

D ECONSTRUCTING AND RECONSTRUCTING Embracing Alternative Ways of Producing, Classifying and Disseminating Knowledge

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In this short piece, we argue for a fundamental reconsideration and reorganization of knowledge production. Intellectual and cultural inequality are part and parcel of socioeconomic inequality. How can we create a better world if we are not clear about the premises behind the knowledge that we have about that world and how it is produced? We need to look carefully at what is silenced and what is said out loud; at what is obscured, hiding in plain sight, or given centre stage. Not only is the task at hand to see clearly what comes into view when these embedded assumptions are excavated. It is also to create new words, new methods, and new institutions that do not repeat the same mistakes. It is a plea to train the next generation differently, so they are prepared to chart a new path toward producing, classifying, and using knowledge in more constructive and inclusive ways.

Keywords: knowledge production, decentre, post-colonial, critical, culture, global

Nearly one billion people (or roughly one out of every seven people in the world today) are internal or international migrants who move by force or by choice, with great success or great struggle. At the same time, the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union, President Trump's calls to strengthen the wall between the U.S. and Mexico, and the rise of populist parties in Hungary, Poland, and Italy reflect heightened nationalism and xenophobia and increased efforts to thwart mobility, especially among refugees, the poor and unskilled.

These dynamics have dramatic social, political and institutional consequences. They challenge long-standing assumptions about how people live and work, and about how social institutions function – how and where individuals raise children and care for the elderly; how class, race, and gender are constituted; how livelihoods are earned; the multiple communities with which people identify; what categories such as “assimilation”, “integration”, “development”, “social inclusion”, and the “Glob-

al North” or “Global South” actually mean; and where the rights and responsibilities of citizenship get fulfilled. They bring into focus new scales and sites of governance – drawing our attention to increasingly important regional and supranational institutions that attempt to harmonize but often create new forms of social exclusion instead. They produce societies that are more and more diverse – racially, ethnically, and religiously, but also in terms of membership and rights. There are increasing numbers of long-term residents without membership, who live for extended periods without full rights or representation, in conditions of semi-permanent impermanence. There are also increasing numbers of long-term members without residence who continue to influence the economics and politics of their homelands from afar but who may or may not have formal political representation.

The fluid 1990s global conceptual lexicon to which many of us contributed, including expectations of flows, networks, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism, is out-of-sync with current realities, and much more possible for some racial and economic groups than for others. Much of mainstream scholarship on migration, race, and ethnicity is also off key because it still relies unreflexively on old categories, without considering their intellectual genealogies or the assumptions about space, scale, and values upon which they are based (Alba and Foner 2015; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Alba and Nee 2003). Integration and assimilation are two such concepts. In much research, there is still an underlying assumption that migrants throughout the U.S. and Europe need to, or will become integrated into, a White majority mainstream, even if researchers acknowledge that both groups change and are changed by one another. In many large cities, however, migrants and their children live alongside other migrants in areas where the native-born are largely absent. There are also many cases in which the so-called migrants are actually the long-term urban residents, who have been living in the city for three or more generations, while the real newcomers are White residents returning to the urban core. Or there are examples where the majority into which newcomers are expected to assimilate is defined by ethnicity or religion.

Scholars of race and ethnicity are not the only ones guilty of ignoring the consequences of the intellectual genealogies and categories they rely on. Much of the social science and humanities produced in Europe and the U.S. is still Western-centric, based on theories developed in and reflecting the experience of the Global North. It is an insular conversation primarily between people who write and read in English, and the geographic focus is often limited to what is referred to as the Global North or West. One striking example is the research done about the political crises arising from refugee migration from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Eritrea in 2015 and 2016. European researchers looked primarily at the effect on Europe, while it was actually countries like Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon that were most affected. Educational experts in Europe studying the integration of Syrian refugee children did so in almost total isolation from researchers studying similar questions throughout the Middle East. They failed to look at the school system from which students had come, thereby missing an important contributor to student performance.

In this short think piece, we want to argue for a fundamental reconsideration and reorganization of knowledge production. Intellectual and cultural inequality are part

and parcel of socioeconomic inequality. How can we create a better world if we are not clear about the premises behind the knowledge that we have about that world and how it is produced? We need to look carefully at what is silenced and what is said out loud; at what is obscured, hiding in plain sight, or given centre stage. Not only is the task at hand to see clearly what comes into view when these embedded assumptions are excavated. It is also to create new words, new methods, and new institutions that do not repeat the same mistakes. It is a plea to train the next generation differently, so they are prepared to chart a new path toward producing, classifying, and using knowledge in more inclusive and constructive ways.

There is a large and rich body of work from critical theory and post-colonial scholars that tries to do much of the intellectual work we propose (see, for example, de Sousa Santos 2016; Garcia Canclini 2014; Mignolo 2012). Gilroy (2005), Hall (1997), Spivak (1999), Chakrabarty (2000), and Asad (1993, 2003) write compellingly about the need to “provincialize Europe”, not in the sense of shifting their attention from Europe to “elsewhere”, but in calling attention to the ways that European and American theoretical formations are promoted as general, universal theories, and to the broad effects of these universalizing theories. As Chakrabarty (2000) notes, however, (and as the term “provincializing” suggests) the purpose of critique is not to reject “European” theories and replace them with others, or to “fill out” our theoretical armature to include alternative points of view in ways that fail to look at the shaping power of these dominant theories. The immediate focus of “provincializing” Europe is to suture the particular historical conditions of its theoretical projects back onto or into those theories, so that scholars and others will be able to evaluate these theories along the same lines as other theories not generally thought of as universalizable. The true decentralization of scientific and analytical knowledge requires recognizing and legitimating other knowledges and other histories produced beyond this Eurocentric axis.

This call has been taken up, to varying degrees, by different disciplines. Scholars of comparative literature, feminist and religious studies researchers, and anthropologists have spilled a great deal of ink, while political scientists and sociologists have been largely silent. Part of the challenge is to bring thinkers from different fields, who are more-or-less steeped in these insights, to take up this charge. It is to deprovincialize across disciplines and, thereby, to shrink the epistemological distance between the North and the South, or between what have been the centres and peripheries of knowledge production.

