viewed at that time essentially as a source of basic resources.

This relationship contributed to the production of the culturally modified landscape of Rio de Janeiro, transitioning from a highly urbanized central area to forests at the urban edge, many kilometers from the city center. The connections between the city and the forest were dominated by the energy paradigm utilized. Although the forest has

functionally recuperated through ecological succession since the abandonment of these activities, it still retains the marks of this history in the alterations of its flora, in the cycling of nutrients, etc.

As urban growth was based on energy derived from charcoal, forests had to be cut to supply this demand. However, the process of transforming of this material (forest biomass) into useful energy for the city did not prevent the forest from eventually recuperating, and it has not been used to supply energy for the city for at least 60 years. This area is currently part of the Pedra Branca State Park (created in 1974) and now supplies what are called "ecological services" – which Toledo & Molina (2007) likewise consider a type of appropriation. These services include: climatic regulation, leisure, education, scientific investigation, among others.

The technical evolution of transportation systems, new sources of energy (principally fossil fuels) and a changing view of nature allowed the emergence of another cultural landscape configuration. These forests were able to recuperate (through ecological succession) because of social and technical advances and political and economic decisions regarding land-use (which were influenced, in turn, by evolving national and international political structures).

Pádua (2010) observed that the biophysical, social, and cultural spheres are always present, and that "in these different cases they are open systems that become modified as history progresses. The components of these interactions – all of which are relevant, even though at different levels – construct, destroy, and reconstruct in numerous material and cultural forms".

The Pedra Branca Massif forest, as a resource exploited in the 19th and 20th centuries, was integrated into the processes of social metabolism. As such it was subject to the laws of thermodynamics and was incorporated into what are called ecological pyramids, with solar energy being fixed by the plant community through photosynthesis, and later undergoing a concentration of energy by changing form (woody material to charcoal).

The same tendency of concentration is also seen at the landscape level, especially considering the cultural landscape (Harberl et al. 2006). In order for the city to attain elevated population levels it was necessary (among other factors) to concentrate its energy sources. This could only occur with the availability of extensive territorial areas where energy was held by large standing forests. Consequently, the population that exploited these resources (the charcoal makers themselves) were necessarily distributed throughout the area to exploit those dispersed resources². The pattern of territorial occupation by the charcoal makers demonstrated this tendency of dispersal within the forest, and reflected difference between the spatial dimensions of the forest and the city – with the former, as a provider of energetic resources, covering an area considerably larger than the latter.

This situation implies, however, an increase in entropy according to the second law of thermodynamics. That is, when more work is expended, more energy is lost, and a large quantity of this energy is lost as heat and is not available for productive processes.

² We encountered the ruins of the homes of 33 charcoal makers in the Pedra Branca mountains.

Entropy is a complex subject and, as Georgescu-Roegen (2004) noted, it isn't easily understood even by physicists themselves. Its importance as a physical law can be seen if we consider the growing complexity of our modern system and, principally our current sources of (nonrenewable) energy. The consideration of this concept in studies concerning the appropriation of ecosystems may aid our understanding of the consequences of increasing this entropy. The fluxes of material and energy in contemporary society are becoming increasingly complex, which implies that their repercussions will likewise be complex.

A final point to highlight in relation to landscape formation: charcoal exploitation in the 19th and 20th centuries did not cause permanent deforestation, only the extensive formation of secondary forests. Of the 168 charcoal pits discovered, only 5 (2.3%) were located in open areas (grassland or pasture). The other 97.7% were found deep within the forested hillsides in various stages of ecological succession. It appears that the most significant ecological consequence was a possible reduction in biodiversity; however biomass was left relatively unchanged.

7. Final considerations

The historical character of a landscape will constitute a significant factor in its evolution, which obliges us to reflect on how these fluxes take place today – as the present represents the past of the future. As such, we will need to better understand the impacts our collective actions have on our natural resources, and consequently on future survival space – ours and all living creatures.

In regards to the social metabolism of the energetic demands city of Rio de Janeiro during the 19th and 20th centuries, the use of firewood to produce charcoal did not apparently resulted in significant permanent negative effects. This was due to a number of factors that modified society over time, such as the appearance of new energy sources, technological advances, evolving cultural views of nature, and the possibility of extending the distances over which consumer goods could be acquired. These factors permitted the regeneration of the forests and also produced the highly complex city of Rio de Janeiro. What is the price, however, that the areas that furnish resources to the city of Rio de Janeiro pay today in terms of their social ecological systems so that the city can maintain its standing forests?

A final consideration should be made in relation to the historical character of the socio-ecological systems. Temporal considerations retain significant relevance in the evolution of these systems, which raises the question of the differences between human and social time scales and the time scales of ecosystems in regards to change. The acceleration of fluxes and the compression of space and time by contemporary society impose a rhythm on it that is very different from the rhythms of natural laws. This acceleration places growing pressure on ecological systems by causing them to function at paces that makes it impossible for them to fully regenerate – and raises the question of how long can they last? Evolving technologies may optimize this relationship, but we cannot evade natural and physical laws.

Finally, it is important to consider the social contexts in which different time periods determine their own paradigms, and what will be the consequences for the ecosystem (and therefore society). The formation of cultural landscapes involves co-evolutive dynamics and co-dependence among social and natural systems. These systems communicate and mutually influence each other in both symbolic and material spheres. The city of Rio de Janeiro is therefore inseparable from its forest, be it by direct exploitation of its resources, or by its "ecological services". This demonstrates the existence of a "forest - culture" that coexists without opposition to "forest -nature".

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Which Interdisciplinarity? Anthropologists, Architects and the City

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1. Introduction

The past three decades have seen an epistemological crisis in the intellectual disciplines dealing with urban planning. The terms of this crisis are expressed in the progressively greater distance between the cities' creators and their inhabitants. The political, economic and cultural perspectives employed up to now have shown themselves increasingly incapable of grasping the ways in which cities are changing and their inhabitants are adapting to and reinterpreting these urban transformations.

In search of new methodologies and analytical tools capable of decoding smaller-scale contexts, the disciplines involved with urban studies have attempted to initiate a dialogue, in which each discipline would benefit from the experiences of the others, and to experiment with more integrated approaches. However, to this point studies have tended to be interdisciplinary only formally, due to an academic system which is structurally endogamic and resistant to the creation of interdisciplinary programs of study¹, and due to the lack of convergence and communication among the various disciplines, which results in each discipline appropriating fragmentary pieces of the other disciplines' knowledge, without sharing experiences and the results of research.

Taking as a starting point my own research with the Department of History, Culture and Religion at the Sapienza University of Rome, this paper will attempt to detail what role anthropology might have in the field of urban studies, a field still in the process of being defined.

2. Anthropology, the city, and interdisciplinarity: A tale of two delays

In 2002 the Italian university system underwent a profound transformation. In that year the "Berlinguer Reform" (named for the minister who proposed it) came into force. This reform was a part of a larger process of redefining the university which has been undertaken over

¹ In 2008, in Rome, there was an attempt to create an interdisciplinary degree program, known as Asprot, among the departments of Architecture, Political Science and Sociology. After two years, the concentration ceased to exist, having been disintegrated by the centrifugal forces of the needs of the individual disciplines involved, which proved incapable of creating an integrated system among themselves.

the past 15 years in all of Europe. The intentions of European ministers of Higher Education were that the restructuring (and unifying) of university systems would promote the creation of a European identity which would transcend national borders.

Instead of a community based on the model of nation-states, Europe was to be configured as a shared space, a common narrative horizon, a metadiscourse, not only for those affected by the reform, but for the institutions themselves. The new Europe was to be constructed through the “Europe of Knowledge”, and this was to be accomplished through university reform.

In Italy, the introduction of university reform could have had dramatic effects on the academic system: in the organization of relations between teachers (given managerial duties and asked to reorganize professorships which were isolated inside the system of degree programs); in the redefinition of relations between teachers and students; in the creation of new dialogues between disciplines, in the rethinking of education itself, informed by the opening of the various academic disciplines to the world of work; in the revision of consolidated hierarchies between basic and applied research.

For anthropology, the opportunity arose to close the seemingly unbridgeable gap dividing it from sociology inside the field of the social sciences. For the first time it was possible to earn a degree in anthropology. And this new possibility was interpreted as the opportunity to bridge the gap with sociology, which even had its own department.

In the words of Alessandro Lupo, then president of the newborn BA in Theory and Practice of Anthropology, “The fact that there were entire departments of sociology, while anthropology was an invisible discipline hidden among other departments, represented a situation of imbalance. With the transition to the New Order, we seized the opportunity to correct a seeming imbalance between two sister disciplines, both of them born from the ribs of Durkheim.” These words echo those written by Professor Alberto Sobrero in the first guide for students in the new degree program:

It has been almost 150 years since the first professorships in anthropology were created in Italy, but only this year, with the university reform, was it possible to offer a degree in our disciplines. It is the first year of the new order, but we certainly are not starting from zero. The history of our Department of Humanities and Philosophy can boast of an important tradition in this field. Many of us were trained -- and in some cases began to work -- which those from our University who have contributed to the growth of our disciplines: Vinigi Grottanelli, Diego Carpitella, Tullio Tentori, Alberto Cirese, Bernardo Bernardi, Vittorio Lanternari, Giorgio Cardona, Italo Signorini. We owe them many things, and above all we owe them the passion for research and teaching which does not change with changes in disciplines’ addresses and perspectives.

Rather than reflecting on the elements of discontinuity introduced by the reform, this text highlighted continuity with the past. The new degree program was located in the tracks of tradition, with respect to its links with the history of the Department of Humanities and Philosophy, with respect to the professors who had succeeded one another (and who had created the history of anthropology in Rome and in Italy as a whole), with respect to the figure of the anthropologist, who, now as before, despite changes in disciplinary addresses and perspectives, is located in the coordinates of pure research and academic teaching.

Sobrero was presenting the new degree program to the students, and, in doing so, he was reconstructing the context in which the passage to the New Order came to maturity, including as regarded the anthropological tradition of the Sapienza. The BA was seen as a process of gradual immersion in the world of anthropology: it began with the study of the history of the discipline and an introduction to its theoretical and methodological tools, and continued with study of the problems and questions presented by the various areas and fields of interest, finally presenting, in the last year of the program, the contexts in which anthropologists could work². There was no reference to the other branches of knowledge which students would have encountered during the BA, to the different configurations which anthropology would take on, to the insights of the other disciplines which they would have to study. Although it is true that the Department offered modules of “history, geography, literary and linguistic matters” in an intentionally created path of study which had anthropology at its center, this was not intended systemically, as a place inside which the degree program would interact with other degree programs, as a space for interconnection, as an instrument which would permit the interaction of degree programs, rather than as a container of modules and a central node of university life. In contemplating the changes which the university reform had introduced, there was no space for an interdisciplinary didactic, despite the intentions underlying the new system. It seemed that in the background lurked an autarchic view of the degree program, seen as an independent and self-sufficient entity. Beginning with the particular areas of interest of each professor, the program attempted to present its students with the most ample and exhaustive view of anthropological studies, in a mix containing both disciplinary history and individual research.

Instead of projecting itself toward the outside, beyond the narrow confines of the discipline, instead of paying attention to relationships with other disciplines and with the world of work, and to the spaces which the anthropological field could find in the world of work, the program perpetuated the idea of a university as a closed and self-referential world, founded on the system of professorships, and on the academically filial relationship of teacher and student.

Thought proceeded more along endogamic lines (training of future anthropologists) than along exogamic ones (expand the discipline into new areas, and open it to new teachings). And this logic was rendered extrinsic by the placement of professors within the same degree program rather than in various degree programs. The logic of distinction had prevailed (as viewed against the background of a them in a broader autarchic context, no one looking to the outside). Even in cases of interaction with professors from other disciplines, there was no real synergy in the creation of programs of study. There was no attempt to bring anthropology into the other degree programs, to create a network of mutual exchange, structured as a ramified web of relationships.

² Almost all of the professors were required to have two 4ECTS modules, thus following them model of the semester courses in the former system. There were foundation courses i (history of the discipline, theory and methodology), area studies courses (Ethnology of the Mediterranean, Ethnology of America, Anthropology in Italy, Mesomerica), and courses on themes (such as the study of consumption, of cities, of institutional logics and of the creation of identities), which were particularly well-sutied to ethnographic approaches and anthropological reflection.

The three-year degree programs could have been an opportunity for an interdisciplinary pedagogy which would have identified paths of study (such as the study of cities, for example), in which every discipline could offer its own point of view, its own theory and methodology. In this way, the fragmentation of the old professorships into a proliferation of individual courses could have provided new educational stimuli, placing at the heart of each course, not a particular aspect of the history of the discipline or the anthropological tradition, but instead a theme to be reflected on from various perspectives. A BA, then, focusing on creation of workshops or laboratories, rather than on exclusive transmission of disciplinary knowledge, attempting to combine instruction focused on the transmission of skills immediately useful in the world of work and recognizable to the graduates themselves, with instruction focused on the transmission of knowledge of profound sophistication, like that of anthropology. In the words of Alessandro Simonicca, a professor of cultural anthropology in Rome:

On the institutional level, this amounts to understanding whether it would be more rigorous to reconstruct university communities of teachers and learners, in the medieval manner, or instead to concentrate education on a common base from which graduates could then continue in various directions and along diverse paths.³

In other words, should the universities have continued to reiterate their scholastic tradition, which holds its graduates bound to it in the teacher-student relationship, or offer its students theoretical and methodological skills which could be employed in the world of work?

With the introduction of the reform, every degree program was required to indicate educational objectives, professional capabilities it intended to transmit, and professional opportunities which it would be capable of providing. The combination of these professional capabilities, professional opportunities and education objectives laid out the territory of the degree program, defined by its teaching spaces (the university and locations participating in the Erasmus and Socrates exchanges), by the spaces in which anthropology could be applied (schools, entities and associations dealing with social marginalization, museums, institutions, and NGOs, with which internship arrangements were made), and by the spaces of research (areas and fields in which individual professors had expertise, ethnologic missions and new fields for research, cultural exchange arrangements, etc.) On paper, the degree program offered a network of possibilities which students could take advantage of. The internships constituted a window on professional environments; the Erasmus projects offered the possibility of exploring different anthropological contexts, and the open research missions offered programs in which it was possible to develop one's own specialized path of study.

The development of educational internships represented an opportunity to experiment with interdisciplinarity. As Alessandro Simonicca, the ex-coordinator of internships for the BA in Theory and Practice of Anthropology puts it:

When I arrived in Rome, I was asked to define the field of university internships and I began to imagine a map of the urban environment in which the intercultural or multicultural

³ Simonicca, A (2006), *Quindici anni dopo*, www.antropologie.it.

dimension would be evident. One must roll up one's sleeves, I was told, because, in contrast with the strong interest in the "traditional" provincial and regional zones, the Capital did not seem like such a pleasure to the anthropologists. Translated in other terms, it meant studying modernity. And what object was more nearby than the city? (...) To map the anthropological spaces of the Capital...an interesting project, but with what criteria?

The planning of practical internships with agencies, museums, institutions, NGOs, hospitals and former asylums, represented a challenge for Italian anthropology to confront an anthropology of home (rather than an anthropology at home), and an environment which associated anthropology with images of the exotic, the primitive and the bizarre. Instead, in the creation of programs of study, the spaces set aside for interdisciplinarity, and for the extra-academic and publically useful dimensions of the discipline, the idea of an education which would involve more frequent instances of practical research exercises and reflexive methods⁴, to be encouraged in class, beginning with an analysis of familial contexts and networks of friendship (Coleman, Simpson, 2004), with exceptions made for sensitivity and personal and isolated interests, were marginalized relative to the canonical courses on ethnology, history of anthropology, and area studies.

In this way the idea was perpetuated which associates the anthropologist and field research with the Malinowskian archetype⁵, who - as Gupta and Ferguson (1997) write - departs alone and goes to a small, far-off place, lays groundwork and goes into depth in an idealized form of field work, through which the anthropologist becomes an expert on a particular geographical area or on a particular, inherently anthropological, object of study. These two aspects are often strongly correlated: if cultural difference is localized in precise geographic areas (a tight link between space and cultural identity), then the only way the anthropologist can understand cultural differences is to travel. This view, according to Gupta and Ferguson, has contributed to the diffusion of an idea of culture which is tightly linked to space, whether in reference to ethnic categories (e.g. the Kurds), religious categories (e.g. the Islamic world), linguistic categories (the Bantu) racial categories (black Africa), or to specific categories which arise from the study of a certain area (as in the case of the honor/shame syndrome in the ethnology of the Mediterranean). To these categories are attached subfields linked to a geographic area: the field of economic anthropology has been linked to

⁴ Reflexivity here does not mean a private act or a mere exercise of consciousness (Strathern, 1987) but instead an exercise of continual self-contextualization, of negotiation of one's position, in order to interpret the logics underlying the contexts and the conditions in which one works. As the British anthropologist Susan Wright puts it (2004: 40): "It was this kind of 'political reflexivity' that I sought to engender in my students. By this I mean an ability to analyse daily encounters, their reactions to them, and signs of how other actors seemed to expect them to act, in order to uncover the detailed ways in which boundaries, hierarchies and power relations operated in the institution in which their learning was taking place. I aimed for them to perceive how they were positioned within the daily processes of this institution, and for them to be able to use this knowledge actively: if this positioning was constraining their ability to learn, how could they use their knowledge to negotiate a more conducive environment?"

⁵ Photographs of Malinowski have provided a visual image of what is understood as ethnographic work; they have become prototypes of research, used to establish a central idea of the field on which to judge its variants. In comparison with this example, various ethnographies appear as less "real" field work (Weston, 1997). The photographs of Malinowski, dominant mental images in research, reveal how the disciplinary community makes use of field work.

Melanesia, while religious anthropology has been linked to India, and political anthropology is the territory of the Africanists⁶. Those who intend to specialize in one of these subdisciplines know where they must go to do research. In anthropology the field – how it is chosen, how it is organized, what forces are at play – has generally been taken as a given, with little consideration of how one area is chosen rather than another, what place is chosen rather than another, and what factors (personal, professional, disciplinary) have informed that choice. And though ethnography has been the subject of much debate in recent times, «it remains evident that what many would deny in theory continues to be true in practice: some places are much more ‘anthropological’ than others.» (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 13): Africa more than Europe, southern Europe more than northern Europe, villages more than cities. And when anthropologists undertake research in locations unusual for anthropology, they are confronted with the other disciplines which already occupy those territories (as in the study of a city), and must overcome resistance from their disciplinary community («*How anthropological is your research?*») is one of the most frequent questions in these cases) and from themselves, as they are often tied to nostalgic ideas whom which anthropology has not yet managed to free itself⁷ (Pandolfi 2001).

Urban anthropology has suffered from this way of understanding the field of ethnography. It has found itself having to pay for its own low profile among the branches of anthropological study, and, consequently, in the academic system as a whole. It is not by chance that thirty or forty years after the first anthropological studies on the city, its ideas are still vague, so much so that in the *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, (Ed. David Levinson and Melvin Ember, 1996), under the entry *Urban Anthropology* is found the following definition: «At the simplest level urban anthropology is what urban anthropologists do.» As Sobrero (2011) writes: «it should be no surprise, then, that anthropologists know, or believe they know, what they are doing and trying to do in African and Indonesian villages» while the study of urban environments arouses relatively little interest.

When it has studied *home*, anthropology has used categories from other fields, depending sometimes on *political* and sometimes on *socioeconomic* studies. And, ignoring the fact that cities are inherently interdisciplinary, and that many disciplines concern themselves with cities, rather than engaging in dialogue with the other scholarly disciplines which study cities, anthropologists have chosen to reinforce their own boundaries, claiming for themselves the specificity of the ethnographic method and of fieldwork (Clifford 1997) and of an almost exclusive relationship with their own research territory⁸. When we do urban

⁶ On the topic of political anthropology, Abélès (2001) asserts that the study of politics has coincided with investigation of sociopolitical forms which are highly delimited in space (the far-off) and time (the archaic). Anthropology has thus privileged the pre-state, making the anthropologist, in the most extreme version, the bard of the “society against the state.” What could have been a favorable condition, allowing study of the state as rational agency (or system), has over time become a trap, tying anthropology to the study of “primitive” societies, of originary politics, and delegating to political science and sociology the study of western and modern states.

⁷ «Anthropologists are prisoners of their roots, and although anthropology has been in a certain sense an emancipatory discipline, which has helped us to move beyond the initial colonial view of non-western societies, which were characterized as ‘primitive’ there remains a dangerous nostalgia for that world, which today is profoundly different, or no longer exists» (Pandolfi 2001: 14).

⁸ The controlling model even now is that of the clear field of work, almost like the land of a peasant or an archaeological site, which involves a departure, an arrival, an intensive and lengthy residence, a

anthropology, on the other hand, we cannot claim any exclusive right to a theme or a territory, because cities are the object of study by many other disciplines, in comparison to which anthropology does not necessarily enjoy prominence (on the contrary). With the choice to conduct research on an ordinary context, not exotic, not isolated, the thematization of the concept of ethnography becomes an inescapable question. Indeed the definition of field work involves a mode of self-representation, of self-positioning relative to other disciplines, of understanding the evolution and the new contours of anthropology⁹. The urban anthropologist must contend with a situation in which his territory is effectively shared with others. It is not a matter of moving in a cloistered space but instead of turning one's glance on a place, the city, which is by definition a communal space. Once we have come to terms with the fact that we are part of this necessarily interdisciplinary field, we must ask ourselves what anthropology can do, and say, in the context of urban studies, and above all where anthropology is located inside this field, that is, what is its position in relation to that of the other disciplines. Those other disciplines should also ask themselves the same questions, all seeking to define their areas of interest and the questions on which they can provide the most pertinent or original contributions. If we wish to understand where we are located inside the field of urban studies and what we can offer to the study of cities, we clearly must read and study the works of others, or at least be aware of the work of those who employ other approaches: architects, geographers, sociologists, urbanists, political scientists and others as well. In this context, the challenge for urban anthropologists is to overcome an old dichotomy, the distinction between anthropology *in* the city and anthropology *of* the city. It is a question of reflecting on the city -- or the metropolis -- as such, focusing attention on its distinctive characteristics, that which makes it a city, rather than considering it only as a background on which to study certain phenomena, not necessarily urban in nature.

3. The disappearing city

While carrying out my research with the Department of History, Culture and Religion at the Sapienza, I began working with *Anthropolis*, a research team which has carried out various research projects for the city of Rome, focusing on the sense of place and the perceptions of urban transformations among the city's inhabitants.

combination of research practices with the particular characteristics of depth, extension and interaction (Clifford 1997).

