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Introduction

The *Journal of European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis (JEECA)* is the English language edition of the biannual *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (peer reviewed). The *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (ZfVk) is the oldest cultural anthropological journal in Central Europe still in print: It originated from the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* in 1891 and was initially established as an organ of the *Berliner Verein für Volkskunde* by German philologist Karl Weinhold. Since 1963, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* has been entrusted with its publication. The *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* is the principal German language journal for the disciplines of European Ethnology, Cultural Anthropology and Folklore Studies. In order to make the results available to the international scientific community as well, we have launched an additional English online version of the journal, starting with volume 2016.

ZfVk/JEECA represents current cultural analysis in all its breadth, in contemporary as well as in historical perspective, in global as well as in regional and local contexts. The contributions – mainly by researchers from German speaking universities and research institutions – cover phenomena of everyday culture in European societies: Questions about sociocultural transformations and differentiation are posed, aspects of transnationalism and migration are addressed and historical micro analyses of regional living conditions and power structures are conducted. The focus of the orientation is on the present and the past. What is central and connects them is the perspective on the acting subjects, their practices, strategies and forms of knowledge. Depending on the research context as well as the spatial and temporal horizon, the articles are based on the analysis of fieldwork material, qualitative interviews, images, films, objects and archival material, including discourse and media analyses.

The editors

Sabine Hess

"Citizens on the road"*

Migration, borders and the reconstruction of citizenship in Europe

Abstract: Many observers of the massive influx of refugees that has taken place since last summer were taken aback by the enormous size of the migration movements. Thousands of migrants marching northwards along the motorways and demanding the right to cross European borders forced the European border regime to "surrender." This article argues against conceptualizing these incidents as representing an exception or a "crisis," and shows that the scale of the migration, its "creativity" and its resistance practices need to be seen as constitutive of migration in general, since migration is a "movement" that resists and subverts the technological and social devices established by a massively militarized border regime on an everyday basis and; hence; questions racialized conceptions of European citizenship. As the article goes on to argue, conceptualizing migration in this way has methodological consequences for our thinking and for our concepts of "border." However, even most constructivist and practice-oriented approaches in the international field of border studies deny that "migration" has an impact and has to be theorized as a co-constitutive force in the field of border work.

Keywords: migration, European border regime, citizenship, autonomy of migration

> "Nearly 1000 refugees who started last night at 10 pm by train from
> Belgrade to Subotica (just over the Serbian border with Hungary) were
> stopped at the train station in Subotica. Police tried during the night
> on several occasions to 'remove' them from the train, but they refused.
> Among them is quite a large number of children, women and people
> with disabilities. They have been in the train for hours without food and
> water, but they do not want to leave. People claim they have the right
> to cross the border like everyone else, not on foot and in secret."
> Anna Kudron, "Breaking News from the Serbian Border,"
> Refugee Crisis in Hungary, 2015

The right to cross borders

The "reality" of cross-border migration appeared overwhelming in the weeks and months of the summer and fall of 2015. Thousands of migrants and refugees were tearing down the security fences erected by the European border regime and mak-

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* German version in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2016, 112 (1): 3–18. Translated by Michael Robertson.

ing a strong mass demand for the right to cross the borders of western European countries. They were camping out in market squares all over Europe and jumping onto ferries and trains – and when the police prevented them from doing that, they were covering hundreds of kilometers on foot to cross the nearest national border, or switching to forms of public protest to assert their right to travel onward. This collective, unorganized protest attracted international public attention on a large scale when thousands of refugees were stopped at the Keleti railway station in Budapest and set off on a "march of hope" in early September 2015 to reach Austria and Germany on foot along the motorways (bordermonitoring.eu 2015). The pictures of migrants hiking along the roads to avoid police checks and registration procedures and cross the nearest national border became iconographic images of resistance in the border zones of Europe's external border regime.

Similar more or less spontaneous, although extremely collective, actions by the migration movements have taken place repeatedly in recent years (Ataç et al. 2015), although on a smaller scale and with less attention from the media and the international public – and with less sweeping success. Examples might include the numerous and recurring attempts by hundreds of sub-Saharan migrants to climb over the militarized security fences around the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, where, although many suffer severe injuries on the barbed wire, hundreds succeed in entering the European Union every year (Heck 2010; *Tagesschau,* 18 March 2014). Other examples would include demonstrations and riots in United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) refugee camps, such as those in Jordan, where Syrian refugees have demonstrated time after time against their enforced internment and existing living conditions in the mega-camp of Zaatari (*Guardian,* 6 April 2014). There have also been frequent protests in the refugee camps and deportation facilities in Europe and along its borders – as has been seen increasingly in recent years in Hungary, where refugees and migrants used hunger and thirst strikes to protest against living conditions and enforced confinement there for a whole year (Bayer and Speer 2013).

Beyond these forms of public and collective resistance, both academic and media sources provide a plethora of examples of more individual and less visible forms of protest and resistance in border areas, such as people filing away or burning their own fingertips to deceive the Eurodac system's fingerprint scanners (Tsianos and Kuster 2014). The Eurodac database was initiated in 2000 to allow registration and later identification of refugee migrants who were caught crossing borders irregularly (Schuster 2011). It represents the basis for what is known as the Dublin Regulation, which stipulates that refugees can only apply for asylum in the EU member state into which they first entered. The Dublin Regulation, which was established to contain the mobility of refugees within the EU, has, in fact, contributed to exactly the opposite in recent years. It has, for example, not only led to an increased number of EU

internal deportations, but has also produced a new and precarious legal category of internal refugee migrants hoping to escape once again from the appalling legal and social living conditions they are exposed to in the initial receiving countries in the south and east of the EU – as was seen in the protests mounted by the "Lampedusa in Hamburg" movement in 2013 and 2014 (Lorenz 2015; Borri and Fontanari 2015).

Although these resistance practices have more of an individual quality (at first sight), they are embedded in the social networks of transit migration and benefit from the collective knowledge available in the diaspora border communities that can be conceptualized using Asef Bayat's term "nonmovement" (Bayat 2010). Bayat uses this concept, which he developed in connection with the Arab revolts, to describe collective mass uprisings that are, nevertheless, not formally organized and do not follow any shared ideology. Instead, they are characterized by everyday practices of mass refusal and resistance. Although they are characterized by fragmentation, they represent more than the sum of the individual actions involved and can trigger social transformations – as in the case of the velvet revolution in the Arabic world (Bayat 2010: 20).

These forms of resistance within the migration movements had rarely been publicly discussed in this way previously or to the extent that happened in the summer and autumn of 2015 when refugees succeeded in getting the Austrian and German governments to open their borders in a humanitarian gesture. Instead, the everyday perceptions and interpretations of the migration movements relative to the border regime have been marked by contradictory conceptions in recent years, which have been structured specifically by the dominant images circulating in the mass media of overcrowded and sinking boats in the Mediterranean and of corpses washed up on the beaches. This type of image, and the large numbers of migrants who have drowned in the Mediterranean, then tend to make the narrative of a return to solid, fixed borders around the affluent regions of the global North appear more self-evident – as acts of "re-bordering" of North America and Europe, as suggested by Peter Andreas and Timothy Snyder (2000) in their essay collection *The Wall around the West*. From this point of view, the migrants and their efforts to cross borders appear in a different light: Showing the migrant as a victim exposed to the methods and apparatuses of border control policy.

In what follows here, I would like to examine the relationship between the migration movements and the border regime in greater detail against the background of my nearly 15 years of ethnographic research into European migration and border policies (Hess 2007). I want to illustrate the way in which the conceptualizations that are customary in international border studies also view this as a relationship with a top-down structure. This produces a re-presentational regime in which migrants appear, on the one hand, as the dependent variable, as structurally powerless and as "victims." On the other hand, it also leads – even in critical research work – to

a reification of the controlling power of the border regime. But how can the resistance practices in the migration movement and the general cross-border practices that are being described be incorporated into a theorization of the border that would do justice to the agency of the migration, while, at the same time, being capable of analytically examining the expansion of the border regime?

This question formed the starting-point for our interdisciplinary research project "Transit Migration" in 2002. In the early 2000s, the project led us to southeastern Europe, which at that time was already being seen as a "migration hot spot" and was a target of attention for the European media and politicians (Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe 2007). In the face of the migrants' compelling and evidently unrestrainable desire to reach a safe and better life in Europe – as they described it to us at that time in the migration transit and waiting zones – we developed a conception of Europe's external border as representing a "zone of conflict and interaction" (Hess 2007: 25). We, therefore, referred to the "border regime" as a dynamic ensemble consisting of various agents, discourses and practices, and this enabled us to incorporate migration as a powerful force into the way in which the border itself was theorized, rather than regarding migration as merely being an object of the border (Karakayali and Tsianos 2007; Tsianos and Hess 2010). The developments that took place in the summer and fall of 2015 – which were astonishing for me as a longtime observer as well – have put the forcefulness of migration that we noted at that time back on the agenda, in a breathtaking and sometimes disturbing way. On the other hand, these developments also represent a challenge to us as cultural and social science researchers to critically monitor once again the highly contradictory reconstitution-processes of the European border regime and the EU project in general. By re-politicizing questions of the right to mobility, protection and arrival, the refugee movements have also, above all, raised once again the question of the way in which citizenship is constituted in Europe and returned it to the center of the debate. In what follows here, I shall be drawing on the collaborative research practices and scholarship in the context of the Transit Migration Research Group that are being continued both in the Laboratory for Critical Migration and Border Regime Research at the University of Göttingen and in the German-language, Europe-wide interdisciplinary network "kritnet" (Hess and Kasparek 2010; Heimeshoff et al. 2014).

The return of the border paradigm

Both media reporting about boats sinking in the Mediterranean and the return of a Europe of fences, walls and ditches – as along the Greek–Turkish, Bulgarian–Turkish and Hungarian–Serbian borders, or around the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla – tempt one to dismiss the development of what Nina Glick-Schiller has called the "power of migration" (Glick-Schiller 2009), outlined above, in fa-

vor of the "border paradigm". In addition to the obvious and manifest acts and architectures of re-bordering even long before 2015 and 2016, there have been a large number of technological border apparatuses that are more or less "invisible": digital, radar- and computer-controlled, intelligent border surveillance technologies that establish network-like security spaces, such as Spain's Integrated System for External Vigilance (*Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior*: SIVE), introduced in 2002, the European Border Surveillance (EUROSUR) system, introduced in 2013, and the Maritime Surveillance (MARSUR) system, introduced in 2005. Funds amounting to millions are flowing into research and development of this type of technology, while civil and military protagonists are competing both for finance and contracts and are also becoming increasingly fused with one another. In relation to control of the Mediterranean, Carrera and den Hertog from the Center for European Policy Studies have described developments of this type as a "surveillance race" (Carrera and den Hertog 2015: 16), which is, in their view, producing a new spatialization and digitalization of borders. This extension and multiplication of the border from what used to be a recognized line around the territory of nation states led Etienne Balibar to speak of the "ubiquity of borders" (2002: 84).

The end of the East–West conflict and the lifting of the Iron Curtain, along with the extension of the European single market project and the parallel dismantling of border controls within the EU, raised hopes for an accelerated de-bordering. However, more recent international border studies have tended to suggest the opposite: Namely, that borders are being expanded and intensified. These new territorially or non-territorially extended border spaces are, thus, also being described using terms such as "border zones," "borderlands" or "borderscapes." At the same time, these concepts include the idea of mobile, fluid, selective and differentiated border situations. The talk is, thus, also of "mobile borders" (Tsianos and Kuster 2014: 3) or "networked borders" (Rumford 2006: 153). In this context, Balibar argues in favor of describing borders as "overdetermined, polysemic (that is to say that borders never exist in the same way for individuals belonging to different social groups) and heterogeneous" (cited in Salter 2011: 67). Those who have the relevant economic resources, nationality and documents have, thus, enjoyed the pan-European free travel zone over the last 11 years. Others, by contrast, such as those belonging to states in the global South, now face the border in railway stations, trains, airports, schools and health-care facilities. Lahav and Giraudon (2000), in an article subtitled "Away from the Border and Outside the State," have already drawn attention to this process of dual outsourcing of borders – firstly, in the sense of spatialization and geographical expansion, and, secondly, in the form of an outsourcing of border practices and a multiplication of border agents. We had an opportunity to observe similar processes ourselves during our Transit Migration research project in south-eastern Europe. At that time, we described a process of privatization and NGOization

of the border to draw attention to the co-opting particularly of civil society groups alongside an increased importance of organizations that operate internationally and transnationally (Karakayali and Hess 2007). In the summer and autumn months of 2015, this process has been seen to an unexpected extent regarding the invention and performance of a "welcoming culture" not only in Germany, but along the entire Balkan route. If the dozens of local and international "helpers" and volunteers with their orange vests, who networked spontaneously via Facebook and other online platforms, had not existed, the humanitarian drama along the Balkan route and in Austrian and German railway stations and other arrival and transit points would have been immeasurable (bordermonitoring.eu). On the other hand, the EU could construct its "humanitarian corridor" along the "Balkan route" as one central means to reinstall state control by drawing on these practices and aid initiatives.

In parallel with all the efforts, practices and apparatuses of re-bordering, a new and growing significance for the "border" as a topic and concept in migration and mobility studies can be noted. Exemplarily, not only has the number of doctoral theses and postdoctoral research projects on the topic increased substantially (in our own discipline as well); Nina Glick Schiller and Noel B. Salazar (2013) in their recently published article "Regimes of Mobility across the Globe" have also taken up the topic of drawing boundaries. They note an accelerated return of national borders and lines of ethnic separation in the midst of global economic crises. They follow Ronen Shamir's observation here that a "single global mobility regime" (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013: 199) is arising that has the following characteristics:

> "Oriented to closure and to the blocking of access, premised not only on "old" national or local grounds but on a principle of perceived universal dangerous personhoods … In practice, this means that local, national, and regional boundaries are now being rebuilt and consolidated … processes of globalization are also concerned with the prevention of movement and the blocking of access." (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013: 199)

How are these highly contrasting scenarios – on the one hand, the long summer of migration in 2015 (Kasparek and Speer 2015) and, on the other, the progressive processes involved in re-bordering – to be conceived? A simple binary contrast between a focus either on border crossing practices as resistance or on the return of the border would not be advisable, as this would overlook particularly the new shape and function that the border has acquired. Instead, I would like to return to our approach we labeled as "ethnographic border regime analysis" and the perspective that we were already debating in the early 2000s under the heading of the "autonomy of migration" (Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe 2007). This approach makes it possible to regard the border regime as a space of constant tension, conflict and contestation in the face of the power and agency of the migration movements – without minimizing the border regime's militarization and brutality. These

conceptualizations represent a methodological and theoretical attempt not only to think about the relationship between migration movements and control regimes in a different way than in the classical sociological way of object-structure, but also to conceive of migration differently than has previously been the dominant practice in the cultural and social sciences – namely, not thinking about it in the sense of a "deviation" from the paradigm of the settled way of life in the modern nation state or as a functionalist variable of economic processes and rationalities. Instead, this theoretical and methodological approach represents an attempt to conceptualize migration both historically and structurally as an act of "flight" and as "imperceptible" forms of resistance, in the sense of withdrawal and escape from miserable, exploitative conditions of existence such as those described by Dimitris Papadopoulos and Vassilis Tsianos (2008).

Yann Moulier Boutang (2006) described this aspect as the "autonomy of migration." This draws attention to migration as a co-constitutive factor for the border, with the forces of the movements of migration that are challenging and reshaping the border every single day and that we could follow in the media almost every single day during the long summer of migration in 2015. However, a genealogy of the "routes" involved and their interaction with the regional intensification of border control practices first needs to be written – and it would certainly demonstrate one thing: That a mutual dynamic is involved.

From push and closure models to humanitarianism

Before going on to discuss this approach based on the autonomy of migration in greater detail, however, I would like briefly to look at the way in which the relationship between migration and border is commonly theorized. It is usually conceptualized in a functionalist and/or instrumentalized top-down relationship (Mezzadra 2005). This is seen, for example, in a "push and pull" approach that would nowadays better be described as "push and closure" and is usually publicly defended, both in the field of migration research and more generally. This image comprises, on the one hand, a more or less strong monolithic apparatus that is intended to stop, obstruct, exclude, suppress and/or exploit migration. On the other hand, there are the victims: Those who have pursued capital and now find themselves betrayed and trapped in a relationship of exploitation, in the same way that the usual depiction of the so-called guest worker system for a long time led us to believe. The predominant narrative here was as follows: The German government responded to a shortage of workers by offering "guest worker contracts." These were taken up by thousands of impoverished men from the south of Europe, who were more or less ignorant of the conditions awaiting them. It was in this context that the figure of *Homo exploiticus* was constructed as the obverse of the *Homo oeconomicus* of classic migration theories, as Manuela Bojadžijev has critically noted (Bojadžijev 2008).