What exactly are we talking about and what might be some constructive ways forward? We suggest considering the following:

1. The questions we ask

More and more the questions that we ask are determined by the priorities of the funding agencies that provide us with the resources to answer them. The EU is a

great example. Its research agenda often seems to us to be driven by the need to solve policy questions. Funders design research programmes around pressing problems, and support mega projects intended to answer them that involve multiple partners throughout the EU. In the case of migration scholarship, many of these projects are about helping European and national policy makers to address problems arising in schools, neighbourhoods, and cities that have become more ethnically, racially and religiously diverse. It is about understanding integration processes, social inclusion and creating a next generation of researchers and bureaucrats who will successfully explain and manage these processes in the future.

There are several problems with these funding programs. The first is that European scholars are under tremendous pressure to win mega grants like those offered under the Horizon 2020 programme. Evaluators of these grants favour people who have published in peer-reviewed journals written in English. Because the grants are organized around work packages designed to inform policy directly, there is little room to ask basic questions such as how inequalities are (re)produced, or what role national institutional arrangements and national and European policies played in helping to create them to begin with. The truly innovative Albert Einsteins of the world would probably not get funded in this environment because their questions do not fit in to the boxes required to obtain support.

The second problem is that while we applaud comparative research, we note that many times the outputs from these projects do not add up to more than the sum of their individual parts. The time allotted to complete them is often much too short to allow for little more than data collection. Data analyses, especially those which try to compare across cases, get short shrift. The challenge of saying something meaningful about a variety of subprojects that are comparable in some respects, but very different in others, is often too much for a large, unwieldy set of research partners who barely know one another.

The third issue is that this is not just a problem in Europe. More and more, the forces of globalization and neoliberalism are homogenizing higher education around the world. Scholars outside the West are also under pressure to publish in English in high-ranking journals. They must prove their worth by competing successfully for large grants with international partners. They too have little chance of asking questions simply because they are intellectually interesting or because they chart new territory – another death knell to creativity and producing knowledge in ways that do not conform to the prevailing box.

2. The spaces, scales, and geographies we examine

While calls for the end of methodological nationalism are everywhere, much scholarship still takes the nation-state as the automatic, logical unit of social life for granted. Yet, when we open our lens by using a transnational optic, we see that it is not possible to understand dynamics that are labelled local or national without at least

asking how they are connected to events and experiences that are far away. Recognizing this, Edward Said (1993) argued for the need for a contrapuntal reading of literature, to read as we listen to music by taking in all the parts of the composition simultaneously and noticing how they interact with each other. Thus, we cannot read *Jane Eyre* without seeing how that big mansion in Britain is built on the backs of its owner's plantation in the colonies. The narrative is seemingly about the metropole, but the far reaches of the empire are always hiding in plain sight.

Nations themselves also differ, not just in the usual way we take note of (those organized around common legal citizenship versus those based on shared ethnicity). There are nations that aspire to pluralism and multiculturalism and those, such as Lebanon, where multiple religious groups simply hope to co-exist under a threadbare national umbrella. Fanon (1961) wrote of nations arising from a colonized consciousness, criticizing Negritude movement thinkers for resurrecting traditions that were associated with, and therefore perpetuated, the deleterious colonial past. This means that we not only have to determine empirically the relevant parameters and scales of the social fields that our research and questions are concerned with, we also have to look closely at how variations within categories such as "nations" affect our outcomes. We cannot take as given what the "nation" means and what kind of futures its constituencies aspire to.

3. What does interdisciplinary work really look like?

Most of us believe in the benefits of working across disciplines. But that is easier said than done. What often happens around the seminar room table is the equivalent of watching the proceedings at the United Nations General Assembly without translators. Some fields are so chockfilled with jargon, that it is almost impossible, even for those who really want to enter the conversation, to be able to do so. There are also colleagues who stubbornly refuse to do the heavy lifting, quickly retreating to their disciplinary safety zones when the conversation becomes too unfamiliar and uncomfortable. It is a rare scholar who is willing to do the listening and learning required to cross disciplinary boundaries and engage in a truly interdisciplinary dialogue.

As a result, many of the same conversations, or their equivalents, are taking place within disciplinary silos. We are rehearsing the same critical theoretical or post-colonial arguments and answers within and between the humanities and social sciences and missing out on the potential to move things forward by joining forces. There is a South American and a South Asian version of the conversation, but never the twain shall meet (Go 2018).

4. What does it really mean to provincialize scholarship?

This is, perhaps, the most important question. And there are many ways to skin this cat. The first is to think about when you start the story. If you tell the history of the

Americas starting in 1492, then you miss the many civilizations that flourished in this region before the conquest. If you place the cradle of civilization in Greece and Rome, then you miss the intellectual and cultural production that flourished in Kumas and Baghdad. If you leave Jews out of the history of Poland, then you miss the fact that you cannot understand Jewish history without Poland, nor Polish history without Jews. So where and when the story begins really matters for what kinds of knowledge get valued, legitimized, and disseminated. This seems like common sense but a quick look at many of the textbooks that many European and U.S. students use today reveals that this kind of ethnocentrism still reigns supreme (Levitt and Rutherford 2018).

The second is to recognize that, just as we argued above about there being different kinds of “nations”, so what qualifies as theory, and understandings of what theory is expected to do, is constructed differently and has different goals in different parts of the world. Theories produced in the West do not automatically map on to experiences lived outside it. What it means to know and explain does not mirror Western epistemological and ontological assumptions. Intellectual frames created according to different standards, to do different kinds of work, should be judged according to their own claims and on their own terms.

Let’s take the example of immigration. In some parts of the world, such as the Caribbean, it is unusual to talk about immigration because moving between islands to earn one’s livelihood is an integral part of everyday life. No one is immigrating or assimilating or being socially excluded. They just move regularly to make a living or to care for their kin (Fog Olwig 2010). Again, the terminology and experiences we assume to be universal are lived, classified, and understood very differently. We have to do our homework and ask how they were created and used, and whom they serve, before we begin.

Ashis Nandy’s classic article, “History’s Forgotten Doubles” (1995), makes this point compellingly clear (which we discuss here to show, once again, how many similar questions are being asked and answered in the social sciences and humanities). There are people and experiences, he writes, that are treated as if they live outside of history.

They *do* have theories of the past; they *do* believe that the past is important and shapes the present and the future, but they also recognize, confront, and live with a past different from that constructed by historians and historical consciousness. (Nandy 1995: 44)

These differences arise from what Nandy calls “principled forgetfulness”. “All myths are morality tales”, he writes.