⁹ Studying the use which is made of research allows us to understand how a certain discipline is understood in various historic contexts. For anthropology this analysis is complicated «by the fact that those people recognized as anthropologists (the relevant community) are critically defined by having accepted and done something close (or close enough) to "real fieldwork." The boundaries of the relevant community have been (and are increasingly) constituted by struggles over the term's proper range of meanings. This complication is present, to some extent, in all community-use criteria for meaning, especially when "essential-contested concepts" (Gallie, 1964) are at stake. But in the case of anthropologists and "fieldwork," the loop of mutual constitution is unusually tight. The community does not simply use (define) the term "fieldwork"; it is materially used (defined) by its senses. A different range of meanings would make a different community of anthropologists, and vice versa» (Clifford, 1997: 187-8). It is the relevant community which establishes which kinds of field research are anthropological and which are not, but the concept of ethnography is so significant that it defines the disciplinary community. The redefinition of anthropology and its relationship with other disciplines is thus articulated with regard to field research.

In the course of this research, we attempted an approach which would valorize voices from below and would use memory as an interpretive lens for reading the changes which the neighborhoods we studied had experienced over time. Rather than exoticizing daily realities, and treating the *here* as though we were *there*, our goal was to restore the complexity of the intricate narratives which attempted to make sense of the transformations which the city was undergoing.

We approached the study of urban transformation by experimenting with a kind of anthropology which had not yet found echoes in the academic system, but which nonetheless shared the interests¹⁰ of those fields, like urbanism and architecture, which deal with urban planning and which, faced with such rapid change, saw themselves as unprepared to interpret that change's dynamics and directions. All at once the city planners realized that they did not have suitable tools for deciphering the codes of city life and that they were creating spaces which city residents did not see as useful. Society changes faster than cities do, and urbanism struggles to keep up with both of them.

The issue is complex and involves the relationship between architecture, clients and politics; between architecture, art, social sciences and media; the public role of architecture and, ultimately, the theme of urban quality. How did it come to this situation of crisis and inability to know how to read cities and public spaces?

The resulting debate has been very contentious, and has seen arrayed on opposite sides (though with significant internal distinctions) those who lay the blame for the crisis on and Italian inability to innovate and to be able to respond to influences from the international context - now the undisputed land of archistar (Lo Ricco, Micheli, 2003) -, and those who lay the blame for the crisis on the star system system, viewed as abdicating every vocation for interpretation to the aesthetic¹¹.

The city, crossed and defragmented by flows of different types (Appadurai, 1996), becomes a hyper-place and disappear: why? Is it so because the architecture has not made itself hyper-architecture and did not follow the changes experienced by urban areas (which have swept away the usual way to imagine the places)? Or because the city got out of hand and architecture no longer has the tools to make it intelligible? In the background, there is the delicate issue of urban quality: what contributes to this definition? Aesthetic or other parameters?¹²

¹⁰ We need only think, in that sense, of the interest city planners have in cultural memory, social practices, and the symbolic dimension. In this new frame, specific projects are rethought depending on whether the topic is how the nature of planning has changed, about public politics (how many actors, with different tasks and jurisdictions, come into play, and often into conflict?), about city design, about organization and efficiency in administrative structures (how effective is the current configuration of regional and municipal agencies in tracing, mapping and interpreting urban transformations?).

¹¹ In his essays, Luigi Prestinenza Puglisi (Professor of History of Contemporary Architecture at Sapienza University of Rome) mentions the opposition between "traditionalists" and "contemporary" (see <http://www.prestinenza.it/index.aspx>)

¹² To understand how the issue is quite important, one need reflect on the fact that the City of Turin gave the role of advisor for the architectural quality to Carlo Olmo, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Turin. Authoritative voice at the international level, the professor will be in the years

We do not wish to reconstruct here a debate that has gone on for several decades, which also implicates academic hierarchies and conflicts; nevertheless, if we analyze the issues related to the transformation of cities and urban quality, we cannot avoid making reference to it. And in reconstructing the current landscape of Italian architecture, we can see how we are faced with a rather articulated pattern.

Architects are now moving in a context marked by a strong international presence, a wide variety of projects and interviews with prominent personalities on the web and in the general media, an increasing number of journals, the irrelevance of the voice of Italian architects and, at the same time, great attention to the foreign stars in the public debate (Ciorra, 2011). Very interesting in this regard is the description of the Italian architecture field (Bourdieu, 1984) by architect Pippo Ciorra in his latest book *Senza Architettura* (2011): he portrays a landscape broken into two unequal halves. On the one hand, there are the archistar, about twenty super-designers, who travel the world and are part of a self-referential circuit, almost like Formula 1 drivers. These designers are a separate category, basing their strength on their own authority / authorship.

They are real media gurus, who have ceased to be masters, freed from disciplinary debate and more interested in competing on the international scene than in building schools of thought and laboratory work. Then there are all the others, who struggle on a national scale, away from the limelight of the media. According to Ciorra, the gap between these two halves has accentuated the phenomenon of parochialism, castling, and self-referentiality in our architecture. The work of archistar would thus be both a cause and effect of architecture's leaving from its consolidated historical and technical boundaries, in favor of an almost complete shifting in the media, communications, engineering bold, artistic event, putting the game out of disciplinary structures stratified and now in need of re-discussion and redefinition, in a context of maximum cultural uncertainty. Remaining "in the middle" between the certainties of a noble discipline, but one detached from reality, and the dangerous appeal of a "phenomenology of inventiveness" (Ciorra, 2011) laying down day after day its limits and its rules of operation, unable to renew, so architecture has left the field open to the archistar, gurus of the contemporary, exegetes of a city that disappears as we have understood until a few decades ago. Indeed, society itself has placed architects in an empyrean of stars, looking for performance increasingly based on the unusual, on seduction, on architecture as fulfillment of wishes and as making of dreams.

At the same time the change of established images of the place and the city (with a square, with the city center with the clock that strikes the hours, with the church and the market) has led to an implosion of the hierarchical system of classification of the architecture. The

involved in all major debates on the issues of urban transformation, and it will assume the task of reconstructing the terms of a debate often squeezed to questions of pure aesthetics, restoring depth and thickness. In an interview in 2002 to the newspaper "La Stampa" Olmo thus defines the cruces of the matter: «Every single building is not an aesthetic fact, is something that either works or does not work, stop. The architecture is not governed only by aesthetic principles. The city exists if it expresses collective values, our task is to give new functions to the urban structure. And the architecture exists where there is conflict, confrontation, democracy. The urban design is realized when there is a strong consensus from all stakeholders, it isn't something that you create from nothing.» Not a merely aesthetic issue, urban quality becomes subject of public goods, expression of collective values. It concerns the sense of place as well as the time of artistic experimentation.

Italian architects found themselves suddenly deprived of their urban grammar, unable to adapt design tools and ways of thinking to a different hierarchy of space. According to Massimo Ilardi (2007), the transformation of contemporary cities follows a space revolution, the result of a previous social transformation which broke the sovereign territoriality, social identities pre-established forms of sedentary life. A new conception of space arises. We pass by the closed and bounded space of the city to infinity, with no points and no history of the metropolis of the globalized market. A mobile person, who consumes, who lives in the present, believes that his desires are absolute and imperative, who demands a unhindered freedom and plots the territory of the contemporary metropolis, is the next important social figure. The new city is the strength of the technique that makes everything equal and homologous; it is the spectacle of goods whose image, multiplied to infinity, tends to dematerialize reality in order to reduce it to pure play of drawings and languages; it is the space where closed and guarded architectures redefine social relations and hierarchies based on the consumption and knowledge. The space becomes hyper-place. Planetary space is getting smaller. The sense of proximity is conveyed through the media, the empirical space leaves the "here" and "now" to become a syncretic space, increasingly interconnected, no longer enjoyed through the social relations on the road. According to these visions of space, the empirical space coexists with virtual reality of other spaces, which burst and overlap with the same ease with which multiple windows overlap on the computer. In this framework, in which the crisis of modernity coincides with the crisis of Euclidean space, architecture must be hyper-architecture. The fluidity of the hyper-text replaces the linear structure of texts. And the walls, until now solid and perennial, become thin membranes that, like skin, put man in connection with the environment. In an interconnected world, like a great collective novel, where we are all artists and creators, architects should be those figures that create connections, capable of descrambling a world increasingly fragmented into a mosaic of displaced and disconnected observations. Architecture becomes the art of creating communication through communication, to join isolated individuals in connected networks, to create a language, a common code.

This view - which puts on the level of urban transformations and of public policy, which was created by the city of stone and the city of men, and sees in the architecture that knowledge able to infer the short circuit created between the space of flows and space of places (Ilardi, 2005), between territories, drawn by the logic of the market and different scales (D'Albergo, Moini, 2011), and practices of resistance and re-signification start from the bottom - is opposed to another vision that sees the clearest symbol of dyscrasia between constructing and living, between the city of stone and the city of people, between a project on paper and its execution¹³, in the figure of the *archistar*. The role of these figures in the process of urban gentrification, and their responsibility in going along with, and uncritically favoring, both the progressive glassing-in of urban centers, placed completely at the disposition of large corporations, and the reduction of public spaces in the urban

¹³ The theme of the distance between those who think about cities and those who live in them foregrounds two issues: 1. Self-examination about the nature of the project, in light of the current political, financial and economic situation at the national and international level, and of the bureaucratic procedures of public agencies; 2. The gaining, through rethinking of the project, of new means of access, new interpretive methods and new observational tools for analyzing and intervening on the urban fabric. (Cellamare, 2008).

peripheries, which are increasingly becoming bedroom communities, has been considered by important scholars like Leonardo Benevolo (2011) and Franco La Cecla (2008).

Famous firms, called on by mayors seeking world-famous architects, the *archistar* design spaces and buildings which, although using diverse architectural languages, are alike in their tendency to reduce architecture to a purely symbolic form and rather than locating themselves in the contexts in which they are placed. In the name of *cool*, both urban peripheries and city centers are transformed by well or poorly designed buildings which are isolated from the urban fabric, and constructed for the purpose of making an impression in the media and competing in an aesthetic marketplace both strange and standardized. Into the urban fabric their architecture introduces ostentatiously alien spatial codes, which have the effect of clearing the neighborhoods of their longtime residents, and eliminating gathering places and public spaces.

As Leonardo Benevolo (2011) argues, architects in the era of the *archistar*, more focused on aesthetics than on the interpretation of place, have given up on urbanism; they no longer localize people in space, and have passed over to an architecture of the ephemeral (Purini, 2010), creating isolated interventions rather than planning out public spaces which, following a more holistic vision, would provide narrative continuity to the urban fabric.

The reflections of La Cecla, Purini and Benevolo focus directly on the questions of the social role of city planners, and of the public use of architecture, and they are an indication of the epistemological crisis which urbanism is passing through as regards the themes of habitation, of the interpretation of urban transformations, and the search for more fertile ways of reading. The city seems to be getting away from us. The methods and categories used until now (typologies of buildings, functions, scales, demographic changes, social classes) no longer seem capable of grasping a reality which, as Gregotti (2008) writes, is becoming more fluid. And the same goes for architecture, which in the face of changes in sociocultural contexts, in its technical conditions, in its procedures and in the very role of the architect in society, is at risk of liquidation. There is a need for more precise analyses, to understand how citizens live in the spaces they inhabit, how they develop a sense of place, how they adapt to and appropriate the contexts in which they live. Nonetheless, in the desire for the elaboration of a new paradigm, the voices of the city seem to disappear behind the rhetorics of space which erases itself, of time which collapses, of the citizen who becomes a consumer in a global ecumene which connects everyone. In the analyses of the urbanists, a picture prevails, entirely dominated by the visual, in which information becomes instantaneous and total, advertising becomes an invasive and ubiquitous presence, tourism and the internet cancel out spatial distances, globalization produces homogenized and deterritorialized spaces, and architecture gets lost in a fragmentary practice in a fluid context, in which places are abrogated and buildings themselves become places (Purini, 2010). The place disappears and melts into the liquid tints of a space centrifuged by transnational movement, and a sense of place wiped out by the drastic reduction of public and informal spaces. Effective images like that of the liquid society or of non-places find fertile ground in which to take root, although they run the risk of fogging up the view, rendering it cross-eyed and thus less apt to reflect on the transformations experienced by cities today. In the reflections of the great Italian urbanists and scholars discussed above, the

city disappears¹⁴, it is no longer readable, we can no longer narrate it. In the past we read about it in novels, visited it in Expositions and museums, then we saw it in films, and now we encounter it virtually, but the images and words to describe it are ever more confused. We can attempt to rely on political, economic and cultural perspectives. All of these are historically important, but are of little significance now. To understand something about the matter we need to be willing to move backward, all the way to thinking about the idea of living itself. The city – ancient, modern or contemporary – is a space for living and it is, perhaps the space in which the character of living is manifested most clearly. By bringing the dimension of living nearer to the dimension of construction, anthropologists can make important contributions to redefining the methodological tools, ways of reading and methods of understanding of those disciplines currently engaged in the study of cities.¹⁵

4. Toward an ethnography of inhabiting

Paying attention to diverse practices, to uses of everyday spaces, to living understood as a territorial practice, as a way of bridging the gap between the city of stone and the city of people, between abstract and concrete spaces, is a recurring theme in the analyses and in the work of those scholars engaged in the study of cities. A great deal of the literature in those disciplines (cultural geography, urbanism, urban sociology, etc.) which are located in that academic and intellectual field (Bourdieu, 1984), locates the analysis of urban transformation in the tracks of the criticism of neoliberal politics. Instead of speaking about cities and places, the discussion speaks of geopolitical and geostrategic spaces (Vanolo, Rossi, 2010), which are subject to various processes: bureaucratic definition from above, attempts at resignification from below, and deterritorialization resulting from social, financial and technological changes.

The anthropologists who examine the social and cultural creation of spaces and their transformation into places have also adopted this way of understanding the relationship between space and place. In the approach of critical anthropology, which tries to grasp the process of the objectification of local identities, scientifically constructed by rational bureaucratic measures both national and supranational, the concept of place is deconstructed to the point of vanishing, dissolved in the constructions of force fields, of interpretive frames (the results of taxonomies imposed from above) of *habitus* and cultural intimacy (Herzfeld, 1997). As Palumbo (2003: 9-10) puts it, in what seems to be the manifesto of Italian critical anthropology, the task of the anthropologist is that of analyzing and making evident.

The processes of the institutionalization, of the objectification of culture, which are central both in the workings of the classifying and administrative machines of contemporary

¹⁴ Building on Frank Lloyd Wright's famous essay, "The Disappearing City" (1932), the sociologist Janet Worff (1992) discussed the history of the modern city as a story in three acts: the Real City, the Discursive City, the Disappearing City. We are at the Third Act. For as long as they could, novelists, urbanists, sociologists and anthropologists experimented with writing about it, and invented metaphors: the forest, the subsoil, the labyrinth: but it seems that the metaphors are not enough.

¹⁵ In the words of Secchi (2000: 123), "the urban project has become a field of study which lacks structure, a vast mixture of disciplines combining the experiences of economists, sociologists, jurists and administrators," to which we would add anthropologists, archaeologists, historians and journalists.

nation-states and in the operations of transformative forces of a global and transnational character. To accomplish this critical act, the intrusive gaze of the ethnographer must rest on objects (statues, baroque buildings, medieval churches, prehistoric tombs, archival documents) on practices (the production of fakes, festive competitions, some forms of political struggle, the realization of cultural manifestations), on poetics of space/time (the metalexical manipulation of chronological relationships, the construction of competing narratives) which, judging from the dominant rhetoric in this area, would be indices of quality representing the most intimate and traditional ways of being of the men and women who populate it. We will thus speak of local identities, conceived as integral and stratified in time, which are presumed to be connoted by a natural relationship with artistic, architectural, archeological, and anthropological material. At the same time we will show, by interpreting specific situations and events (the invention of a historic festival, the realization of an archeological excavation) how similar ways of constructing a local sense of belonging are connected with intellectual, political, social and economic processes which go beyond the local, and with the actions of people, groups, institutions and technologies (the press, the television media) who initiate, direct and model those processes.

Places are thus “produced” by a twofold movement: they are the result of description on the part of institutions which objectivize cultures and construct identities, from above, as well as of continual attempts a remanipulation, reterritorialization and refounding, from below, on the part of social actors who, in the name of local authenticities, and enfolded in the same nationalist logic, create identities in their turn.

When inserted in this sort of approach, which tries to deconstruct the objectifying categories on which identity politics are founded, the place disappears, and the force field remains. As I have written elsewhere (Romano, 2009), in such a force field, which various players employ tactics and strategies to control in a complex zero-sum economy of forces and counter-forces, events are presented in their factual dimension, and are positioned historically, but, at the same time, they are extrapolated from their historical context and placed on the level of reception, of manipulation, of resemanticization and invention. The time of events coincides with the time of ethnographic narrative, which holds together the times of specular action of these forces and counter-forces. The time of events is thus the time of their construction inasmuch as they are enacted: the time in which actions unfold is flattened between the symbolic taxonomy constructed from above and the emotional load linked to these identifying classifications from below.

In this clockwork mechanism, places are momentary artifacts and the anthropologist, simultaneously inside and outside the field compared to other intellectuals, who are, instead, actors who are unaware of the field, is the privileged interpreter of the voices from below (Palumbo, 2009). Voices become constructions which acquire sense inside the economy of the field, whose internal logic is manifested in the unreflective language of daily life, by means of expressions like “it is normal,” “it is like this”, “it is done in this way” (Herzfeld, 1998). Behind these expressions, which are based on certainty and are self-explanatory, lie the tacit taxonomies which regulate local communities. Jumping between facts and fictions (that is, the way in which things are recounted and are believed to be true simply because they are recounted), paying attention to details and diverse discursive registers, to relational frames, to the use of different registers of historicity and the connection between the local and the global levels, to the observation of respective positions

in the force field, the anthropologist is the only one able to gain that increased understanding which lies in that third space (Herzfeld, 2001) between researchers and “natives,” and of which the latter are unknowing carriers.

Instead of this framework, in which voices – means, instruments, which permit understanding of unspoken dimensions (Polanyi, 1966) and deconstruction of that which is believed to be obvious and is taken for granted – are subjugated to the logic of fieldwork, I prefer something which could be called an anthropology of voices.

The voices are those of residents, subjects who usually are moved to action in the processes of public planning, or for the more informed, of municipal politics, but who are never listened to. Through the voices of residents we attempt to reach and to manage the symbolic but very concrete dimension of the *sense of place*, that is “the cultural processes and practices through which places take on meaning.” (Feld, Basso 1996: 7)

An essay by Charles Frake (1996) speaks of local knowledge as a mixture of minute and somewhat chaotic notions, linked to an enduring presence in a certain territory. At the same time it discusses the use which is made of these notions as symbols of a particular familiarity with the place and as elements of a local style which can allow locals to distinguish themselves from outsiders. If to this we add giving names to certain parts of the territory (and not to others), having memories linked to them, considering as appropriate or not certain uses which are made of them, Frake’s version of local knowledge becomes a specific province, a limited version of the larger idea which is particularly associated with the name of Clifford Geertz (1983), that is, the particular forms which symbolic exchanges take on in a determined context. In this case, choice of label is of the utmost importance. Although it is very different from academic study, and is located in the everyday, this too is a form of *knowledge*.

From this perspective, the knowledge which we anthropologists produce is in part a knowledge which does not belong to us. At the interior of particular types of encounter (the open in-depth interview) it is provided by our interlocutors. They offer it to us, or rather, lend it to us, because later arises the problem of what we do with it, and we know well that it is not right to use this knowledge however we wish; we must try to “return” it with care and respect, for privacy and for the diversity of circumstances. The interpretations which we produce are thus inseparable from the context in which they are formulated and the points of view of those who make reference to that context.

On a more practical level, we could use the term *place-telling* (Scarpelli, 2011) to indicate the particular type of encounter which takes place in the field between anthropologists and their interlocutors. Place-telling could perhaps represent a useful contribution to processes of territorial planning.

A practice of non-directed interviewing in a working method which would programmatically centralize voices. Something which is focused on a place (as opposed to a group or a sociological category), and how it is redefined by its inhabitants. Which would valorize the specificity of localized communicative frames and the uses of memory in constructing contemporary interpretations of the place. Which aims to identify recurring “narratives” and “discourses,” examining the relationship between differing ways of narrating modes (rather than focusing on the moral and expressive force of individual biographies).

It is the *relationship* between different ways of narrating which here becomes particularly significant. Something which resembles the coordinates of a debate in which positions are taken, a narrative of references for the conversation, which at the same time reveals the presence of alternative narratives or sub-narratives, of opposing or non-overlapping points of view. A mixture of narrative and explanation which is in part planned and in part improvised for the occasion, which is animated by suffering, by refusals, by allegiances, by nostalgia: knowledge, but *not* detached from the context in which it is formulated.

The anthropologist will perform the scientific work of interpretation, using terminologies, concepts and bibliographies, to provide order, connections and meaning – without flattening internal variety, and the plurality of points of view – those aspects of knowledge of the territory which have more limited zones of circulation and more elusive characteristics. To make readable, also inside more general and less local discourses, these representations which are “near to the experience (of living there).”

As experts in place-telling, anthropologists can carve out a specific space for themselves in the interdisciplinary field of urban studies. An area of study and research which I prefer to imagine not as a cage, a new artifact, producing an expert in Harlequin costume, who knows how to do a little of everything. The notion of interdisciplinarity, then, involves both the search for an integrated approach (almost to the point of thinking of the figure of an expert who is able to draw on a broad range of knowledge) and that of systematic and structured dialogue between specializations. Both visions seem to require a rethinking of the nature and use of knowledge, sometimes in opposition to consolidated ideas on the topic (as in the case of anthropology and the concept of field research). If in the case of geography and city planning it is a matter of making more room for qualitative, negotiated and ethnographic knowledge (maps which, putting aside pretenses to absolute objectivity, aim to reproduce living and speaking territories; a remaking of connections between physical and human territories by means of symbols, aspirations and memories), for anthropology, the situation is almost the reverse. Anthropologists have the challenge of entering into unfamiliar (for them) collaborative contexts, of thinking in terms of problems, and of relinquishing their exclusive claim on the object, or their longstanding pretenses of holism, along with the tranquility and freedom of a marginal position.

Among the two approaches, I incline toward the latter. So I am thinking of urban studies as a space for dialogue between all of those disciplines which are concerned with cities, on a ladder which leads from the point nearest to institutions to the point farthest from them – thus probably from city planning to anthropology, passing through geography and urban history. To this effect I adopt Peter Gallison’s (2010) concept of a *trading zone*, inside of which, via the interaction between groups from different disciplinary areas, a middle region of debate is created which allows a diversity experts to communicate, to propose potential solutions and useful ideas for allowing residents to speak, for knowing how to listen to them and for decoding what they say. In this interdisciplinary pattern, the exchange of views among different disciplines about projects, studies and analytical tools¹⁶ promotes the achieving of original results, with no need to invent new professional or academic figures, or to improvise a reckless synthesis of complex histories, ponderous founding fathers and

¹⁶ Analytical tools sometimes follow, other times are ahead of epistemological shifts. By their practical dimension, by their technical nature, they are probably the point where we can intercept disciplines in their cross-fertilisation, between jealous keeping of analytical lens and promoting common paths.

consolidated research practices. It is in this space that scholars who work on cities can experiment with interdisciplinarity, where everyone does what they know best.