The global conditions of migration today are producing not only people who are being exploited, but also increasing numbers of migrants in the sense described by Giorgio Agamben's concept of bare life (Agamben 1998). Today the narrative goes like this: They are presented as faceless masses expelled from their home countries and trapped in transit or in the UNHCR reception camps in the countries of the global South. I do not want to intend with the critique of this representational mode to imply that the European border regime is not brutal or, to a large extent, contributing to the plight and suffering of many migrants on the road. Instead, the aim is to make clear the way in which this type of conceptualization refers to a regime of representation that creates a hierarchical, neocolonial matrix of policies and positionalities (in the scientific and methodological sense, as well as regarding concrete support practices): Namely, a matrix consisting of a Western (and viewing) subject who provides aid and a (viewed) object from the global South who suffers (Ticktin 2011).

This archetype of power, strongly rooted in Christian ethics that call on people to save lives and alleviate suffering, is described by the US American cultural anthropologists Didier Fassin (2011) and Miriam Ticktin (2011) as "humanitarianism" or "humanitarian power," which, in their view, became hegemonic mainly at the end of the East–West conflict and gave rise to a new military–humanitarian complex. The latter represents not only a regime of representation that prompts victimizing and humanitarian gestures. Within the logic of humanitarianism, one can also speak of a political economics of the "humanitarian crisis" that indicates the ability of the European border regime to encode specific events as "emergencies" (Calhoun 2004) and demand ad hoc "exceptional politics." Fassin characterizes such exceptional politics as representing a central aspect of humanitarian logic. In retrospect, it can in fact be observed that this form of emergency policy can be described as a driving force behind the extension of the European border regime and has proved to be extremely productive – for example, when one looks at the continual increases in Frontex's budget and the constant expansion of its range of tasks (Heimeshoff et al. 2014: 1–2).

The migrants marching along the roads or encamped also make use of the logic of humanitarianism and are speaking the language of human rights when they, for example, demand better conditions in the camps and the prevention of violence by appealing to the International Declaration of Human Rights and to "European values." However, in the case of the migration movements, what cannot be ignored is the marginal position they hold within the hegemonic political matrix which does not recognize them as having a legitimate right to speak. Instead, the migration movements are confronted with a humanitarian gesture based on the power of the colonial North always to determine when something will be done and which lives are to be saved – as Fassin notes, referring to it as "politics of life" (2007).

However, most of the acts of undocumented and irregular border crossings to date have been "secret"; the trick involved not being seen, making oneself invisible. In this sense, the far-reaching political signal sent by the migrant uprisings all over Europe in the summer and autumn of 2015 consisted of the fact that they have stepped out of the "shadow" of irregularity many studies on irregular migration are evoking, and of the de facto concealment in the transit hubs of the world, and have been forcefully articulating a political subject position within the predominant representative and political matrix from which they are excluded. They have no longer been resorting to unmonitored sections of the border and trying to enter unnoticed by night, but instead, have been camping out and protesting wherever it seemed that a border was likely to be closed against them. In the months following the summer of 2015, they were, thus, practicing a vision of citizenship as Etienne Balibar has been outlining it in "Toward a Diasporic Citizen":

> "A citizenship at least partially independent from territory, which would still in-corporate a complete system of subjective and objective rights, such as a right to circulation and a complementary right of settlement under reasonable conditions that make it feasible or manageable – such a citizenship would inaugurate a new historical moment in the progress of the idea of the citizen." (Balibar 2011: 222)

The autonomy of migration as a critical intervention in border studies

What would change in our view of the border, its control policy and migration if we were not to conceptualize the figure of the migrant epistemologically as a victim, or as a culturalized Other? What would change if we were to conceptualize migration in the – admittedly provocative – way expressed by the concept of "the autonomy of migration"?

The concept of the autonomy of migration is often wrongly interpreted to mean the autonomy of migrants. However, this misses what is intended by the concept, which instead needs to be understood as a structural argument drawn from a histori-cal materialist reading of history. The concept is also not intended to obscure the suffering and plight of numerous migration projects. Instead, it represents an at-tempt by Yann Moulier Boutang (2006) and other researchers to re-situate migration within the history of labor, capitalism and modern forms of government that focuses on the previously little-considered ability of living labor to escape from unbearable conditions of (re-)production (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). Moulier Boutang writes, for example: "If one links it with Foucault's 'desire of the masses not to be governed in this way' and connects it to the concept of flight or exile, it becomes fruitful: because flight is the masses' refusal to let themselves be governed, a response to asymmetric power relations" (Moulier Boutang 2006: 172).

Yann Moulier Boutang draws strongly on the theoretical tradition of *operaismo* (workerism) in his theoretical approach. *"Operaismo"* originated, on the one hand, as a political movement and, on the other, emerged from 1960s political theory in Italy in opposition to the Marxist mainstream. Two central insights of this "workerism" appear to be crucial for the change in perspective emphasized by a migration research approach focusing on the autonomy of migration: Firstly, workerism conceives of the history of capitalism as being driven by workers' struggles. From this viewpoint, for example, both industrialization or the development of the factory appear as a political response to deal with a mass flight from rural regions and workers' resistance. Secondly, "resistance" is conceived empirically by considering silent, unorganized, apparently insignificant forms of subversion and withdrawal such as slow working. Analogously, Yann Moulier Boutang regards capitalist developments not simply as being motivated by the dynamics of the profit rate, but as representing reactions to the lived mobility of the labor force and as a constant attempt to control living labor and its ability and desire to mount resistance and escape from the existing conditions (Moulier Boutang 2006; Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008).

To this extent, the viewpoint based on the autonomy of migration does not end by assuming migration can be understood as an active force and as a form of everyday silent resistance. Instead, this approach asks about the ways in which migration intervenes in the center of knowledge production (Hess 2015). Bernd Kasparek and Maria Schwertl recently summed up the theoretical implications of the autonomy of migration as follows: "The autonomy of migration is less a conclusion to arrive at but a perspective that opens up new ways of interrogation and doing research. Or, to quote Moulier Boutang, autonomy of migration is not a slogan, but a method" (Kasparek and Schwertl 2014: 9).

The autonomy of migration as a prism

If we follow the concept of the autonomy of migration in the sense of a method or a prism, the question inevitably arises of what such a viewpoint may enable us to see. Firstly, the approach conceives of migration and mobility as a social movement, not in the classical sense of an organized, ideological driven movement, rather in the sense of a world-making collective practice and, consequently, as a fundamentally political, social and transformative project. Through migration, social agents escape from their normalized representations and reshape themselves and their own conditions of existence. According to Dimitris Papadopoulos and Vassilis Tsianos, migration represents an active transformation of the social space:

"Migration is not the evacuation of a place and the occupation of a different one; it is the making and remaking of one's own life on the scenery of the world. World-making. You cannot measure migration in changes of position or location, but in the

increase in inclusiveness and the amplitude of its intensities. Even if migration starts sometimes as a form of dislocation (forced by poverty, patriarchal exploitation, war, famine), its target is not relocation but the active transformation of social space." (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2008: 169–170)

Secondly, when we look at the border and the migration regime, the way in which we conceptualize the border and, consequently, the way in which we understand the "state" or "sovereignty" also changes. The formerly monolithic border apparatus breaks down and dissolves into multiple factors: Agents, practices, discourses, technologies, bodies, emotions, and processes and contestations become visible, and migration can be conceived of as one the driving forces behind this (Heimeshoff et al. 2014: 13–14). This way of conceiving the border discards simplified binary models that locate the structure as a simple opposite of the agency. Instead, the border is newly conceptualized as a space of challenge, conflict and negotiation. The ethnographic border regime analysis developed by the Transit Migration Research Group in the 2000s attempts to provide a methodological operationalization of these theoretical implications (Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe 2007; Tsianos and Hess 2010).

The ethnographic border regime analyses draws on a political-science notion of "regime" and a Foucauldian notion to take into account the border work of a variety of agents, institutions and other human and nonhuman factors, without simplifying the diverse interests and rationalities of these forces into a simple or linear logic or hidden agenda (such as that of capital or European racism). The ethnographic border regime analysis is based more on a an empirical and theoretical conceptualization of the border as a location of continual encounters and tensions, so that migration becomes a constitutive component of the border. According to Giuseppe Sciortino, the regime is "rather a mix of implicit conceptual frames, generations of turf wars among bureaucracies and waves after waves of 'quick fix' to emergencies … the life of a regime is the result of continuous repair work through practices" (Sciortino 2004: 32–33).

According to the regime approach, the continual and structurally conflict-ridden reconfiguration of the border must be understood primarily as a reaction to the movements of migration that challenge, cross and reshape borders. Conceptualizing the border based on the autonomy of migration also differs from most current constructivist approaches in border studies. "Border" is now being commonly conceptualized as an effect of a multiplicity of agents and practices, as becomes clear in the concepts of "doing border" and "border work" (Rumford 2008; Salter 2011). The concept of border work draws attention specifically to the everyday micropractices of politicians, border guards, journalists, academics, judges, NGO staff and transport personnel, who need to reinterpret the border repeatedly to enact it. It also draws attention to the growing arsenal of technologies, such as drones, satellites, heat-detecting cameras, scanners and databases. However, many of these

highly interesting constructivist approaches ignore the constitutive power of migration completely, or once again conceptualize migrants as structurally powerless and as "victims." By contrast, the recently published volume *Border as Method* by Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2013), for example, takes up the standpoint of the autonomy of migration approach. In this respect, the authors also define borders as "social institutions, which are marked by tensions between practices of border reinforcement and border crossing" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013: 3) and emphasize the decisive role that "border struggles" play in constituting a specific border regime and its localized enactments and implementations.

From this point of view, it is the migration movements that produce the socio-economic phenomenon of the border space: Border spaces represent the product of a collectivized excessive desire to overcome borders, of networks of people on the move and of collective knowledge practices of border crossing (Fröhlich 2015). It is this "excess" of autonomy that is the target of control, regulation and exploitation by state border agencies and policies to construct the border as a stable, controllable and manageable tool for selective and differential inclusion. In the summer of migration in 2015, the border regime had lost this representational capacity against the background of the arrival of mass migration movements in the EU states. The migrants have been making it clear that the desire to flee is stronger than the technological and bureaucratic apparatuses of the border regime. The current construction of a four-meter high border fence along the Hungarian–Serbian border and the reintroduction of national border controls within the European Union can be regarded as defensive–aggressive attempts to regain control.

What the border regime does is it transforms the legal status of people crossing the border: It robs them of the basic human quality to have the right to have rights as is, at least officially, encoded in national citizenship by categorizing the border crossers into the different existing categories of migration. In this sense, the border is a gigantic transformation regime producing new hierarchies of people by categorizing and processing the unchecked mobilities as "migration." Lydia Morris (2002) speaks of this process as "civic stratification" producing new forms of "flexible citizenship" (Ong 1999; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013: 7). However, the struggles of migrants in Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, Hungary, Serbia, Turkey and elsewhere for the right to flee, remain and move freely within Europe show that even those who are excluded from citizenship are exercising post-national visions of citizenship rights every day (Hess and Lebuhn 2014; Köster-Eiserfunke, Clemens Reichhold, and Schwiertz 2014; Nyers and Rygiel 2014).

To sum up, I tried to reconceptualize borderlands and migration itself as ways of resistance, products of a generative excess that cannot be fully subjectified by the forces of domination. However, if we really accept this understanding of migration following the perspective of the autonomy of migration, then this has radical

repercussions on our general knowledge production: Migration ends being the cul-
turalized, ethnizised object of our scientific gaze and it starts becoming a method,
perspective and prism for a situated post-national knowledge practice that itself is
only thinkable as a way of resistance, as criticism of the hegemonic, objectifying
mode still deeply entrenched in the postcolonial order of knowledge (cf. Hess 2015).
That is what we try to develop within the network for critical migration and border
regime research (cf. Movements. Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregime-
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Jochen Bonz

Subjectivity as an intersubjective datum in ethnographic fieldwork processes*

Abstract: Ethnographic fieldwork is a major methodological tool for studying cultural phenomena in terms of ways in which people make sense of reality, practices of daily life etc. To an even larger extent than qualitative methods in general, ethnographic fieldwork for this purpose relies on the subjective experiences of the person, who is conducting the research. This is due to her functioning as "both the research instruments and the filter through which the lives of the informants are sifted" (Marianne Gullestad 1984: 47). The article brings forward the argument that in order to appreciate ethnographic fieldwork methodology and its outcomes adequately, it is crucial to deal with the problematic as well as the encouraging aspects that come along with this subjective quality. Whereas current methodological debates simply ignore the issue or treat it rather superficially, methodological approaches stemming from the 1970ies and 80ies handled it explicitly. The article brings to light their conceptualisations of the fieldwork encounter, focusing especially on the Zurich school of ethno-psychoanalysis and on Maya Nadig in particular, as well as on considerations by Georges Devereux, Jennifer Hunt, Paul Willis and others. Vital to them is an understanding of the research process and the findings as intersubjective in character. To state the intersubjectivity of ethnographical fieldwork methodology is allowing for the possibility to interpret the subjective experiences of the researcher as potential data about the field itself. This notion is articulated by means of the psychoanalytic concept of countertransference and, more generally, as irritation. Subsequently, the challenge brought up by ethnographic fieldwork consists in the researcher committing herself/himself to a dynamic of "empathetic-identifying approximation and reflective-confining withdrawal" (Nadig 1986: 49, trans. J.B.). The method of the free association interpretation group is presented as a means of supervision of these dynamics and as a sensible tool for the analysis of fieldwork materials.

Keywords: ethnographic fieldwork methodology, ethno-psychoanalysis, intersubjectivity, countertransference, free association interpretation group, fieldwork supervision

When searching for descriptions of the work implied by ethnographic fieldwork as a method, one often comes across phantasms, as Lisa Breglia puts it in her contribution to "Fieldwork is Not What It Used to Be" (Breglia 2009: 131). Accounts

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of the methodology, she writes, read like constructions thought of after the fact, and existing literature on methods was characterized by "concealment and agreed misrecognition of ethnographic labor" (Breglia 2009: 130). What Breglia expresses here sounds like an echo of Rolf Lindner's (1981) explications of the researcher's anxiety in the face of the field. In his considerations, published in the Zeitschrift für Volkskunde in 1981, Lindner classifies the attempt of bringing the research practice into alignment with the methodological ideal in the methods section as a "lie" which serves to conceal the actual discrepancy between methodology and practice (Lindner 1981: 52). Breglia's and Lindner's judgments may be overly harsh; however, the astounding fact that over a space of almost thirty years, a statement is repeated which concerns the central methodological instrument of the cultural analytical project – namely, ethnographic fieldwork – underlines the claim made by both: Realistic descriptions of ethnographic research practice are needed.

There are generally two possibilities to arrive at a more realistic and precise reflection of ethnographic methods: Methodological reflection can be more specific or more fundamental. I aim to become as fundamental as possible in the present contribution.[1] In order to do this, I will single out the intersubjective character of ethnographic fieldwork – the very aspect that Lindner's considerations also circle around, and which, in the recent English language methodology discourse, has repeatedly been emphasized by Michael Jackson (2010; 2012) and also constituted a focus of HAU – Journal of Ethnographic Theory (White and Strohm 2014). The thematic development and consideration of intersubjectivity in fieldwork in the discourse of European Ethnology is connected mainly with the work of Utz Jeggle (1984) and in particular with his student projects (Jeggle 1982; 2008). Thus, impressive studies have originated from the circle of his students which explicate the intersubjective character of the fieldwork process; for example, the works by Katharina Eisch-Angus (1996; 2001), the contributions to the Jeggle Festschrift "Die *Poesie des Feldes* [The poetics of the field]," published by Eisch-Angus together with Marion Hamm (2001), as well as the description of how a supervision group functions, the foundation of which goes back to a suggestion by Jeggle (Becker et al. 2013). Jeggle's (1982) and Lindner's (1981) positions converge in their reference to Georges Devereux's (1967) critical study "From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences." It is not possible to discuss this in detail at this point, however, a reappraisal of Devereux's approach as well as his reception appears overdue to me. In the following, I understand "From Anxiety to Method" as one of the canonical works of a discourse which aims to link the cultural analytical interest in the 'Other' and the ethnographic reflection of methods with knowledge from psychoanalysis. This discourse is particularly represented currently by the studies of the Zurich school of ethnopsychoanalysis

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1   For an attempt at describing the evaluation process of ethnographic field data as specifically as possible, cf. Bonz 2015: 116–178.