Mythologization is also moralization; it involves a refusal to separate the remembered past from its ethical meaning in the present. For this refusal, it is often important *not* to remember the past, objectively, clearly, or in its entirety. Mythic societies sense the power of myths and the nature of human frailties; they are more fearful than the modern ones. (ibid.: 47)

In other words, all people know their past and how to recount it. Some simply construct history differently to how it is constructed in the West, on the basis of different moral and empirical guidelines, thereby selectively including some things and forgetting others.

Another example comes from the Brazilian novelist Oswald de Andrade (1991). He distinguished societies with anthropophagic worldviews (consuming or cannibalistic) from those that are anthropemic (from the Greek *émein*, to vomit), and argued that each responded differently to the “other”. Western, modern societies responded to otherness by isolating, excluding or vomiting it out. Societies in which cannibalism was ritualized assimilated “the other” by ingesting him or her symbolically. According to João Cezar de Castro Rocha, Oswald envisaged anthropophagy as a technique of cultural contact involving the systematic and creative incorporation of otherness into one’s own identity. This endless incorporation of new shapes and boundary crossings gave rise to a continuous process of self-fashioning and self-confrontation (de Castro Rocha 2013).

Andrade’s work drives home not only the cultural roots of different responses to otherness, and the diversity management regimes that emerge in response, but their intellectual and political consequences. Societies understand and respond differently to otherness and that sets in motion different scholarly and policy trajectories. We need to expand the sources of knowledge we draw upon to understand these processes – to become conversant in alternative meanings and frames and to judge them, not according to our own standards, but according to their own claims and criteria. How might U.S. and European diversity management regimes differ, for example, if they were based on an anthropophagic worldview? The newcomer might be greeted with greater favour and familiarity, as precipitating a natural process of encounter and transformation, rather than one that requires constructing social boundaries to ensure cultural preservation.

5. What are some constructive ways to move forward?

We believe that too much of the scholarly conversation involves deconstruction and not enough reconstruction or charting a new, potentially positive way forward. This is a challenge with many parts, and we start with the simplest one here.

As we begin to produce different kinds of knowledges, we need to reorganize the boxes we use to classify and disseminate them, or to create new ones. Right now, disciplinary boundaries still separate us – our research needs to fit within departments, professional organizations, and disciplinary journals. If a social scientist submits an article that analyzes cultural institutions or art history from a social science perspective, she will likely receive a rejection from the sociology or anthropology journal as well as its art historical counterpart. The editors of each will say that her work is better suited for the other venue. They do not have enough courage or imagination to

see that the two sets of analytical tools answer her questions more powerfully when they are used together.

And how might her work find its way into the textbook or the curriculum? If the art historian only teaches what has traditionally qualified as art history, then her students will not understand the institutional and power dynamics that shape the discipline. Likewise, the social scientist who does not include a discussion of how art and culture shape the social contributes to intellectual narrowness as well. The desperately needed knowledge at the intersection often has no place to go or falls through the cracks. Young scholars who want to produce it run the risk of hurting their careers because they do not perform according to the established, recognizable metrics or incentive structures. At the very least, we need to train students to recognize the power of these curatorial choices. But what we really need is new categories, disciplines, and textbooks that accept and acknowledge the complicated messiness of the human experience, and recognize, from the outset, how trying to make it neat and orderly diminishes our understanding of social life.

Remaking categories means remaking the institutions that create them. That is the hardest but most important question of all. We are convinced that universities should be organized differently but much is stacked against it. Vested interests mitigate against easy change. In the United States, for example, regional studies programs, founded in the 1960s out of concerns about communism and threats to world security, still organize much of intellectual life on college campuses. There are centres for European, Middle Eastern, South Asian, and Asian Studies that thwart efforts to teach, research, and talk about broader swaths of time and space. Latin American studies and Latino Studies are generally still taught and researched separately when, we would argue, we cannot understand one without taking into consideration the other.

Still, we want to reconstruct as well as deconstruct. We imagine conversations between scientists, social scientists, and humanists. We want international networks not just to mean people from Europe and the United States. We want high impact journals to not just be written in English and to be available to everyone.

We believe that researchers who follow ideas, things, or groups across different sites and time periods, and who seek to uncover the connections between them, have taken important steps forward. Others who look at how people and objects are integrated into different types of networks and fields that span spaces and scales have too. Conversations involving scholars from different disciplines that are organized around particular problems, such as climate change or criminal justice reform, can also be extremely fruitful. How about rewinding or imagining a different intellectual starting point and then imagining the different intellectual trajectory it might produce? For example, what if libraries were not organized using the Dewey Decimal System or using categories of materials (such as books, ephemera, etc.)? What opportunities would present themselves if users found different, unexpected things next to what they came looking for that connect to their interests in unexpected ways? What happens when the archivist starts with box no. 50 of the archive rather

than box no. 1? Or if she starts in the middle of box no. 50? The sites of encounter engineered by current ways of working and classifying would most certainly be disrupted and rearranged to produce different kinds of insights and scholarship.

We are not saying to throw the baby out with the bathwater – to totally abandon the old ways of seeing and knowing (as if that were even possible). But we are saying that more room must be made for alternatives and that we need to reconsider what we value as “exemplary scholarship”. Analyses produced by experts who study countries and regions for long periods of time are very important. We need people with deep linguistic, cultural, and historical fluency. But in today’s world, we also need deep analyses of several different places that illuminate the broad social patterns they share, or what Richard Wilk (1995) called “structures of common difference”. Writer Tony Judt, in an homage to Isaiah Berlin, described himself in one of his last books as “decidedly not a hedgehog. I have no big theory of contemporary European history to propose in these pages”, he wrote, “no single, all embracing story to tell” (Judt 2006: 7). It doesn’t mean, he goes on to say, that European history has no thematic shape. Rather, “fox-like Europe knows many things” (ibid.). For us, Judt makes an important methodological point. We also need accounts that are more fox-like, which do not pretend to capture every detail of the places they describe but that produce valuable insights precisely because they see the forest *and* the trees – and the patterns that unite them.

This approach, not surprisingly, is imperfect. To do it right, you have to be clear about what you can and cannot claim based on your findings, to own up to what you know and cannot know. You have to do your homework, depending on the hedgehogs in a particular field, and trying to read in languages you might not speak. You cannot be a “cow-boy” ethnographer, who gallops in on a high horse, believing it is possible to see everything quickly and easily from your saddle. But most importantly, you must proceed with great humility, asking colleagues to guide and accompany you along the way. “In music”, write Barbara Tomlinson and George Lipsitz (2013: 12),

to accompany other players entails more than simply adding new sounds to the mix. Accompaniment requires attention, communication, and cooperation. It means augmenting, accenting, or countering one music voice with another.