5. References

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An Anthropological Approach to Understanding the Process of Legitimation: An Examination of Major League Baseball Emergence

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1. Introduction

The resource-based view of the firm has emphasized rare and valuable resources, their redeployment and capability development as a means of rent creation (Penrose, 1959). Hence, the organizational quest is to acquire and develop these resources and capabilities (Teece, Pisano, & Shuen, 1997). One such promising source is legitimacy, defined by Suchman (1995: 574) as the “generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms values, belief and definitions.” Most organizational sociologists and strategy scholars treat organizational legitimacy as a valuable and rare resource (Scott, 1995; Selznick, 1949; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Freeman, 1984; Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Moreover, legitimacy may also help appropriate value from stakeholders. Organizational legitimacy “increases the acceptance of, or reduces the resistance to” all of an organization’s activities (Zelditch, 2001).

There still is little understanding, however, of the process the organizations must undergo to achieve legitimacy (Rao, 1994; Hughes, 2006). So how can organizations, or an organizational field, gain legitimacy? In this inductive paper, we address this question by examining the extreme case of an organizational field led by an illegitimate organization with deviant practices that ultimately achieved widespread acceptance, increasing its rent creation and appropriation ability. This organization ultimately became a rule setter for both its members and non-members and some of its key deviant practices became an enduring part of the institutional landscape.

Our historical anthropological analysis suggests that such a dramatic transformation is likely attributable to stakeholder management, and more specifically stakeholder-specific customization of legitimation strategies. Different types of legitimation were sought from

various stakeholders and different strategies were used that were related to anthropological and historical characteristics of the period. We also demonstrate that a restructuration of the organization field was achieved in order to clearly distinguish among stakeholders and gain legitimacy towards one of these groups. This ensuing legitimacy and the power it gave ultimately had spillover effects on other stakeholder groups. Achieving legitimation also required the loss of some of the illegitimate practices through negotiation with stakeholders.

We use the case of the establishment and legitimation of Major League Baseball (MLB) during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries to illustrate the process of legitimation. This process took place within a rich context of historical and anthropological changes of the American society. MLB, an initially deviant organization, demonstrated that the ability to read the historical context and to manage relationships within the organizational field were essential to gaining legitimacy and ultimately monopoly power through the Supreme Court decision of 1922.

2. Literature review

Institutional theorists have long argued that legitimacy is an essential resource for all organizations. Legitimacy is necessary to get the support of the organization's stakeholders and to insure the organization's survival (Baum & Oliver, 1992). Legitimacy is also viewed as a form of power that helps appropriate value from other parties (Chacar & Hesterly, 2008). In fact, a long tradition in the literatures stresses how superior performance hinges upon the management and control of economic actors operating both within and outside organizational boundaries (Selznick, 1949).

In this study we will adopt Suchman's definition and draw on stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) adding to it a reference to the referent social group: Legitimacy is a (generalized) perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate (Suchman, 1995: 574) by one or more group of social actors, or its stakeholders. This definition allows us to consider various subgroups of actors that need to bestow legitimacy upon the organization. Indeed, many stakeholders are relevant to a firm's operation and the 'desirability' of its actions can only be examined with regard to particular stakeholders (Freeman & Gilbert, 1987). Early definitions of legitimacy stressed that an organization is legitimate when its values and actions are congruent with social actor' values and expectations (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) or when social actors accept or endorse 'the organization's means and ends as valid and reasonable, and rational' (Baum & Oliver, 1991; Meyer & Scott, 1983; Stinchcombe, 1965).

Stakeholders are defined as anyone who "can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organization's objectives," (Freeman, 1984: 46). Mitchell et al. (1997) suggest that three groups of stakeholders are relevant to organizations: "stakeholders who have power in relation to the firm (i.e., possess valued resources), are deemed legitimate (i.e., are socially accepted and expected), and can muster urgency (i.e., have time-sensitive or critical claims).

In addition to the source of legitimacy, Suchman's (1995) suggests that another dimension of legitimacy is the form of legitimacy, which can be one of three: pragmatic, moral, and cognitive (1995: 571). Pragmatic legitimacy rests on the self-interested calculations of an organizations' most immediate audience (Suchman, 1995: 578). The second form of

legitimacy, moral legitimacy, 'reflects a positive evaluation of the organization and its activities (e.g., Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Parsons, 1960). The third form of legitimacy, cognitive legitimacy, is based on cognition rather than active evaluation (Suchman, 1995: 582).

3. This study

We apply an embedded case study approach (Yin, 2003) to examine the process through which the organization of interest achieved legitimacy. We especially focus on understanding the source of legitimacy (which stakeholder) and the form of legitimacy. Our setting is the creation and establishment of Major League Baseball (MLB) during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The field of cultural anthropology is especially suited for the investigation of the complicated and contradictory evolution of baseball (Lewis, 2010). Thanks to the wealth of existing research on this field, we are able to describe first the rich historical and anthropological context surrounding its inception as a deviant organization in 1876, to its merger with the American League (AL) to become the Major League Baseball (MLB). Then, we describe how the MLB dealt with stakeholder demands, dramatically reducing their power.

4. Anthropological profile

In this section we describe the anthropological and historical changes characterizing the American society in the second half of 19th and the early 20th centuries. A full account of these changes would be outside the scope of this chapter. Instead, we focus on those developments that we thought most relevant for the question in hand.

In 1889, Mark Twain said in a banquet that "Baseball is the very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive, and push, and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century!" Many researchers share the same feeling and argue that the history of baseball is the story of 19th century America in microcosm (Seymour, 1960: vii; Lewis, 2010; Thorn, 2011).

While sports in general, as a window on culture "becomes a vehicle for the manifestation of those norms and values fundamental to the culture of the society within which it is performed" (Blanchard, 2000: 149), the case of baseball is unprecedented in terms of its unique position as America's pastime and also as a community in itself (Lewis, 2010). Therefore, the evolution of baseball and, in particular, the case of the establishment and legitimation of MLB is best understood in the context of social and economic changes that characterize the second half of 19th century.

This period of time is characterized by rapid *demographic* changes in the American society. The rise of the lower and middle class was reflected also in a shift in the center of gravity of baseball. Following the tradition of the English amateur cricket clubs, at the beginning baseball emerged as an upper-middle-class leisure sport, but it soon spread to the lower middle class and attracted more and more the working classes (Lewis, 2010; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005; Thorn, 2011). It also mirrored the immigration structure and ethnic composition of the society at that time with British, German, and Irish descendants accounting for more than 90% of the players, who constituted an inexpensive source for players as the game turned professional later (Lewis, 2010: 48-49; Seymour, 1960).

Urbanization was another demographic change that played an important role for baseball. As Seymour (1960: vii) points out baseball's development from a children's game to a professionalized sport parallels America's change from a simple, predominantly rural society into a nation of large cities and developed industries. The latter shift led to increased income and predictable wages as well as more defined discretionary and leisure time and hence emphasized consumption of entertainment (Lewis, 2010; Thorn, 2011). Baseball offered to these city dwellers a sense of pride in community that was commonplace in small town (Thorn, 2011) and combined the "mythology of traditional agrarian values with an exploitation of reality-driven urban opportunities" (Lewis, 2010: 5).

The second half of the 19th century was also characterized by important changes in the *economic domain*. The development of an American system of a laissez-faire capitalism (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005) coincides with the beginning of integration of mass production in order to lower costs and increase productivity through more effective administration of the processes of production and the separation of capital and labor or management/ownership from the workers/players (what Chandler, 1977 calls the "visible hand of management"). Mirroring these developments, MLB's strategy and tactics reflected the transition from a sport into as a profitable commercialized business (Lewis, 2010). This transition was characterized by trade wars among the rival leagues, conflict between owners and players within the same league, and the introduction of monopolistic practices, and ruthless competition (Seymour, 1960: viii; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005).

The period after the Civil War is that of an America trying to establish a *national identity* around the concepts of union and brotherhood. Baseball, like business, religion, and race relations during this period made room for such concepts (Thorn, 2011: 181-182) by reinforcing the patriotic aspect and its presence in national culture and language (Lewis, 2010: 133). It was not by chance that "the inflammatory words of the Civil War – slavery, rebellion, secession, shackles, treason, even union and brotherhood – would be invoked to describe the conduct of both business and baseball" (Thorn: 182). The aversion many Americans felt for everything that was English, including cricket (Ohio History, 2009), led to intensified efforts to invent the story of baseball as a purely American game and turn it into the national pastime (Lewis, 2010; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005; Thorn, 2011).

Finally, an important development for the American society and baseball was the development of *infrastructure*. It was in the period between the end of the Civil War and the launching of the National League that the U.S. railroad system grew to be world's most extensive (Chandler, 1977; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005) making it possible to organize baseball tours as early as 1860 (Seymour, 1960). The other important development took place in the publishing industry. The press depended on the owners' cooperation for the ever-increasing and popular coverage of baseball (Voight, 1983) and, on the other side, club owners needed to minimize the criticism to the news of their cartel (Moore, 1996). As Seymour (1960) put it, baseball sold newspapers, and newspapers sold baseball.

5. A mostly deviant organization

In 1876, professional baseball was still in its infancy and viewed as illegitimate by most. In that year, the MLB (originally the National League, or NL) was founded by William Hulbert, a man who had just ransacked mercilessly other baseball teams to build up his

own. The NL came to life through a 'coup d'etat' (Lippincott's Magazine, 1887) that siphoned the best teams from the National Association of Professional Baseball Players (NAPBP) and led to its demise and the eventual collapse of those teams that were excluded from membership in the new league (Seymour, 1960).

The NL then instituted and followed a number of policies that were highly controversial and contested. Its attitude towards its own members was criticized as dictatorial and arbitrary (Seymour, 1960: 83). Team owners who did not respect league rules could be subject to disciplinary action and be expelled by the league (Rader, 2008; Voigt, 1973). The League's actions towards competing leagues were described as monopolistic and illegal. For example, the NL co-opted the key financial backers of the Players League leading to its collapse. The league and owners took away many of the players' freedoms and monitored all aspects of their behavior, including their bedtime. The key change concerning labor relations was the adoption of the reserve clause, instituted to curb player revolting in 1879 (Rader, 2008). Under this clause, teams could not 'contract with, engage, or negotiate' with reserved players (Seymour, 1960: 108). Breach of the leagues' rules of conduct could lead to the fining of a player, his suspension, expulsion, and even blacklisting.

6. From deviant to legitimate

The league became 'institutionalized (Seymour, 1960: 81) and its 'policies and measures ..now .. were regarded as essential to the successful operation of the business' (Seymour, 1960: 85).

Our study reveals a dramatic change in attitude towards professional baseball and the NL and MLB by the various stakeholders who went from viewing the MLB at its inception as being a deviant organization to being viewed as the 'Protector of the National Game'. Here is a brief review of how these stakeholders changed their attitudes followed in the next section by an explanation of the likely drivers of the change.

The competitors. Leagues challenging the NL were numerous until 1915. Many professional leagues were created, including the Players League, the American League, and the Federal League. However, all these competing leagues disappeared by 1915. Moreover, the remaining and non-competing leagues voluntarily came under the control of the MLB in a system of subordinated minor leagues.

The member teams. Just as competing leagues challenged the NL, the NL team also did so. Early NL teams did not take any of its rules for granted. For example, in its first year of operation, the Philadelphia Athletics and the Mutuels did not complete their playing schedules, in breach of a key league rule. This behavior is in contrast to the early 1900s when the MLB teams took the major rules and practices for granted, and even changing the more minor rules less often and in less radical ways –leaving all major rules unchanged until the 1960s (Chacar & Hesterly, 2004).

The public and the fans. We use the attitude of the press as a proxy for that of the public. In the early years, the press' attitude was mostly negative towards professional baseball. Its attitude towards the NL was mixed but quite negative regarding its labor policies. For example, the secret founding meeting was attacked as 'star-chamber' and 'anti-American' (Seymour, 1960: 94). The reserve clause was attacked as 'slavery' (e.g., The Cincinnati Enquirer 8/12/1880). The tide against the NL and its policies changed with the press

supporting the belief in owners' paternalism and turned anti-union (Burk 2001, 6; Sporting News, 11/2/1922).

The courts. Almost all early lawsuits were lost by the National League mostly for 'lack of mutuality' (Sayton, 1910). However, the attitude of the courts started shifting slowly with 1902 case of Lajoie vs. Philadelphia Ball Club (see Thornton, 2011: 83). Ultimately, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the reserve clause in 1922 and ruled that baseball was exempt from antitrust laws because, as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote on behalf of the court, "exhibitions of baseball, ... are purely state affairs." The Congress and the Supreme Court later on refused to reexamine its decision (Edelman, 2005; Lewis, 2010; Seabury, 1998; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005)

The players. The last group of NL stakeholders, the players showed the most dramatic change in attitude. Most notably, in 1887, John Montgomery Ward published a letter entitled "Is the Base-Ball Player a Chattel?", then founded the first labor union then organized a competing league. "There is no escape for the player" he wrote, "If he attempts to elude the operation of the rule, he becomes at once a professional outlaw, and the hand of every club is against him. ... Like a fugitive-slave law, the reserve-clause denies him a harbor or a livelihood, and carries him back, bound and shackled, to the club from which he attempted to escape" (Lippincott's Magazine, 1887). The NL severely punished rule breakers in its early days and rewarded those who followed the league rules (Seymour 1960, p. 127). This direct pressure on the players was ultimately supplemented by the shift in the press and courts' opinion in favor of the owners' authority and over time, the new players came to accept without question the owners' prerogative to set and maintain the rules (Voigt 1983, p. 234) and players believed that they were fairly treated (Burk 2001, Helyar 1994) .

7. The process of legitimation

So how did the NL transform itself from a deviant organization into one that was legitimate in the eyes of all of its stakeholders? The NL was portrayed by Hulbert as a technical solution to baseball problems to other owners invited to join the NL, although its advent was a clandestine coup, which Hulbert orchestrated to protect his stake (Thorn, 2011: 159). This new and private institution was to have its own constitution which comprised a new set of formal rules and a set of enforcement mechanisms designed to directly address past problems in baseball, particularly those involving labor (Seymour, 1960: 77-78). Founders of the MLB acted as business and institutional entrepreneurs, managing stakeholders and interested parties to create a new set of cognitive frames and normatively accepted processes. Through their direct actions, the NL became progressively more legitimate as it gained legitimacy vis-à-vis an increasing number of stakeholders groups. External pressure was then exerted on the players to conform and endogenous pressure from the socialization process was also pushing the players in the same direction as detailed below.

7.1 Legitimacy building and team owners

The NL gained legitimacy first vis-à-vis its own members, the NL team owners. This internal legitimacy was achieved in large part through the use of a transactional strategy, or promises of financial gains in exchange for cooperation and participation in the NL, and the charismatic authority of the league's founder, and was also maintained via threat of

expulsion or coercion. Considering the self-interest of the owners, this legitimacy was gained on pragmatic grounds. Internal legitimacy, combined with the establishment of an authoritative vertical structure, allowed the NL to optimize its rules and expel weak teams and replace them with stronger ones, enhancing its survival prospects.

The NL dealt with non-member teams through cooptation and coercion through the formation of the National Alliance, which mandated observing exclusive territorial rights and the reserve clause in exchange for mutual respect for exclusive territorial rights and safety from raids on reserved players. It was also ultimately aided considerably in its task by the spontaneous mimetic isomorphism of other teams who adopted many of its policies; policies that were constantly promoted in highly visible and widely circulated league publications, and especially the Spalding Guides. These developments helped the NL gain pragmatic legitimacy vis-à-vis non-NL team owners. The belief in the superiority of the NL and its rules was also increased in the public eye by the clamoring of professional teams to join the NL, and by the survival of the NL where most other professional league failed.

7.2 Legitimacy building and competing leagues

Hulbert's National League with its closed membership model was a new organizational form without previous examples. Therefore, the main tactical emphasis was on illegitimizing its predecessor, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players (NAPBBP), and later other competing leagues-using it as an anti-model (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005). The NAPBBP was portrayed as an economically inefficient form of organization, which was too weak to react to mounting problems of drinking and betting. As such, in relation to this stakeholder, the NL was seeking pragmatic legitimacy. Interestingly, some of these problems could have been addressed within the structure of NAPBBP, but instead, as Thorn (2011: 162) put it, Hulbert used these issues as "his Reichstag fire." With regard to other leagues, NL used its power of coercion, but also when necessary sought cooptation (such as the merger with AL), also examples of pragmatic legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). Once the new model was in place, the NL started to justify its actions as seeking the best for the national pastime and its aggressive means as part of the new capitalist system. The latter was a shift meant to gaining moral legitimacy.

Later, after Hulbert has passed away, Al Spalding became the central figure of the NL. His transformation from individual entrepreneur to corporate capitalist following Taylor's new scientific management principles (Lewis, 2010) created a vertically integrated empire that included baseball products, publishing, and promotion and advertising activities. By becoming an active writer of baseball history as well as author and publisher of baseball rules, standards, and statistics, he helped give the NL and also later the MLB cognitive legitimacy.

7.3 Legitimacy building and the public

The NL owners professed to have altruistic goals and used an altruistic rhetoric as well as public relations campaigns. Moreover, as the NL tried to attract the wealthier middle class to the game, it banned the sale of alcohol on the league's premises and games on Sundays, a move that meshed well with the ideals of the Prohibitionist and Sabbatist movements. It ultimately built concrete structures emulating theatre and contributed to civic causes.

Owners also used cooptation, coercion, or collaboration with the press (Voigt, 1983: 162) resulting in increased institutional support among this important constituency (Lamont, 1987: 597). The press made the publicity and helped publish game statistics, which according to Thorn (2011: 87) together with gambling are the three essential ingredients that facilitate the growth of any localized game to national sports. The press, stimulated by baseball's popularity and the fact that the sports section was the mostly read part of the newspaper (Lewis, 2010: 55), ultimately espoused the NL rhetoric helping increase the broader public's support. By outlasting others, the NL also gained moral legitimacy. A myth of technical efficiency was created where the NL rules were viewed as the best way to handle the problems of professional baseball.

7.4 Legitimacy building and the fans

By dramatically increasing in the admission price, banning drinking, and demonstrating improved quality of the fans' experience, the league dramatically changed the fan composition in the stadiums, attracting more of the middle class. Such spectators demanded for the best players and teams (Seymour, 1960: 47) and the NL was composed of the best teams that existed at the time and that were most financially sound and had the best players. In addition the new model offered also continuity for the fans (Thorn, 2011). This allowed the league initially to gain pragmatic legitimacy with the fans. Its rhetoric as being the protector of the national game, endlessly repeated, and as encouraging higher morality among the players and in the bleachers ultimately gained it cognitive legitimacy. The NL sought also moral legitimacy by claiming that their model offered the best outcome for the sake of the game and continuously how important was baseball for the young American society.

7.5 Legitimacy building and regulators

In the early days, the NL dealt with regulators over two contentious issues; the reserve clause in players' contracts, and monopolistic practices. Attempts to control regulators' actions vis-à-vis the NL were mostly unsuccessful until the league had started to gain moral legitimacy vis-à-vis the greater public and until the NL became viewed as the protector of the National Game. A new belief, also propagated by the league, of the reserve clause as necessary for the survival of the league, became taken for granted (Zucker, 1977) and influenced action. Many initial wealthy backers of baseball teams became politicians, and owners courted heavily politicians and judges. As (Seymour (1960: vii)) puts it "No president would omit the ritual of throwing out the first ball at the opening game of the season." The fruits of moral legitimacy accumulated slowly, but they led to baseball's antitrust exemption, an extremely important event in baseball history.

On May 22, 1922, the court issued a ruling (with the presiding Judge, Oliver Wendell Holmes a former amateur player) that held that baseball games were basically local events, not interstate commerce and, therefore, not subject to antitrust laws (or the Sherman and Clayton Acts) (Edelman, 2005; Lewis, 2010; Seabury, 1998; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005). As such, baseball is the only professional team sport in the United States (the Court ruled in 1957 that professional football was subject to antitrust laws) that is granted this type of monopoly (Lewis, 2010; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005). As Lewis (2010: 59) concludes,

“Apparently, each body determined that it would be politically incorrect to tamper with national pastime.”

7.6 Legitimacy building and the players

The players were the last constituency to accept the legitimacy of the MLB. Direct attempt by the owners at coercion and co-optation in the early days had only short-term success as players had the most to lose by accepting the NL’s authority. Eventual success was achieved both through direct actions seeking the isolation of the players, but also in great part through the new indoctrination of the players and the pressures that was put upon them from the outside. The NL gained pragmatic legitimacy of the exchange type, as it tempted the players to achieve greater job stability rather than promises of greater potential wealth and freedom. As it became the only possible source of a job, it evolved towards moral. So the players are seen as renegades and are pressured to accept the NL’s legitimacy. Although the idea of labor having some degree of some control had significant resonance in the political atmosphere of the 1870s (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005), in general an owner controlled business was the new paradigm (Chandler, 1977). The vertical structure and the establishment of a league bureaucracy with team owners, a president, a secretary treasurer, and a board of directors (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005) increased the distance of the players from the decision making even further and the introduction of very strict coercive measures reduced the motivation of the players and created the “diamond-shaped version of shop floors” (Burk, 2001: xii).

8. Discussion and conclusion

While the process by which new or otherwise illegitimate practices gain legitimacy has frequently been studied, the process by which organizations gain legitimacy is less understood (see Hirsch, 1986; Suchman, 1995). This case is especially noteworthy since it illustrates the process by which the MLB transformed itself from an initially deviant organization marred by image problems into a powerful and widely legitimated element of the institutional landscape. Our inductive historical longitudinal study is the first to emphasize the important role of stakeholder management in achieving organizational legitimacy and to identify the mechanisms used in this process. Our analysis suggests that such a dramatic transformation is likely attributable to the stakeholder-specific customization in the search of legitimation. Different types of legitimation were sought from different stakeholders and different strategies were used.

The MLB case shows how the restructuring of the field can be used as an effective mechanism for stakeholder management and ultimately legitimation. MLB created a strong hierarchical and cartel-like structure that reduced the power of both the teams and the players. The legitimacy and the ensuing power that can be had vis-à-vis one stakeholder group can have spillover effects unto another which leads us to believe in the possibility of an albeit slow but bandwagon or network effect in legitimation progression. Like early adopters, early legitimators are slow in bestowing legitimacy upon an organization and are few. Later on, as the number of such legitimators increases, legitimation diffuses more rapidly leading to faster legitimation and a greater number of legitimators.

It is important to note that the legitimacy achieved vis-à-vis different stakeholders did not have to have the same basis, and legitimacy enhancing strategies may differ dramatically in different arenas. As noted recently, we observed the importance of the media for legitimation even back in the 1800s (also see Carmelo and Alvarez, 2000). The case of the MLB reinforces the belief in the importance of moral conformity of an organization for the purpose of gaining moral legitimacy.