(Nadig 1986; Morgenthaler, Weiss and Morgenthaler 1984; Parin, Morgenthaler and Parin-Matthèy 1989; 2006). They also await a thorough reappraisal in the history of science, which my contribution unfortunately cannot accomplish either. Instead, in the following, I will attempt to collect the ethnopsychoanalytical and other thematic developments of intersubjectivity in the fieldwork process and to sketch their inherent methodology. The purpose of this approach results from the paradox initially pointed out that knowledge about the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork has been in existence for decades, yet, in a way, is not available. It is almost like it has been buried, for instance, by accounts of methodology which present 'rapport' as an instrumental-strategic design of the researcher, whereby – according to Lindner's, Devereux's and an ethnopsychoanalytical understanding – the entire process of insight is obscured in its functioning (Breidenstein et al. 2013: 60 ff.).[2] I, therefore, aim to salvage this methodological knowledge. This intention has led to a focus on literature from the 1970s and 1980s, a period during which there was a reflection on the subjective perception of the researcher as an intersubjective datum in the interdisciplinary ethnographic methodology discourse. My interest stems from my own ethnopsychoanalytical studies with Maya Nadig in the 1990s at the University of Bremen. This experience has encouraged me to take a natural approach to the reflection of subjectivity as a datum and to participate in and lead interpretation groups which serve to evaluate ethnographic fieldwork material. In the following, I will describe an understanding of the ethnographic research process which I subscribe to myself. My conviction also becomes apparent in the details. Thus, I avoid in the following, in accordance with Devereux, the term 'participant observation.' This is because, as he explains referring to his fieldwork undertaken among the Sedang Moi in what was then Indochina, the fact that *his* back was sore after pulling out weeds does not prove that *their* backs (which were used to this kind of labor) were also sore (see Devereux 1987: 459).

Estrangements: Ethnography's focus on the cultural realities of 'Others'

I begin the salvaging by referring to a methodological explication by Paul Willis, one of the representatives of the cultural studies approach of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham.[3] Based on his ethnographic studies of the socialization of youths from the British working class as well as on the subcultures of rockers and hippies, Willis put forth considerations

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2   This state of being buried can, on occasion, also be evident in hinting at the existence of ethnopsychoanalysis along with the statement that this could not be discussed in further detail at this point (Hess and Schwertl 2013: 19).

3   This constitutes a further link to Rolf Lindner – his exchange with the CCCS; furthermore, Willis also comes to mind because of my own research foci in pop and fan culture.

on ethnography in the mid-1970s as a contribution to the methodology discussions at the CCCS. He begins his argumentation with a limitation when he counters the expectation that qualitative empirical methods granted immediate access to societal reality. Rather, he claims, insight is always connected to categories of thinking (e. g. theories, paradigms): "[T]here is no truly untheoretical way in which to 'see' an 'object'. The object is only perceived and understood through an internal organization of data, mediated by conceptual constructs and ways of seeing the world" (Willis 1980: 90). In the following, Willis describes the potential of ethnographic fieldwork as lying in its capacity of surprising the subject conducting the research, that is, to unsettle them in their categories of thinking and, thus, to facilitate the possibility "of reaching knowledge not prefigured in one's starting paradigm" (ibid.). Instead of the desired, but impossible direct access, Willis' concept of ethnography seeks an approaching of societal reality. I will get back to how Willis conceives of this approach. Let us state for now that in Willis' case, the understanding of 'reality' does not appear essentialized. It also does not rest upon an absolute distinction between 'us' and 'them' in a way we think of as characteristic for the classical phase of cultural anthropology which lasted far into the second half of the 20th century (Fabian 1983). In contrast to this, the objects of Willis' research appear too dynamic and interwoven with a multitude of other phenomena of late modern Western culture. However, Willis' understanding of methodology remains tied to the others which the subject undertaking research encounters during fieldwork. And rightly so! Ethnographic research, after all, serves to – not exclusively, but fundamentally – investigate the perception of reality of others.[4] For the subject undertaking the research, this orientation of ethnographic fieldwork comes with an estrangement from their own perception of reality. It is inherent to the method, as Lindner stresses when he states that estrangement is presupposed to fieldwork as a *condition sine qua non* (Lindner 1984: 59).[5]

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4   Accordingly, Michael Jackson formulates the cultural analytical project as follows: "Anthropology is the systematic application of analogical thought to a pluralistic universe, a way of understanding the other as oneself in other circumstances" (Jackson 2012: 8). Cf. here also George Marcus in Hess, Schwertl and Marcus 2013: 316; and Schmidt-Lauber 2007: 219.

5   Stefan Hirschauer and Klaus Amann have used the term '*Befremdung*' [estrangement] in their prominent design of a sociological ethnography. However, they use it in a specific way and in contrast to the significance of ethnographic fieldwork in cultural anthropology to designate a distanced making strange of the familiar (Hirschauer and Amann 1997: 13), a way of exoticizing of their own (Hirschauer 2013: 229) which is to overcome the sociological lack of alienation between the observer and the observed (ibid.: 233) and replace it with a different view of all our social lives (ibid.: 240). This supposed proximity appears problematic to me, because of its unifying tendency. Furthermore, I also believe it to be wrong as late modern Western culture is said to be characterized by a fundamental experience of alienation (cf. e. g. Behringer 1998; Bonz 2012; Ehrenberg 2004). The attraction which ethnographic fieldwork possesses today both for sociology and European ethnology and further disciplines seems to me to be more plausibly founded in the

Marianne Gullestad expresses this ethnographic orientation towards the Other as researching their everyday lives, "how their lives are shaped" (Gullestad 1984: 11) in her ethnography of a group of young working class women in Norway around 1980. "I examine their activities, categories and values, how they define their identity as women, and how they cope with the problems they have" (ibid.). In a similar fashion, the authors of the textbook "Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes" conceive of participant observation as a method of researching "indigenous meanings" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995: 12). "The object of participation is ultimately to get close to those studied as a way of understanding what their experiences and activities *mean to them*" (ibid., emphasis in the original). If we understand ethnography currently as an empirical method for researching complexity (Knecht 2013: 83 ff.), we should not lose sight of this: The ethnographic getting involved with "real-world-situations" (ibid.: 91) means, more precisely, to get involved with the experience of other people's reality.

Feelings which can be understood as 'transferences'

"The anthropologist doing participant observation is herself both the research instruments and the filter through which the lives of the informants are sifted" (Gullestad 1984: 47). Here, Gullestad names a characteristic of ethnographic research which is as confusing as it is fundamental: In ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher with their self, their subjectivity, functions as an instrument of data collection. Subjectivity, according to Katharina Eisch-Angus, cannot be separated from ethnographic methodology (Eisch 2001: 43). Jennifer Hunt elaborates on this in "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Fieldwork": "[I]n contrast to scientific enterprises which rely largely on quantitative techniques and formal devices to study human and non-human phenomena, the researcher's self is the primary instrument of inquiry. Any mechanical device utilized in fieldwork is mediated through the researcher's own person and the kind of relationship he or she develops with subjects" (Hunt 1989: 13). Employing a similar choice of words, Emerson and colleagues write about "researcher mediation" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995: 13) of the field by the researcher. The following understanding of the value of fieldnotes results from this: "[F]ieldnotes are written accounts that filter members' experiences and concerns through the person and perspective of the ethnographer; fieldnotes provide the ethnographer's, not the members', accounts of the latter's experiences, meanings, and concerns" (ibid.).

The challenges resulting from subjectivity for the individuals participating in the research process and for the understanding of science are enormous, as I will demonstrate in the following. However, the recognition of the subjectivity inherent

desire to investigate a reality in which the apparently familiar has always also been noticeably pervaded by *otherness*.

to ethnographic fieldwork also opens up a methodological understanding of the ethnographic fieldwork process. Thus, Devereux terms the subjectivity in a central statement in "From Anxiety to Method" as the "royal road to an authentic, rather than fictitious, objectivity" (Devereux 1967: XVII).[6]

The fundamental experience of ethnographic fieldwork consists of the feelings of insecurity on the part of the researching subject which are grouped under the term 'culture shock.' Thus, Hunt writes: "Immersion in an alien culture is an intense experience. Most researchers report feeling some mixture of confusion, anxiety, excitement, frustration, depression and embarrassment" (Hunt 1989: 34). The cause of this in ethnopsychoanalysis is understood to be that the strange social circumstances and the data collected generate anxiety and insecurity, as Maya Nadig describes (Nadig 1986: 39). In these feelings, the unsettling of identification experienced by the researching subject is expressed. Hunt deals with the consequences of this unsettling in detail in her "Psychoanalytic Aspects of Fieldwork" and describes how it goes along with the outbreak of inner conflicts. According to her, unconscious fantasies develop, aside from fears, also desires, imaginations and images of the self and the Other as well as suppressed memories. The mediatization which the field undergoes in the subjectivity of the researcher occurs alongside those unconscious movements of the subject ("unconscious factors […] mediate the fieldwork encounter," Hunt 1989: 33). Hunt frames these emotional dynamics with the psychoanalytical concept 'transference' as a term for the forms of relationships which the researcher has at their disposal based on their biography and with which they can fill and design the current relationships to people in the field (ibid.: 29 ff.). She points out that in the situation of fieldwork, potentially any form of conspicuous emotionality can be conceived of as a case of transference: "Strong emotions of anger, anxiety, love or shame, boredom, or annoyance may all indicate the presence of transferences" (ibid.: 61).

As indicated in the title of his study, Devereux also takes anxiety as a starting point of his considerations. He recognizes the unknown as its cause, which gets too close and which one, as a human researching humans, could be oneself if one had been socialized under different circumstances. Devereux captures this observation by saying that the scientific exploration of man is hindered by the anxiety-inducing overlap between object and observer (Devereux 1967: XVI). Aside from

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6   To the best of my knowledge, Devereux's study is discussed today neither in anthropological disciplinary history nor in Science Studies. Based on its argumentative rigor and radicalism, "From Anxiety to Method" belongs in a row with the main works of criticism of science of the 1960s: Thomas Kuhn's (2003) "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" and Michel Foucault's (2006) "The Order of Things." That a reappraisal from the point of view of the history of science has not occurred so far seems to me to be grounded in its breaking of the taboo of addressing an anxiety which, to argue with Devereux's logic, is generally not dealt with in the practice of academic work, but rather suppressed. On the significance of Devereux, see also Jackson (2010).

the resulting individual transferences, Devereux also addresses an institutionalized form of transference as he recognizes a significant function of the social scientific epistemes and methods in countering the unsettling of the self, resulting from the confrontation with the unknown. According to him, any behavioral scientist has certain frames of reference, methods and processes at their disposal, which, coincidentally, also reduce the anxiety their data generates and which enable them to fulfill their function (ibid.: 83). Precisely because it reduces anxiety, however, the use of methods could, furthermore, also be wrongly employed to defend against anxiety – namely, as Devereux formulates in a psychoanalytical manner, "leading to a self-constricting acting out masquerading as science" (ibid.). Devereux lists as examples for the distortions which may result from dealing with anxiety-generating fieldwork experiences: Parts of the data are suppressed, mitigated, not evaluated, misunderstood, described in an ambivalent manner, evaluated in an exaggerated manner or newly arranged (ibid.: 44). The distortions which Bernd Jürgen Warneken and Andreas Wittel (1997) describe, which can result from anxieties of social and intellectual inferiority in ethnographic "research up" (Warneken and Wittel 1997: 2) – submission, mystification, dissociation and revenge – are also transferences, in Devereux's sense, with which the researching subject reacts to the field.

In order to counter anxiety as such and the distortions that go along with it in the perception of the field, Hunt, Devereux and a range of further authors who have addressed this problem[7] advise recognizing and reflecting exactly those mobilized 'unconscious fantasies' and feelings. Hunt writes that it is about developing an understanding for the "link between unconscious fantasies and the fieldwork experience" (Hunt 1989: 39).

Counter transferences: subjective resonances to characteristics of the field

Since the 1950s, the Zurich psychoanalysts Paul Parin, Fritz Morgenthaler and Goldy Parin-Matthèy, and since the 1970s, among others, Mario Erdheim, Maya Nadig and Florence Weiss, have developed a methodology in which the link between the feelings of the subject conducting the research and the fieldwork experiences is to be made productive for the evaluation of fieldwork data. A manner of perception, which Theodor Reik, referring to psychoanalysis, has termed as "listening with the third ear," is significant for the method. According to Reik, the analyst does not only hear what is said, but also what is not said – he listens with the "third ear" and does not only hear what the patient says, but also his or her own inner voices, that

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7   For folkloristic narratology, we can here name Bernd Rieken (2000), for an English language discussion in the wake of the Cultural Studies, Wendy Hollway with Tony Jefferson (2013), furthermore, Sherryl Kleinmann and Martha Copp (1993) with their pioneering methodological work "Emotions and Fieldwork."

which emerges from their own unconscious depths (Reik 1983: 143). The manner of perception sketched here by Reik is, simultaneously, directed outwards towards the situation, to the counterpart, and inwards to the subjective sentiments. The events of outside reality are here understood in their interplay with the emotions and associations of the perceiving subject. Reik speaks of a "relay function" (ibid.: 165) to characterize the significance of this double perception more closely: In it, something shows itself.

Devereux understands what is becoming apparent here as "the most significant and characteristic data of behavioral science research" (Devereux 1967: XVII). According to him, the datum is perceived by the researching subject as a "reverberation," "distortion" or "disturbance" (ibid.: 301) in the first place. This disturbance takes place in the analyst's unconscious, which, as Devereux states, makes the distortion available to the conscious and the rational levels of the analyst's psyche as a fundamental datum. He calls this process of transduction "And this I perceive!" (ibid.: 301). Regarding the problem of anxiety-generating overlaps between observer and the object of research he describes and from which the question about a potential location of non-overlap – namely the separation – results, an answer reveals itself. Devereux understands the perception of a distortion as the "locus of the partition between object and observer" (ibid.: 291). What is articulated in the disturbance is understood by Devereux, and consequently also in Zurich ethnopsychoanalysis, not only as a transference of one's own biographical experiences and innerpsychological conflicts to the counterpart. Rather, they consider the possibility – and campaign for it! – of conceiving of the disturbance as a subjective resonance to the experiences in the research field: Cultural characteristics of the research field are, thus, articulated in the subjective resonance to the research field in a manner which corresponds to the subjectivity of the researcher. The term 'countertransference' was borrowed from psychoanalysis to describe these resonances. Thus, Nadig describes her methodological approach as a "reflection of countertransference" (Nadig 1986: 38). She speaks of the careful and conscious handling of one's own reactions to countertransferences and disturbances ("Irritationen") to the research process as the instrument for finding an unobstructed access to the alien culture, the conversation partners and the manner in which reality is experienced (Nadig 1986: 39). Furthermore, she writes, the reflection of the countertransferences facilitates the reflection of the unconscious dimensions of one's own cultural specific and institutional influences (ibid.).

The manner of reflection consists of the perception which is both directed outwards and self-reflexive, as described by Reik. This can lead to the detection of strange and, for one's own perception, inadequate parts of the relationship (Nadig 1986: 49) to people in the field, or also, as Nadig explains in psychoanalytic terms, to one's own "devaluations" and "rationalizations" (Nadig 1992: 195). To recognize

these disturbances opens up the opportunity for raising the question: 'What might these disturbances express about the field of study?'[8]

Paul Parin (1985) describes the massive sentiments which the researchers experienced at the beginning of the fieldwork as countertransferences in the explanations of a main work of Zurich ethnopsychoanalysis, "Fear thy neighbor as thyself: Psychoanalysis and Society Among the Anyi of West Africa," which resulted from a joint fieldwork between Paul Parin, Morgenthaler and Parin-Matthèy in the mid-1960s. According to Parin, they had become overly active and aggressive; they had suddenly had the impression that people with whom they had already successfully communicated were actually not in command of the previously commonly spoken language; they had behaved obsessively (ibid.: 42) and overcompensated for the lack of research contacts by excessive and unconducive involvement (ibid.). In the reflection of their feelings and their behavior, the three identified the sudden breaking of relationships by their conversation partners as a disturbing experience which they had all made independently of each other. Realizing the constant being dropped and ending of relationships (ibid.: 41) as a social fact facilitated, consequently, an adequate design of fieldwork contacts and the conduct of successful fieldwork. Furthermore, in reading "Fear thy neighbor as thyself," it becomes apparent that the disturbances described by Parin point to cultural aspects of the research field which could not be understood at the beginning of fieldwork and which ultimately constituted central research results (Parin, Morgenthaler and Parin-Matthèy 2006).

Subjectivity as an intersubjective datum

Fritz Morgenthaler (1984), in an elaboration of his understanding of ethnographic fieldwork, also uses arguments about the difficulties which originated during the research among the Anyi. Morgenthaler had arranged for regular conversations with an informant who, in fact, regularly stood him up and had food donations taken to him instead. One day, Morgenthaler refused the gift. An argument between Morgenthaler and his informant resulted, during which the two began an exchange about differences in perception and experience of reality. On this basis, an intensive daily conversation relationship developed of about fifty conversations which would later form a focus of the material published in the study. Morgenthaler explains about this that he had said to Thomas that he was a stranger, he was not like him, that they were different from each other (Morgenthaler 1984: 13). According to Morgenthaler, it was precisely this differentiation which caused the subsequent emotional opening (ibid.).