It means doing the hard work of creating a far-reaching, truly international network of professionals, scholars, and friends who will support your work, and living a much richer social and intellectual life as a result (Levitt 2015).

C

OMMENTS

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On Embracing Other Knowledges

Above all, I would like to thank the authors for an always timely contribution to the debate about hierarchies of knowledge produced in different corners of the world, and the conditions of knowledge production, Eurocentrism and, last but not least, suggestions about what should be done in order to diminish inequalities in the global system of knowledge prestige. The authors present their ideas as a series of more or less tightly connected problems. I am only able to comment on some of them by supplementing them and adding some new thoughts inspired by the text.

(1) I cannot agree more that an integral part of socio-economic inequalities is intellectual and cultural inequality. Of course, the statement needs to be elaborated, since taken literally it may confirm that knowledge produced in the affluent countries and/or rich and prestigious academic centres is by definition of better quality. As I understand it, it means that extant hierarchies in the real world of academia are established precisely because there are pre-existing power relations determined by historically evolving socio-economic-political inequalities. In a manner described by Michel Foucault, a higher value is ascribed to culture and knowledge manufactured in these powerful focal points of scholarship. Owing to the reproductive mechanism of cultural representations, already unveiled by Edward Said (1978), material power easily translates into symbolic power in which the supremacy of the powerful images is justified. Intellectual capital generated in these power-cum-knowledge hubs is in a self-defensive and self-congratulatory way appraised by its very producers as having a better quality. Representatives of the dominating standards operate as normalisers, norm-givers, and regulate the field of social sciences. Due to them certain intellectual traditions constantly have “some more paradigmatic weight” (Restrepo and Escobar 2005: 100).

The system is intricate, tightly-knitted, and multi-stranded; it is reminiscent of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizomatic structure; constituting a self-justifying and self-perpetuating assemblage. It is difficult to blame anybody for its results. The

power of inertia makes certain old “knowledges” powerful despite the weakening of the economic and political might supporting its production. The diminishing relative global importance of the United Kingdom has not proportionally affected the reputation of British scholarship. The rise of certain economic powers such as Japan, as well as mighty economic and political superpowers such as China, does not correspond directly with the influence of the scholarship produced in these countries on global scientific trends – this is surely so in the social sciences and humanities. Language dominance plays a role in this. It is rightly criticized in the article that English has been accorded the role of the sole lingua franca in academia, and publications in other languages are underestimated. It puts a pressure on scholars to publish in journals or books released by publishers considered prestigious, not surprisingly virtually all of them in English, and it is no secret that writing in one’s non-native language is much more demanding and time consuming. In order to publish internationally, scholars located outside the Western centres exemplify “provincial cosmopolitanism” (Lins-Ribeiro and Escobar 2006: 13) by the rule of which they learn dominant Western theories and paradigms. Gatekeepers controlling the content and quality of these journals or books come from the Western centres of scholarly production. They are inclined to reproduce paradigms familiar to them and represent “cosmopolitan provincialism” (ibid.): satisfied with the system reinforcing their position, they do not have to learn radically new, to them alien knowledges. In this way the vicious circle locks, therein preventing the circulation of paradigms.

(2) In such a hegemonically established world it is a matter of course that knowledge produced is Western-centric. It inevitably pretends to be universal. The universalist pretension of this knowledge becomes visible in virtually all aspects of life and domains of learning. An example of a different understanding of migration in the Caribbean region to that in “the West” illustrates the case discussed by the authors. And *pro domo sua*, as I am an anthropologist, I would like to add that in this discipline many efforts have been directed towards gaining such a relativized knowledge. For decades now, it is a common wisdom that knowledge is always produced locally, and the social sciences themselves are no exception in this respect. Levitt and Crul are right that we should study the “premises behind the knowledge”, and in order to integrate local experiences into a more general picture, a study of historical-cultural-genealogical reasons as well as structural circumstances producing given phenomena are crucial. Eric Wolf (1982) and Sidney Mintz’s (1985) works are recognized milestones in studying the global interconnectedness between people, things, histories and processes. James Boon’s (1982) book titled *Other Tribes, Other Scribes*, or the title of Marshall Sahlins’ (1983) article, “Other Times, Other Customs” somehow nicely capture the idea of embracing non-Western, alternative epistemologies. Anthropological perspectivism as launched by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998) – who argues that Southern American native categories comprise unique cosmologies in which configurations of distinctions are irreducible to Western binary opposition between culture and nature – can be seen as a recent incarnation of these anthropological efforts. Juxtaposing diachronically and synchronically causes, localizing

knowledge, including our own, and relating different knowledges, is simply a must today. “Contrapuntal readings” of culture and the “fox-like accounts” recommended in the text are highly advisable. The social scientist acts more as a caricaturist rather than as a painter. And, last but not least, methodological nationalism conceals more than it can reveal. It is untenable in a globalized world.

(3) The globalization of the economy, politics and science leads inevitably to two contradictory processes. On the one hand, it produces the above-discussed and condemnable homogenization of the academic paradigms. On the other hand, such a multiplicity implicitly generates diversity. Pluralization takes place on several levels. First, there is an inherent discussion and competition between the existing sub-paradigms within the hegemonic “Western paradigm”. Therefore, the reified notion of the “Western paradigm” has always been internally divided. Various national, regional or linguistic groups within “the West” complain about the dominance of some other traditions – the French about Anglo-Americans, the Germans about Anglo-American-French, Slavs about Anglo-American-French-German, remaining within the Northern Hemisphere, and in Europe in particular. At the same time, the so often emphasized Global North–Global South division essentializes the map which is much more diverse and circuitous. An essentialized image eclipses many other divisions, such as, for instance, that between East and West. The latter also assumes a form of regional European orientalism. In the domain of science, it can be seen in the way Eastern European scholarship is classified as inferior conceptually to the hegemonic West (Buchowski 2012). The hierarchical system that depreciates knowledge produced in the former socialist countries has devastating material consequences. I cannot elaborate on the issue here, but it is enough to say that in the pool of projects funded by the European Research Council, the number of those proposed from the region is extremely few.¹ The mechanism is cruel: Western scholars dominate on the panels, they propose their peers as external reviewers who share their research paradigms, and projects out-of-sync with these images are doomed to fail. Again, nobody can be held responsible for it, because it is the system. Levitt and Crul underline the flaws of EU funding practices but from the perspective of its beneficiaries.