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Ethnic Identities, Social Spaces and Boundaries: Habitus and Fundamentalist Doxa Among Second-Generation Chinese American Evangelicals

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1. Introduction

Identities provide a crucial reference point for patterns of cooperation and conflict between communities. The recent resurgence of ethnicity has surprised social theorists who expected culturally-articulated group association to diminish with the rise of modernization and its *gesellschaft* society. Castells (1997), in his seminal three volume work on globalizations and social change, asserts that identities are our source of meaning and lens for interpreting experience. With this in mind, social research that conceptualizes identities as a dynamic motivating force for actors can shed a positive light on the contemporary issues and challenges of multi-ethnic societies.

Within the social sciences, studies of ethnicity tend to emphasize empiricist ontologies with rather eclectic methodologies. For example, ethnic and social geographies are often either broad scale analyses of spatial patterns (e.g. segregation, ethnic economies) or studies of identity patterns (often in particular types of institutions and networks) using mixed methods or qualitative approaches. As noted below, these are useful and necessary to explain dynamics of migration and behavior or to gain in-depth understandings of ethnic identities. However, both types of studies have important limitations, mainly due to a lack of clear theoretical frameworks to analyze the significance of broader scale patterns or ethnographic accounts of identity genesis, boundaries and persistence.

In this chapter, I deploy a synthesis of Barth's (1998a) social constructionist, boundary-oriented approach to ethnic persistence and Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of *habitus*, *capital* and *doxa* to deepen our understanding of how actors' ethnic identities are constantly (re)defined in changing social contexts, demarcated through boundary-oriented discourses and expressed through practices. Barth's perspective is that identities are not unchanging and immutable, but find expression through agency within a nexus of opportunities and constraints. To interpret the meaning of social space solidarities and difference, Bourdieu's work provides a way to conceptualize the interplay of structure and agency through social space positions and internalized value systems based on actors' amounts and relative weights of economic and cultural capital. Integrating concepts from Barth and Bourdieu into

an analytical framework enables analysis that sheds light on strongly cohesive social identities. In this research, I explore ethnic identities, social spaces and boundaries among second generation Chinese Americans in an Evangelical Church in Greater Baltimore Maryland, USA

To interpret fundamentalist perspectives, and the intensity of faith and religious literalism that emerged from interview and participant observation data, I adopt Stump's (2008) analytical framework from human geography. I deploy the synthesis of Barth and Bourdieu to analyze ethnicity and social space, combined with Stump's understanding of fundamentalism, to assess the intense dispositional and behavioral cohesion within the ethno-spiritual community, while placing the significance of these communities and practices at wider socio-spatial scales.

My research explores three areas: 1) identity discourses revealed by second generation Chinese Americans in the research site; 2) the social space characteristics of the informant group; 3) which dispositions and practices emerge from ethno-spiritual identity discourses, the practices required for effective ethnic performance, and how social space similarities frame the content and style of practices. Specific interview questions explored intensity of religious faith, the relationship between ethnicity and faith, dating, marriage, friendships and role of religion in politics.

Intensive research deepens our understanding of the genesis, persistence and trajectory of new identities in societies characterized by immigration and ethno-cultural diversity. By exploring these questions, we engage with two of the most powerful forces in social life: identities and religious faith. Evangelicalism is a rapidly growing and dynamic force creating or reshaping identities and cultural perceptions in different regions of the world. In this chapter, I use the Barth-Bourdieu theoretical synthesis to explore a dynamic network of ethnic identities and faith in what I have described in previous work as ethno-spiritual communities (Smith, 2008).

2. Ethnic identities and religious fundamentalism

2.1 Ethnicity, boundaries and social geographies

Ethnicity is a discursive term, often seen as difficult to define and complex to work through in social research. Most studies have grappled with ethnicity as a matter of cultural content, and treated ethnic groups as separate, autonomous and isolated by discrete boundaries. Kinship, shared ancestry, language and endogamous marriage- backed by sanctions for violators- all created webs of meaning (Geertz 1973) that ensured group cohesion and continuity. Broadly labeled primordialist, scholars who shared these assumptions about ethnic identities and persistence dominated research until the late 1960s.

Three fundamental problems emerged from the rather static understandings of ethnicity characteristic of the primordialist approach. First, scholars could not agree on a common set of traits to define ethnicity. This led to confusion and lack of social scientific coherence. Second, ethnographers and other researchers often noted that the cultural content enclosed by ethnic labels changed over time, particularly with the imposition of colonial regimes in 'non-western' settings and the consequent diffusion of practices associated with the world system of capitalist economy. The considerable literature on 'cargo-cults' in Melanesia

societies and other Pacific Basin settings provided cases in point. Finally, what of new identities in immigrant-settler societies such as the United States, Canada and Australia? Some immigrants strove to preserve origin-society socio-cultural systems, but these were inevitably weakened in vastly different socio-spatial circumstances. Likewise, second generation ethnic groupings and subsequent generations understood their identities differently from the immigrant generation, and created multiple identities within any particular ethnic label.

To address these, and other vexing issues, more critical scholars created approaches that centered on ethnic identity genesis and persistence as contextually dependent sets of processes, rather than sets of cultural traits. Identities were no longer seen as dependent on a certain level of group isolation, but were actually strengthened and more sharply defined and demarcated by exogamous interactions. Viewed from this more dynamic perspective, group identity was understood as mutable, shifting and socially constructed.

Perhaps the central figure in this epistemological shift was the work of Fredrik Barth, who stressed that ethnic identities are centered on socio-cultural practices that serve as important boundary markers, differentiating an ethnic group from all out-groups. For Barth (1998a, 1998b) ethnicity is a form of social organization that deploys cultural markers and practices to organize difference. Interaction with exogamous groups is based upon transactions and negotiations over territory, resources and relative social status. A ethnic label is quite discursive, as in-group members play the same game of daily life by reproducing practices central to the identity. Standards of performance provide set benchmarks for status rewards, while sanctions follow for failure to perform adequately, or for defiant practices. The status benefits of membership, and the costs of ethnic failure or 'betrayal', enable the persistence and defense of these boundaries, and thus preserve ethnic identity. Considered from this perspective, ethnic identities are (re)produced on the individual and collective levels through these daily social transactions. Individuals self-ascribe as members of in-group A, and therefore differentiate themselves in perception and daily performance from out groups B, C etc. By identifying as members of group A, they agree to the rewards of maintaining boundaries, and to the sanctions for violating those boundaries. Thus, ethnic identity demarcation entails a type of daily presentation (Goffman, 1959) to those in the group and outside of it.

Barth's perspective also allows for shifts in the cultural content of ethnic identity membership. For example, under changing economic circumstances, the group might embrace occupations (e.g. small business ownership) that were previously avoided under different status circumstances in the home country. This is frequently in evidence for specific demographics within immigrant groups in the United States, such as Korean men, who experience loss of status in the migration process (Ley, 2008). Likewise, ethnic boundaries can be permeable, at least to certain degrees under specific conditions. For example, outmarriage from group A might mean leaving the formal ethnic identity of one's childhood and early family life. Conversely, persons from group A who are deemed 'assimilable' might be accepted by group B by marrying into it. However, the standards enabling movement across boundaries can change if the broader socio-cultural, political and spatial contexts are transformed. Thus identities, and interethnic relations, are not fixed or immutable.

Crucially, ethnic identities are also rooted in place context, because different social compositions lead to varied expressions of group identities. For example, Chinese Americans in San Francisco will occupy a very different social position relative to their coethnics in urban regions where Asians are a smaller percentage of the overall population. In the Greater Baltimore region, Asian Americans (broadly defined in US Census terminology as East, Southeast and South Asians) comprise only about five percent of the total. Because group identities are expressed on landscapes of urban, exurban and rural areas, immigration streams dynamically alter local social geographies. Berry and Henderson (2002) view ethnic group expressions as geographical identities, as groups mark their presence on the landscape in a manner similar to etchings on a vase. In turn, the changed landscape becomes an emotive symbolic space that is intertwined with the ethnic consciousness of the people who created it. Examples of research within the social geography of ethnicity includes Airress' (2002) qualitative studies of Vietnamese American landscapes in New Orleans, and Wood's (1997) work on such transformations in Northern Virginia. Migration streams create new settlement patterns such as ethnoburbs in Los Angeles (Li, 1998) and dispersed ethnic patterns or 'invisiburbs' associated by Skop and Altman (2006) with Asian Indians. Ethnic economies in urban spaces as different as Berlin and St. Paul Minnesota create clusters and recreate business arteries on the landscapes of central cities (Kaplan, 1997). In the case of Asian Americans in the Greater Baltimore region, settlement clusters do exist, but do not follow an obvious enclave pattern. Likewise, social patterns are generally heterolocal, with shopping centers, churches, temples and university clubs as central nodes of ethnic expression and interaction with coethnics.

2.2 Ethnic religion

In the US context, the intensity and persistence of religious loyalties and impacts seems closely tied to large scale immigration (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006) and the process of adjustment that faces individuals and communities in an alienating environment. This fact has direct relevance for ethnic persistence beyond the immigrant generation (Min 2002).

Research focused specifically on ethnic churches has centered upon the roles, attitudes of, and differences between, the immigrant and second generations. Exploring the different perceptions and benefits for the two groups, and the roles of the institution in the lives of the congregants, Ley (2008) has analyzed immigrant churches in Canada as nodes of services, deploying the concept of bonding social capital-the vital lifeline of relationships and obligations that enable immigrants to function in an alienating environment. Cao (2005) examines immigrant churches as sites for class-based segmented assimilation. Similarly, Yang (2002) emphasizes the role of churches as sites for emotional and spiritual stability for immigrants overwhelmed by the alienating realities of the migration experience. In particular, Yang emphasizes the importance of absolute values found in evangelical Protestantism as the crucial factor motivating conversions to Christianity among Chinese migrants. Though a marginal faith for most Chinese in Asia, evangelical Protestantism strikes a spiritual cord in the North American context. Scholars have found a similar dynamic at work among immigrants and the second generation in Korean American churches (Chong, 1998; Chai, 1998).

Within ethnic communities, religious persons manifest a strong attachment to traditional definitions of family and moral conduct, and usually gravitate towards evangelical churches

and organizations that are fundamentalist in character. This cultural and social conservatism is particularly strong in Chinese and Korean settings (Chong, 1998; Lum, 2007). Kim's (2006) study of Christian evangelizing on university campuses is instructive. Although Asian Americans are about forty percent of the student body at the University of California at Berkeley, they constitute about eighty percent of the membership of fifty Christian groups on campus. Universities in other regions of the US show similar trends. Such groups are typically comprised of second or one and a half generation students, who often find themselves in a social space between their immigrant parents and the "native born" in the US.

The concept of boundaries highlights the role of faith and strict practice as a bulwark for believers living in the world, but not of it. Likewise, secularizing forces, often associated with a postmodern attitude of cultural relativism, and fundamentalist religious groups engage in intense political conflicts over the legal definition and uses of public spaces, and the means of cultural reproduction. The conflicts tend to strengthen traditional and fundamentalist approaches in religious institutions, or give rise to new movements, all at the expense of modernizing, liberal opinion (Stump, 2000). While traits may be identified by in-group members as necessary and constitutive of the collective identity, Barth (1998a, 1998b) asserts the primacy of the group's interactions with the wider society as the key to understanding group persistence

3. Bourdieu and social space practices: Habitus, doxa and capital

Bourdieu's (1984, 1990) work provides a way to conceptualize the interplay of structure and agency through social space positions and internalized value systems based on actors' amounts and relative weights of economic and cultural capital. For Bourdieu, social theory is mainly concerned with the specific ways in which differences are reproduced through the embodiment of actors' cultural distinctions. All actors occupy specific points in *social fields*, the arenas of competition for status and material resources that are based on family, educational institution, occupation, etc. The relative position of an actor in the fields in which s/he is engaged will depend upon her/his endowment of *capital*, the knowledge, attitudes and material resources that the actor has been given through specific parental upbringing, level and type of education, acquisition of dispositions and manner of consumption. Thus, what the postal worker eats and the way he eats it, what the banker wears and the way she wears it, are specific examples of the dispositions and bodily manifestations upon which actors are judged, and differentiated. These practices and attitudes conspire to shape the opportunities, constraints and life chances of individuals. However, for Bourdieu, a central point of analysis was the fact that actors internalize the dispositions that generate specific practices, and in the process engage in the reproduction and legitimation of existing social space differences (as I discuss below, these differences can be applied to arenas such as ethnicity and well as a more capital-oriented understanding of social spaces).

'Feel for the game', with the habitus being the feel and the social field being the game-is determinative of relative effectiveness of attitudes and practices acquired in a specific social space, largely unspoken because the actors know beforehand-and have internalized to the point of automatic response- what is acceptable behavior in a social space faction. Through habitus, social distinctions and socio-spatial differences are reproduced and maintained

(Bourdieu, 1990; 1998). Contra Marx, economic capital, though important, is not determinative. Rather, one's real fate is shaped by levels of, and practices associated with, symbolic capital, acquired through social origin and upbringing, and manifested at the level of the body through habitus. Like Weber, Bourdieu emphasized the fundamental importance of status-manifested through bodily performance and speech, for example-as the central motif of social distinction.

At the deepest level, Bourdieu postulates the formation of a doxic relationship between the objective conditions of a social space position, and the subjective attitudes and preferences associated with that position. Doxa-as naturalized beliefs and assumptions so deep and profound that they are taken as common sense- emerge to shape the internalized dispositions associated with an actor's social origin and consequent social space position. In previous work, I have applied Bourdieu's concepts to the study of ethnicity, specifically within contrasting religious traditions (Smith, 2008). Particularly intensive and cohesive identities are formed when actors' ethnicity, class and religious positions are united in specific institutions and networks. Likewise, social capital is augmented through ethnic institutions that provide institutional completeness for the group (Breton 1964). The doxic relationships in these social networks-centered on ethnically expressed spirituality among actors who shared similar social space positions-are particularly deep and persistent.

4. Current patterns of religious fundamentalism

Stump (2000) has developed a framework for understanding how fundamentalism is shaped by contexts and how fundamentalists use territoriality as a spatial strategy. Fundamentalist groups are not identified by specific theological criteria, but by their manner of discourse and attitudes toward those outside of their group. Fundamentalists support traditional religious faith, practice and authority against current social and cultural trends (Stump 2000). Furthermore, fundamentalist groups consist of self-identified true believers who draw a distinct and absolutist boundary to protect themselves from an enemy other. Because the group is the only legitimate moral community, and represents true faith and proper practice, it brooks no compromise on ideology and beliefs. This strident sense of opposition is a defining characteristic of fundamentalist groups.

Fundamentalism, with its total commitment to traditional spiritual authority, faces three main contemporary threats, which offer alternative models of society. The *modernist society* is receptive to innovation, science and individualism, preferring these elements to communal life and tradition. During the twentieth century, this model partially replaced tradition as the main source of authority in urbanized-industrialized countries. The *secular society* takes modernism to another level, and does not accept any role for religion in the public institutions and spaces. Secularism excludes faith as a legitimate source of authority. If religion has a diminished role in modernist society, it has no legitimate role in a secular one. *Cultural pluralism* does allow for religious faith and practice, but eliminates any preference for a single tradition by denying the certitude and truth claims of any particular faith. These three models refuse to base legitimate authority on faith, and are anathema to fundamentalists.

The fundamentalist response to these threats can be peaceful or violent, largely apolitical or radically political. Three key tactical patterns are in evidence. First, fundamentalists take an

oppositionalist stance toward existing political arrangements. This entails clearly defining the “Other” in political life at all scales. For example, Christian groups in the US see as implacable enemies groups advocating abortion rights and gay marriage, because such groups are seen as a threat to the fundamentalist definition of the family and its role. Consequently, much preaching and political mobilization emphasized the need to vigorously fight organizations advocating un-Christian lifestyles and policy positions. A second tactical pattern involves separatism, and the desire to remain distinct from unclean and sinful elements. This strategy ties in to the need to draw boundaries that are aggressively defended against the enemy Other. Thirdly, fundamentalist groups engage in activism to gain or recapture control over the uses and meanings of space. This is necessary to achieve the purist vision of an ideal society, in which the values of the group shape public landscapes and private behaviors. Without such control, the enemies of the faith will be able to pollute the minds of vulnerable persons in society, and subvert efforts to provide spiritual safety for the community of believers, which ideally includes everyone. Indeed, specific fundamentalist groups from universalizing faiths seek converts and include aggressive proselytizing as part of their program.

5. Field methodology and informant group profile

5.1 Methods

In ethnic identity studies, religious institutions provide rich opportunities for qualitative research. Informants are often willing to share their views on the overlap of ethnic identities with their faith tradition. Ethnic religious institutions are time structured and spatially well-organized nodes of cultural practices and sites for the production of meaning and identity reinforcement. At the research site, I explored second generation ethnicity and its persistence, working with Chinese American informants in Baltimore, Maryland, USA. The case study engaged with a seventy-five person group that forms a tightly bound evangelical social network.

I conducted the research during three summer/early autumn seasons in 2006-2008 and 2010. In July 2006, I began to attend English language services at the site, to engage in participant observations. Through note taking and informal discussions, I gained insights into specific aspects of worship and belief among the congregants. I chose this church based on the size of the congregation, which is the largest specifically Chinese American church in the Baltimore area, and its welcoming atmosphere toward outsiders. The service typically includes about fifty congregants on any particular Sunday morning. Some actors are proficient in Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese, but feel more comfortable in an English language service. I centered the research process on the identities and social spaces of this study group, but also observed interaction between the second generation congregants and the much larger Chinese-speaking congregation, which held weekly services at 11am. The different services, followed by a combined service lunch every Sunday, highlighted profound differences between the two congregations.

After a series of observations, I began to invite individuals to answer specific questions presented in an ordered format during semi-structured interviews. The questions revealed patterns of attitudes and beliefs toward ethnic identity and faith. After the initial questions, the informants often elaborated on specific aspects of their experiences as Chinese

Americans practicing evangelical Christianity, and attitudes toward issues such as politics, dating and dispositions and tastes related to food and personal style. Several informants expressed a preference to convey answers in an emailed questionnaire format, and I agreed to this as an option. I interviewed a total of twenty informants, out of an estimated seventy-five persons in the English congregation.

I pursued contacts through the classic snowball sampling method. I was made aware of new informants by word of mouth and email. Likewise, a flyer inviting participation was placed on church bulletin boards, and copies were left on a table with other church literature. Due to the qualitative nature of the project, I had no desire, need or intention of seeking a representative sample. The interview schedule was designed to elicit information exploring informant expression of ethnic and religious identities. I was also able to engage with a larger number of congregants in informal conversations before or after services, during church picnics and in other settings such as Bible studies. These relaxed encounters tended to yield fruitful and insightful observations and perceptions in a comfortable, unstructured framework. The questions explored reasons for worship at an ethnic church, followed by a series of Likert questions on how Faith Chinese Church differs from a non-Chinese worship environment. The informants were asked to offer opinions on the degree of congregational segregation by language, and tensions between Chinese and Christian identities. Finally, the last four questions explored political orientation, theological conservatism and a request to identify key values that the informant perceived as both Chinese and Christian.

Qualitative methods enable deep explorations of the impact of structures on individuals and engage with persons as agents in social spaces (Winchester, 2000). Nevertheless, there are limitations inherent in micro-scale qualitative projects. Ethnic outsiders engaged in these research settings perceive discourses through specific subjectivities, and my perceptions framed how I interpreted answers to questions. In addition, the questions asked-and those not asked- the researchers theoretical lenses and biases (Harraway, 1988; Rose, 1997) However, despite my status as an ethnic outsider, I occupied an insider position by background, as I was raised with a similar religious worldview as the informants, though I do not presently share their belief system. Nevertheless, this fact provided some measure of common ground during the research process. Overall, the interviews provided depth of detail on the informants' central beliefs, values and social practices. This would have been virtually impossible through a pure survey or questionnaire format.

5.2 Faith Chinese Church

Within the social space of Faith Chinese Church, crucial differences between English and Chinese language congregants are based on generational structure and levels of cultural capital. The English-speaking group is generally younger, with much higher levels of cultural capital associated with more advanced acculturation. This relates to linguistic skills and recognition of behaviors and communicative patterns beneficial in the larger socio-cultural milieu (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Studies of immigrant churches (Cao 2005) also emphasize the role of the institutions as resources for gaining skills necessary in the larger society. Second generation Chinese Americans are already competent in language and communication, thus church membership and participation tends to be perceived differently, due to the different challenges faced by these actors.

The English-speaking group shares similar class and lifestyle dispositions, as indicated by information provided during interviews on occupation and attitudes. Informant occupations include software engineer, loan officer, financial analyst, systems administrator, resource manager for a major financial firm, programmer, clinical data manager, occupational therapist, operations manager, and legislative aid (in Maryland state legislature for Republican delegate). Interviews reveal that most congregants have acquired or are in the process of acquiring higher education. Major fields include both the sciences and humanities, thus defying a common stereotypical assumption of preference for natural sciences and engineering often associated with younger Asian Americans. These facts situate the informants into the creative class identified by Florida (2005) as a key element in the urban regional economies of the early twenty-first century. This is manifested by the numbers who are secondary migrants from other regions of the United States who have moved to the Baltimore-Washington region due to superior opportunities in health sciences, financial services, education and public administration. The group also typifies Sassen's (2006) analysis of skilled labor in world cities.

Moreover, according to several informants, Faith Chinese Church operates as a network space for potential dating and marriage. Congregants include those who joined after marrying church members, and then accepted the group's Protestant fundamentalist cosmology. During fieldwork, even with this rather small group of about seventy-five adults, one marriage did take place. Thus, the social space provides opportunities for the combination of cultural and social capital and its inter-generational transmission vital to the reproduction of ethnic identities. Figure 2 provides a schema to conceptualize the social space of the second generation congregants.

6. Discussion: Ethnic identities, habitus and fundamentalist doxa in faith Chinese Church

6.1 The social space: Informant habitus dispositions and practices

Most of the informants are American-born Chinese or 'One and a Half' generation Chinese who immigrated with their families and were raised in the United States. The informants have different regional origins (Hong Kong, Taiwan, various regions in China, and overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia), and were raised speaking different Chinese languages (Mandarin, Cantonese) or in English. Given the predominance of non-mainland China origin among the second generation, the informant attitudes toward China tend to differ sharply from congregants in the Chinese language service, which consists mostly of mainland Chinese. The Chinese regional origins are Taiwan, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Indonesia. One individual was born in Taiwan, but spent part of her childhood in South Africa. For the interviews, the gender composition was evenly divided at ten informants each.