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8   The experience of feelings by the researcher which correspond exactly to the feelings of the subjects in the field constitutes a special case of countertransferences. Countertransference is often reduced to such perceptions in the English language discussion of reflections of countertransferences as a method of qualitative social research (cf. e. g. Holmes 2014).

Nadig also stresses the relevance of the relationships between the subject who conducts the research and the subjects of the research field for a process of insight oriented at the reflection of countertransferences. She writes about the series of conversations which she conducted for her study "*Die verborgene Kultur der Frau* [The hidden culture of women]" with farming women in Mexico that it was a very important moment in these conversations when her own hypotheses and thoughts were presented to the conversation partner in the form of confronting questions or mirrored statements (Nadig 1986: 52). The confrontation consisted of bringing the perceptions which she herself made because of her otherness back into the relationship and not brush them off. In this way, the ethnographic research process can be conceived of as intersubjective: The relationship between the researcher and the subjects of the research field directs the countertransferences towards the culture of the counterpart. Only in taking the relationship, the intersubjective dimension, seriously, can the possibility of understanding one's own perceptions as pointers to the characteristics of the field researched open up. The cultural roles and patterns of interaction which are brought into the relationship by the counterpart become tangible (ibid.: 191). They condense in the experience of the researcher and, thereby, become available for reflection and recognition.[9]

An analogous understanding of intersubjectivity can be found in Willis. For him, too, the interest in societal reality goes along with an understanding of the counterpart's subjectivity: "If we wish to represent the subjective meanings, feelings and cultures of others, it is not possible to extend to them less than we know of ourselves. What is so often taken as the 'object' and the researcher lie parallel in their humanity. The 'object' of our inquiry is in fact, of course, a subject and has to be understood and presented in the same mode as the researcher's own subjectivity" (Willis 1980: 91). The relationship between the subject of the research and the subject of the research field is understood by Willis as the relationship between people who move within the framework of different cultural matrixes, different symbolic orders. For Willis, disturbances on the side of the field worker, therefore, constitute pointers to incongruences between different cultural orders and form the fundamental condition for insight. In Willis' words: "What finally remains is *the relationship between subjective/cultural systems*. […] It is here, in this interlocking of human meanings, of cultural codes and of forms, that there is the possibility of 'being surprised'. And in terms of the generation of 'new' knowledge, we know what it is precisely *not* because we have shared it – the usual notion of empathy – but

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9   Lindner stresses the necessity of an authentic design of research relationships with his focusing of communication and interaction (Lindner 1981: 64) and emphasizes their necessary equivalence and mutuality. Particularly plausible representations of the intersubjective dimension of ethnographic research can be found in Florence Weiss' studies on the Iatmul women in Papua New Guinea (1999). See also Bonz (2008) and Eisch-Angus (1996).

because we have *not* shared it" (Willis 1980: 92, emphases in the original). The distortions become apparent in feelings of insecurity in his study about the hippie scene in a major English city. "I felt a great deal of uncertainty and confusion. This ranged from a feeling of general social gaucherie to subjective unease: a feeling of being submerged by something it was impossible to define" (Willis 2014: 115). Because he recognizes that his own perception of reality has become fluid and because he realizes the insecurity this causes in him, the opportunity to recognize that the hippies do not fear a corresponding state of being, but rather desire it and purposefully induce it opens up for Willis: "The hippies did not live in a world of personal certainty and had a far from certain grip on their own identities. Where in the 'straight' world this is a cause for concern, for the hippies it was a source of richness and the base for expanded awareness. [...] [A] state of ontological insecurity was welcomed as liberation" (ibid.: 110). Psychoanalytically speaking, Willis reflects his countertransference here. His insight about the subculture of the hippies results from the direction of his perception concerning the relationships to others. Willis formulates this clearly when he writes: "However, if these moments of crisis can be seen as a creative uncertainty, *entered through a structured social relationship*, indicating and arising from important contradictions, then further theoretical and methodological options become available" (Willis 1980: 93, emphasis J.B.).

The ethnographic process of insight as an oscillation between involvement and distancing

Focusing on the researcher's own subjectivity and the intersubjective relationship between researcher and people in the field, ethnographic fieldwork as a whole appears, as Maya Nadig phrases it, as a process of empathic-identificatory approximation and reflexively distancing retreat (Nadig 1986: 49).[10] The moment of approximation is termed, in the elaborations above, as subjectivity, transference and disturbance; the moment of retreat has been linked mainly with the experience of estrangement, with the reflection of one's own perception as a countertransference as well as the confrontation of the counterpart with the perceptions and considerations of the researcher. Both these aspects – involvement and the moment of distancing – are stressed by Emerson and colleagues, who understand the process of evaluation via the necessity of treating one's own experiences – which have taken the shape of fieldnotes – as a "data set" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995: 144). "To undertake an analytically motivated reading of one's fieldnotes requires the ethnographer to approach her notes as if they had been written by a stranger" (ibid.). Emerson and colleagues further state: "Indeed, many fieldworkers find it difficult to achieve the

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10 In the German original: "Prozess der empathisch-identifikatorischen Annäherung und des reflexiv abgrenzenden Rückzuges" (Nadig 1986: 49).

sort of emotional distance required to subject to analysis those with whom she has been deeply immersed" (ibid.: 145). The reason for this difficulty lies in the fact that the researching subject is a very part of the intersubjective relationships he or she engages in. He or she is, respectively, was these relationships. They constitute a part of the self. In so far, the evaluation process is about 'moving away' from the self as which one finds oneself again in the fieldwork material, as a participant of a seminar at the University of Innsbruck has so aptly put it.

This movement of distancing, however, must not be understood as a singular task, and it also does, therefore, not occur in an absolute manner. Evaluating fieldwork material rather means "oscillating" (Nadig 1986: 49) between involvement and distancing. The gaining of distance from one's own entanglements with the field is necessary for a successful evaluation. However, it is just as important that the researching subject does not let the connection to their experiences in the field break off, but rather traces them and reflects on them. What is meant by oscillation between approaching and distancing is, therefore, not to overcome one's own experiences in the field, but to translate them by both delving into the material in the process of evaluation and transferring it into appropriate interpretations. A particularly adequate basis for such a thorough evaluation from the perspective of ethnographic-psychoanalytical understanding of fieldwork are fieldnotes in which the description of outside occurrences (situations, agents, actions, events) and their subjective experience by the subject undertaking fieldwork are set in relation to each other.[11] The combination of description of the outer reality and its inner experience fixates the intersubjective dimension of fieldwork and makes it available for evaluation. In Reik's considerations on listening with the third ear, we find an idea of an attitude to perception, an idea which is not only psychoanalytical, but also ethnographic, and which is capable of bringing forth corresponding presentations.

Nadig, coming from an ethnopsychoanalytical research tradition, has developed an interpretation group format termed as a 'free association interpretation group [*Deutungswerkstatt*]' which I know both as a participant and as a group leader and which I find particularly suited to the evaluation of fieldwork material. This form of interpretation group work is characterized by a supervision-guided associative dealing of the group with the fieldwork material. The material is unfolded in an open manner. All kinds of themes are latently inherent in the material surface in this approach. This is particularly true of the condensation which the fieldwork relationships form in the material. Group work can further serve to act as a substitute counterpart in the research process in today's frequently occurring cases of autoethnographic research projects, or those which are strongly focused on the sensual perception of the researcher in which a counterpart only makes a relatively

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11   Cf. here also Eisch (2001: 38–43).

weak appearance in the material. The approaching of the reality of the field then occurs in the in-between space of the subjective impressions of the researchers and group participants and their triangulation with data gained otherwise, the results of other studies and comparisons (Bonz 2015: 116–168).

The aim in associative interpretation group work is not the joint bringing forth of a supposedly correct interpretation. Rather, the group functions, firstly, as a medium of intensification of that which is latently inherent in the fieldwork material. Secondly, the associative dealing with the fieldwork material facilitates, in Nadig's words, an emotional distance (Nadig 1986: 55) in the person who makes their research material available to the group and who, while the other group members express their ideas about the material over a time of usually one to one and a half hours, assumes the role of the listener. Brigitte Becker and colleagues elaborate on their given example of a supervision session that in this case, the researcher had been hindered in her thinking because of her disturbances in the field, and the same disturbances were repeated in the supervision session. By having to stand the effects of the group participants instead of prematurely interpreting them, the researcher could resolve the disturbances and blockages with the aid of supervisory support (Becker et al. 2013: 199). In this sense, the free association interpretation group work also possesses a knowledge promoting as well as a supervisory quality; since the identification of the researching subject with their experience in the field, respectively, with the textual material resulting from it, is resolved to an extent in it.[12] Subsequently, decisions about the further design of the research can be made and the evaluation of the research data can continue based on a new situation of the researching subject in relationship to their material, respectively, their experience in the field.[13] In this, the researcher can now take up those associations and ideas from the group which resonate with her. Additionally, since the evaluation of research material is part of the ethnographic fieldwork process, this also holds true for the axiom of ethnographic methodology: Insight attaches itself to the subject undertaking the research.

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12 On the identification of the researching subject with their fieldnotes, cf. also the wonderful study by Jean Jackson (1996) on the relationships of ethnographic fieldworkers with their fieldnotes, which thankfully Bianca Ludewig pointed out to me.

13 One example for this can be found in Miriam Cohn's explanations on participant observation based on her own experience with intensive feelings which occurred in the process of fieldwork. Their reflection led to a productive new orientation of the fieldwork (cf. Cohn 2014: 82). A corresponding effect took place in this case evidently without supervision.

Representation and intersubjectivity: Two paradigms of ethnographic fieldwork?

My attempt at salvaging methodological knowledge about the intersubjective character of ethnographic fieldwork has revealed a potential cause why this knowledge is buried. It has become quite clear in gathering ethnopsychoanalytical and related observations that the subjectivity of the fieldworker serves as an instrument of research – and it appears as though this state of affairs is tabooed even today. I wonder whether the forces which act against the recognition of this methodological knowledge may not also be paradigmatic in nature. With some concluding remarks, which also serve to sum up, I would like to put these considerations up for discussion.

If the subjectivity inherent in ethnographic fieldwork today is becoming the subject of debate in European ethnology, this generally occurs in the representation paradigm. Departing from Foucault's (2006) discourse analytical studies, this advanced with the Writing Culture debate (Berg/Fuchs 1993) in the 1980s to become the defining explanatory model for ethnographic fieldwork. In this paradigm, the topical development of subjectivity has a specific function. As "*Selbstthematisierung* [addressing of the self]" (Massmünster 2014: 523 ff.), it promises to, if not lead out of the problem of "othering" (Fabian 1983), then at least to disclose and, thus, also relativize it: One positions oneself; one says what one does; and, thus, one also states that one sets one's object of research in a specific and, therefore, inevitably also limited perspective.

It appears to me that there is a different methodological paradigm at work not only in ethnopsychoanalysis, but also in the understanding of ethnography in the Cultural Studies in Willis, in Gullestad, in Hunt or in the textbook by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw. The forms of representation of others are not focused on in the intersubjectivity paradigm; it is the encounter with the Other which is in the focus. This facilitates the understanding of the subjective experience of the person conducting the research as a research datum. It says something potentially ("And this I perceive!") about the intersubjective encounter and, thus, also about the other subject with which it takes place. The counterpart in the research process are people who live their lives in a way and perceive reality in a manner which they share – to a certain degree – with other people (this is what the term culture stands for in an ethnological understanding). Correspondingly, Mario Erdheim and Maya Nadig phrase it in a programmatic statement about ethnopsychoanalysis that it is about grasping the subjectivity of the individual and simultaneously understanding this expression of a human as the embodiment of societal possibilities (Erdheim and Nadig 1991:

190).[14] The counterpart in the research relationship in ethnopsychoanalysis stands for the strange which one aims to understand; for the other way of perceiving reality; for a different culture. However, this other culture not understood as a static and objectively localizable field, but rather an imagination of the culture develops in the research process in the dynamic between approaching and distancing.

Different from the representation paradigm, in this understanding, the field is also not understood as a praxeological construction by the researchers (Hess and Schwertl 2013: 32). Rather, it is thought of as an intersubjective product which extrapolates itself from the subjective experience of the person doing fieldwork. Kirsten Hastrup pointedly formulates this as such: "[T]he practice of fieldwork eliminates both subjectivism and objectivism and posits truth as an intersubjective creation" (Hastrup 1999: 16).

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14 Manfred Seifert's (cf. Seifert 2015) considerations about the subject focus in European Ethnology published in the Zeitschrift für Volkskunde constitute a current and highly differentiated phrasing of this understanding of the subject.

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Christiane Schwab

Sketches of manners, esquisses des moeurs*

The Journalistic Sketch (1830–1860) as an ethnographical format of knowledge[1]

Abstract: In the first half of the 19th century – originating in London and Paris – journalistic descriptions of social types and cultural routines became a popular medium for the measurement of ever more diverse societies. This paper examines the social sketch as a format of early social and cultural research. It deals with the genesis of the social sketch in the context of a liberalized press market, sheds light on its stylistic and epistemic versatility, and connects the popularity of this journalistic format and its forms of representation to the recovery of experiential images of society and scientific principles, as well as with politically engaged social research. The social sketches are meaningful products and agents of a consolidating public dialogue based on social and cultural research, which broke away from literary forms and was differentiated within academic disciplines only in the second half of the 19th century.

Keywords: history of anthropological thought, history of knowledge, 19th century, European journalism

Introduction

A novel literary form of social self-observation [*gesellschaftlicher Selbstbeobachtung*] started to develop in London and Paris in the 1820s. With the growing newspaper and periodical market, journalistic descriptions of social types and cultural routines became a popular medium to sketch the increasing diversity of society. The tendency to include "sketch of manners" and "*esquisse des moeurs*" in the titles of these serials reveals their intention to serve as documentation that was closely connected to the ethnographical paradigm of the bourgeois modernity (Köstlin 1994: 8).

This paper calls for an examination of the social sketches – from the perspective of a history of knowledge and scholarship – as an ethnographical format[2] and for an analysis of their role in the context of the development of sociological-ethnographical-ethnological interests. Even though the authors of the social sketches referred repeatedly to statistical, philanthropic, moralistic and cultural-philosophical debates, the connection of these texts to early social research is scarcely known.[3] One reason for this is that until today, rather than looking at the history of knowledge, the focus has been more on the history of scholarship that was applied during the formation of disciplines, institutions and schools at the end of the nineteenth century, and that deals mostly with texts from a context of "academic" discussions.[4] These findings, which Johan Heilbron, Lars Magnusson and Björn Wittrock presented for the history of sociological scholarship (Heilbron et al. 1998), are confirmed by looking at the ethnological-anthropological research traditions.

Of course, there are repeated references in introductory and overview works to figures who practiced cultural research before it became an academic discipline, for example, Joseph Marie Degérando (1772–1842), Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm (1785–1863 and 1786–1859, respectively), and Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823–1897). And, yes, some scholars have presented fundamental studies on the early history of ethnology.[5] However, even in the discipline of European ethnology/*Volkskunde*/ folkloristics (and despite the fact that it locates many of its constitutive figures and

2   If we consider "ethnography" as the systematic depiction of cultural and social phenomena, "ethnology" as comparative cultural research, and "sociology" as the study of social interactions and structures, all three of these aspects are embodied in the social sketches. Based on this, the social sketches can be considered as an ethnographical form of knowledge. However, if we consider "ethnography," "ethnology" and "sociology" in the sense of historical scholarship as institutionalized discourse structures – in this perspective, the works of Malinowski are generally characterized as "ethnographical" founding documents – the social sketches are to be characterized as "proto-ethnographical" works. This position is also contentious if one considers that – at least in German-speaking regions – the terms "ethnography" and "ethnology" were already used in an academic context towards the end of the 18th century (usually synonymous with descriptions of peoples [*Völkerbeschreibungen*]) (Kohl 2012: 100).

3   The social sketches are not part of the classic canons of examination within literary studies either. However, notable scholarly traditions have been developed regarding the French "*tableaux des moeurs*" and "physiologies," as well as the Spanish "*artículo de costumbres*" (Costumbrismo article) and have provided substantial observations regarding genre theory (Lauster 2007; Preiss and Stiénon 2012).

4   While the history of scholarship in its traditional form examines the progress of academic knowledge (within academic institutions), the history of knowledge inquires more intensely about the sociocultural conditions of the production of knowledge and about the relationship between the different knowledge orders (e. g. between everyday knowledge and academic knowledge) (Sarasin 2011). The distinction between the history of knowledge and the history of scholarship is becoming less clear with respect to the increasing orientation of the history of scholarship towards cultural and social history.