At the level of theoretical considerations, we are left with the issue of the hegemonic epistemological and methodological assumptions obtaining in Western academia. Provincializing Europe can take different forms. The first form is mentioned in Levitt and Crul’s article. It is a postcolonial critique and/or Subaltern Studies. However, eminent representatives of this tradition – Gayatri Spivak, Dipesh

¹ Abundant data on this can be found on the ERC website. Just to illustrate the point, let me indicate that in the 2017 edition of Advanced Grants, their distribution by countries was the following (in brackets are grants in the domain of the social sciences and humanities): Austria 7 (1), Belgium 8 (2), Denmark 5 (2), Finland 4 (2), France 34 (8), Germany 42 (4), Hungary 2 (1), Ireland 4 (1), Israel 13 (1), Italy 11 (4), Luxembourg 1 (0), Netherlands 16 (6), Norway 2 (1), Portugal 1 (0), Slovenia 1 (0), Spain 18 (6), Sweden 10 (2), Switzerland 24 (1), Turkey 1 (1), United Kingdom 66 (17). Again, the lion’s share goes to the UK, Germany and France, and a proportionally large share to smaller but rich countries (e.g., Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Israel). In the former Eastern Europe only Hungary and Slovenia managed to gain 3 grants combined, out of 270 – a little more than 1%! (<https://erc.europa.eu/projects-figures/statistics?data>, accessed 26. 8. 2018).

Chakrabarty or Achille Mbembe – were in fact co-opted into, or intellectually and institutionally encompassed by Western academia. It is not my intention to undermine their undeniable contribution to critical thinking, but one has to admit that their writings are full of references to Nietzsche, Hegel, Marx, Heidegger, Freud, Lacan, Hayden White, Carre and other founders of Western philosophy and history. The second tradition, counter-hegemonic to the Western tradition, is represented by Latin American scholars such as Anibal Quijan, Walter Mignolio and Ramon Grosfoguel (2008), who developed the so-called “decolonizing perspective”. They claim a radical decolonization of knowledge through a total rejection of epistemological Eurocentrism, in particular Kantian dualism. The refusal of the Western episteme is meant to liberate modes of thought suppressed by the West. Another way of undermining Western universalism is politically sponsored by states interested in hindering unwanted knowledge transfer. In result, although Western ideas proliferate worldwide, some social science research zones can form, at least partly, independent intellectual zones and internally sustainable scientific units. China and Russia are cases in point. Even if they are designated as provincial by the West, the latter can be viewed as a source of irrelevant intellectual propositions for the first two. It can be seen that not all these counter-hegemonic programs favour the free flow of knowledge, and they do not all deserve our support.

(4) Levitt and Crul’s quest is for an integrative program facilitating the merging of intellectual horizons. Perhaps Chakrabarty’s project, which they accept, is really convincing. For sure, their diagnosis resonates with Ulrich Beck’s assessment:

Mainstream social theory still floats loftily above the lowlands of epochal transformations [...] in a condition of universalistic superiority and instinctive certainty. This universalistic social theory [...] is now both out of date and provincial. *Out of date* because it excludes a priori what can be observed empirically [...]; *provincial* because it mistakenly absolutizes the trajectory, the historical experience and future expectation of Western, i.e. predominantly European or North American, modernization and thereby also fails to see its own particularity. (Beck 2016: 258)

But such a crisis is not only addressed in sociology. As mentioned above, it has been on the agenda of anthropologists for quite a while.

(5) There has been something in the air for some time and several attempts have also been made in anthropology more recently. There is no room here to discuss books and articles published on the topic. The major arguments were articulated in *The Lusanne Manifesto* (Saillant, Kilani and Graezer Bideau 2011). Let me just indicate that this drive has taken an organizational shape too. In 2004, the World Council of Anthropological Associations was established, and one can read in its constitution² that its aims are, inter alia, to: serve as a forum for communication; discuss how the profession can best respond to contemporary challenges that are themselves often the product of forces and relations beyond the level of the indi-

² http://www.iaaes.org/wau_constitution_171124.pdf (accessed 26. 8. 2018).

vidual nation-state; facilitate the dissemination of anthropological work in a multiplicity of languages to improve knowledge of world anthropologies; counteract the hegemony of English language-based knowledge production. Although phrased in an intradisciplinary language, these goals perfectly dovetail with Levitt and Crul's desire to build a non-hegemonic and non-hierarchical knowledge, both in the academic world and beyond it. Interdisciplinary collaboration in this and many other respects is highly recommended, indeed.

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Reflecting on Truth and Objectivity: The Ethics of Knowledge Production

By the middle of the twentieth century, when the process of decolonization was almost complete, and new nations were shaping their identities, there was a paradigm shift in knowledge production when the earlier voiceless, the "natives", began to make themselves heard. Postcolonial knowledge production was largely developed in the form of a critique, a process of deconstruction that was homologous to the boundaries and borders of identities, geopolitical, philosophical, aesthetic and intellectual, that shook the foundations of – as now believed – a constructed "truth" that was being projected as the only legitimate form of knowledge. Today we understand the power equation behind this form of knowledge production. Colonization and economic domination by a section of the Western world, and a definition of what was science and "objective truth", went hand in hand.

As pointed out by the authors of this piece, only a multivocal and multi-sited production of knowledge can do justice to the ontological reality of the present-day world of movements and conflicts. Yet the main hurdle in this admirable enterprise, even if we accept it in principle, is that the transcendence of subjectivity implied in this project may be difficult or even impossible to achieve. Ego focused goals and self-interest on the side of power holders, such as those who disburse funds for research, have been dealt with by Levitt and Crul in their paper. These are, of course, real issues but what I wish to highlight is that even intentionality may be clouded over by our submerged subjectivity, our deeply constituted psyche that controls us involuntarily.

One solution, while only intellectual, is to give up the idea of objective truths. For the sake of being ethical there is a need to give up the pretense to objectivity

as it is an impossible goal to achieve and in light of things, undesirable. We need to be cognizant of the truth of multiple sources of knowledge as well as of varieties of methods for arriving at this knowledge; in other words, a multiplicity of epistemologies. But the real problem lies in the practical aspect of the universalization of multiple schools of knowledge production. This is a problem faced by those who are working on indigenous knowledge systems. The problem of translation is not to transfer the words of one language into another, but to cross over to a different cognitive perspective altogether.