The second-generation congregation informants share a middle class, conservative habitus found in those with similar class backgrounds in the U.S., irrespective of ethnicity. Informants self-identify as somewhat or very conservative in attitudes toward family life and the role of religious practices in public spaces. Some members are active in groups such as the Christian Coalition and Focus on the Family, two of the most important evangelical political organizations in the United States. While differences of region of origin (i.e. China,

Hong Kong, Taiwan or Southeast Asia) are vital for the first generation, the second generation congregation prioritizes Christian identity over any regional ancestral attachments. This finding is in accord with Jeung's (2005) study of the timeframe of family immigration in shaping attitudes to issues such as assimilation, intermarriage, politics and more banal matters such as food preferences.

Barth (1998a, 1998b) identifies boundary-maintaining behaviors as the most relevant social practices in the daily production of ethnic identities. For the informants, standards of group performance are simultaneously ethnic and religious. Specifically, certain attitudes toward time and food are ethnic. For example, an informant discussed the idea of having events start on "Chinese time", as opposed to a rigid commitment to cold punctuality.

"There are a lot of unique things that are commonly associated with the Chinese-American identity. We have "aunties" and "uncles." When we have potluck dinners, we have foods that our parents used to cook at home. Sometimes we also joke about starting this on "Chinese-time." This means, for example, that a particular activity that wasn't scheduled to start until 6:30PM actually ended up starting at 7:30PM. To everyone in a Chinese church, this might even be considered normal."

Informant 1-Jonathan, 30 years old. Software engineer

Initially asked why they worship at an ethnic church, informants emphasize the comfort level of common cultural background and a conviction that God wants them to serve there. On the need for co-ethnic companionship in a new alien social environment, this response was typical:

"I was born and raised in NYC. I grew up in a Chinese home. My friends were mainly Chinese. In college, I attended a Chinese fellowship. After graduation, I moved to Maryland for my job. I guess I missed being with Chinese people...I felt "at home" being in a Chinese church, which is reminiscent of my upbringing in NYC."

Informant 10-Jim, 27 years old, Programmer

On the combination of spiritual and material benefits at Faith Chinese Church:

"I want to reaffirm my faith in God and find direction in today's world of confusing messages...The Chinese Church helps me set my priorities straight. It also provides me a social group to socialize with and "network" with."

Informant 5-Tom, 31 years old, Operations Manager

On the issue of whether value and behavioral conflicts exist between Chinese practices and Christianity, the informants confirmed some conflicts and prioritized their faith:

"Absolutely. I was raised with those cultural expectations. Priorities like making money, putting family and education first (instead of faith), and doing things to please others (instead of God) were conditioned into me (prior to rediscovering God). I do see some similarities though: things like Honoring your mother and father and doing good things to others (Confucian philosophy) do have similar themes with Biblical morals/themes. All I can do is (during times of conflict between expectations) is try reconciling them and do what is best..."

Informant 5-Tom, 31 years old, Operations Manager

Others assert that Chinese identity strengthens their Christian identity. A 55 year old Taiwan-born informant, Kim took exception to the idea of conflict between Christianity and Chinese cultural values, stating that,

“My culture and family actually encouraged my faith.”

Importantly, the persistence of ethnic identity in the US setting has not precluded the emergence of new, broader-scale identities. For example, ethnic studies literature has explored panethnic identity formation (e.g. Asian American, Latino) among second and successive generation ethnics (Espiritu 1994). Discourses from this congregation somewhat affirm this trend, as two strongly agree and four somewhat agree with the statement, “I primarily think of myself as an Asian American, and a Chinese American second.”

“Actually, I do identify myself more as an Asian American first, since I communicate more in English rather than Chinese today. I also do get along well with other Asian Nationalities, so I think of myself as more Asian, than Chinese.”

Informant 8-Matthew, 36 years old, Systems Administrator (born in Malaysia)

“Recently, I am more aware that I am Asian as well as I am Chinese.”

Informant 3-Kim, 55 years old, Loan Officer (born in Taiwan)

“I’m not a big fan of labels but both categories do fit me and I have no qualms being affiliated with both of them. To me, “Asian American” is a more ethnically diverse term than Chinese American. To me, Chinese American implies a more cultural affiliation with being Chinese. Being born and raised in the US, I lost a lot of that Chinese cultural heritage and language (although I’m now in the process of rediscovering it). To me “Asian American” is a more generic and broader term so I have no issues with that.”

Informant 5-Tom, 31 years old, Operations Manager (US born)

In many conversations I have had with informants, their attitudes reflect an openness toward a broader Asian American identity, while holding to specific Chinese American social and cultural practices.

6.2 Attitudes toward family life and society

Chinese attitudes toward family life are projected into the social arena of the congregation. Informants tie traditional Chinese attitudes toward family life to their own view of the church as an extended family with similar expectations of filial respect and harmony toward authority figures.

Group members follow patriarchal attitudes and practices, especially towards fundamentalist scriptural readings toward female authority in mixed settings. Expected moral standards are starkly Protestant, particularly in the realm of marriage and sexuality. Likewise, selective cultural practices identified as ‘Chinese’ constitute part of the formal and informal rule-sets framing proper in-group behaviors. However, it is important to note that behaviors deemed by second generation actors as ‘Chinese’ might differ from attitudes and behaviors of first generation Chinese immigrants.

In the interviews with informants, questions explored attitudes toward the authority of the Bible, politics and political participation. Of the twenty informants, sixteen affirmed that they strongly agreed with the statement “I believe that the entire Bible is the inerrant Word of God.” Four somewhat agree, and none disagreed. Similarly, when asked to self-identify politically, in accord with a four choice Likert-type structure ranging from very conservative to very liberal, four informants chose very conservative, six somewhat conservative, and one somewhat liberal. Nine informants chose the option, “rather neutral on political questions.” Likewise, in reaction to the statement, “It is necessary for Christians to engage in the political process, and influence public policy in an ethical, moral direction,” eight strongly agreed and ten somewhat agreed. None of the informants disagreed.

Castells (1997) has extensively researched the rise of fundamentalisms, conceptualizing religious social movements as part of a phenomenon of ‘resistance identities’ as a response to the alienating aspects of globalization processes. Within the US context, strong support for social conservatism and evangelical politics is found in newer middle class suburban communities, particularly among the self-employed and business professionals. Regionally, the trend is strongest in the southern and southwestern regions of the ‘Sunbelt’. But deeply conservative spiritual communities, including evangelical ethnic churches, are also found in regions generally not associated with conservative social attitudes.

In analyzing the interviews, informants perceive a decline in the spiritual health of US society, and consequently see movement toward a secular society, which they see as a rejection of God, and thus inherently evil. These sentiments apply to the current cultural pluralist framework, which informants see as dominant in society. From their perspective, pluralism erroneously views all faiths as valid and refuses to allow legal preference for the ‘Judeo-Christian’ value system that evangelicals believe emanates from divine authority. One informant, a youth pastor in the church, told me in an interview that he believed a period of intense persecution was coming and this trial would strengthen the faith of believers. He perceived persecution as a purifying element that will prepare believers for Christ’s return to earth.

The informants’ absolute distinction between saved and unsaved leads to a binary understanding of human society, and a need to avoid activities, institutions and groups that could compromise one’s salvation and commitment to faith. The informants also apply a profoundly spatial evangelical worldview. The struggle between good and evil is played out at multiple scales. Within each individual, the gospel of Christ competes with the temptations of sin. At the local regional scale, the church has a mission goal of increasing the number of Christians among the Chinese community in Greater Baltimore. In national politics, church bulletins urge congregants to pray for the defeat of legislative measures supporting abortion access or gay marriage.

Globally, mission work is focused on the 10/40 window. A key concept in evangelical geopolitics (Stump 2000; 2008), the window deploys the cartographic grid system to create a box that represents the ‘unchurched’ (and thus unsaved) populations living between 10 and 40 degrees north latitude in the Eastern Hemisphere. This spatial container of the unsaved includes China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and (symbolically if not mathematically by the grid) many in the overseas Chinese communities of Southeast Asia). Among the English language

congregation, mission work is highly esteemed, particularly if the mission work is overseas. The evangelical nature of the institution provides considerable status rewards to those who engage in mission work, whether on college campuses in the US or abroad in the unsaved spaces of the 10/40 window. For example, during a sermon in September 2006, a visiting (white Euro-American) pastor described the difficulties of evangelizing to Muslims in Indonesia. Within that context, he then affirmed the notion that the 26 December 2004 earthquake and tsunami in Indonesia would help evangelism in the staunchly Muslim society of Sumatra, because the shock of the catastrophe was God's way of creating softer hearts and receptive minds to the gospel of Christ in the formerly obstinate Sumatran Muslims.

Although Chinese Americans in Faith Chinese Church do engage in ethnic persistence, the fundamentalism and political conservatism of Chinese American evangelicals is also beneficial to a certain ideological assimilation: identities are reaffirmed through an ethno-spiritual association that encourages assimilation into the larger evangelical sector of US society. Given the continued importance of religion in US life and politics, the practice of evangelical Christianity, in ethnic or non-ethnically specific institutions, can bear fruit with improved access to educational and employment networks, and the cultural and economic advantages that can accrue from such associations.

Importantly, Chinese American evangelicals have also maintained an identity boundary between themselves and co-ethnics who are not Christian. Of the roughly 30,000 Chinese in the Greater Baltimore Region, less than ten percent are Christian (church letter, 2007). Most immigrants from the mainland grow up in a society that actively discourages religious faith and practice, and completely forbade its open expression until the commencement of Deng Xiaoping's reforms in the late 1970s. Non-Christian Chinese have often tied the religion and its missionaries to imperialism and the depredations committed by Western armies during the late Qing period, such as the Boxer Crisis in 1900. Not surprisingly, the sharply different attitudes toward this faith reinforce a significant identity boundary between Christian and non-Christian mainland immigrants. This boundary then persists to successive generations.

The predominant attitudes and practices in the study group are doxic (Bourdieu, 1984; 1990), in the sense that the motivations and justifications for social action are often unstated and implicitly understood; ethnicity can be expressed spiritually and vice versa, in a setting where this form of mutual constitution is normal and expected. The actors place their ethnic lives into ultimate contexts, and this transference makes ethnospirituality so powerful in both directions. Geertz (1973) stated that religion does not just describe the social order, but shapes it. This shaping role for evangelical Christianity cuts across varied spheres of social life in the USA, from ethnicity to electoral politics.

Finally, evangelical cosmic beliefs lead to practices anathema to outsiders. Thus, one informant was surprised when, upon visiting her home, some did not wish to enter a room to pray with a pastor who had a reputation for faith healing. This particular gathering combined religious preaching with a presentation on the virtues of joining a network marketing business, a form of economic activity often found in church settings, and presented at home gatherings. This mix of religious fervor with business networking is not unknown in tightly knit religious communities (Smith, 2008).

7. Conclusion

In Faith Chinese Church ethnic boundaries and religious fundamentalism are fused to create and reinforce identities. This does not preclude broader associations, such as the Asian American label noted above, but identity discourses tend to focus on Chinese practices. Likewise, the actors cite benefits to worship in an ethnic church, that range from status reinforcement and emotional support to specific business interactions. Group members secure status in settings where there is no danger of ethnic ridicule or rejection, and in which comfort levels of common experiences and perceptions enable easier social transactions.

As an ethno-spiritual community, Faith Chinese Church is a site of shared habitus dispositions and doxic emotional patterns, in which actors reproduce cultural practices as a crucial unifier. In analyzing these sites, Bourdieu's social theory is useful because it emphasizes the habitus of social spaces as generative of unifying practices. In the institution, Barth's concept of boundaries apply, leading to performance evaluation based upon ethnically appropriate attitudes, the beliefs and practices of strict evangelical Christianity.

Ethno-spiritual identities in Faith Chinese Church are '*resistance identities*' to the perceived movement of the broader society toward secularism, especially in the realms of marriage, family life and popular culture. Fundamentalist discourses within the group are acted upon through political opposition to alternative forms of marriage, religious multiculturalism, and immorality broadly defined. Mission work, inside the USA or in Chinese communities in Asia, provides a central motif of in-group status enhancement.

Min (2010) maintains that second-generation Korean evangelicals prioritize their Christian identity and thus tend to lose their ethnic identity. He focuses mainly on such traits such as Confucian ancestor worship, folkways and the like. This patterns seems to hold for informants at this site. However, as Barth states, the label matters more than the content that it encloses. Thus, the informants maintain an ethnic identity, but it is recreated and reconstituted to accord with their Christian beliefs.

Existential anxieties have intensified with the dislocating impacts of globalization processes. As a response to these pressures, the congregants of Faith Chinese Church hold fast to ethnic and faith solidarity. More specifically, the second generation congregants have created a new ethnic identity, a fusion of evangelical Christianity with those Chinese cultural attitudes that they deploy as identity performance markers in a non-Chinese society. Thus, meanings and experiences are framed through ethno-spirituality, an intensifying trend in the face of the alienating effects of globalization processes in immigrant-settler societies.

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Why Are Latin Europeans Less Happy? The Impact of Hierarchy

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1. Introduction

Life in Mediterranean countries is often characterized by the term *dolce vita* (sweet life in Italian), which carries the idea of a pleasurable life in the sun, with good food and rich cultures enjoyed by friendly relaxed people. This stereotype fits the experience of tourists fairly well, but contradicts with the results of survey research on happiness. A look at the World Map of Happiness (Veenhoven 2011a) reveals that people live happier in the rainy north of Europe than in the sunny south. Why? Some possible answers to this question are explored in this paper.

We will begin this paper by explaining what we mean by 'happiness' and how we distinguish between 'Northern' and 'Latin' nations in Europe. Next, we will discuss the evidence for lower happiness in Latin Europe than in the North and consider the possibility of cultural measurement bias. We will then review possible explanations for this North-South difference with a particular focus on social hierarchy. We will show that the more hierarchical cultures of the Latin European countries explains much of the lower happiness. Having established these facts, we theorise about origins of this difference, drawing on macro-sociological theories.

1.1 Definition of happiness

The word 'happiness' is used in many ways. This paper is about happiness in the sense of 'life satisfaction'. Following Veenhoven (1984) we define happiness as *the degree to which someone evaluates the overall quality of his or her present 'life as a whole' positively*. In other words, how much one likes the life one lives.

1.2 Components of happiness

When appraising how much we like our life, we draw on two sources of information: how well we feel generally, and how well our life-as-it-is meets our standards of how-life-should-be. These sub-appraisals are referred to as the 'affective' and 'cognitive' components of happiness (Veenhoven 2009a). In this paper we consider both overall happiness and these components. Accordingly we measure each of the happiness variants.

Hedonic level of affect: Like other animals, humans can feel good or bad, but unlike other animals, we can reflect on that experience, assess how well we feel most of the time and communicate this to others. This is the feeling-based part of happiness. Veenhoven assumes that affective experience draws on gratification of innate needs and infers on this basis that the determinants of hedonic happiness are universal (Veenhoven 2010).

Contentment: Unlike other animals, humans can also appraise their life cognitively and compare their life as it is with how they want it to be. Wants are typically guided by common standards of the good life and in that sense contentment is likely to be more culturally variable than affect level. This cognitive appraisal of life assumes intellectual capacity and for this reason this concept does not apply to people who lack this capacity, such as young children who cannot yet oversee their life-as-a-whole and thus can have no clear standards in mind.

1.3 Measurements of happiness

Thus defined, happiness is something we have in mind and things we have in mind can be assessed through questioning. Questions on happiness can be framed in many ways, directly or indirectly, using single or multiple items. An overview of acceptable questions is available in the collection 'Measures of Happiness' of the World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven 2011b).

Overall happiness: A commonly used survey question is: 'Taking all together, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?', Please answer by ticking a number between 0 to 10, where 0 stands for most 'dissatisfied' and 10 for most 'satisfied'. Responses to equivalent questions of this kind are gathered in the collection 'Happiness in Nations' of the World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven 2011c). This set of data yields comparable information on average happiness in 143 nations over the years 2000 to 2009. These data are also included in the data file 'States of Nations' (Veenhoven 2011d), which we used in this study. The variable name is HappinessLSBW10.11_2000.09.

Hedonic level of affect: The affective component of happiness was measured in the Gallup World Poll (Gallup 2009) using responses to a series of 14 questions about how the interviewee felt the day before the interview. Typical questions were whether one felt 'depressed', 'stressed' or conversely had felt 'well rested' and 'smiled a lot' yesterday. Respondents could answer 'yes' or 'no'. Using these responses, we calculated an affect balance score per nation, subtracting the percentage of reported negative feelings from the percentage of reported positive feelings per nation. The variable name in the data file States of Nations is: HappinessYesterdayABS_2006.08.

Contentment: The cognitive component of happiness was measured using a question found in the European Quality of life Survey (Anderson et al. 2009). This question reads: 'On the whole my life is close to how I would like it to be'. Answers were rated on a 5-step scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The variable name in data file States of Nations is: HappinessLifeFitsWants5_2007.

1.4 North-South

In this analysis of European nations 'Northern' countries will include Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland) and the Netherlands. 'Latin' countries

denote the following Mediterranean countries: Portugal, Spain, France, Italy and Greece. North European Germany, Poland and the Baltic countries are left out because average happiness in these nations is still influenced by war and regime change in the past century. The South European Balkan countries were not included for the same reason. For comparison matters, three representative countries of each group are selected: Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands for Northern countries, France, Italy and Spain for Latin Countries.

2. Are Latin Europeans really less happy?

Let us now take a closer look at average happiness in the Northern and Latin countries of Europe.

2.1 Happiness in Northern and Latin European nations

The differences in overall happiness and its components between Northern and Latin European nations are presented in Table 1. There is a consistent difference: inhabitants of Latin European nations are clearly less satisfied with their life as a whole, they feel less well affectively and see a greater difference between how their life is and how they want it to be.

Region	Nation	Life satisfaction (Overall happiness)	Mood (affective component)	Contentment (cognitive component)
Northern	Denmark	8.3	60	3.9
	Netherlands	7.7	58	3.9
	Sweden	7.8	56	4.1
	Average	7.9	58	4.0
Latin	France	6.6	42	3.5
	Italy	6.7	39	3.3
	Spain	7.3	49	3.6
	Average	6.9	43	3.5
North-South difference				
In points on scale		1.0	15	0.5
In % actual scale range in Europe		27%	37%	32%

Table 1. Average happiness in Northern and Latin European nations around 2005

This difference in the appreciation of life as a whole is paralleled by similar differences in satisfaction with particular life-domains, some of which are presented in Table 2.

Region	Nation	Satisfaction with job ¹	Satisfaction with home life ²	Satisfaction with financial situation of household ³
Northern	Denmark	8.2	8.7	7.3
	Netherlands	7.6	8.1	7.5
	Sweden	7.7	8.4	6.8
	Average	7.8	8.4	7.2
Latin	France	6.9	7.6	6.0
	Italy	7.3	7.7	6.8
	Spain	7.1	7.6	6.1
	Average	7.1	7.6	6.3
North-South difference				
In points on scale		0.7	0.8	0.9
In % actual scale range in Europe		23%	23%	21%

Table 2. Life, work and financial satisfaction in Northern and Latin European nations around 2005

2.2 Cultural measurement bias?

These counterintuitive results have raised suspicion about the comparability of happiness across cultures. Several possible sources of cultural measurement bias have been suggested.

One possibility could be that the words used in survey questions have different connotations in Latin languages than in Germanic languages. Yet several arguments plea against this explanation. One is that the survey questions in Table 1 used various words, particularly in the 14 questions about yesterday's mood. Another counter indication is that no such divide between North and South appears in the International Happiness Scale Interval Study (Veenhoven 2009), where native speakers are asked to rate numerical equivalents of verbal response options, such as 'very happy'.

Another possible explanation is that national response tendencies play us false and in this context, Ostroot and Snyder (1985) have suggested that French cynicism results in lower responses to questions about happiness than those given in the US, while both the French and the American respondents may feel equally well. If so, we can expect that the difference will be less pronounced in the responses to questions about yesterdays affect, since this is closer to the respondent's direct experience and the affect balance score does not involve an encompassing judgement. Yet Table 1 does not show such a difference.

Any such cultural measurement bias must reflect in the low correlation of average happiness with objective living conditions, if these measures merely tap hot air, scores on

¹ Data file States of Nations(Veenhoven 2011d), JobSatisfaction_1980_2005

² Data file States of Nations(Veenhoven 2011d), HouseholdSatisfaction_1980_2005

³ Data file States of Nations(Veenhoven 2011d), FinancialSatisfaction_1980_2005

them will not be coupled with e.g. economic affluence and respect for human rights in nations. Yet cross-national research shows the reverse, about 80% of the differences in average happiness in nations can be explained by a handful of objective societal characteristics, see for example Ott (2010). So if cultural measurement bias is involved at all, the bias must be limited. The issue of cultural measurement bias is discussed in more detail in Veenhoven (1993) chapter 5/2.1.

3. Why are people less happy in Latin countries?

Comparative research on happiness shows typically that people live happiest in the most modern nations of this world, see for example Inglehart et al. (2008) and Berg & Veenhoven (2010). To what extent can this explain the difference discussed here? The most comprehensive indicator of modernity of nations is their economic prosperity, and this is commonly measured using the indicator buying power per capita. For that purpose we used variable RGDP_2005 from the data file 'States of Nations'. A plot of happiness versus buying power in European countries is given in Figure 1.

As we can see from Figure 1, average happiness ranges from 4,5 (Macedonia) to 8,3 (Denmark). The circles highlight the difference between Latin and Northern European countries on both variables; the difference in happiness is great, while the difference in affluence is relatively small. So, economic affluence is only small part of the story.



Fig. 1. Life satisfaction by economic prosperity in Europe around 2005⁴

⁴ Variables in States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d): HappinessLSBW10.11_2000.09 and RGDP_2005

What other factors can be involved? A look in the literature shows that happiness in nations also depends on the degree of freedom societies allow their members (Veenhoven 2000), on the degree to which citizens trust each other (Helliwell 2003) and on the quality of government within that society (Ott 2010). A common effect seems to be that these societal conditions add to the chance that citizens find a way of life that fits their nature. In terms of institutional economy, this societal constellation adds to the 'optimal allocation' of human resources.

Societies can limit individual choice in several ways. One way is by setting normative constraints on self direction. This is typically the case in collectivistic cultures and happiness is indeed lower in nations where collectivistic values prevail than in nations where individualist values rank highest (Veenhoven 1999). Likewise, happiness is lower in nations where men and women have to meet traditional gender roles in contrast to nations where female emancipation has led to a more varied repertoire of life style options (Bjornskov et. al. 2007).

A related factor, not yet considered in much detail, is the degree of social hierarchy in a society. Social hierarchy involves differences in power and prestige. Power differences will evidently reduce a person's self-direction, the more power other people have over you, the lower the chance that you can live the way you would like. Differences in prestige will also reduce self direction in a more subtle way: if other people are held in much higher esteem than you are, you will be less self confident and therefore less apt to go your own way. Bay (1970) refers to this limitation as 'psychological (un)freedom'.

Let us see whether hierarchy can indeed explain the difference found in happiness between the North and the South of Europe, and if so, to what extent.