5   Cf. Herbert 1991; Stagl 2002; Stocking 1991; Vermeulen 2015.

documents in a time of romantic fascination with the lower classes), there are only a sparse number of detailed studies on social and anthropological knowledge creation in the first half of the 19th century.[6] Harm-Peer Zimmermann interpreted this research situation with an understanding of "reactionary" *Volkskunde* set in its ways that is quite one-sidedly suspected as a forerunner of Nazi ideology (Zimmermann 2001: 10–15); Karl Braun also described the necessity of refocusing and deconstructing the role of pre-scholarly *Volkskunde* in the context of a political romanticism (Braun 2009).

In view of the (non-)established research prospects, it is hardly surprising that documentary journalism[7] of the early 19th century had, so far, been rarely considered regarding the history of scholarship. This is true, even though individual voices have repeatedly emphasized how crucial literary discourses were for the refinement of social and anthropological reasoning and representation. This includes, for example, Wolf Lepenies, who considered the works of Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) and other contemporaries as early sociological documents (Lepenies 1985), and Johan Heilbron, who examined the moralistic literature of France and England in the 18th century as part of his study on the development of sociology (Heilbron 1995). Leonie Koch-Schwarzer pursued a similar approach in her study on the works of the moral philosopher Christian Garve (1742–1798) as a contribution to an early anthropological cultural science (Koch-Schwarzer 1998).[8]

This paper, as an initial ethnological exploration of the social sketches, firstly, outlines the economic context in which this medium emerged and, subsequently, introduces two serials representing this form of journalism that have been published in Paris and London since the end of the 1830s.[9] Concerning these collections and the individual texts within, the specific features that characterize the social

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6   Cf. the recently published anthology *Episteme der Romantik. Volkskundliche Erkundungen* (Simon et al. 2013), cf. monograph Schwab 2009; Zimmermann 2001; Bausinger 1968. The 18th century and the Age of Enlightenment, with its activities in political economics, the education of the masses and encyclopedic descriptions, had become increasingly relevant for the history of the discipline since the turn towards social sciences in the 1960s and 1970s; cf. monographs by Koch-Schwarzer (1998) and Sievers (1970) on this.

7   The term "journalism" was introduced in France as a neologism for newspaper reports and was quickly adapted by other European languages (King and Plunkett 2005: 293).

8   Another research area in which literary forms are connected to early social research deals with travel reports and apodemics (cf. e.g. Stagl 2002). Furthermore, the socio-critical journalism of Henry Mayhew (1812–1878) and Charles Booth (1840–1912) have already been repeatedly characterized as expressions of early urban research (cf. e.g. Herbert 1991: 205–252; Lindner 1990).

9   German language journals and serials had also published social sketches, although not on the same scale as in England and France (cf. *Berlin, wie es ist – und trinkt* (1832–1859); *Frankfurter Bilder* (1835), *Skizzen aus den Hansestädten* (1836) or *Wien und die Wiener in Bildern aus dem Leben* (1844)). A sub-project of the research group will examine the social sketches in the context of German-speaking regions.

sketches as a conventional genre[10] of ethnographical social research can be worked out in detail in a further step. In conclusion, I will discuss the social sketches as significant products and agents, as well as forums of consolidating social and anthropological discourse, that became increasingly detached from literary forms and the responding market context in the middle of the 19th century and differentiated within academic disciplines.[11]

New media – new formats

The characteristics often used to describe our media society – quantitative distribution and qualitative differentiation of medial formats, the increased speed of communication and pervasiveness of media throughout all social spheres (Jarren 2001) – also seem appropriate to characterize the "journalistic revolution" (Lauster 2007: 2) that was taking place at the beginning of the 19th century.[12] John Boening referred to the rapid spread of serials in England and continental Europe in the early 19th century as a "tectonic shift in Western Europe with regard to the role of periodicals and their impact on cultural practices" (Boening 2004: 285). New print and distribution technologies were equally responsible for this development as well as the consolidation of the new readership, the liberalization of state controls and the commercialization of periodicals (for example, by financing partially with advertisements) (ibid.; King and Plunkett 2005). Starting in the 1820s, the ever more affordable newspapers and periodicals served increasingly as a forum for political, literary, artistic and scientific debate which had previously been limited to private

10 The terms "genre" and "format" are equally suitable when dealing with the early ethnographical form of the social sketches. While the term "genre," influenced strongly by literature and art studies, is based primarily on substantive and formal criteria, the term "format" was introduced in media studies to take the commercial production context of the television industry into account (Frahm and Voßkamp 2005: 265). In addition to the content aspects, the concept of "format" implies, in particular, the idea of elements that can be industrially reproduced and published as a series (ibid.). The aspects of seriality and reproducibility also shaped the origin of the social sketches in the commercial newspaper and magazine market. The term "format" is also frequently used in the sociology of knowledge, where it is directed mostly towards the mediality of knowledge and its appearance in historically convertible media varieties. In this function, the term was also taken as a basis for the DFG research association "*Volkskundliches Wissen und gesellschaftlicher Wissenstransfer: Zur Produktion kultureller Wissensformate im 20. Jahrhundert*" (cf. e.g. Dietzsch et al. 2009: 14).

11 Institutionalization processes of individual disciplines are beyond the focus of this paper. The function of the social sketches in the context of consolidating social and anthropological disciplines will be determined in a future phase of the research project.

12 Despite common tendencies in western Europe, the medial transformations developed with regional differences. This is, among other things, due to the respective size of the reading population, censorship from the state and church, and the financial strength of the publishing houses. Refer to Boening (2004) and Koch (2005) for more information on the particularities and similarities of the newspaper markets in England, Germany and France around 1840.

salons, academic institutions and expensive subscription systems (Boening 2004: 288; Heilbron 1995: 120).

The social sketches placed themselves as a hybrid between social research, politics, art and entertainment in the program of periodicals and could serve various functions simultaneously. The entertaining and often illustrated texts provided orientation by describing social types, behaviors, places, means of transportation and institutions in detail. They marveled – often in a humorous way[13] – at the new phenomena of urban life, responded to current debates and events, and promoted and appealed to political awareness. The format of the social sketches, which was presumably first institutionalized in sections in the Parisian satirical magazines at the end of the 1820s,[14] established itself quickly in the newspaper market of other European cities (Lauster 2007: 28 ff.) and was soon also published in serials and collective publications, such as *Paris, ou le Livre des cent-et-un* (1831–1834), *Berlin, wie es ist – und trinkt* (1832–1850) or *Los españoles pintados por si mismos* (1843–1844).

These compilations, two examples of which are presented in the following section, are especially interesting from an academic point of view because of their order-instilling form and their pretension as an encyclopedic work. The initially fragmented, anecdotal social sketches appear here in a context that concentrates mostly on a specific socio-spatial entity. In the context of such a collection, the individual social sketches (and their illustrations) did not alone constitute micro-analyses of social phenomena, but were combined as synthesizing reflections on concepts, such as city, class, society and nation.

Social sketches in serials: *Heads of the People* (1838–1841) and *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* (1839–1842)

Heads of the People and *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* made a significant contribution to the development and popularization of social sketches and their compilatory form of organization, establishing them as a format between entertaining journalism and social surveys. *Heads of the People: or, Portraits of the English* was published in two volumes in 1840 and 1841, though many of the articles had already appeared in various periodicals since 1838. The editor, Douglas Jerrold (1803–1857),

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13 The humorous, or even satirical content of many social sketches is due, among other things, to verbal exaggerations, the use of dialogues in the vernacular, stereotypical illustrations and the use of allegedly precise scientific concepts to achieve ironic detachment.

14 Letters and travel reports could be considered forerunners of the social sketches when they were printed as a series in newspapers and periodicals. Étienne de Jouy (1764–1846) had already published the sketch series *L'hermite de la chaussée d'Antin* in the *Gazette de France* from 1811 to 1814. The literary, epistemic genesis that authors of the social sketches repeatedly portrayed range from the writings of Jouys about the *Tableaux de Paris* (1782–1788) and from Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1757–1837) and the social observations by Joseph Addison (1672–88) to the satirical-moralistic work *El diablo cojuelo* (1641) by Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644).

who repeatedly supported social reforms as a publicist, stated in the preface of the first volume that the main goal of this work was to document social development. The articles, as "records of English character," should "preserve the impress of the present age; … record its virtues, its follies, its moral contradictions, and its crying wrongs" (Jerrold 1840a: iii). Reading them should teach and amuse simultaneously:

> "The student of human nature may derive the best of lore; the mere idling reader become at once amused and instructed; whilst even to the social antiquarian, who regards the feelings and habits of men more as a thing of time … the volume abounds with facts of the greatest and most enduring interest." (ibid.)

The serial consists of articles on individual types ("heads") that should represent respectively a specific social group. As "popular portraits," according to the editor, they consolidate "in individual peculiarity the characteristics of a class" (Jerrold 1841: iii). The readers of "heads" are indeed introduced to all social classes when figures such as not only "The Chimney Sweep" and "The Basket Women," but also "The Young Lord" and "The Tory" are covered. Furthermore, the type portraits should make the contemporary cultural transformations and social changes more tangible. Accordingly, several texts provide information on the ways of life of traditional "English faces" (Jerrold 1840a: iii), for example, "The Old Schoolmaster;" other texts deal with representative figures of modern England, for example, "The Fashionable Authoress," "The Capitalist" and "The Factory Child." The individual articles are quite heterogeneous in their form. Covering about seven to twelve pages, they combine detailed descriptions of clothing, forms of action and daily routines; historiographical surveys; political, psychological and philosophical observations; and narrative elements, such as anecdotes and dialogues, that should demonstrate the manner of speaking and behaviors of a particular type. The construction of social types as descriptive units combined with related cultural-historical, political and socially critical thinking was presented internationally by *Heads of the People* as a model that would leave a lasting impact on the development of the social sketches as a documentary knowledge format (see below).

The work was also pioneering in the use of illustrations. Each of the 83 chapters is preceded by a visual portrait of the "head" being described. The illustrations indicate significant references to the approaches of physiognomy that gained in popularity around 1800 as a sign of empirically oriented world interpretation and had developed models to conclude social characteristics and individual character traits from phenotypic appearances of people (Percival and Tytler 2005; Wechsler 1982). In accordance with the physiognomic teachings oriented to the visual sense, the meticulous depiction of posture and facial expressions helps the illustrations to convey specific living conditions, such as the financial woes of the "Poor Curate" and the day-to-day monotony of the "Family Governess." The visual access to social life that has also become an important cognitive tool in contemporary cultural-anthro-

pological thinking (Cowling 1989; Moravia 1973: 41 ff.) and the close link between written and illustrated representation would become increasingly important in the successive works on *Heads of the People*.

The articles in *Heads of the People* were almost simultaneously translated into French;[15] Léon Curmer (1801–1870), editor of the French edition, also published rather quickly an ambitious copy of the serial: *The French paint themselves*[16] *(Les français peints par eux-mêmes)*. The articles appeared in over 400 individual publications and were collectively published in eight volumes between 1840 and 1842.[17] Starting with the fourth volume, the subtitle of the *Encyclopedia of morals and customs in the nineteenth century* (*Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*) declared the project's ambitious goal that Curmer commented on in the closing words of the eighth volume: "All social classes have been explored ... The most elegant salons, the most infamous dives ..., everything has been researched" (Curmer 1842: 457).

Regarding its presentation method, the "*Encyclopédie morale*" appears even more eclectic than its English model. Although most of the articles deal with social types, there are also cultural-historical essays ("The youthful generation forty years later"), politically engaged social surveys ("The Army"), commentary on academic and political institutions ("The Army" and "École Polytechnique"), and even a statistical analysis with numerous tables ("The Population of France"). Each type-portrait in *Les français* is also preceded by an illustration. However, this illustration does not only show the upper body and head of the figure, but shows them in their entire appearance. Furthermore, there are two additional illustrations on the first page of text of many articles, one of which references the spatial environment and social milieu of the specific figure and the other which depicts the figure in connection with typical objects. That the illustrations in *Les français* play a prominent role is also substantiated by the design of the table of contents that lists all the illustrations with page numbers and names of the illustrators.

A hybrid knowledge format

The social sketches consolidated themselves at a time when the documentation of sociocultural forms was rooted largely within a literary and journalistic context (Lepenies 1985). Moreover, it was due to the absence of the institutionalization of social and anthropological discourses that different forms of sociographic representation and knowledge were hardly distinguishable from one another. The multifaceted documentary nature of the social sketches that I will illustrate with an article

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15 Léon Curmer (Ed.): *Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*. 2nd vol. Paris 1840–1841.

16 The quotes in French and Spanish were translated by the author. In some cases, the original is included in the text.

17 *Le Prisme. Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle* was published as an additional volume in 1841.

from the serial *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* stems from these genre-related and epistemic (dis-)orders.

The text "*Le mineur*" ("The Miner") was written by journalist and author François Fertiault (1814–1915). The author introduces his portrayal with preliminary considerations in which he addresses the dangers of working in the mines and provides an overview of mining in France (Fertiault 1841: 340–342). It includes a side note on the formation of coal and on mining technology with further footnotes. At the end of this informative part, in which Fertiault borrows from forms of enlightened (travel) reports and treatises of natural history, he takes his readers inside the mine: "You may now follow me" (ibid.: 342). Because the work processes in a mine are highly differentiated, Fertiault explains, the "miner's society" consists of many different "special categories," for example, the hewer and the coal drawer (Fertiault 1841: 342). Fertiault also deals with the personal attitude miners have about their work. Despite the dangers and the low pay, miners are proud of their job (ibid.: 343) and that is why, according to Fertiault, there had been only one notable riot in the last few years, *L'*émeute des quatre sous of 1833 in the mines of Anzin (ibid.: 344). The next section deals with the miners' festival calendar; Fertiault describes, with scenic pictures, the activities of the annual festival for the patron of miners, at which upcoming promotions were announced and the engineer gave a "toast to the prosperity of the mine" (ibid.: 347).

Fertiault dedicates the next part to the dangers that miners faced. He provides a list of their health risks and describes a series of accidents that allegedly happened in the mines in the past (ibid.: 347–350). Fertiault then covers the "*Chanson du mineur*" ("The song of the miner") and includes all the stanzas and notations (ibid.: 351–352). The author stresses that this song has been composed entirely by the miners ("*composée par les mineurs eux-mêmes*") (ibid.: 351). As with every oral tradition that is "passed on from mouth to mouth and memory to memory" (ibid.: 352), this song has also "inevitably undergone modifications" (ibid.). These observations, that clearly draw upon the contemporary folkloristic, antiquarian debates (Bausinger 1968; Dorson 1986), are followed by information on the working clothes and regional origin of the miners. Since a considerable proportion of the latter came from abroad, they had a large "variety of characters and customs" (Fertiault 1841: 353). At the end, after portraying a rather positive image of work in the mines, Fertiault adopts an explicitly socio-critical tone. His statement that miners are kept like prisoners in "earth cages" (ibid.: 354) and slave away like "underground bees" (ibid.) surprisingly contradicts the more picturesque representation in the rest of the text. Fertiault encourages his readers to stand up against the miners' working conditions and to acknowledge their contribution to the "wealth of the entire nation" (ibid.). Not only the speculators and factory owners, whose machines are kept going by the

miners, but also the entire population should "appreciate this occupation that ... nurtures our economy and our industry" (ibid.).

The article "*Le mineur*" combines forms of political commentary, studies on natural history and geography, genre painting, ethnographical and folkloristic[18] analysis, philanthropical reports and sociological-ethnographical interpretation into a multifaceted representation that sheds light on various aspects of miners and mining. It deals with social orders and hierarchies, cultural forms and traditions, as well as material and geographic conditions, historical contextualization and an activist appeal. The example shows how the flexible format of the journalistic sketch consolidates not only a variety of forms of representation and knowledge, but also discursive positions on early sociological-ethnographical images and analyses. This was at a time when descriptive documentation of cultural and social research had not yet been specialized within institutional knowledge genres.

Historicizing concepts of man and society

The social sketches' high level of detailed descriptions of cultural forms and social practices characterize them as a documentary, ethnographical genre.[19] The journalist Mariano José de Larra, one of the first theorists of this form, recognized their empirical and historicizing approach towards social life (Larra 2002). According to Larra, although human activity and behavior had been discussed previously and attentively in moralistic writings of the Baroque and Enlightenment, these texts had, generally speaking, dealt with "general" virtues and vices in the sense of a universalistic human nature (ibid.). The concept of "society" ("*sociedad*") and the corresponding understanding that human beings could be understood alone "in interaction with new and specific forms of society" (ibid.) would only prevail afterwards. Just a few years later and from a completely different geographic region, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823–1897), who also worked for many years as a journalist and publisher (Ballis 1998), realized that the new perspective on "society as public power" had promoted a more critical view towards humanity (Riehl 1851). This is

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18 Social sketches often describe scenes from the life of the of lower social classes and/or give an account of legends, proverbs and songs. Many of the authors also published collections of customs, religious beliefs, fairy tales and legends, e. g. Philibert Audebrand (*Fontainebleau, paysages, légendes, souvenirs, fantaisies*, 1855), Emile Gigaut de La Bédollierre (*Contes du temps passé*, 1848) and William Howitt (*History of Priestcraft in all Ages and Nations*, 1833).