One great dividing line between human groups is that we speak in different languages. Yet as known to all linguists and anthropologists, it is not the word (*langue*) but speech – the social context of the term – that produces meaning. This is expressed not merely through the word itself, but also through its intonation, gestures, facial expressions and all non-verbal accompaniments. Additionally, there are linguistic concepts of metaphors and tropes that are essential to establish exactly what is meant that is not equivalent to simply what is being said. In other words, words by themselves, if translated, do not convey anything of that which needs to be conveyed. All of us trained in anthropological fieldwork are well versed in these aspects of translation yet there are always slips because the unconscious mind has been structured in such a way that it is not possible to totally transcend subjectivity. The extent to which one can “unlearn”, so to say, is the extent to which we are conscious of our own subjectivity. As part of any culture, we take for granted certain words and concepts without being conscious of how these may appear to others, thus limiting the extent of unlearning.

While lecturing to a class of older learners in the U.S., in a “Life Long Learning” course, I was accosted by an elderly woman who asked me a question as to why Indian women wear their wedding rings on their toes! Now the fact is that in some parts of India, married women do wear something that is translated into English as a “toe-ring” but in the native language the term used does not connect this particular ornament to a ring. It is not a ring, but a piece that has its own identity, and the native Hindi term for it is “*bichuya*” which is completely different from the native term for a ring – “*angûthi*”. To the mind of the Indian thus what is worn on the toe does not connect in any way with what is worn on the finger. In fact, anyone speaking the native language would be scandalized if such a suggestion was even made. Yet even in India when speaking in English, people do use the term toe-ring, yet they do not connect it mentally to a ring worn on the finger. Thus, the deeper nuances of a cultural connotation and its expression in language continues across a literal translation. To absorb and use knowledge produced by another culture is thus difficult and needs a true harmonization with the culture and ways of life. In a way, this might be one true solution to the problem of transcending “otherness” and building bridges. In fact, learning another language opens doors to understanding that may still remain incomplete without simultaneously understanding the other culturally and socially.

Coming to the point of stereotypes that are projected onto the “other”, there is one aspect of stereotypes that often goes unnoticed, irrespective of whether stereotypes are good or bad. While we often agree that stereotypes lead to a homogenization of the “other”, we overlook the aspect of internal “othering”. The “other” is often also internally stratified. When the image of the “other” is not deliberately directed towards creating a negative image, the “other” is often constructed in the image of those who dominate, or who are the powerful segment of the other group. Thus as an Indian, I am often accosted by persons from other countries, even other anthropologists, as to why I am not a vegetarian!

I have to take great pains to explain that not only are not all Indians Hindus, but that even among Hindus, many are meat eaters. But looking from the perspective of dominance, the reason for the existence of such a bias is that the most prominent and powerful Indians are both Hindus and as upper caste Hindus they tend to be vegetarians. In India, the lower castes are never vegetarians, and in fact this remains as an essential criterion for discrimination against them. But there are also many indigenous people, referred to as “tribes” who are in exactly the same political situation as the native populations of colonized countries like Australia, New Zealand and the USA. They too are neither Hindus nor vegetarians, and they do not dress like mainstream Indians. Yet the Indian stereotype remains that of a woman clad in a saree, primarily eating what in airlines is described as “Hindu vegetarian” food. The culture and ways of life of marginalized people, the lower castes and the indigenous do not enter into the dominant image of what “being an Indian” means. Thus a process of internal colonization is more insidious than external colonization as it remains unnoticed. Thus dealing with refugees or migrating populations, apart from being sensitive to their native institutions and cultures, one needs to be sensitive to this aspect of internal stratification and heterogeneity.

There is a greater need to recognize this process of internal colonization, and the internal diversities of the “other”, so that even if as anthropologists or humanitarian workers we feel we need to connect, it is imperative to understand that the “other” is not a homogenous category. Language for example has many forms that are gendered as well as varying over class and even age. When connecting to the other or translating, it is important to recognize and be sensitive to not just translating in the language of the powerful. The mistake made even by anthropologists is that in particular situations they have only heard one kind of language or given heed to only one kind of explanation, even when it came from indigenous people. In India for example there has been an entire generation of upper caste and patriarchal explanations of the caste system, which although neither wrong nor to be faulted from an intellectual perspective, constitute only one of several other possible descriptions, like the Dalit perspective or feminist ones. Multivocality is an aspect of lived reality. Acceptance of it puts a strain on our conventional forms of understanding and also poses a challenge for translation and language use. As anthropologists we need to accept this challenge in order to keep true to our vocation to give credence to other lives and ways of knowing.

Thus, when we believe that we are actually incorporating other forms of knowledge, such as Chinese or Indian, we need to be conscious that there is not only one language, but that there are people even within the other with varying degrees of power to make themselves heard. Thus the anthropological construct, “the native point of view” may actually be far more diverse than can be known. A true anthropological contribution and understanding would be to thus socially and politically contextualize all forms of received knowledge. Even if we cannot embrace and know all forms of knowing, we can give them respect by acknowledging that they exist.

To be fair to others, one needs to be mindful of our biases, and to be conscious that there is nothing, “out there” that can be quickly grasped, but there are some realities that need to be understood by giving it time, some to which one may never access, but one has to accept that too. Thus, Ortiz (2016: 128) quotes Wittgenstein who is of the opinion that there can be any number of descriptions of the same situation (as often happens in the witness box). There are no lies or truths but simply workability, namely what is most suitable in the situation. When talking about legal rules, one can compare the comparative inflexibility of the modern legal system with the flexibility of some indigenous systems, where every case is evaluated in context and judgements are made, keeping in mind not just what has happened but what *will* happen if a particular action is taken. Thus, particularly with reference to refugees and forced migrants, the legalities should not override humanity. What for example *will happen* if children are separated from their parents! Thus while applying rules and norms, not only is it a question of what *should* be done, but the consequence of this norm must also dictate action.

Social reality is both lived and enacted and both of these aspects are to be part of the philosophy of truth that anthropologists are committed to follow.