3.1 Definition of hierarchy

Social 'hierarchy' involves differential access to power and prestige. Hierarchy exists in all social institutions, though not to an equal degree. Hierarchy is typically more pronounced in institutions such as the army and work organizations, than within the family and groups such as sport clubs. The degree of hierarchy in these institutions varies across societies and there is also societal difference in the degree to which these hierarchies converge.

3.2 Indicators of hierarchy in nations

Hierarchy as such is not easily measurable, at least not at the level of nations. In this study we used four indicators. The first was the amount of hierarchy inhabitants perceived to exist in their country. The second indicator was the degree to which people felt that they were being controlled by others. The third indicator was the degree to which hierarchy was morally accepted. The fourth indicator was the Hofstede's (1994) Power Distance Index (PDI), which is used to depict both the degree of hierarchy actually perceived to exist and the degree of hierarchy deemed desirable. Therefore, this last indicator summarizes the previous items.

Perceived hierarchy: In the context of the GLOBE study in 62 societies (House et al. 2004: 537-9) middle managers were asked to rate their agreement with the following statements: 1) In

this society, followers are expected to obey their leader without question, 2) In this society, power is concentrated at the top. 3) In this organization, subordinates are expected to obey their boss without question, and 4) In this organization a person's influence is primarily based on one's ability and contribution to the organization. Agreement was rated on a numerical scale, ranging from little (1) to much (7) power distance. The highest average score was observed in Hungary (5,6) and the lowest in Denmark (3,9). The variable code in data file States of Nations is PracticePowerDistance_1996.

Perceived fate control: Another indicator of hierarchy in nations is the degree to which citizens perceive they are in control of their situation; the less control citizens perceive they have, the more hierarchical their society is likely to be. The World Values Survey (Inglehart 2000) contains several questions on this matter, two of which concern control in the workplace and one is about control of one's life in general.

The first question on self-direction at work reads: 'Thinking of your job, do you often or occasionally feel that you are being taken advantage of or exploited, or do you never have this feeling?' 1: often; 2: sometimes; 3: never. Responses to this question are available for 16 nations. The variable code in States of Nations is FeelExploited_1990s. A second question concerns perceived freedom at work and reads: 'How free are you to make decisions in your job?' 1: not at all; 10: a great deal. Responses to this question are available for 41 nations. The variable code in data file States of Nations is FreeWork_1990s.

The question about control in life in general reads 'Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "none at all" and 10 means "a great deal" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out'. This variable is available for 63 nations and is labelled as FreeLife_1990s in the data file States of Nations.

Approval of hierarchy: One source of data on the social approval of hierarchy is the above mentioned GLOBE study in which middle managers have first rated how much power distance exists in their society and organization. Subsequently they rated how much distance they feel *should be* in their society and organization, in response to the same four topics. Desired distance was again rated on a numerical scale ranging from not desired (1) to much desired (7). Scores ranged from 2,2 in Finland to 3,5 in Albania (House 2004: 540). This variable is available for 56 nations. The variable code in States of Nations is ValuePowerDistance_1996.

Hofstede's Power Distance Index: In the context of Hofstede's (1994) landmark study of work values in business organisations employees all over the world answered the following questions; 1) How frequently are employees afraid to express disagreement with their managers? 2) How would you describe the actual decision-making style of your boss (paternalistic, authoritarian vs. else) and 3) What decision-making style would you prefer your boss to have? The first two questions depict actual hierarchy and the last approval of hierarchy. The summed Power Distance Index (PDI) summarizes the previous indicators by mixing perception and preference. The latest update of the Hofstede study covers 74 nations and regions (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). Ratings are available in the 'States of Nations' data file as variable PowerDistance_1965.2002.

3.3 Hierarchy and happiness in the South and the North

How do these measures of hierarchy in nations relate to average happiness? Below we will consider the correlation.

Happiness and perceived hierarchy in nations: When looking at middle manager's perceptions of power distance at work, a very large difference between the Northern and Latin countries can be observed, as the difference of average of the two sets of country covers 68% of the whole European range as highlighted in Table 3.

	Perception of hierarchy	Perception of freedom			Acceptance of hierarchy	Power Distance Index	
		<i>Practised Power Distance</i> ¹	<i>Free in decision-making at work (scale 1-10)</i> ²	<i>Feel exploited at work (in %)</i> ³	<i>Perceived freedom and control in life (scale 1-10)</i> ⁴	<i>Hierarchy as it should</i> ⁵	<i>Hofstede PDI</i> ⁶
Northern countries	DK	3.89	7.4	39	7.1	2.76	18
	NL	4.11	7.3	38	6.2	2.45	38
	SE	4.85	7.4	39	7.3	2.70	31
	Mean value	4.28	7.4	39	6.9	2.64	29
Latin countries	FR	5.28	6.3	62	6.3	2.76	68
	IT	5.43	6.7	46	6.1	2.47	50
	ES	5.52	6.5	45	6.7	2.26	57
	Mean value	5.41	6.5	51	6.4	2.50	58
North-South difference							
In points on scale	1.13	0.9	12	0.5	0.14	29	
In % actual scale range in Europe	68%	30%	50%	23%	10%	35%	

Table 3. Valuation in the equality of hierarchy in Northern and Latin countries⁵

¹ Data file States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d), variable PracticePowerDistance_1996

² Data file States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d), variable FreeWork_90s

³ Data file States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d), variable FeelExploited_1990s

Happiness and acceptance of hierarchy in nations: One might think that people in Latin countries value hierarchy and power distance more than in the North. Yet there is little difference in the valuation of the hierarchy between the South and the North. There is even a slightly greater preference for equality among Latin Europeans. Consequently, the difference between 'power distance as it is' and 'power distance as it should' is much larger in the South than in the North, which obviously entails frustration and unhappiness.

Happiness and perceived control in nations: Hierarchy is also reflected in individuals perceived freedom at work as well as freedom in general and in perceived control in life, the less freedom and control individuals perceive in a country, the more hierarchical that society apparently is.

Once more we see that the difference between Northern and Latin Europe fits this general pattern. Both perceived individual freedom and happiness are higher in the Northern countries and both are lower in Latin countries.

This data corroborates well with the data from the World Values Survey of Table 3, where it appears that the freedom of choice in Northern Europe is about one point higher than in the South. Reduced individual freedom at work typically increases frustration at work and unhappiness. This is even more striking when looking at the percentages of people feeling exploited in their work, which represents more than half of Latin Europeans.

Happiness and power distance index: Hofstede's Power Distance Index encompasses the previous results and is probably the most robust indicator of social hierarchy to date. Again Northern European countries stand out as egalitarian and happy, while Latin European nations combine a hierarchical orientation with relatively low happiness. The main results in terms of acceptance of the hierarchy and perception of freedom in the two sets of countries are shown in Table 3.

General trends at the European level are given in Table 4, that shows the correlation between happiness, power distance and perceived freedom indicators.

Interesting to notice are the very significant correlations of free life, free work and PDI with life satisfaction (respectively $+0.75$, $+0.74$ and -0.77). This shows that perceived freedom is a very strong life satisfaction predictor at the European level, something already shown by Verme (2009) at a more global scale. The zero order correlation between PDI and happiness among European countries is -0.77 and it is sensibly the same ($r=-0.66$) when controlling with GDP. Also worthwhile noticing are the strong correlations of PDI with perceived freedom at work ($r=-0.62$) and in life in general ($r=-0.60$). We can regret that the data on each country of Europe is not more systematic, as this would make the analysis stronger.

A large difference in power distance, which is a strong life satisfaction in Europe, proves that the lower happiness found in Latin European countries is at least partly due to the greater levels of hierarchy that exist in these societies.

⁴ Data file States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d), variable FreeLife_90s

⁵ Data file States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d), variable ValuePowerDistance_1996

⁶ Data file States of Nations (Veenhoven 2011d), variable PowerDistance_1965.2004

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Happiness	Practised Power Distance	Value Power Distance	Free Work	Free Life	PDI
1.Happiness	-	-.45 N=19	-.39 N=19	+.75 N=26	+.74 N=40	-.77 N=28
2.Practised Power Distance	-	-	-.27 N=19	-.60 N=17	-.26 N=19	+.61 N=17
3.Value Power Distance	-	-	-	+.24 N=17	-.35 N=19	+.12 N=17
4.Free Work	-	-	-	-	+.72 N=27	-.62 N=21
5.Free Life	-	-	-	-	-	-.60 N=28
6.PDI	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4. Correlations between happiness, power distance and perceived freedom indicators

4. Why are Latin European countries more hierarchical?

Hierarchy exists in all societies, but the degree of inequality differs between societies. Various explanations have been proposed for these differences.

One line of explanation for societal differences in hierarchy focuses on the present and looks for contemporary drivers of hierarchy. A structural explanation in this context is that globalization is weakening the control of nation states, thereby giving free way to the powers of market capitalism. See for example Aghion & Williamson (1998). A related cultural explanation holds that growing individualism is undermining moral restraints to egoism and promoting self actualization at the cost of fellow man. See for example Elliott & Lemert (2006). Since these contemporary conditions are not much different between the north and the south of Europe we see no evident explanations along this line.

Another line of explanation focuses rather on the past and looks for antecedents of present day hierarchy. A structural theory of that kind holds that the growing division of labour is creating increasing mutual interdependencies and that this is giving rise to reduction of social inequalities (e.g. Lenski & Nolan 2004, chapter 6). Explanations that focus on political institutions see contemporary hierarchy as an echo of earlier power struggles (e.g. Gurr et al. 1990). In this vein cultural explanations stress the role of religion and hold that moral teachings of the past have shaped present day hierarchy.

This latter approach has evident applicability to the case at hand, since Catholicism has historically dominated the South of Europe and Protestantism the North. There is a large literature that describes the differences in orientation to hierarchy within these two strands of Christianity. See for example Gustafson (1978), Martin (1985), House (2004, chapter 17) and Bruce (2004).

Still it is possible that even before the Reformation hierarchy was less pronounced in the North of Europe than in the South and that the change to Protestantism was a consequence

of that orientation rather than a cause. In that context it is worth taking a longer view and considering what macro-sociology has taught us about the development of social inequality in human societies.

4.1 Hierarchy over societal evolution

In their famous book on 'macro sociology', Lenski & Nolan (2004) describe several pathways in the developmental history of human society. The main path is depicted as a sequence of the following society types.

Hierarchy in hunter-gatherers: The first human societies consisted of small bands of about 40 people that lived a nomadic life, roaming large territories. These simple societies were typically quite egalitarian, since this way of life provides little opportunity to harvest any appreciable economic surplus as hunter-gatherers are mainly focused on maintaining a subsistence level. This kind of society was dominant in most of human history and seems to have existed for at least 50,000 years. Other types of societies developed only some 10,000 years ago and were based on modes of existence that involved more social hierarchy.

Hierarchy in horticultural societies: Hunter-gather societies were gradually driven out by horticultural societies, based on slash-and-burn agriculture. This way of existence created a surplus, which came to be taken by warrior classes. This resulted in an unprecedented social inequality, which grew ever stronger when competition within the warrior classes resulted in ever larger hierarchically organized empires. Slavery was quite common in this phase of societal evolution.

Hierarchy in agrarian societies: The invention of the plow brought about the permanent use of land and this made humans even more dependent on a plot of land and more vulnerable to exploitation by one another. Social inequality reached its historical maximum in the feudal system that came to existence in most advanced agrarian societies.

Hierarchy in industrial societies: Only a few hundred years ago inventions such as steam machine triggered the Industrial Revolution. This way of existence resulted in a considerable decline of social inequality, among other things because the fine grained division of labour has created many mutual dependencies.

In alignment with this main developmental path, Nolan and Lenski describe several side paths, among which fishing and maritime societies.

Hierarchy in fishing societies: Fishing societies developed in places close to the sea, where fish provided an additional source of subsistence. These societies are also quite egalitarian, among other things because exploitation by warriors is less easy in this case.

Hierarchy in maritime societies: Maritime societies developed from fishing societies, taking advantage of their strategic situation to develop trading and commerce. Egalitarianism continued in this phase, again because this way of existence involves less vulnerability to dominance by others.

4.2 Feudal heritage stronger in the South, maritime heritage stronger in the North

In this context we can make sense of the present day difference in hierarchy across the Northern and Latin countries of Europe. When societies drifted away from the hunter-

gatherer type of society, the Latin and Northern European areas seem to have followed somewhat different paths, due to different geographical and demographical constraints. Conditions in Northern Europe were more suited for the fishing and the maritime track, as appeared in the flourishing Viking societies before the Middle Ages and in maritime expansion of England and the Netherlands following the Middle Ages. More hierarchical agricultural-based societies came to dominate in Latin Europe and this appears in a greater concentration of landownership and greater dominance of church and nobility. This is likely to have anchored hierarchy more strongly in the culture of Latin societies, whereas the original human bent to equality has been better preserved in Northern European countries.

5. Why are people less happy in hierarchical society?

A common view is that happiness depends on the degree to which life fits one's values. In this context we could expect that people are less happy, the greater the difference between the degree of hierarchy they perceive to exist in their country and the degree of hierarchy they deem desirable. We checked this explanation using the above mentioned GLOBE study in which both perceived degree and acceptance of hierarchy were assessed in 53 nations. We computed the difference between perceived and accepted hierarchy. In table 3 one can see that this difference is smaller in the Northern nations (1,64), than in the Southern (2,91). We added this difference as the variable ValuePracticeGapPD_1996 to the data file States of Nations and found a negative correlation with happiness. The correlation is small however ($r = -.14$), so this cannot be the whole story.

A less common view holds that happiness depends more on fit of social organization with universal human nature than on fit with culturally variable notions of the good life. This view is explained in more detail in Veenhoven (2009b). Seen in this context the question arises: Why is human nature hierarchy averse?

A plausible answer to this question is that the human species evolved in the context of hunter-gatherer society, which was quite egalitarian and allowed a great deal of self-direction. From this perspective, societal development went against human nature, at least in its agrarian phase. This view is presented convincingly by Mariansky and Turner (1992). In their book 'The social cage' they argue that humans are social animals, but that their need for social ties is limited. In their view, evolution has resulted in a human preference for the 'weak' social ties that exist in hunter-gatherer societies, over the 'strong' social ties that came about later in agricultural society. 'Strong' ties with a clan were required for survival in the conditions of agrarian society, but pressed people into a 'social cage'. In the view of Mariansky and Turner, the Industrial Revolution has opened the door of that cage and has instigated a mass flight from the oppressive social networks of the land to the freedom of city life.

6. Conclusion

People live happier in the Northern countries of Europe than in the Latin countries. This difference in happiness is paralleled by a difference in degree of social hierarchy; Latin countries are more hierarchical and probably so because feudalism has been more prominent in their history. The negative correlation between happiness and hierarchy is likely to reflect a causal effect, humans being hierarchy averse by nature.

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Part 3

Bio-Physical Anthropology

Biological, Archeological and Culturological Evidences of Paleoasiatic Origin of Northern Mongoloids, Caucasoids and American Indians

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1. Introduction

We were distinguished the Caucasoids frequencies of genes of blood proteins and enzymes in populations of Altaians. The matrix of genetic distances of 28 alleles of 12 loci of proteins, enzymes and blood groups of 11 populations of Europe, Asia and America, and than the matrix of genetic distances of 55 human populations of Europa , Asia, America Africa and Oceania were calculated. On data of this matrixes we constructed the evolutionary dendrogrammes. From this dendrogrammes we suggested that Caucasoids were differentiated with North Mongoloids and Amerinds from Ancient Asiatic population while Middle Palaeolithic in region of Altay and in neighbour regions. The investigations of mitochondrial DNA polymorphism are supported our hypothesis about paleoasiatic origin of North Mongoloids, Caucasoids and Amerinds. The haplogroups of mitochondrial DNA of different human populations of Eurasia and America were marked the way of ancient tribes in their Palaeolithic migrations on map constructed by us. The data of Russian anthropologists also supported Palaeoasiatic origin of Caucasoids, for example the distribution of frequencies of supraorbital canals in different human populations.

Russian scientists decoded the petroglyphs near Baikal lake as ancient inscription. This inscription marked the holy places of the goddess Ama-terasu who belonged to the pantheon of ancient inhabitants of Northern Asia (Siberia) who were ancestors both of the Shumers and the Khetts (ancient Caucasoids) as well as the Japanese (Mongoloids).

We found a Caucasoid frequency of genes of blood proteins and enzymes in seven populations of Altaians (1), Table 1. Calculation of the genetic distances of 11 human populations of Europe, Asia and America, more exactly, of the Sami (Lapps), Nentsi, Nganasans, Evenks, Yakuts, Mongols, Altaians, Russians, Finns, Germans and American Indians by taking 28 allele frequencies of proteins, enzymes and blood groups showed a certain closeness in the inherited traits of Caucasoids and Northern Mongoloids (2). We made a dendrogram of the relatedness of the population (2) from the data of the matrix of genetic distances of the human populations of Europe, Asia and America enumerated above. Based on it, we have made the assumption that the differentiation from the common ancient Asiatic population of ancestors of American Indians (Amerinds) occurred earlier. It

probably occurred around 50,000 years ago—the time of the differentiation of the Caucasoids and Mongoloids according to the data of Nei (3) who calculated the genetic distances of the main human races based on the big number of genetic markers.

Locus	Allele	Population							Average gene frequency by 7 population
		Ust-Pija	Tuloi	Beshpelir	Yakonur	Belir	Kebezen	Saidis	
HP	HP ¹	0.3333	0.3750	0.3500	0.2582	0.3269	0.4000	0.3125	0.3366
	HP ²	0.6667 (9)	0.6250 (4)	0.6500 (30)	0.7417 (91)	0.6731 (52)	0.6000 (10)	0.6875 (24)	0.6634 (220)
GC	GC ¹	1.0000	0.7333	0.7000	0.7083	0.6400	0.7000	0.6667	0.7355
	GC ²	0.0000 (9)	0.2667 (15)	0.3000 (30)	0.2917 (96)	0.3600 (50)	0.3000 (10)	0.3333 (21)	0.3333 (231)
GLO ₁	GLO ₁ ¹	0.2778	0.2917	0.3333	0.2830	0.6912	0.3182	0.2600	0.2961
	GLO ₁ ²	0.7222 (9)	0.7083 (12)	0.6667 (42)	0.7170 (53)	0.3088 (34)	0.6818 (11)	0.7400 (25)	0.7039 (186)
EsD	EsD ¹	0.5714	0.7381	0.7879	0.5833	0.6724	0.8461	0.8571	0.7224
	EsD ²	0.4286 (7)	0.2619 (21)	0.2121 (33)	0.4167 (36)	0.3276 (29)	0.1538 (13)	0.1429 (7)	0.2776 (146)
TF	TF ^c	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	0.9858	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	0.9980
	TF ^d	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0094	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0013
	TF ^b	0.0000 (9)	0.0000 (4)	0.0000 (30)	0.0047 (106)	0.0000 (55)	0.0000 (10)	0.0000 (24)	0.0007 (238)
Alb	Alb A	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
	Alb редкий.	0.0000 (9)	0.0000 (17)	0.0000 (30)	0.0000 (106)	0.0000 (54)	0.0000 (10)	0.0000 (24)	0.0000 (250)
PGM ₁	PGM ₁ ¹	0.8571	0.6190	—	0.7778	0.8214	0.4615	0.8333	0.7283
	PGM ₁ ²	0.1429 (7)	0.3810 (21)	—	0.2222 (18)	0.1786 (28)	0.5385 (13)	0.1667 (21)	0.2717 (108)
AcP	AcP A	—	—	—	0.4167	0.5476	—	—	0.4822
	AcP B	—	—	—	0.5833 (18)	0.4524 (21)	—	—	0.5178 (39)

Table 1. The gene frequencies of seven populations of Altaians.

The next to differentiate were the ancestors of the Sami according to the dendrogram (2) of the ancestors of the populations inhabiting the region of Southern Siberia and (or) the neighboring regions of Central Asia. The remaining populations of the tree divided further into two clusters, there being two subclusters in one of them—the Nentsi, Nganasani and Evenks in one and the Yakuts, Mongols and Altaians in the other. In the other cluster are the populations of the contemporary Caucasoids—Russians, Germans and Finns. That the Caucasoids and Northern Mongoloids are related is confirmed by the data on the polymorphism of the mitochondrial (mt) DNA which showed the presence of similar haplogroups in Altaians and the European Caucasoids (4)—the haplogroups H,J,K,T,U,V,W,F, in the Sami, Evenks and American Indians (5)—the haplogroup V, and in the Altaians and American Indians (6)—haplogroups A,B,C,D. Finally, an identical haplogroup X found in Caucasoids and American Indians (7) confirmed a common origin of these two groups of humans, and the methods of molecular biology showed that this haplogroup X in the Indians was not introduced by contacts with Europeans after the discovery of America by Columbus, but is ancient.

We drew the possible route of migration of the human population having the haplogroup of mitochondrial DNA, beginning from the Middle Paleolithic from the place of their differentiation in the center of Asia to the place of their current habitation (Figure 2).

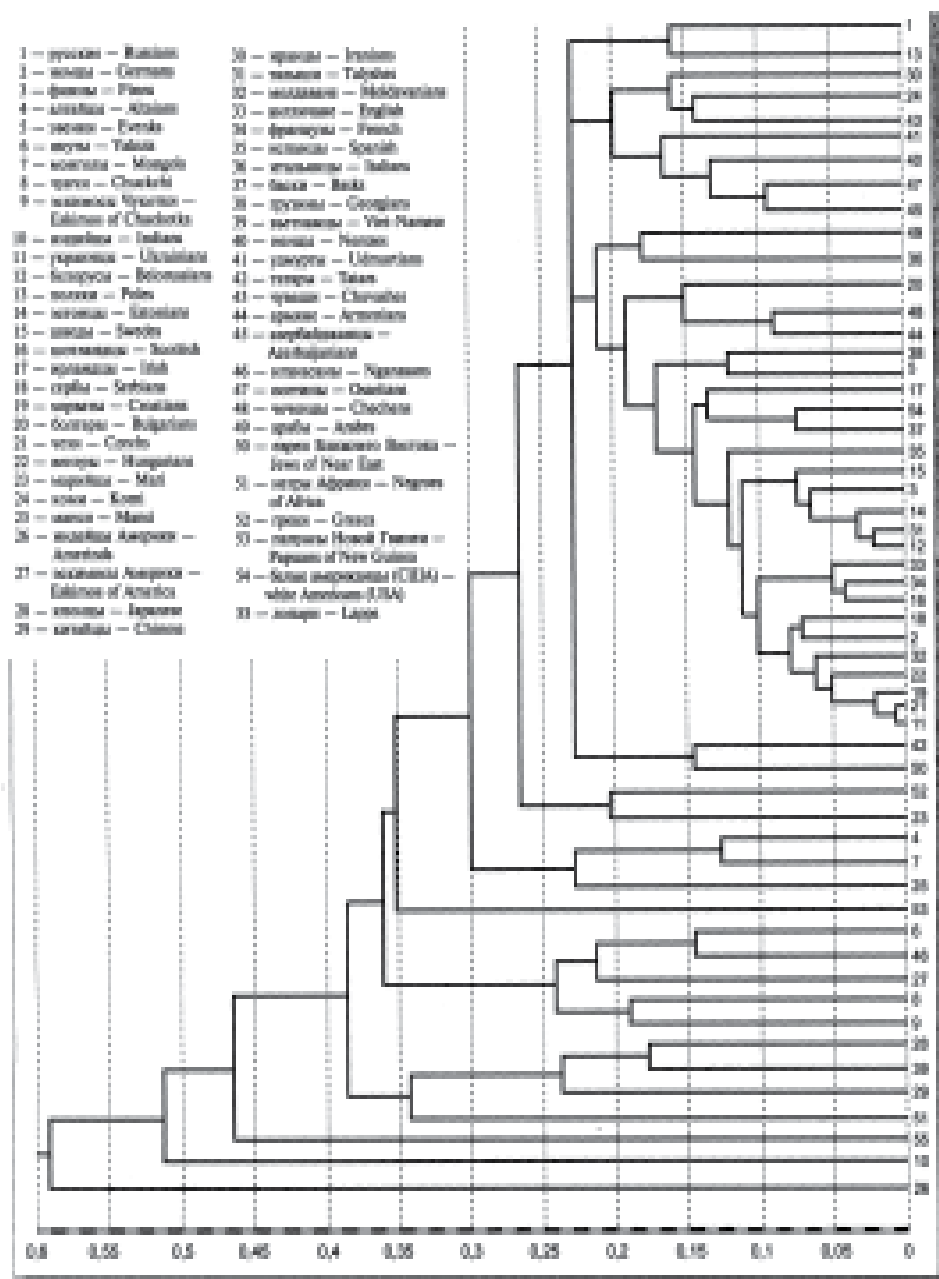


Fig. 1. The dendrogram of 55 populations of Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Oceania constructed by matrix of genetic distances of those populations on 28 allele of 12 loci proteins, enzymes and blood groups.