19 A specific "methodology," however, remains mostly vague. The authors of the sketches deal with the question of how they came to gain insights into their subjects differently. They often present themselves as first-person narrators (such as in an ethnographical essay) who witnessed the situation described ("I observed on that day …") or create characteristic ideal scenes ("In the morning, market women call …"). Studies are often quoted as a certification of authenticity (see below). A systematic analysis and typology of the authentication strategies, as they are to be made out in the writings, will still have to be carried out.

also apparent from the success of the social novel that presents humanity "in the local colors of a specific section of society" (ibid.). According to Riehl, "the triumph of the historical, social world view on the leveling philosophical one" (ibid.) is based on the fact that "stereotypical" figures are now portrayed as "socialized individuals" (ibid.); this, to him, is also the "reason why even the aesthetically most shallow and supine work … would be of great value for the cultural historian" (ibid.).

The selective assessments from Larra and Riehl on literary and artistic tendencies coincide with the contemporary developments of empirical social research. Since the end of the 18th century, more and more approaches towards social coexistence have established themselves that attempt to explain social order beyond the principle of estate, theological and rationalistic systems. Han Vermeulen described only recently in a comprehensive study how descriptive and comparative ethnography became increasingly systematic in the surroundings of the University of Göttingen in the 18th century (Vermeulen 2015).[20] Johan Heilbron, Lars Magnusson and Björn Wittrock have shown how the French Marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794), philosopher, scholar and politician of the Enlightenment, coined the term "social science" around 1790 (Heilbron et al. 1998). Condorcet's concepts were further developed at the *Institut de France* (founded in 1795) into a materialistic, positivistic social science which then spread to England (ibid.: 3 ff.). Sergio Moravia also viewed the institutions of post-revolutionary France, especially the *Société des observateurs de l'homme* (founded in 1799), as fundamental for the development of empirically orientated social and cultural research (Moravia 1989).

The new secular and historicizing conceptions of people and society were popularized by the press and literature, and the social sketches are one of the key media for this process. Their focus is on the sometimes amusing, sometimes seriously critical, documentation of cultural patterns and socioeconomic conditions that are based on experience-oriented approaches to social life. The example of the miner illustrates this clearly. Here, it is neither about utopian working and social models nor abstract virtues such as "diligence," "obedience" or "caring." Rather, Fertiault, referring to the everyday working life of a French miner in the 1830s, addresses historically and geographically specific conditions of a particular form of social organization. Fertiault, like many other authors of documentary prose, uses the construction of representative social types as a heuristic tool to capture the complexity of social life in their everyday state and to document them in "socialized-individual figures" (Riehl 1851). Honoré de Balzac, who wrote several articles for *Les français peints par eux-mêmes*,[21] outlines this procedure as follows: "A type is a figure that

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20 For the significance of the University of Göttingen as an early center of ethno-sciences, see also Bachter (1998) and Stagl (2002).

21 For example, "*L'épicier*" in the first volume in the series (1840) and "*La femme de province*" in the sixth volume (1841).

comprehends in itself the characteristic traits of all those that are alike to him in some way or the other. He is the model of the type" (Balzac 2014: 6637). Conveyed by the type category, sociocultural practices and conditions could be related to a significant number of people, and, simultaneously, they could be individualized by adding biographical narratives, scenes and dialogues. In the social sketches and social literature of the 19th century, the one-dimensional moralistic character depictions, that were based on a universalistic human nature, gave way to the experience and complexity-oriented methods of representation that tried to comprehend man as a historical social being.

Scientific modelings

Authors of the social sketches frequently resorted to scientific concepts and classification methods to measure and present social phenomena and orders in a realistic and analytical manner. Many of the sketches were structured in such a way that a social type was initially presented based on general characteristics, followed by detailed specifications about its various "variants" or "classes."[22] The authors were also fond of using expressions such as "microscopic observation," "genus," "anatomy" and "physiology" along with the descriptions of sociocultural phenomena. "[W]here's the Linnaeus to classify these radical representatives?" asked the author of the article "The Radical Member of Parliament" in *Heads of the People* (Akolouthos 1841: 354), and Frederick Tomlins wrote about the type of the capitalist as a new "species" (Tomlins 1841: 208). It was not his task "to trace the history of the heads we dissect, but to characterise their peculiarities" (ibid.). However, if one hypothetically "unite[s] the historian with the *anatomist*" (ibid.), it would quickly become clear that: "The American war produced a few *specimens*" (ibid., italics added). In his article on the miner, Fertiault also "explores" various regions of France (Fertiault 1841: 340) and uses concepts from physiognomy and botany. In a "physiognomy" of the miner (Fertiault 1841: 345), his superstitious nature is a "characteristic feature" ("*trait caracteristique*" [ibid.], italics added) and, moreover, he is similar to an indigenous plant (ibid.: 343) that is never able to escape its habitat. Balzac, in turn, compared social structures with zoological orders in the preface of his work *The Human Comedy* (*La Comédie humaine)* (1829–1850): "For does not society modify Man, according to the conditions in which he lives and acts, into men as manifold as the species in Zoology?" (Balzac 1842).

Certainly, such plays on words may have quite often served the readers' amusement and they should not be regarded as a one-sided expression of scientific think-

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22 See, for example, the remarks on "The Farmer": "The Farmers of England, in the present day, may be divided into three classes; and we will take a sketch from each, as we see them hastening towards their place of general rendezvous, the weekly market" (Alice 1841: 58).

ing. However, such scientific references in the social sketches cannot be dismissed as mere rhetorical playfulness. This is demonstrated by the fact that scientific approaches also had a significant influence on early sociological thinking beyond the literary genre. There were two main reasons for this: Firstly, since the end of the 18th century, the natural sciences, especially botany, zoology, physiology and anatomy, enjoyed great success and were positively received by a (largely urban) mass public with the help of the expanding newspaper and magazine market (Morus et al. 1992; Stiénon 2012: 52 ff.). Secondly, the models and concepts developed here provided a promising tool to interpret social forms of behavior and societal structures beyond rationalistic or theological speculations. Johan Heilbron has examined how introducing approaches and classification modes from natural sciences to political and social subjects had already advanced the "empiricization" of proto-sociological thinking at the end of the 18th century (Heilbron 1995: 98 ff.), which was then continued in post-revolutionary institutions. The French physiologist and philosopher Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis (1757–1808), for example, tried to establish a social science of people based on physiology in his work *On the relations between the physical and moral aspects of man* (*Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*) (1802) (ibid.: 109 ff.). With the same concerns, Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) published *On Physiology as Applied to the Improvement of Social Institutions* (*De la Physiologie appliquée à l'amélioration des institutions sociales)* (1812). Auguste Comte (1798–1857), who worked as the latter's secretary, adopted Saint-Simon's evolutionist and materialist ideas, which would later influence John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), who admired and criticized Comte's works. Inspired by natural science, Mill would then develop these ideas of anthropological scholarship further based on scientific principles in his work *On the Logic of the Moral Sciences,* published in 1843 (Stocking 1991:39). The influence of models from natural sciences established itself as a constitutive characteristic of social research of the early 19th century. The social sketches followed this tendency and combined scientific approaches with ethnographical, documentary forms to reflect on everyday life in both an amusing and analytical way for their readers.

Social sketches and reformist discourse

The genre of the social sketches has close connections to social research with political and philanthropic motivations that had become increasingly specialized in the first half of the 19th century and gained public influence (Lyon-Caen 2007). Many social sketches, as the miner article clearly did, took part in political debates and quoted relevant studies. The authors themselves were often active as social reformers. Such connections between social sketches and activist social research are of particular interest for the history of scholarship, because research approaches developed in government and philanthropic studies on topics such as public hy-

giene, crime and pauperism, would influence the development of cultural and social sciences profoundly (ibid.; Poovey 1993). Furthermore, a look at these connections promises new insights into the relationships between ethnographical and folkloristic undertakings and philanthropic and emancipatory debates in the 19th century.

Now, I would like to provide a few examples of the relationship between journalistic social sketches and social reformist discourse. Journalist Arnould Fremy (1809–189?) dedicates the article "*L'enfant de fabrique*" from the serial *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* to the "customs [*les moeurs*] and fate of a particular group of youths who are employed in the factories, or more precisely, exploited" (Fremy 1841: 258). Fremy relies on French and English studies on child labor and wants his text, which was published shortly before a bill was passed on child labor, to be understood as an instrument to help form opinions. At the end of the article, he makes several proposals to reduce child labor and, like Fertiault, urges his readers to review the societal conditions critically. In *Heads of the People*, the article "The Factory Child" (Jerrold 1840b) by the editor Douglas Jerrold is the English counterpart to "*L'enfant de fabrique*." Jerrold points out that he had already written a play some years earlier to attract "public sympathy in the cause of the Factory Children" (ibid.: 186). His article in *Heads of the People* is structured around the figure of a girl. She is not even ten years old yet and becomes part of the factory structure, already making her first experiences in everyday working life. In several scenes, Jerrold describes the hostile conditions that confront the child and complains about the girl's lost childhood (Jerrold 1840b: 186).

Similar to Jerrold and other authors that the editor of *Heads of the People* commissioned,[23] the lawyer Louis-Mathurin Moreau-Christophe, who contributed two sketches to *Les français peints par eux-mêmes*, also maintained a close relationship with social reformist circles and debates. In 1837, Moreau-Christophe was appointed general inspector of French prisons and traveled throughout Europe and North America to compare and report on the differing conditions for prisoners. In addition to several studies on penitentiary systems, Moreau-Christophe was also the author of comparative writings on pauperism, for example, *The problem of poverty and the solution to it among historical and modern peoples* (*Du problème de la misère et de sa solution chez les peuples anciens et modernes*) (1851). For *Les français,* Moreau-Christophe adapted his research in the articles on prisoners and poverty for a broad audience. According to the historian Judith Lyon-Caen, the popularization of his socio-critical writings in the well-known serial prompted lasting broad public engagement with the problems of pauperism (Lyon-Caen 2007).

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23 For example, the local politician, writer and cultural historian William Howitt (1792–1879) and the officer and social politician William Nugent Glascock (1787–1847).

Social sketches as an ethnographical form of knowledge
Perspectives on a cross-genre history of knowledge and scholarship

This paper examines the journalistic social sketch as an early genre of ethnological and sociological thinking and ethnographical representation. The verbal and visual sketches and their encyclopedic, holistic compilations, as has been shown, are to be evaluated as products and agents of the same social, political and epistemic transformations which would also lay the foundations for the works of Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm, Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill and Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl. The many references of this format to early sociological and ethnological discussions and forms of representation provide several starting points for the history of knowledge and scholarship. However, what seems to me to be particularly interesting and revealing from the perspective of an ethnology of European societies is an examination of the social sketches as a formative genre in which the *cultural technique of ethnographical representation, interpretation and observation* was practiced and refined in a very specific way. The focus of the social sketches is on the visual and verbal documentation of sociocultural phenomena on one's own doorstep that are essayistically surrounded by historical, cultural, psychological and political observations. The sketches, consequently, combine a variety of sociographic forms of representation and knowledge. The journalistic context, in turn, required a pragmatic reduction of the social world to concrete, tangible, recognizable types and situations[24] and a focus on the *Lebenswelten* of their reader (unlike the theorizing essays by Comte and Mill). As a heuristic format of an ethnography and ethnology "at home," the social sketches promoted the detailed and multiperspective documentation and interpretation of social phenomena and structures, and they also contributed, with respect to their commercial orientation, to the popularization of cultural self-observation (primarily in bourgeois, urban milieus). Hence, looking at the social sketches in the context of early sociological and ethnological discussions always includes a history of knowledge "from below."

This paper established the initial approaches for a reassessment of early ethnographical journalism for the history of knowledge and scholarship whose function for the consolidating social sciences and humanities still needs to be clarified.[25] Based on the hybrid and transnational genre of the verbal and visual sketches, a

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24 Despite significant innovations in ethnographical techniques of representation in the course of the Writing Culture debate (see, for example, van Maanen 1988:130ff.), the "ethnographical fragment" (Hannerz 1995: 64) is still a fundamental element of research and presentation.

25 If, in synchronous perspectives, I have already been able to document numerous links between journalism and literature and "academic" social research, it is unclear to what extent the representatives of institutionalized *Volkskunde*/Ethnology/Social Anthropology/Folklore Studies towards the end of the 19th century refer to the forms and content of representation of journalistic and social literature from the previous decades.

variety of new perspectives on the development of sociological, ethnological and ethnographical interests could be proposed that combine the approaches from the history of knowledge, cultural studies and social sciences. The relationship between the socially engaged journalistic writings and folkloristic projects could be examined. The relevance of concepts from natural sciences and the increased importance of visual knowledge in the 19th century (Crary 1992) for the consolidation of thinking within the cultural and social sciences could also be assessed. The adaption of the social sketches in (post-) colonial regions of the world[26] could also be addressed or the early ethnographical self-observations could be re-examined as a "public, democratic" trend. The exploration of the sketches in their discursive and social framework encourages the development of broader perspectives on the history of knowledge and scholarship that break with the genre-based, national linguistic and disciplinary research traditions. As a format between art, scholarship and journalistic entertainment, the social sketches lead directly to the "wild knowledge" of pre-disciplinary structures. They also beckon the reformulation of early social and anthropological thinking and its conditions that still provides stimuli for a multimedia and multi-perspective social and cultural research today.

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26 See *Los Cubanos pintados por sí mismos* (Santiago de Cuba, 1852) and *Museo de cuadros de costumbres* (Bogotá, 1866) for the adaption in the Spanish (former) colonies.

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Kerstin Poehls

Material and moral*

The commodity and consumer good sugar

Abstract: Sugar is more than just sugar; sugar materializes social, cultural and economic negotiation processes of knowledge, which are about historically grown and conflictual post-colonial interweavings. Based on my ongoing research, this text aims to contribute to the discussion about the empirical basis of an ethnography of the political and methodological ways it can come about. I assume, hypothetically, that a link exists between small-scale individual acts of consumption and politically responsible economic structures. The ethnographic view of sugar reveals the effective political regulations that are seemingly abstract. And yet, they affect its everyday presence in individual consumption practices and its moral evaluation. Its color characteristics, especially, have a strong influence on its uses and perceptions.

Keywords: ethnography of the political, Europe, postcolonialism, sugar, material, materiality, color, consumption, international trade, food

The protagonist of this paper is a substance which seems to be an indispensable part of the human diet – and is often "hidden." It provides a sweet taste and preserves. It enhances flavor, provides energy in the form of calories and affects the texture and color of food – and for nutrition, it is completely unnecessary: sugar.

Sugar is the focus of my current research project. Therefore, I am interested in how sugar as a commodity with its sweet taste is "made" socially, politically, economically and culturally – in other words, how it is traded, transported, tasted, valued and. My research starts with Hamburg, an important hub (Welz 2009) for the global and European sugar trade both today and historically. My aim is to reveal – in line with an "ethnography of the political" – the connections that exist between sugar as a "material" and substance, its role in everyday individual consumption, and the seemingly abstract trade regulations and political institutions that equally shape the use of sugar as a commodity and consumer good on the global market and in private households.[1]

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1 The basis for this current research project includes archival material on the sugar trade, regulations, quotas and consumption, contemporary sources, such as printed material, and primarily interviews with consumers and representatives from politics, associations, food production and development, and international trade. This research focuses on the present day and features

"Global food developments dominate the agenda of all countries. Already every in-
dividual factor in itself – land ownership, agricultural trade, climate change, genetic
engineering, migration, food scandals, everyday culture, health, taste – contained
major challenges for politics. However, the fact that global food developments com-
bine all of these factors together only makes it even more politically controversial."
(Lemke 2012: 18)

Harald Lemke, with his "gastrosophy," makes the case for using "the supposedly
insignificant, apolitical everyday food of all of humans" (ibid.) as the focus of criti-
cal social and cultural analysis. With my focus on sugar as a material, I deliberately
carry this out in detail in this paper. I also place the treaties, such as the European
Union's (EU) sugar market regulation, alongside the numerous important factors
that Lemke mentions. I illustrate, with the help of their predecessors and results,
how sugar was subject to time-specific moral judgments that are closely linked to
its material qualities.