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European Internal Hierarchies of Knowledge Production: A View from a Formerly Super-Diverse Social Context

Peggy Levitt and Maurice Crul raise an important issue regarding the premises of knowledge production in the social sciences and humanities and argue for its “fundamental reconsideration and reorganization”. Together with a rich body of work from critical theory and postcolonial scholarship, they argue that scholarship in the U.S. and Europe is Western-centric, “based on theories developed in and reflecting the experience of the Global North”. They ask for reflection on this fact so that the particular historical conditions of Western knowledge production are recognized,

and for move to be made beyond its universalizing claims and hegemony. The contribution has both a deconstructivist and a constructivist aspect: by deconstructing knowledge production in the U.S. and Europe, the authors wish to chart a “path forward”. I will comment on their piece from my position as a European ethnologist and socio-cultural anthropologist.

Critical reflection on its own knowledge production is a hallmark of socio-cultural anthropology. It became prominent with the postmodern turn and postcolonial and feminist theorizing in the discipline in the 1980s. A strong reflexive turn also struck anthropological/ethnological knowledge production in the postsocialist European countries during the 1990s. Its appearance reflects the opening up of possibilities for dialogue between the former Western (democratic) and Eastern (socialist/communist) bloc after the demise of the latter in 1989. Also, it reflects the fact that Europe is in no way a homogeneous entity, as is often implied when Europe is mentioned. European internal political, socio-economic and cultural inequalities, and the ensuing hierarchies of power spill over into scientific hierarchies. Eastern Europeans contested those hierarchies; discussions took place between the practitioners of ethnology/anthropology³ in the former socialist bloc and those from the West. Polish and Croatian colleagues led the way. The debates, very briefly, were over the nature of ethnologies practiced in the East and whether they can aspire to be included in socio-cultural anthropology as defined by the Western practice of the discipline. In the debates, ethnological and folkloristic enquiries in the former socialist bloc were relegated by some Western anthropologists to being second-class anthropology and bracketed out as relevant knowledge. The Easterners “struck back”, arguing that the debate exhibited power hierarchies in knowledge production and could be viewed as a case of academic neo-colonialism (cf. Čapo 2014 for a review).

Such critical voices rallying against what was perceived as Western academic hegemony have become more concerted recently, and eventually backed by anthropologists coming from the West (or what is perceived as the West). Among others, François Ruegg (2014) has convincingly pleaded for a “deontology of fairness and equality” in academic exchanges across Europe as a prerequisite for dialogue and exchange between different national traditions of doing ethnology/anthropology.

Though limited to European scholars, and thus Europocentric, that debate is part and parcel of other regional attempts to disclose Western hegemony in anthropology. They partake in the postcolonial critique of Western fantasies projected onto native cultures in colonized territories and argue for the need to take native anthropologists’ contributions as relevant knowledge and thus decentre anthropology from its Western bias.

That is quite a task for the social sciences and humanities. On the way to charting “constructive ways forward”, Levitt and Crul point out the necessity of dealing with

³ The historical conditions of the emergence and development of the ethnological and anthropological sciences in different European countries have had an impact on their names, foci and issues studied, as well as on the theoretical frameworks and influences from the disciplines practiced in neighbouring countries and in the centres of global knowledge production.

manifold obstacles. Among others, the homogenizing impact of globalization and neoliberalism, policy-informed and the time-constrained funding of projects, methodological nationalism, bounded disciplinary slots with their specific jargons, and Western epistemological and ontological assumptions. I think that these obstacles are not equally problematic. On the one hand, methodological nationalism has been dominantly overcome in the mainstream social sciences, certainly in anthropology and research into migration issues. On the other hand, in spite of three decades of critiques and appeals for decentring knowledge production, Western scientific assumptions have remained resilient and seem to be the most difficult to deal with because of deeply seated claims to universalism by the Western sciences. As for the funding of projects – and here I can only speak of EU funded social sciences and humanities projects – in addition to being carved out by current societal issues and policy-led, the allocation is also decided upon by economics, i.e. by the monetary contributions of particular countries to the common EU budget. This, again, invokes the omni-present background issue of (economic) power inequalities.

I agree that disciplinary comfort zones exist and prevent dialogue across disciplines. This is less pronounced in some disciplines than in others. I would suggest that this is the case for the two disciplines at the intersection of which I began my encounter with the social sciences – socio-cultural anthropology and demography: in the first this is because of its holistic tendencies and striving for contextualization, in the second this is because of its reliance on theories derived from economics, and from other social sciences. The problems for those unwilling to listen across disciplines are not only unsurmountable conceptual and jargon-related differences, and an unwillingness to leave comfort zones, but also the established power hierarchies between disciplines. These may be articulated differently in different countries.

The list of obstacles can be complicated by adding the issue of language. For – in order to forge a fair and informed international dialogue within and beyond particular disciplines – what language should we use? Or how many languages should we master? If English continues to be the dominant language of academia, this is likely to preserve the existing inequalities and hierarchies of power.

Finally, I find the metaphors the authors use to tackle the problem of Western epistemological and ontological assumptions about human experience inspiring in tracing a path for alternative forms of knowledge production. Conceptualizing foreignness or otherness, as well as managing and incorporating migration and diversity, are indeed historically and socially constructed. Ethnic and religious diversity – and tolerance – were trademarks of Central and South-Eastern Europe well into the twentieth century. After the First World War, the new nation-states that formed on the debris of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires started homogenizing, though that diversity has not been fully lost. Daily, seasonal, long-term migration to other areas in Europe or overseas was an ordinary rather than extraordinary experience for many people. Spreading knowledge about these past social patterns beyond the narrow circles of area specialists (usually historians, with some anthropologists) into mainstream social sciences' and humanities' studies of contemporary mobilities and diversity issues would,

I believe, open up new perspectives for research and bring about a much-needed reflexivity regarding received categories and intellectual genealogies. Some of the migration scholarship, in which Peggy Levitt and Maurice Crul have an exemplary place, has already gone in this direction: appeals and arguments have been made for decentring and “de-migranticizing” migration studies, and for reconceptualizing the role of migrants and post-migrant generations and non-migrants in big cities; there have been calls for rethinking the meaning of “integration” and discussions over which groups should be targeted by integrative measures etc. (Crul and Schneider 2010; Treibel 2015; Nieswand 2016; Dahinden 2016). All of these are excellent examples charting new paths in knowledge production. With proper media support I also see a potential benefit of this novel academic work outside of academia, where it is increasingly necessary to induce a reversal of the currently widespread perception that migration and diversity are threatening for our societies.