The migration of the ancient human populations could have been caused by the migration of animals which the Paleolithic people hunted as a result of changes in the climate. The ancestors of the caribou and bison in the Paleolithic inhabited the region of Southern Siberia (8), but when the climate changed they migrated to the far northeast of Siberia, and then crossed the Bering Strait to America. The ancient tribes of Amerinds followed them. The data on the migration of the invertebrates (annelids) and the migration of birds described in the book (9) shows a general tendency of representatives of the animal kingdom to migrate in ancient time from south Siberia to its north.

We calculated the matrix of genetic distances of 55 human populations belonging to four big human races and living in Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Oceania (10). Using the data of this matrix, we constructed an evolutionary dendrogram of these 55 populations (Fig. 1).

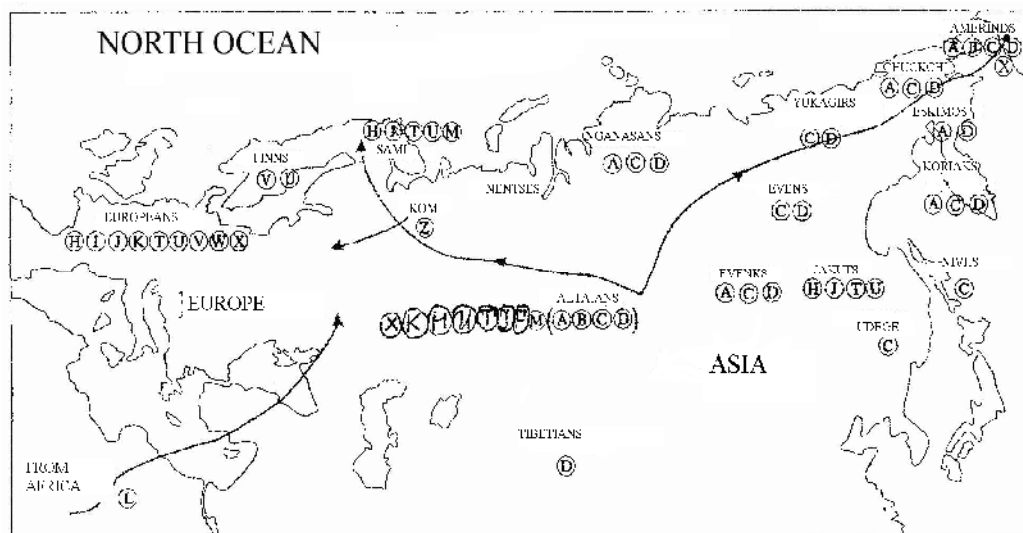


Fig. 2. The ways of migrations of ancient human populations marked with haplogroups of mitochondrial DNA.

From this dendrogram it is evident that the first to differentiate, as in the dendrogram in (2), were the American Indians, and then the Sami. The Poles turned out to be the closest of the Slavic peoples to Russians just as when we calculated the genetic distances of the less number of genetic loci (11). The Iranians, Komi, Chuvashes, Udmurts, Nentsi and the subcluster with the Ossetians and Azerbaijanis turned out to be in one big cluster with Russians.

There is the opinion that Russian are descendents of ancient Iranian Skife tribes who migrated earlier around Asia. Herodotus named the tribes inhabiting the territory of eastern

Europe in his time “Ploughing Skifes”. The tribes of the Finnish speaking tribes, the Merja and the Muroma who are related to the Chuvashes and Udmurts and who inhabited the Moscow, Vladimir and Yaroslavl regions back in the 1st century BC, became part of the Russian population and totally lost their individual national identity. So the closeness of Russians to Finnish and Iranian populations is understandable. The next big cluster (Fig. 1) begins with the cluster including Arabs and Italians, then there is the subcluster of Bulgarians, Chechens and Armenians—these are the descendents of the tribes settling the regions of the North Caucasus and South Caucasus. The closeness of the Armenians and Chechens is confirmed by the closeness of the Armenian and the Vainakh languages (Starostin) (14). The next subcluster is the branches of Georgians and Evenks. Their closeness is due to the fact that the ancestors of the Georgians also roamed around north Asia in ancient times. The Caucasian frequency of the genes of the Evenks we discovered back in 1984 (12).

The Basques and white Northern Americans being in the same subcluster is explained by their common Celtic substrata. In the neighboring recently split off subclusters we find the Swedes, Finns, Estonians, Talyshes and Belorussians. The Talysh are Iranian speaking ethnos in Zakavkasia which we have studied for the first time genetically (13). Its closeness to the northern Caucasoids may indicate the route of migration from Asia to Europe.

The subcluster of the English, French and Scots is united by a common Celtic substrata. The Germans and Serbs are in a subcluster together and all the rest of the populations of central and southeastern Europe—the Moldavians, Hungarians, Croatians, Czechs and Ukrainians - are in three neighboring subclusters.

The subcluster of Tartars and Middle East Jews is explained by their common Turks origin: the Tartars are the descendents of the Volga Bulgars who earlier lived in the Bulgar Kaganat in North Caucasus and Azov Sea Region, while the Jews are descendents of the Hazars who lived in the Hazar Kaganate on the Lower Volga and North Caucasus(14). The last subcluster of this big cluster begins with the branch of the Greeks and Mary. The Greeks, the descendents of the ancient Caucasoid Akheites probably also migrated from Asia to Europe in ancient times as did the Mari, one of the Finnish populations whose early homeland had been Asia (10). Then come the Asian subclusters. The first of them are the Altaians and the Mongols, and also the Mansi, a people belonging to the Ugor group.

The second branch of the huge cluster including all the Caucasoid populations and the subcluster of the transitional populations—the Altaians, Mongols and Mansi—are the Papua of New Guinea. Then comes the subcluster of the Yakuts and Nganasans, and also the American Eskimos. After that there is the subcluster of the Chukchi and the Eskimos of Chukotka. And finally the subcluster of Japanese and Vietnamese and also the Chinese. The second branch of the cluster of Mongoloids in Eastern Asia is the black Africans. So at the bottom of the dendrogram there is the branch of the Laps (Sami) and the branch of the Indians, who have a complicated origin since they are the result of the intermingling of the Vedoid tribes and the tribes of ancient Caucasoids. The very lowest branch of the dendrogram is the American Indians, whose ancestors were the first to differentiate from the common ancient Asiatic population in the mid Paleolithic. There is anthropological data indicating the Caucasoids were in Asia in the Paleolithic. Academician V.P. Alexeev (16)

wrote about the discovery of Paleolithic skulls with Caucasian traits in a cave in Dundyan in China. He also wrote about the Caucasoid traits of Paleolithic people at a site in Sungir in Eastern Europe who appeared there at a later time (25,000 years ago).

Russian anthropologist T.V. Tomashevich, discovered a gradient of distribution of the frequencies of the supra orbital canals of the human skulls (17),(Table 2). Supraorbital arteries and veins of the orbital arteries pass through the supraorbital canals. As is evident from the data in Table 2, the highest frequency of encountering supra orbital canals is among the Sams, American Indians, and also the northern Mongoloids—the Yakuts, Yukagirs, Evenks, Chuchuks, and Eskimos. That is possible due to their paleo- Asiatic origin. The frequency of the supra orbital canals is very close and varies without the bounds of 30-38% in the Kets, Yukagirs, Russians, Mansi, Ocetians, and Armenians.

Diferentiation of Mongoloids and Caucasoid

Populations Frequency of supraorbital canals, %
Poles 21,3 (47)
Russians 35,9 (204)
Armenians 30,6 (242)
Mansi 32,1 (112)
Kets 33,3 (38)
Yukagirs 38,1 (42)
Ossetians 39,4 (314)
Bashkirs 40,0 (122)
Sami (Lapps) 47,4 (221)
Amerinds 50,2 (124)
Chuckchi 57,1 (70)
Evenks 57,5 (40)
Eskimos 57,4 (302)
Yakuts 63,0 (144)
English 17,0 (186)
Mongols 48,3 (60)
Slovens of Novgorod region, XII-XIV century. 32,5 (152)
Kiev Poljans, IX-XIII century 25,0 (92)
Etrusks, VIII-III century B.C. 26,9 (70)
Hollands 21,2 (170)
Ancient Egyptians 28,3
Negroes of Ruanda 33,6 (61)
Indians of Uttar-Pradesh 25,2 (238)
Negroes of USA 22,3 (202)
Japanese 43,2 (1008)
Koreans 46,1 (660)
Australians 19,0 (122)
Chinese 46,5 (202)

Table 2.

That may be confirmation of their common Asiatic origin. The frequency of the canals among northern Caucasoids—Poles, Dutch, and the English—is lower. It is between 17-21%. The frequency of the supra orbital canals in the Mongoloids of eastern Asia—the Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese and also the Mongols (the Mongoloids in the center of Asia) is between 43-48%. It is interesting that the frequency of the canals among the ancient Egyptians, Etruscans, ancient Slaves (Kiev Polyans) and the Indians of Uttar Pradesh is practically the same—25-28%, which is a bit higher than for the Novgorod Slovenes. This is also evidently connected with these people being the descendents of ancient Paleo Asiatic populations.

The linguist A. G. Kifishin, decoded the petroglyph discovered by the archeologists V.E. Larichev and A.P. Okladnikov in the Prebaikaliye. As is known, the academician A.P. Okladnikov published the petroglyphs discovered on the shores of the Lena, the Baikal, the Amur and on the Altai. Larichev studied the archeological culture of the Malts in the Irkutsk region dating back to 20,000 years ago. In the opinion of Kifishin, the cliff inscription found by archeologists near the village of Suon-Tit on the river Aldan is the first in the world. It was done in the 18,000 years ago and stands for the following: ama+VARAdara+su-kud-Sin which means Ama Terasu is judged by Sin if translated from Shumer. Kifishin decoded the petroglyphs at ten points in Eastern Siberia (Pribaikaliya). Figure 3 is a petroglyph from a cliff at Khana Shuulun which Kifishin decoded as "ama-inanna-BARA2 dara-si" and translated it as "Ama-Terasu is judged by Inanna".

Here for the first time Inanna (A man on a horse-holy star) is in the image of the sun. All ten petroglyphs in Eastern Siberia decoded by Kifishin are in an article by Kifishin and the historian Kikeshev (18). Kifishin and Kikeshev think these places are ancient holy places of the goddess Ama-terasu who belonged to the pantheon of ancients inhabitants of northern Asia (Siberia) who were ancestors both of the Shumers and the Khetts (ancient Caucasoids) as well as the Japanese (Mongoloids). It turned out that there are parallels in the pantheons of the gods of the ancient Shumers and Khetts and in the Japanese religion of Shinto. It is thought that the Japanese came about from an intermingling of the Malaysian and Polenesian tribes and the tribes of the Ural-Altay groups who crossed the Korean Peninsula and ended up on the Japanese islands. In the Shinto religion of the Japanese gods exist in the form of animals, plants stones etc. Some linguists think the Japanese language is related to the Altay group of languages, other to the Australian language family. But according to our research, the ancient Japanese, just as the ancient Shumers, lived in the Altai and Zabaikalya (Selenga region where there was the cult of Ama-baragesi). Kifishin thinks that the Avesta Sea Vorukasha is called Baragesi in Shumer. Ama-baragesi is mentioned in the inscriptions on the 2nd Borodinsky cliff near Chelyabinsk in the Ural mountains (18000 years ago), in the proto Shumer archive in the Stone Grave near Azov Sea (12-3,000 BC), in the archive in Mesopotamian Ur (3000 BC), and in the inscriptions of the Urnanshi from Lagasha (2450 BC). So we can see several points of many thousand year migrations of the ancient proto Shumers from the region of Eastern Siberia across Priazovya to Near Asia. In the book of the Indian scientist Tilak "The Arctic Homeland in the Veds" there is data from the epic works of Caucasoids of Asia about the migrations of the ancestors of the Indians from zones around the North Pole that went to the West Ural from north to south, and the migrations of the ancestors of the Iranians in the same direction, but more east of the Ural.

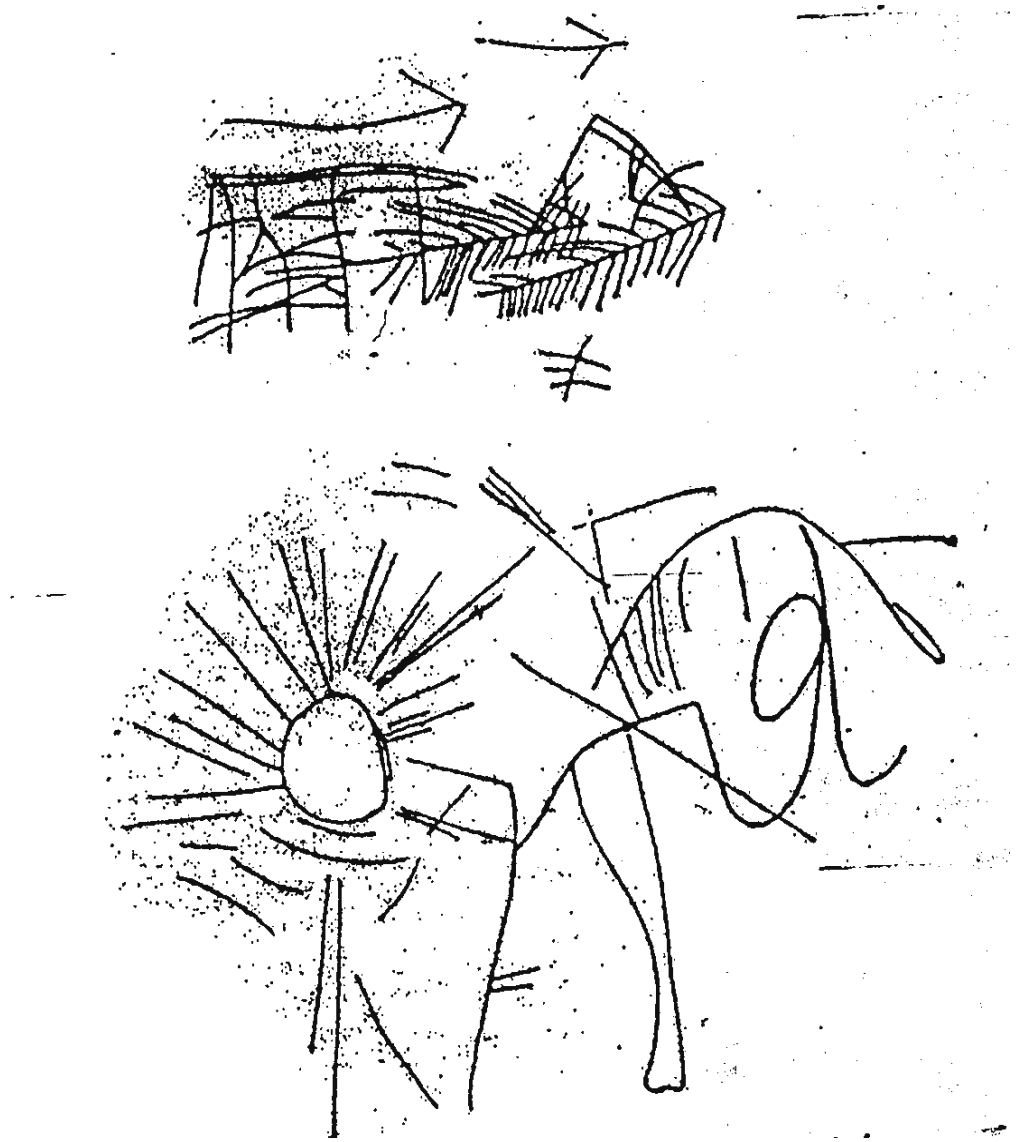


Fig. 3. Petroglif at Hana Shuluun (East Siberia) deshifrated as palaeolithic writing.
(Hana-Shuluum)

So both the biological data, the genetic, anthropological, paleozoological, and the data of the archeology, and history indicates that the center of Asia (Southern Siberia and the neighboring regions) is the center of differentiation of the European and Asian Caucasoids as well as the Northern Mongoloids and American Indians. It also indicated that they got to the place where they live now as a result of thousands of years of migration.

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Applying Craniofacial Metrics to Adapt 3D Generic Head Models

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1. Introduction

Traditionally, the fields of anthropology and biomedical engineering are two diverse areas of science. Over the last few years various subfields of biomedical engineering have been trending towards personalized medicine. Presently there are a limited number of models that neuroscientists use to evaluate theory and solve application problems, thus depersonalizing medicine. This chapter introduces a novel integration of how anthropology can lend to and improve personalized neuromedicine through the study of physical characteristics, the relationship of races, and gender. By integrating anthropometric and craniofacial data, future head models should accommodate race, gender, age, and size to better approximate personalized medicine on a wide-scale approach.

2. Motivation

The absence of anthropometrically accurate generic head models limits the field of computational neuroscience to either simplistic, geometric models or complex, personalized models. Implementation of a universal descriptor for describing three-dimensional (3D) geometry and variations in geometry of similar anatomic structures, such as the human head, extends the efficacy and applications of most systems developed to aid tasks in the fields of computational modeling, automated medical image analysis, image guided surgery and 3D anthropometry. This technique is known as the radial vector representation.

This chapter opens with reviewing and evaluating various head models ranging from spherical to personalized complex models in sections 3 and 4, respectively. Then section 5 spans the gap between the simple and complex models to describe a range of adaptable generic models. Next, section 6 explains the geometric descriptor of the radial vector technique, and then section 7 demonstrates the application of craniofacial data using the radial angular matrix (RAM). The RAM describes, preserves, and spatially reconstructs magnetic resonance image (MRI) data. Therefore, the example modifies various ethnic groups and sub-groups according to Farkas et al. (2005). The resultant generic models depict the benefits of employing this technique. The chapter concludes with a discussion based upon the craniofacial morphing of the generic models.

3. Spherical and elliptical models

The forward problem has a unique solution (Malmivuo & Plonsey, 1995; Wendel, Väisänen, Malmivuo, Gencer, Vanrumste, Durka, Magjarević, Supek, Pascu, Fontenelle & Grave de Peralta Menendez, 2009), but the model it is based upon is still only an estimate of the anatomy and physiology of the human head. The human head can be modeled and analyzed as a sphere or an ellipsoid. These simplistic geometries can only explain the theory of how something works regarding neuroscience but are incapable of identifying accurate results. The spherical model was introduced by the seminal works of Rush & Driscoll (1968; 1969). They proposed three concentric spheres to represent the brain, skull, and scalp. In the last four decades, several studies have used this configuration (Gordon et al., 2006; Malmivuo et al., 1997; Ryyänänen et al., 2004a;b; Wendel & Malmivuo, 2008; Wendel et al., 2007; Wendel, Narra, Hannula, Kauppinen & Malmivuo, 2008; Wendel, Väisänen, Kybartaite, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010). The CSF has been added as the fourth shell to the spherical model (Ferree et al., 2000; Wendel & Malmivuo, 2008; Wendel et al., 2007; Wendel, Narra, Hannula, Kauppinen & Malmivuo, 2008; Wendel, Väisänen, Kybartaite, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010; Zhou & van Oosterom, 1992). Consequently, these models are referred to as 3-shell and 4-shell models.

These 3- and 4-shell spherical models contribute to neuroscience by theoretically explaining the lead field and volume conductor currents of how a lead measures from the tissue beneath it. Although the resolution of the spherical and elliptical models is of a few centimeters (Crouzeix et al., 1999; Roth et al., 1993), they explain the general theory. Investigations that continued this pursuit of a general understanding of the neuroelectric phenomena involved often tailor spherical models to address specific issues such as local variations (Cuffin, 1993), noise (Ryyänänen et al., 2006), conductivity values (Ryyänänen et al., 2006), electrode properties in 2-D and 3-D (Ollikainen et al., 2000; Suesserman et al., 1991), source localization (Vanrumste et al., 2001), and spatial resolution (Malmivuo & Suihko, 2004; Malmivuo et al., 1997).

3.1 Simple generic models

Simple generic models in the most simplistic form can be represented by geometrical shapes such as spheres and ellipsoids. The elegance of these simple models is inherent in that they can be solved analytically. The analytical method has a direct solution, hence it does not require an iterative numerical solver. This simplicity is extended through to the ellipsoid and perturbed spheroid solutions (Nolte & Curio, 1999). However, when realistically-shaped electrodes replace the point electrode model, a numerical method is necessary to solve either the forward or inverse problem using the spherical volume conductor model (Gordon et al., 2006; Ollikainen et al., 2000; Wendel & Malmivuo, 2008; Wendel et al., 2007; Wendel, Narra, Hannula, Kauppinen & Malmivuo, 2008).

Several electroencephalography (EEG) or related head modeling publications consistently reference the same or similar measurements all relating to a larger male head of Northern European caucasian descent. These correlations match hat and wig sizes, which correlate with anthropometric, craniometric, and cephalometric data (Department of Defense, 1997; Donelson & Gordon, 1991; Farkas et al., 2005; Howells, 1973). This implies that there is a paucity of analysis for head sizes that are not represented (Yusof, 2007).