The initial hypothesis of this paper is that there is a connection between small-
scale individual acts of consumption and political, or rather economic, structures.
In this case, I refer to the preference for malty, lumpy raw cane sugar or finely
granulated white sugar in cafés and supermarkets. Regulations play an important
role in the development of this preference. The EU Sugar Market Regulation of 1968,
which expires in its current form in 2017, influenced preference, for example, by
protecting mainly the European internal market from imported sugar, *inter alia*, by
means of price guarantees and import quotas. The new EU Packaging Directive (valid
since 2014) is also starting to play a role. On the one hand, I emphasize the histori-
cal development of the present-day social interaction with sugar to an "ethnography
of the political," in close epistemological proximity to an "Anthropology of Policy"
outlined by Cris Shore and Susan Wright (1997). On the other hand, I also advocate
for greater attention being paid to – in my opinion – the consequential material
properties of this substance.

The goal of my arguments is to illustrate the processes and effects of politiciza-
tion on a microlevel. By doing so, this indirectly contributes to a closer ethnographic
look at the contemporary "political" and to identifying the morally interwoven "re-
gimes of living" (Collier and Lakoff 2005: 22 ff.). Instead of focusing on the history
of sugar regulations (Poehls 2016a) or looking at sugar based on the actor-network
theory (Poehls 2016b), I will examine sugar as a moralized actor and as a material/
substance. The focus here is on Europe, where indirect and direct connections be-
tween individual sugar consumption, international regulations and trade relations,
and their historical development can be clearly observed.

Hamburg as a commercial hub. On this basis, a look back at the 20th and 19th century is needed
to analyze the historically established and exceptionally long-lasting trade relationships.

Material agency[2]: Color and other effects

Sugar has been traded and consumed in a variety of aggregate states and forms: as sweetmeats and sugarloaves; as syrup with amounts of molasses in liquid form; and as rock sugar, crystals or cubes. Its value has always been determined by its varying visual, textural, aromatic and gustatory properties, whereas its quality and possible future uses were determined by its stickiness and moisture or compactness, its fine granulation or lumpiness, and its smell.[3]

Among the material properties of sugar, its color stands out; since the 19th century, color has been used by traders and consumers to categorize it and to assign it specific attributions.

To examine this, I use approaches from material culture studies, especially those from Daniel Miller. He developed the concept of "objectification" (Miller 2010: 58 ff.) as a way to capitalize on the especially fleeting, seemingly insignificant things of everyday life, as a crystallization of social, moral and milieu-specific meanings and to dissolve the dichotomy between (human) subject and (nonhuman) object in favor of an understanding of their mutual conditionality. With his suggestion to act on the "humility" of objects (Miller 1987: 85–108), Miller provided a simple formula for ethnographic approaches towards material, or rather materiality. However, Miller's formula is not without criticism. Tim Ingold (2007: 3) argues against the concept of "materiality." In his opinion, it is unclear and unhelpful and, thus, a real obstacle to researching materials, their transformations and affordances. According to Ingold, the alleged or actual over-conceptualization he criticized draws attention away from an ethnographically "thick" examination of objects or materials, their varying and stable physical properties, and the details about their use, wear and repurposing by humans. Others also demand a shift of perspective on "material," especially for everyday previously less noticed objects/artifacts and goods: "[We] need to examine in more detail the role of ordinary artefacts as part of the flow of everyday life rather than concentrating analyses on what are assumed to be key objectifications" (Tilley 2006: 70)[4].

The demand from Tilley and the criticism from Ingold are actively incorporated into this paper when examining sugar as a material – and namely, in line with Miller, by taking the "humility" of the object that developed through historical processes

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2   Malafouris (2008: 33 f.).

3   For the sensual aspects and insight into the experimental approaches to the material properties of food and its consumption, see Mann et al. (2011).

4   Sidney Mintz (1985) is considered the pioneer of studies that highlight globalization processes and small-scale social and economic developments by focusing on tangible objects/goods, such as coffee, salt and cotton (and the textiles produced from it). For more on such studies, refer to Rivoli (2005), Vogel (2007), Rischbieter (2011), Beckert (2014) and the Global Denim Project (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/global-denim-project).

into consideration. Without a doubt, sugar is an actor and catalyst for globalization processes (Mintz 1985; Abbott 2008; Wendt 2013), and one of its material properties proves to be a key factor. The color of those sugar crystals that are poured from a sugar bowl into a hot drink or that are transshipped by the ton through ports like the one in Hamburg is only seemingly secondary and deserves to be observed ethnographically: "[C]olour is a crucial but little analysed part of understanding how material things can constitute social relations [; it can] accomplish work that no other quality of things can" (Young 2006: 173). Young goes a step further:

> "[C]olour in the social world might be better considered as a relational quality. … Rather than asking what people perceive in response to a certain stimulus, such as an asocial, decontextualized piece of coloured card …, or privileging what people say, we might consider what they do with coloured material things within the dynamics of social practice."[5] (Ibid.)

To what extent color is a relational characteristic and what results from it should be empirically analyzed based on regulations and consumption practices. This becomes particularly clear when observing brown and white sugar together; their respective uses and meanings could not be conceived without their color contrast.

The color of sugar in the retail grocery trade has obviously led to a new direction in consumer preference – starting gradually in the 1980s and becoming more pronounced since the 2000s.[6] The mostly brown (raw) cane sugar is becoming more popular,[7] whereas white sugar, extracted mainly from sugar beets, does not show any such increase in popularity. Sometimes, as a sugar trader in Hamburg explained in an interview, white (beet) sugar has to be additionally colored brown with molasses. That is, it has to be restored to a preprocessed state in order to satisfy customer demand.[8] In the same way, as the use of sugar as a "hidden" ingredient in processed

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5   Young (2006: 180). Ortiz, in his classic work (1995 [1947]), repeatedly refers to color symbolism and characterizes plants and substances according to it.

6   Jakob Vogel (2007) described similar findings in his study on salt from the perspective of a history of knowledge.

7   The GEPA press office, for example, announced that there was a more than 20 % increase in the sales of Mascobado sugar from 2012 to 2015; Naturata also recorded growth of around 14 % in total corporate sales.

8   Interview Koch (2013) – the reasons for the relative shortage of brown sugar in the EU market will be examined below. There are no reliable statistical data on the proportions of brown and white sugar in the world market, in the food industry or in retail, since both brown and white sugar can be produced from both beets and sugar cane: After all, it is about successive processing steps. However, the sugar market is characterized by the following features that do provide clues: Two-thirds of global sugar production is consumed in the producer countries. Moreover, the "increase in global sugar production … since the end of the 1980s can be mainly attributed to sugar cane. In contrast, the production of beet sugar during the same period has almost remained unchanged at around 35 million tons. In the fiscal year of 2013/14, the share of cane sugar in total sugar was 81 %, compared to only 19 % for beet sugar." (Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung Zucker [Sugar Produc-

foods increases (and conseqeuntly its "materiality" becomes less apparent), there has been an increase in the number of sugar varieties from all over the world available to consumers. A pronounced process of differentiation can be observed on the supermarket shelves[9] and the counters of coffee shops. In addition to the common one-kilo packages of granulated sugar from large German sugar producers[10] that play a dominant role in the EU market, there is an increasing number of sugar in other bags and boxes: "Brown cane sugar in accordance with Fair Trade standards," "Raw cane sugar from organic farming," "Organic whole cane sugar," "Natural brown cane sugar," "Organic Mascobado whole cane sugar, strong aroma, unrefined and organically produced" and "Organic beet sugar produced in Germany." From this arbitrary and incomplete selection of common sugar, there is a small indicator window included in the packaging in almost all cases. These windows reveal the contents and their color which range from matte white to "soft gold,"[11] and from light beige to rich brown.[12]

Targeting consumers by emphasizing the specific color of various sugar products is not fundamentally novel, but had become less relevant since the 19th century with the massive availability of commercially granulated sugar. White sugar became more and more common in European households, going from a luxury good to an everyday food item, and its color turned out increasingly to be more of a "marginal" property in the course of industrial production.

ers Association] and The Food, Beverages and Catering Union [Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten, NGG] 2014): Branchenbericht 2014 der Zuckerindustrie [Sugar Industry Report 2015], http://www.ngg.net/fileadmin/medien/2014/PDFs/Branchenberichte/Branchenberichte_2014/WG_500_Zucker_2014.pdf (8 December 2015).

9   For this paper, the following common sugar products that can be sprinkled were taken into consideration: *Rohrohrzucker* and *Vollrohrzucker aus biologischer Landwirtschaft* from Alnatura, *Brauner Rohrzucker nach Fairtrade-Standard* from Netto, *Demerara Roh-Rohrzucker* and *Rübenzucker deutscher Herkunft aus kontrolliert biologischem Anbau* from Naturata – *Biokult seit 1976*, *Bio Mascobado Vollrohrzucker, aromatisch kräftig, unraffiniert aus ökologischem Anbau* from GEPA – The Fair Trade Company, as well as *Feiner Zucker* and *Unser Feinster* from Sweet Family/Nordzucker.

10 The German producers have very significant market power: Nordzucker, which, according to the company's own information, is one of the four larger sugar producers in Europe with a 15 % market share in Germany and Europe. Südzucker, the world's largest producer, has over a 20 % market share in Germany. In total, the German sugar producers account for almost a fourth of the production within the EU.

11 GEPA Organic Mascobado 1 kg.

12 Even the packaging that first catches the consumer's eye differs significantly: Conventional beet sugar, for example, comes in blue and white paper packaging, while the organic sugars are usually coated with light yellow, brown or red paper. Accordingly, the single serving sugar packets in cafés often ensure high recognition.

Previously, when sugar production still took place primarily under the aegis of a colonial world trade[13], many raw sugar varieties were distinguished by their color properties. In the 1780s in Hamburg these included, for example, the most sought-after varieties such as *Fransch weiße* [Fransch White] and *Weiß Havana* [White Havana], and low-grade varieties such as *Brauner Brasil* [Brown Brazil] and *Sucre Brut* [Raw Sugar] (Andersson 1998: 32, 36). The name of the variety already referred to the color. The low-grade varieties mentioned were partially refined further on the European continent, i. e. organic residue from the sugar cane plant was "removed." White rock sugar, with its almost translucent, large crystals, was particularly noble and precious. This indicates that "white" sugar had not always been a given and that traded white and brown varieties had differing monetary values.

Sugar is also shown here as a material that visualizes the presence of Christian symbolism in profane areas: White symbolizes purity, innocence, chastity, lack of sin and "dematerialized" light (Heller 2001: 145 ff.; Oettl 2008: 69 ff.).[14] In Goethe's influential *Theory of Colors*, white, in turn, stands for "complete nothingness," for "colorlessness." The use of which in clothing and in the living environment was decided by conformist contemporaries, particularly due to "uncertainty of taste" (Oettl 2008: 72 f.). The fact that white combines such contradictory interpretations is a special characteristic of this color[15] and distinguishes it from other colors, according to Barbara Oettl in her cultural and art-historical study. Referring to Gisbert Kranz, she writes, "That white can have such completely opposing effects and meanings lies in its capacity, on one side, to appear as the absence of all colors, as the lack of all life, but, on the other side, as the sum of all colors, as the fullness of life" (ibid.: 73).

This diagnosis anticipates a social change concerning the white color of sugar. The product quality and value of sugar was rated lower because of its brown color (and this resulted in the demand for further processing) in the global sugar market in the 18th and early 19th century. This changed with the implementation of industrial sugar production from beets, whose cultivation had been spreading

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13 Though they have become obsolete long ago due to the post-colonial debate, these works are still impressive due to their material density: Degn (2000 [1974]) and – poetically and critically – Ortiz (1995 [1947]).

14 This could be illustrated with the aid of the fields of clothing, nutrition, nutritional science and fine arts; however, this paper is not the place to do so. Cf. König and Papierz (2013), who illustrated the social embedding of color and its material effects by using the doctor's white coat as an example. Just one example of the many links between food culture, nutritional science and coloring is Horace Fletcher ("The Great Masticator"), who always wore white clothes and preached that chewing food thoroughly is the basis of a healthy diet: "Nature will castigate those who don't masticate." The role that refined sugar played as a raw material in fine art, such as in courtly contexts in the early modern period, and in the criticism of consumption in the second half of the 20th century, as in the case of Dieter Roth, should also be noted (Wagner 2004).

15 Whether white and black are to be actually considered colors differs depending on the particular color theory and is of minor importance in this paper (Young 2006).

throughout Europe since the middle of the 19th century. Gradually refining sugar to a white color became less costly due to new technical possibilities and increased economic profitability and, thus, white sugar became a regular part of the everyday diet. For a short period of time, this development was promoted by the Napoleonic Continental Blockade; from the second half of the 19th century onwards, it was established in the long-term due to breeding successes and the invention of artificial fertilizers. The diminishing importance of the color of sugar (that is, the ever-increasing everydayness of white crystal sugar) goes hand in hand with its loss of status. The substance that was previously regarded as a medicine, a spice and a rare luxury good was now so intensively consumed by such a broad population that sugar became regarded as an everyday "food item" by the end of the 19th century. Consequently, the annual statistics maintained on sugar consumption since the 18th century switched from grams to kilograms per person. The per capita consumption of sugar continued to grow significantly after the end of the Second World War. In more recent decades, the proportion of processed food and meals consumed outside the home have increased, thus, further increasing the consumption of sugar and making its consumption more "invisible." However, the white color did not only become less significant, in line with Lemke and Miller, but sugar as an ingredient and material also became gradually less visible in diets. Though this does not say anything about its presence, which actually increased and continues to rise. This is due, among other things, to the increasing share of processed food in the diets of many people, and the fact that the number of meals consumed outside one's own household is increasing.[16] In this respect, sugar as an invisible "material" remains an essential part of the diet for large parts of the population.

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16 The German Nutrition Society summarizes the general trends and development of sugar consumption in its latest report: "Consumption of sucrose (sugar) rose considerably between the 1950s and 1980s and remains at this high level to this day. Per capita sugar consumption was recalculated due to the increasing use of sugar beets for bioethanol production and for this reason, no trend statements are currently possible. Glucose consumption today is almost twice as high as it was roughly 20 years ago." (Stehle 2014: 15) It continues: "On average, men eat twice as much sugar as women (6 g vs. 3 g), although the intake of sugar via sweet bakery products, drinks etc., which is more important in terms of quantity, is not included. With 52 g, the average quantity of other sweets eaten by men is higher than it is with women with 47 g. There are no differences between the age groups where the quantity of sweets eaten is concerned. Women of the upper social class eat more sweets than women of the lower social class (49 g vs. 44 g)." (Stehle 2014: 20) In turn, Nordzucker published in the latest edition of their *Akzente* magazine, which is intended primarily for company shareholders, that: "The average amount of sugar sold per capita in Germany is 35 kg, and has remained unchanged for 40 years. But sales are not the same as consumption. According to the national consumption study II conducted by the Max Rubner Institute, consumption is just 18 to 20 kg per person per year, well below the amount sold." Cf. https://www.nordzucker.de/fileadmin//downloads/Aktionaere/magazin/Akzente_2_2015_E.pdf.

In the context of these developments, a reversal can be seen, especially in recent years. Historically, the brown color indicated less refined or unrefined sugar; this meant less profit for traders and less distinction for consumers compared to white crystal or even rock sugar. The closer proximity to the sugar cane's origin as a crop which was recognizable by its color was combined with the more general semantic qualities of the color brown. This has been generally associated with ir-regularities (and immoderacy). It is also more specifically associated with dirt, natural materials and the expectations of a taste-intensive substance: "crispy, aromatic and spoiled" (Heller 2001: 201 ff.). Closely linked to the expectation of perishability, brown is regarded as "a 'symbol of vitality, but also of transience,' as well as a 'symbol of close affinity with nature'" (Hamacher 2014: 74 f.), and this is often associated with sensuality and sexuality. These semantic qualities were already measured by Fernando Ortiz regarding tobacco and sugar in Cuba and the Caribbean, and although "brown sugar" can indeed be produced from sugar beets, it is generally (and usually correctly) assumed that it is produced from sugar cane that originates from some place other than Europe.

Some of the semantic links mentioned remain effective in everyday culture even today. However, in the early 21st century, they involve other social acts and dynamics as well as modified valuations in comparison to those from previous centuries. A higher value seems to have been clearly placed on brown sugar and, therefore, the demand for it continues to increase.[17] In addition, its color has been emotionally charged (Young 2006: 173) when reference to the "strongly aromatic" Philippine whole cane sugar's "wonderful caramel aroma" is made in the product description: "even the color reminds" one of this aroma.[18] While sugar as a material and substance has become ever-present in everyday nutrition, it has also turned into a "humble" commodity in accordance with Miller (2010). It is possible to see how social meanings are concentrated in the material by analyzing the material proper-ties of its color; in other words, how they are "objectified" and subject to change. Its material differentiation according to aroma, granulation and, above all, color-coded product properties, which also includes mentioning the place of origin, indicates moral judgments about sugar. I will examine this aspect in the following sections.