In Wendel, Narra, Hannula, Kauppinen & Malmivuo (2008) we previously derived the external radius for our spherical head models from transverse circumferential cephalometric

dimensions separated by gender (BestWigOutlet, 2005; 2009; HatsUK, 2005; 2012; TheHatSite, 2005; WigSalon, 2005; 2012). WigSalon (2005; 2012) assesses that 92% of women have heads circumferentially measuring between 54.6 cm and 57.2 cm. The average-female cephalometric circumference equates to 55.4 cm per common head accoutrements; thus, the average-female head radius measures 8.82 cm. Likewise calculating the average-male head circumferential measurement of 58 cm, the average head radius of a male calculates to 9.23 cm; therefore; the average male head is 0.4 cm larger in the radial direction than the average female head concerning racial and ethnic neutrality.

Furthermore, several sources either reference one set of spherical radii or very few sets of realistic data for an entire population. The majority of these references use radial and thickness measurements that fall inline with an average male head size or larger of Northern European, Central European or caucasian North American descent (Cuffin, 1995; 1996; Ferree et al., 2000; Malmivuo & Plonsey, 1995; Ogoshi et al., 2003; Rush & Driscoll, 1969; Zhou & van Oosterom, 1992). These larger values instantly disregard youths and females in these racial ethnicities and both males and females of other ethnicities in terms of the size and shape variation between genders and across cultures (Adeloye et al., 1975; Farkas et al., 2005; Lynnerup et al., 2005).

4. Realistic individual models

The poor sphericity of the viscerocranium and the frontal and temporal lobes of the brain led researchers into improving the geometry beyond the spherical model (Hämäläinen & Sarvas, 1989). Realistically-shaped models specifically correspond to a unique individual and could represent other individuals that are of the same gender, same ethnic group, very similar craniofacial structures and a similar age. Consequently, these models increase the model complexity in order to reduce errors in source localization, source imaging, and scalp potentials Babiloni et al. (1997); Cuffin (1995); Gevins et al. (1991); Huiskamp et al. (1999); Michel et al. (2004). These complex models require numerical solutions such as the boundary element method (BEM), finite element method (FEM), or finite difference method (FDM) (Hallez et al., 2007; Wendel, Väisänen, Malmivuo, Gencer, Vanrumste, Durka, Magjarević, Supek, Pascu, Fontenelle & Grave de Peralta Menendez, 2009).

Realistic models are constructed from a set of segmented image slices, usually originating from one of the primary medical imaging modalities — computed tomography (CT), MRI, or a matched MRI-CT set (Cuffin, 1995; Haueisen et al., 1997; Huiskamp et al., 1999; Wendel, Narra, Hannula, Kauppinen & Malmivuo, 2008). Considering their pros and cons, CT more accurately images the skull due to its sensitivity to hard tissue via radiation, whereas MRI better images soft tissues such as the skin, cortex, and the gray matter-white matter boundary and is safe. The differences between the three-layer CT- and MRI-based models in (Huiskamp et al., 1999) illustrate significant differences at the base of the skull.

Unfortunately, diagnostic equipment that is available to adults is not optimal for children in terms of safe radiation limits. Such imaging modalities include CT, PET, and SPECT, which use ionizing radiation or radioactive tracers. Due to the nature of these technologies, children will only obtain such screening in extreme cases Yusof (2007). Magnetoencephalography (MEG) is safe, but it is often limited by the availability of smaller helmets, which locate the gradiometers closer to the scalp surface. EEG is also safe and readily adaptable to various head sizes due to the elastic nature of most EEG caps. Therefore, analyses that require

computational modeling require generic models to better represent subpopulations that the patient shares geometrical congruency.

5. Generic models

Computationally-tractable head models that represent various populations and subpopulations demand that we examine the anatomy of the neurocranium, basicranium, and splanchnocranium i.e. the cranial vault, cranial base, and the face (Venes, 2005) as well as how head models are typically constructed. Generic models comprise a wide range of models attempting to encompass a range of ages, genders, and ethnic groups. From the models that exist in literature, two classes of generic models exist – simple and complex. For the purpose of this discussion, the complex models are additionally referred to as adaptable. A few three-dimensional (3-D) atlases of large data sets provide the data to form the models (Yusof, 2007).

5.1 Smoothed generic models

Simple generic models simulate down-sampled and smoothed tissue boundaries (Kybic et al., 2006; Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2008; 2009). These models represent larger groups of people through their approximated shapes and sizes. Their sources are originally derived from the specific realistic images, and subsequently they are geometrically adapted to correspond with wider groups of gender, race, ethnicity, and age. These models are best suited for evaluating and analyzing how different parameters affect the sensitivity distributions applicable to EEG, bioimpedance, and transcutaneous electric neural stimulation (TENS).

Whether researchers build spherically or realistically shaped models, it is important to obtain measurement data representative of a population when making observations about that particular population. Clearly, the best model for a particular patient matches his image data exactly; however, it is not always possible or feasible to have an exact model that fits every patient, so an appropriate generic model is warranted (Darvas et al., 2006; Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009). Therefore, it is of utmost importance to obtain data representative of the population that a patient can be represented by in order to make quick utility of the likely closest-fitting, realistic model.

5.2 Complex generic models

The current and near future of time-efficient and cost-effective EEG source localization models lies in the progression of deformable head geometries (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009). Anthropometric data currently exists detailing deformations in craniometric landmarks (Department of Defense, 1997; Donelson & Gordon, 1991; Farkas et al., 2005; Howells, 1973); however, a database of landmark sizes coupled with age (Wendel & Malmivuo, 2006; Wendel, Väisänen, Seemann, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010), gender (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009; Wendel, Väisänen, Seemann, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010), ethnic origin (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009), and head shape (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009) would improve the accuracy beyond the overly used fixed-geometry of highly complex models such as from the Visible Human Project (Ackerman, 1991; National Institutes of Health (NIH), 1995).

5.3 The future of adaptable head models

Future studies that will advance the field of source imaging will save time and money. They will optimize the deformation, i.e., adaptability, of head models by minimizing the need for expensive MRIs and CTs, and eliminating the segmentation time. As scalp and skull tissue atlases are compiled and analyzed across age, gender, and ethnicity, the understanding of how to apply changes to a template will improve a model to match the non-imaged patient (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2008; 2009). Ultimately, incorporating the exact electrode locations to guide the deformation according to the patient's scalp surface would improve this method (Darvas et al., 2006; van 't Ent et al., 2001).

6. Radial vector representation

Borrowing from the field of cranial anthropology, we mathematically transform a universal head model to reflect the size of an average female of other ethnic groups. The basis for the universal head model is the Visible Human Woman (VHW) from the Visible Human Project (National Institutes of Health (NIH), 1995). Our goal is to make deformable generic head models readily available for individuals who have not been medically imaged. The radial vector technique was briefly described in Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo (2008; 2009). The full mathematical description of the radial vector technique manipulating the radial angular matrix (RAM) can be found in Wendel et al. (2012).

We started with a segmented head of the VHW measuring 640 by 530 by 670 pixels per dimension, having a 0.33 mm resolution per each axis unit. Ultimately, we constructed a four tissue model extending from the vertex down to the nasion. We constrained our slice-selection criteria for each tissue beginning with the apical slice after the noise removal from the first few slices of the radial- angular distances, i.e. the length measured from the tissue centroid to the tissue boundary for each slice. According to image analysis, we optimized our geometry based on the variation of the major and minor radial-angular axes of the transverse slice sections. The radial vector technique uses the cylindrical coordinate system, which is origin-centered through each tissue centroid. The RAM is a matrix of radial angular geometric descriptors forming atlases of any tissue segmented within the human body. This technique requires imaged and segmented image sets usually based upon a patient's MRI.

7. Application of the radial vector representation

A few cultural groups were presented in our previous study (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009). In this chapter we present the full range of racial groups studied by Farkas et al. (2005). In this section we provide example mathematical functions to manipulate the RAM to generate several ethnic subgroups. We calculate the deformed geometry of a realistically shaped female head model based on the Visible Human Project woman dataset (Fig. 1). We used the cylindrical coordinate system to parametrically deform the template according to the modulation of the power function

$$f(x) = ax^b + c, \quad (1)$$

where b is the exponent of 0.01 used to deform the parietal lobe and a and c are derived from the coordinates of the template. We used the elliptical curve to reshape the frontal and

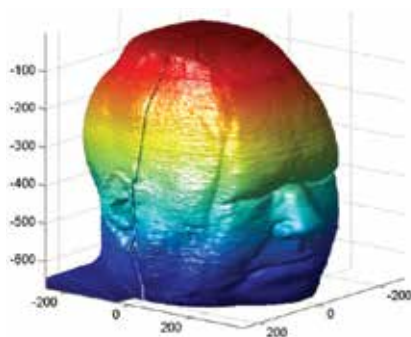


Fig. 1. Generic template of the adult female of Caucasian American origin.

occipital lobes evaluating

$$x = h + a\cos(t) - b\sin(t)\sin(\phi) \quad (2)$$

$$y = k + b\sin(t) + a\cos(t)\sin(\phi). \quad (3)$$

We set the major-to-minor axis ratio to 0.3 and the orientation to 25° .

7.1 Results

We alter pre-existing individual realistically-shaped head models by applying modulation of the power and elliptical functions (Fig. 2 & 3). We simply scale the template according to anthropometric statistics reported by Farkas et al. (2005) that belongs to each ethnic subpopulation to generate a new model. While deriving multiple generic head models, we use stochastic factors to generate a set of anatomical possibilities and constraints to prevent subsequent models with nonhuman and atypical human shapes and sizes. When applying too large exponents or major-to-minor axis ratios we yielded cone-head shaped models, which do not represent normal humans.

7.2 Discussion

In order to improve upon the state of current models, we must refine the basic geometric models in accordance with particular subpopulations. However, simply analyzing the diameters of the cranium is an older technique used to study cranial evolution. Contrastingly, the current analysis of spatial relationships between different anatomical structures can be applied to inter- and intra-ethnic comparisons (Bruner, 2007). We can alter pre-existing individual realistically-shaped head models by applying translation, rotation, scaling, warping, or applying more advanced metrics such as elliptical and power functions (Figs. 2 and 3). For instance we could simply scale one individual that belongs to the same subpopulation to generate a congruent model to represent another size of perhaps a different age. While deriving multiple generic head models, we can use stochastic factors to generate a set of anatomical possibilities and constraints to prevent subsequent models with nonhuman and atypical human shapes and sizes. A more encompassing approach would make use of a multivariate analysis of 2D and 3D anatomical features across numerous models (Bruner, 2007). Furthermore, these analyses and constraints can be applied not only to wide-ranging generic head models but additionally to various ethnic groups to create subpopulation-specific generic models.

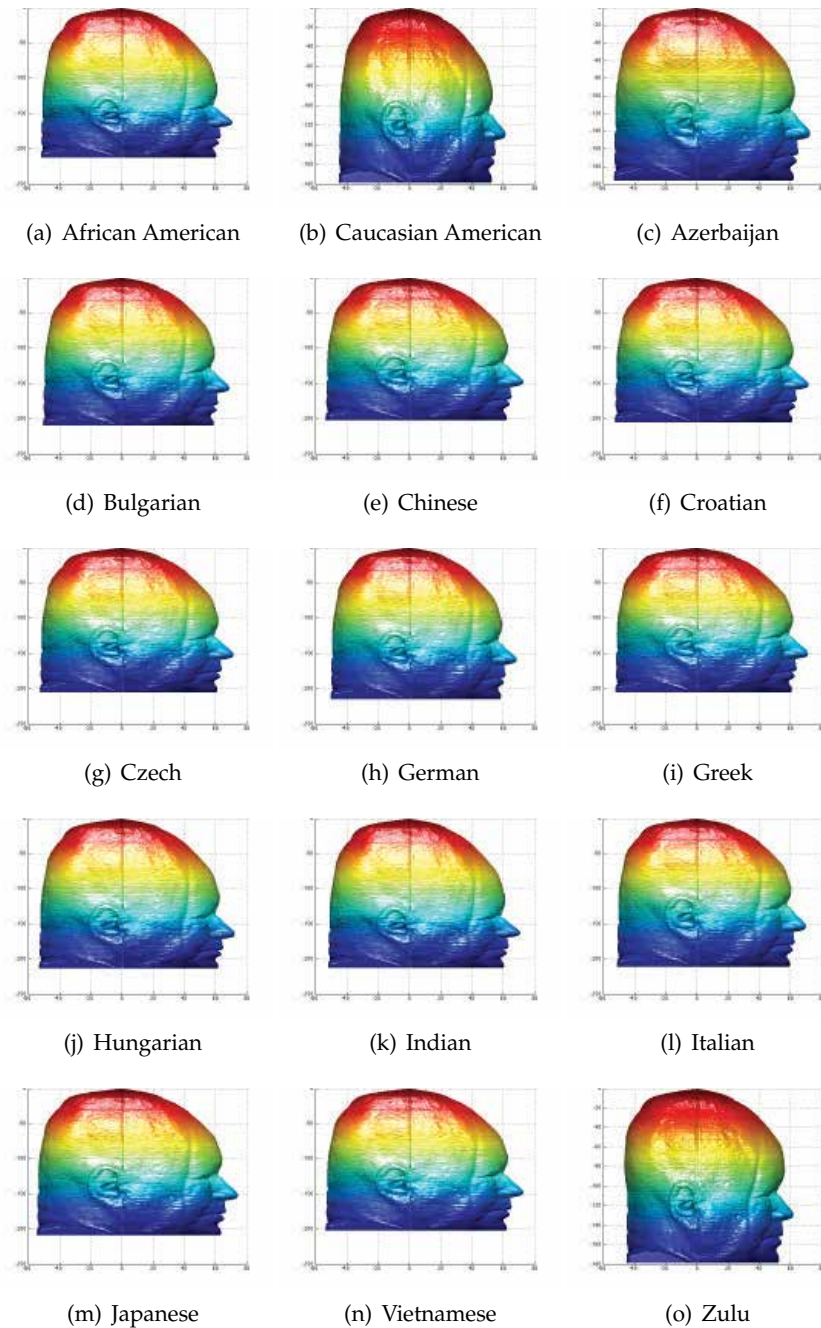


Fig. 2. Generating Generic Ethnic Head Models: (a-o) adult female heads of average size per ethnic group. All heads are scaled accordingly and modified with an exponential function of 0.01.

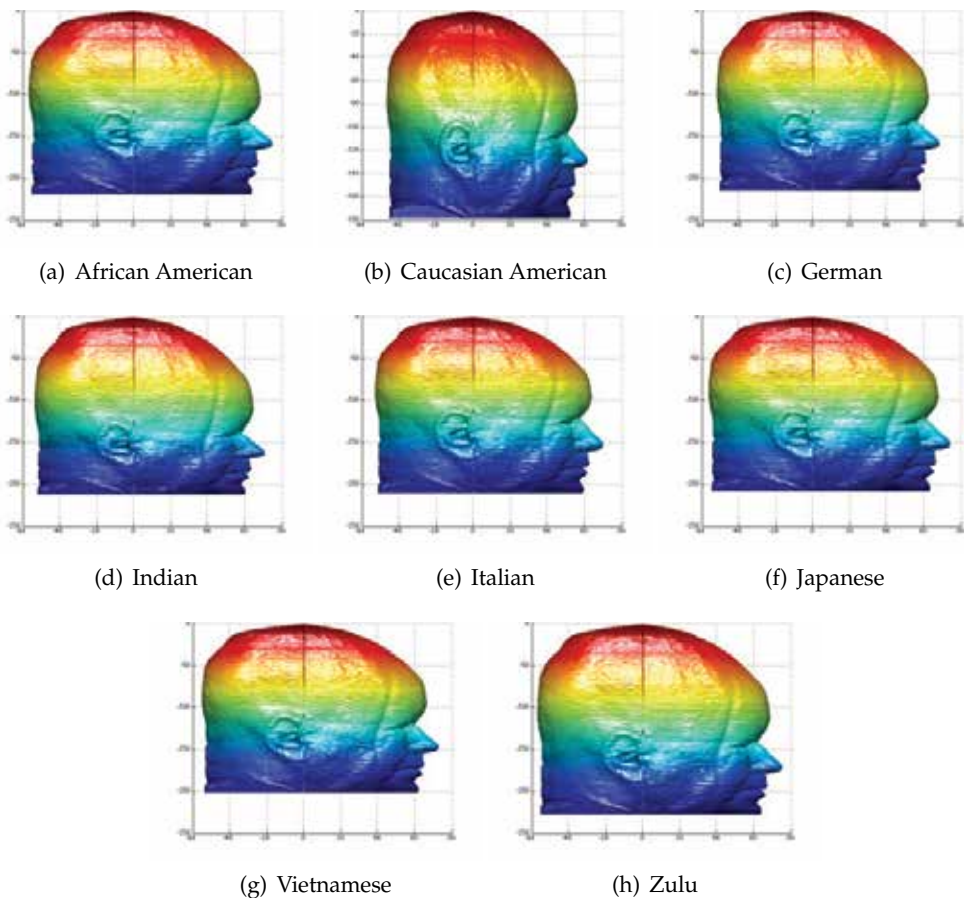


Fig. 3. Generating Generic Ethnic Head Models: (a-h) adult female heads of average size per ethnic group. All heads are scaled accordingly and modified with an elliptical curve having a ratio of the major axis length to the minor axis length of 0.3 and orientation of 25 degrees.

When we want to evaluate a method or an analysis, it is critical that we evaluate the appropriateness of the geometry of the model that we are claiming as a basis of a set of results. We believe that when authors state certain claims regarding a certain subpopulation, they should validate that their model corresponds within statistical significance of the experimental subpopulation possibly within the context of race, ethnicity, gender, and age.

Archeological studies analyzing the cranial structures of prehistoric man use covariation of multiple traits to investigate the evolutionary changes of man via computational geometric analyses supported by multivariate statistics. Stochastic factors generate a set of anatomical possibilities and constraints in the determination of prehistoric evolution, which can be applied to the shape and size distinctions of various subpopulations according to ethnicity and gender. Currently, the key areas of development that we can adopt are morphological modularity, anatomical integration, and heterochrony.

We can further look to cranial morphology to enhance our models. Bruner (2007) investigated the evolution of the cranium through the scope of allometry, indicating that the size and shape of the skull changes due to adaptations as well as stochastic factors. They attributed the increase in volumetric cranial capacity as one of the primary factors affecting the cranial shape. Additionally, the neocranium, face, and base of the skull change in shape and size as a result of the growth of the internal organs, primarily the brain, thus leading us to the connection between modern man, the *Homo sapiens*, and his three prehistoric counterparts originating from *Homo ergaster*.

Many anthropologists no longer accept that modern man has evolved from one sole ancestor but has independently evolved in parallel through at least 3 differently evolved human species: *H. sapiens* in Africa, *H. neanderthalensis* in Europe, and *H. erectus* in Asia Bruner (2007); Manzi (2004); Rightmire (1998; 2001); Stringer (2002). It is clearly evident that different ethnic groups today have different shapes both in the cranial features as well as the cranial case. We can plausibly relate the cranial capacity of various ethnic groups to their prehistoric differences Bruner (2007). In 1870 Huxley (1870) mildly focused on cranial shape. By 1962 Coon (1962) described five racial types (i.e. skull shapes) based upon craniofacial features: *Caucasoids* from Europe, West Asia, and parts of India; *Capoids* from South Africa; *Congoids* from sub-sahara Africa; *Australoids* from Australia, New Guinea, and Melanesia; *Mongoloids* from East Asia and arctic North America. Capoids and Congoids are the two main branches of the single African race known as negroids.

Today forensic anthropometry and reconstructive surgery utilize and apply racial types to obtain appropriate craniofacial metrics. Depending on the specific requirements, only three racial types are considered instead of five - Caucasoids, Mongoloids, and Negroids. We concur that using a normalized representative of each of these three groups as the basis for mathematical manipulation will allow us to more plausibly derive the different head shapes across different ethnic groups belonging to each class with localized deformations such as in the frontal, temporal, or occipital lobes. Mathematically it is easier to make these manipulations while staying within one racial type due to the complex relation of multiple craniofacial metrics. If we consider the midsagittal profile, most Caucasoids have a rounded profile, Mongoloids have an arched profile, and Negroids have a flat profile.

We should consider the effects of shape versus size changes. Whether we reference our current universal base model or these three representative racial base models, mathematical congruency associated with growth will have the same effect Bruner (2007). Figs. 2 and 3 correctly scale each ethnic model in terms of head breadth, length, and depth per international anthropometric surveys Farkas et al. (2005); Howells (1973). Contrastingly, our exponential and elliptical transformation of our universal caucasian model across racial types does not fully exhibit the cranial or facial metrics of the new (target) ethnic groups of the target racial type. In the instance of the cross racial transformation the new model fails to assume the correct shape of the midsagittal profile of its racial type. In order to accomplish this, we need to further employ a combination of multiple deformations considered together and to increase our statistical survey according to Farkas et al. (2005) or we need to define a few generic templates to truly capture the behavior of the skull.

8. Conclusion

The current and near future of an exposition on EEG measurement sensitivity distributions will benefit many clinical neurophysiologists such as anesthesiologists, neurologists, and cognitive neuroscientists. These benefits will come from the adaptation of highly detailed generic volume conductor models assessing different electrode types and locations (Wendel, Väisänen, Seemann, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010). Anthropometric data currently exists detailing deformations in craniometric landmarks; however, a database of landmark sizes coupled with age (Wendel, Väisänen, Seemann, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010), gender (Wendel, Väisänen, Seemann, Hyttinen & Malmivuo, 2010), ethnic origin (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009), and head shape (Wendel, Osadebey & Malmivuo, 2009) would improve the accuracy of the overly used fixed-geometry in highly complex models.

We found that mathematically deformed generic models can represent various ethnic groups. We applied the power function and elliptical function to more accurately reflect the profiles associate with each ethnic group. We can partially mathematically reflect the new shape of the midsagittal profiles of the target racial type. In our goal of EEG modeling, we aim to primarily fit the cranial case to the patient although the facial features may represent another individual. According to the field of anthropometry, we found grounds for requiring three base models destined for mathematical manipulation – one of each racial type: *Caucasoid*, *Mongloid*, and *Negroid* or the need to acquire more statistically databased medically-imaged data according to ethnicity.

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This book connects anthropology and polyphony: a composition that multiplies the researcher's glance, the style of representation, the narrative presence of subjectivities. Polyphonic anthropology is presenting a complex of bio-physical and psycho-cultural case studies. Digital culture and communication has been transforming traditional way of life, styles of writing, forms of knowledge, the way of working and connecting. Ubiquities, identities, syncretisms are key-words if a researcher wish to interpret and transform a cultural contexts. It is urgent favoring trans-disciplinarity for students, scholars, researchers, professors; any reader of this polyphonic book has to cross philosophy, anatomy, psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology, architecture, archeology, biology. I believe in an anthropological mutation inside any discipline. And I hope this book may face such a challenge.

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