Brown (cane) sugar within and into the European Union

The process of spatial circulation, and temporal change in context and meaning is currently happening with sugar under the aegis of the EU Sugar Market Regulation,

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17 Naturata AG's press office confirmed by telephone on 9 December 2015 that the growth in sugar products in 2014 is on the same level as the company's total growth of 11.6 % compared to the previous year. Cf. http://www.naturata.de/adm/genmat/ehr746tz56/pdf/150619_Naturata_PM_ Unternehmensergebnisse%202014.pdf

18 GEPA Organic Mascobado 1 kg.

which has been in place since 1968 and expires at the end of September 2017. It is also subject to various national regulations, subsidies, binational trade agreements and other regulatory attempts – the Sugar Protocol (1975–2009) is of specific interest here. The EU, its internal sugar industry and its sugar trade have been influenced most by the EU Sugar Market Regulation and the Sugar Protocol. The respective sugar beet production levels for 19 sugar-producing EU members are currently being defined by the EU Sugar Market Regulation framed within the "post-productivist" paradigm of European agricultural politics (Ward et al. 2008: 119 ff.). To this extent, a minimum price per ton is guaranteed for beets produced by European (beet) sugar producers; in addition to this, there is a quota for the import of (raw, usually cane) sugar from the so-called Asia-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) and Everything-But-Arms countries, of which a proportion is duty-free. Beyond that, European sugar exporters are assured compensatory payments, which correspond to the difference between the sugar price within the EU and the global market price. In addition to these general conditions, there are further regulations and various increments that all promote and protect the sugar beet industry in the EU – an industry that has continued to become more developed since the middle of the 19th century.[19] In this context, it is noteworthy that the ACP countries that are contractually connected to the EU via the Sugar Protocol are, in many cases, former European colonies whose sugar production is closely linked to the colonial times. Since the Sugar Protocol and the transitional arrangement have expired, there are no longer any import restrictions on sugar from ACP countries as of 2015, although the previous minimum price guarantees are also no longer available.

Brown cane sugar had been an exotic product in the EU market until only a few decades ago, due to the EU protectionism that manifested itself in the Sugar Market Regulation. Three facets of the circulation and the contextual change of brown sugar will be outlined below. The current popularity of brown sugar arises, first of all, from the notion of "naturalness" associated with its color. This naturalness, particularly in the context of nutrition, is evident as an "effective semantic construction" (Rückert-John 2010: 1), as argued by the sociologist Jana Rückert-John with her qualitative studies that combine sustainability and consumption with the sociology of nutrition. The color of the sugar itself paves the way for claims concerning its

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19 It is hardly surprising that the European sugar producers and traders are among those who view the discontinuation of the previous regulations as negative. They refer critically to the protection measures in the producer countries outside Europe and consider the elimination of the previous Sugar Market Regulation as a catalyst for a new market distortion in which Europe will probably fall behind, at least regarding the loss of its existing role. Cf. Interview with the director of the *Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung Zucker* [Sugar Producers Association], Günter Tissen, on 20 August 2015, and the annual report 2014/15 from Nordzucker, http://www.nordzucker.de/fileadmin/downloads/presse2015/NZ_14006_Geschaeftsbericht_2014_15_Deutsch_offen.pdf (5 November 2015).

"natural" properties, whereby, "'natural' does not refer to a natural state of things, but rather to the result of cultural norms and social expectations."[20]

"Material colours may tell us about the relationship between things and people …" (Young 2006: 179). This relationship is often established on the packaging of brown raw sugar with reference to the "natural ingredients of sugar cane" that are free from chemical and physical refining. Its appearance and taste are subjected to "natural variations"[21] and are specific to its use: "Unrefined sugar [Organic Masco-bado whole cane sugar] does not crystallize as regularly as industrially produced white sugar."[22] This language has been indirectly taken up by the manufacturers of crystal sugar from beets when they state on their package: "We have been processing this natural product of sugar here in the north [of Germany] since 1838. Here in the north, sugar beets have about 200 days each year to grow in the fields of our farmers. With the help of the sun, air and water, valuable sugar is produced here in a completely natural way …"[23] The properties of the product are advertised medially and materially as a healthy food due to its qualities and origin since it does not contain any residues of chemical pest control or fertilizers.

Secondly, this facet of the topos of "naturalness" for these products originating from organic farming can hardly be separated from the expectation of a high level of "environmental friendliness from ecological production methods," whereby "ecological product quality … [acts] as complexity-reducing, safety expectations that comforts and prevents anxiety" (Rückert-John 2010: 6). Here too, beet sugar producers, represented by the *Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung Zucker* [Sugar Producers Association], are developing a counter narrative[24] for sugar that originates from conventional agriculture: Regional production is emphasized as a better option than transporting imported sugar long distances across the world's oceans. Thus, beets appear as a comparatively more environmentally friendly product whose cultivation and further processing also safeguard labor and social legal standards.

Thirdly, social discourse on "the natural" is indeed concerned primarily with foods produced locally, since they are valued for the most direct "contact possible between the market participants" in which – according to Jana Rückert-John referring to Niklas Luhmann – "personal trust" could replace "trust in a system." However, it is precisely in the context of this line of reasoning that organic products from overseas represent a paradox (Rückert-John 2010: 8) which manufacturers try to resolve themselves from the process, i.e. by using photographs of Latin American

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20 Birnbacher 2006: 31, quoted from Rückert-John 2010: 11.
21 Alnatura organic whole cane sugar.
22 GEPA Organic Mascobado 1 kg.
23 Sweet Family Nordzucker "granulated sugar."
24 Cf. Interview with the director of the *Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung Zucker* [Sugar Producers Association], Günter Tissen, on 20 August 2015.

sugar cane workers[25] to personalize their products. "'Natural' as an attribute means … authentic, pure and genuine. But it also refers to trust, everydayness and normal" (Rückert-John 2010: 11).

While the first components of meaning materialize themselves in the brown color of sugar, the paradox persists. Consumers in the EU (apart from those in the French overseas departments) can hardly view the sugar cane grown in the tropical and subtropical regions as "familiar" and "trusted." It seems to be even more important to me that sugar traded fairly – which is not necessarily subject to the standards of organic production and cultivation[26] – refers to the "other" in distant parts of the world through its certification and the label printed on the packaging. Sugar, as a mobile commodity, circulates images of actors and everyday life from sugar cane production and processing. The colonial history of the origins of agro-industrial sugar cane cultivation is still present and visible in the global sugar industry in a postcolonial context. In this respect, brown sugar should also be regarded as a colonial "materialization" (Van Dommelen 2011) because of the reference to historical and still existing (if not expanded) plantations and the accompanying mills that are inherent in the global commodity, particularly when the plantations in the Caribbean and Latin America export sugar to Europe. The material of brown cane sugar *objectifies* how "Europe [projected] itself in the world, in confrontation with other societies beyond its own borders" (Eckert and Wirz 2013: 388) and continues to project itself within the realm of consumption.

Lars Winterberg examines discursive formations around the (in)justice of food worldwide and its distribution, and argues that a specific "triad" has emerged (in the German-speaking world) since the 1970s in the context of "fair trade." This was formed by Christian moral values (mercy), by anti-capitalist arguments for more global social justice and by self-awareness – a focus on one's own future and that of their children's children (Winterberg 2011: 101). These dimensions, which have successively become significant, imply a shift of emphasis regarding the morally charged concepts and practices that are tied to sugar as a medium and material, and which has to be understood empirically in the next step.

Sugar as a moral material

Diet, i. e. food products, and the related consumption practices are a social "organic moral vehicle" (Rozin 1997: 388). Sugar is also a "highly condensed social fact" (Appadurai 1981: 494). Sidney Mintz argues: "By such urgings to 'moral' performance [through not using sugar, for example] individuals learn to consume with more

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25   GEPA Organic Mascobado 1 kg., Brown cane sugar Fair Trade.
26   Cf. Interview with the official responsible for sugar at Fair Trade Deutschland e. V., on 20 August 2015.

discipline; morality, detached from society itself, thus becomes a new consumable" (Mintz 1997: 183). Individuals, he argues, have learned to be even more disciplined when it comes to consumption or even, as in the case of sugar, to forgo consumption completely. An exemplary "good" morality becomes the new, the actual consumer good. This particular individualized morality has been largely detached from complex socials contexts: It refers primarily to the individual body. Daniel Kofahl argues even more pointedly that morality is currently socially effective as "semantic capital" (Kofahl 2015: 39), which conceals more complex contexts and decision-making processes that are not performed in social everyday life, but in politics, business and law.

However, the rejection or criticism of consumption or application of sugar is not a phenomenon of the early 21st century alone. The career which sugar has made since the early modern period, from a luxury good to an everyday food item and "drug,"[27] in truth, resulted from a series of anti-sugar movements (anti-Saccharite) with their fears of sugar ("Saccharophobias") and interventions.

Medical professionals in England had heated debates as early as the 17th century, in which some saw sugar as the cause of scurvy and other diseases, while others pushed for sugar as a major component of a toothpaste (Fischler 1987: 86). In the context of fasting and asceticism, it was controversial whether sugar should be avoided – often the previously dominating role of sugar as a medicine was referred to here. Who would, after all, renounce medicine, which is, in any case, not considered food, during fasting. As sugar gradually became more available after the 18th century and its consumption increased, moral questions arose. One question, for example, was under which circumstances the consumption of sugar is inappropriate and at what point does consumption become excessive and self-indulgent. There was no pronounced fear of sugar in contemporary vegetarianism (represented, for example, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau). Sweetness was linked to the "natural" and inherently human diet that everyone desired. Starting in the late 18th century, on the other hand, anti-sugar movements boycotted sugar for ethical and political reasons with the goal of undermining the economic basis of the colonial economic social order and, above all, its essential practice of slavery. Consequently, the Anti-Saccharite Society was founded in England, and in France, abolitionists supported the sugar boycott (Fischler 1987; Ward et al. 2008).

These cases and conflictual contexts show that sugar consumption was always incorporated within a set of rules and ideas of a larger collective order, and its consumption conveyed these rules and ideas. Morality has always played a role in this. However, it does not primarily concern itself with the individual body in the historical contexts mentioned, but rather with the social or religious orders beyond

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27 "*Die Zuckermafia*," Stern No. 26 from 20 June 2013; "*Droge Zucker – Die gefährliche Sucht nach Süßem*," Der Spiegel No. 36 from 3 September 2012.

the individual, and relates to the economic and geopolitical structures that span the continents. It is important to note that sugar was, at that time, a precious and exclusive overseas imported good.

A far-reaching reversal took place around the middle of the 19th century, when sugar beets helped expand sugar production in Europe. The per capita consumption of the lower classes exceeded that of the upper class in England. Sugar had become an everyday commodity, a quick supply of energy whose value as something distinctive was dwindling away at the same time. For Sidney Mintz and for the French anthropologist Claude Fischler, this reversal was the most important basis of today's sugar discourse. The morally charged demand to go without sugar gained in importance: "Status no longer so much defined what one could consume; what one consumed helped to define one's status" (Mintz 1997: 179).

Sugar has increasingly become an everyday material, as has already been seen in the previous discussion on color. Its texture – white crystals – easiness to sprinkle and shape as cubes or loaves have gradually become more predictable and uniform due to industrial production methods. This developing "humility" of sugar, its inclusion in the diet of broad sections of the population and, thus, the loss of its status as a luxury commodity all favored a different moral charge that now concerned itself with the consumption behavior of the individual. Claude Fischler makes a diagnosis: "Modern saccharophobia seems to have achieved, to a large extent, an improbable synthesis between two apparently incompatible movements: Nature-worshipping Rousseauist vegetarianism and the late seventeenth century English medical course against sugar" (Fischler 1987: 87). Countless blogs[28] currently offer tips on how to avoid sugar with the appropriate consumption practices – from shopping to food preparation, which sugar surrogates are worth considering and how the alleged and actual cover-up tactics of the food industry can be avoided. The prospect is of a "purer," "more natural" and "healthier" life, and it goes beyond the actual nutritional practices. Particularly obvious – especially in the yellow press – is the interweaving of lifestyle and trend developments that also influences the current debates on vegetarianism, veganism, and lactose and gluten intolerance. Even there, there are contributions to the discourse on how to free oneself from sugar. The actress Cameron Diaz, for example, recently published a book containing her advice, in which one of her ten rules states: "Sugar is not a nutrient" (Diaz and Bark 2014). Living without sugar also takes more effort than consuming less sugar; it means tackling the physical dependence on the drug sugar as the first step of self-optimization.

The consumption of sugar or its renouncement has been increasingly connected to individuals, their morals, their bodies and their personal health, while the

28 Illustrated, for example, by "365tagezuckerfrei – das experiment," https://365tagezuckerfrei. wordpress. com (10 December 2015).

historically important religious and geopolitical dimensions of morality have been diminishing in importance. Despite this diminishing importance, the religious and geopolitical dimensions continue to coexist in the medium and material of sugar, namely in brown cane sugar.[29] Brown (cane) sugar is often considered the "better" sugar for many of my sources, in blog entries and to the disappointment of the (beet) sugar lobbyists, especially when a Fair Trade label is attached to it. It is more "natural" and presumably healthier; its origin and production are more likely to be localized, even if physical traceability is not possible due to its mass balance[30]; and it also raises awareness of (not necessarily, detailed knowledge about) the postcolonial global trade networks that characterize the sugar industry. And although, in the course of my research, the impact of the Sugar Market Regulation, the trade in sugar between EU and ACP countries or the Fair Trade standards are not explicitly addressed, they form the framework. These profound structures make brown cane sugar morally superior to conventional white crystal sugar, and they materialize and convey themselves in the brown color of the sugar as well as on the packages that fill the shelves in the supermarkets.

In this respect, in the case of sugar – and no less in trade and consumption – a specific tense relationship between visible/explicit and invisible presence is apparent. In (explicit) everyday discourse, it has been long established that sugar is far less important nutritionally than the actual consumption suggests. It still lurks more frequently in processed food, even when there is no sweet taste to indicate its presence. At the same time, visibly consumed brown (cane) sugar is experiencing a boom, due to both the moral qualities attributed to it because of its material properties and the resulting potential for distinction. Yet the structural and economic conditions of global production and trade of sugar are not explicit. Postmodern complexities and global connections, according to Gunther Hirschfelder and Barbara Wittmann, are increasingly being negotiated through diet and food; they argue that "[s]ocial struggles are being carried out … over diet choices for the authority to interpret the right way of life" (Hirschfelder and Wittmann 2015: 6). With this in mind and in light of global distributional injustices and largely industrialized food production, the importance of ethical diet studies increases. The individual decisions that are made by consumers between white and brown sugar in grocery stores or at the counters of many coffee shops are affected by market regulations and body and consumption ideals as much as by a mental map – a collective global map with

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29 The current animal rights movement has taken note of the historical anti-sugar movements and examined within the course of lecturers and discussion groups whether its past strategies may be applied in the 21st century.

30 Mass balance is practiced where a physical separation of conventional raw material from that certified as "fair" is not possible due to insufficient production volumes. This is also the case of sugar advertised with the "Fair Trade" seal. http://www.fairtrade-deutschland.de/ueber-fairtrade/was-macht-fairtrade/fairtrade-standards/standards-mengenaus-gleich/ (8 January 2016).

moral markings that is used by consumers for orientation. Moral performance in the context of sugar may address the individual body and distinction from renouncement, but the geopolitical dimension cannot be minimized.

Outlook

Based on my ongoing research, this paper aims to contribute to the question of the empirical basis of an ethnography of the "political" and to the methodological approaches that can be created. The ethnographic view on sugar as a material has been highly morally charged, particularly regarding its color characteristics. It reveals the barely visible, and reveals even more effective political regulations that affect its everyday presence in individual consumption practices and its moral evaluation.

There are many changes happening. Firstly, there are the changes to the global sugar market that are to be expected with the expiration of the existing Sugar Market Regulation. Sugar also remains remarkably unremarkable (Beckman et al. 2015) in light of the ongoing and controversial debates on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership negotiations. Secondly, there are the globally changing nutritional practices, in which a marked increase in especially "hidden" sugar is criticized. Finally, two-thirds of the world's sugar production is consumed where it is produced. All these require a shift of perspective. A greater focus on global interactions is especially revealing in the sense of an ethnography of the "political" (Winterberg 2011: 90), and the role of regional regulations such as those by the EU make up a rather small part. Social, cultural and economic negotiation processes of knowledge materialize in sugar around historically established and conflictual postcolonial interweavings.

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