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How to Self-Un-Discipline: In Pursuit of Alternative and Experimental Formats

Levitt and Crul’s critique of the conditions of knowledge production forms part of a growing dissatisfaction over work conditions in higher education (see for example two recent issues of the Italian open-access journal *Anuac: Journal of the Italian Society of Cultural Anthropology*, on the “neoliberal academy”).⁴ Their call to search for alternatives is positive and refreshing, as it encourages us to think about ways out of an increasingly audited and regimented academic environment, in which university managers are running universities like corporations, dictating our academic activities and thwarting our academic freedom by valuing what we do only in terms of what it brings financially. Within only a few decades, this has led to a global market of research and teaching, with inequalities between and within university institutions, based on whether one has been socialized and absorbed into this neoliberal system or not, whether one has access to leading international journals in the field, and whether one, as a non-native speaker, has been capable of making the switch to a sophisticated academic English as one’s language of communication.

⁴ <http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/anuac/index>; *Forum. Anthropologists in/of the Neoliberal Academy* 5/1, 2016, <http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/anuac/issue/view/63> and *Forum. Anthropologists Witnessing and Reshaping the Neoliberal Academy* 6/1, 2017, <http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/anuac/issue/view/86>.

To resist these trends is easier said than done, and I do realize that I speak from a privileged position, as I was employed at University College London, a top-ranked and self-declared “global university”, for eighteen years, and now hold a permanent professorial position at a German university. Nevertheless, I know what I am talking about: in the years prior to my move to Germany four years ago, I was told by university managers what research activities to prioritize or forget about (I was advised, for example, to continue my research on the Srebrenica massacre “in my own time”, as I had already published a monograph). Several key research outputs, which I will discuss in detail below, were considered too “risky” and unconventional to be submitted to the REF (Research Excellence Framework) 2014, the system for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. Having escaped these pressures for a number of years now, I am lucky to find myself in a place where I can continue my work on the Srebrenica genocide in a much more supportive, albeit “provincial” environment, and develop new formats of research, teaching, and dissemination as I had started to do in London. My comment will provide a brief overview of my activities, so as to engage with some of the issues mentioned in the text.

The initial trigger to do things differently was my own discomfort with my writing on events in Srebrenica: a local history published as an appendix to the Dutch government-funded report on the Fall of Srebrenica (Duijzings 2002). Although comprehensive and based on four years of intensive research, it still felt “incomplete” in terms of providing a deeper understanding of the events. Also, in spite of my attempts to be balanced, it failed to have the desired impact, that is, to provide an inclusive account that could form the basis for a shared understanding of the war. Even though the report had a huge impact (attracting much media attention and leading to the resignation of the Dutch government), I was rather disappointed (naïvely so) with the limited effects it had in terms of helping to come to terms with a painful past. My first steps towards producing something different was an experimental movie I made with the London-based artist Rastko Novaković, offering a critical and personal reflection on my work in the former Yugoslavia (*Lebensraum | Living Space*, 2009).⁵ The movie was two-and-a-half years in the making, with a script based on the fieldwork diary that I wrote while being in the region during 1992. The movie shows me “performing” my archive of diary entries, stepping out of my office and walking the streets of London (for an elaborate reflection on the movie see Duijzings and Novaković 2016). The movie, while important for me in terms of reflecting on the wars and my work as an anthropologist, was deemed far too unconventional to be included in a standard academic portfolio; it was not REF-able.

The same was true for the *Cities Methodologies* (CM) project, a hybrid event format that I developed around the same time, combining an exhibition of artistic and academic work in the field of urban studies, with artists’ talks and academic debates. It soon became the major annual event of the UCL Urban Laboratory (2008–2016).⁶

⁵ The film can be viewed online at <http://www.rastko.co.uk/lebensraum/>, or downloaded from <https://archive.org/details/LebensraumLivingSpace>.

⁶ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/urbanlab/research/cities-methodologies>.

The idea was to reflect on how knowledge about cities comes about, and how new innovative methods of exploring the fast-changing realities of contemporary urban life can be identified. It showcased new and experimental work by artists and academics across a number of disciplines. It forced participants to reflect on methods and protocols, and on other issues such as collaboration and dissemination. CM, being an open and flexible “creative commons” event format, has been “on offer” for others to replicate elsewhere (as has happened in Bucharest 2010, Belgrade 2016, and Tirana 2018; for Bucharest see Duijzings, Dumitriu and Király 2011). Its strength is and has been that it can accommodate a plurality of local perspectives and urban research and artistic practices. This project was again not REF-able.

The volume *Engaged Urbanism: Cities, Methodologies* (edited together with Ben Campkin; Campkin and Duijzings 2016a) provides a selection of around thirty projects showcased at CM, with brief explanatory essays and supporting visuals. In the introduction to the book (Campkin and Duijzings 2016b), we raise almost the same issues as Levitt and Crul, reflecting on the importance of innovative and experimental practices, and suggesting new ways of doing research in urban contexts. Their assessment that our existing lexicons are “out-of-sync” with current realities, that mainstream scholarship is “off key”, with theories and concepts only being relevant for the Global North, and that new phenomena do not fit into the “old boxes”, resonates strongly with the points we make in our introduction. One of the conclusions we draw is that each city, urban site, or urban phenomenon may need its own specific toolbox of methods, recognizing and validating the special ontological status of individual cities in different parts of the world, each with their own specific features and histories. A key inspiration is the work of the human geographer Jennifer Robinson, who argues for a postcolonial and empirically grounded comparative urbanism that foregrounds case studies from different parts of the world, such as cities from post-socialist Eastern Europe (see for example Robinson 2011, 2016). She emphasizes the intrinsic local embeddedness of our concepts and theoretical endeavours as we shape them in and adapt them to the contexts in which we work, arguing that we should increasingly start “thinking with elsewhere”. New ideas will only emerge if we look beyond existing scholarship that focuses on a few renowned “global cities”, to places where contemporary urban transformations are happening most dramatically, such as in post-socialist cities.

The volume *Engaged Urbanism* is a plea for an experimental turn in urban studies, pushing methodological boundaries and producing new types of data. As we argue in the introduction, this means questioning established methodological habits, loosening up established intellectual and conceptual grids, finding inspiration in the work of artists, and allowing “undisciplined” research practices to be tried and tested. We also argue for a break-down of institutional walls between academic and non-academic environments, in order to bring to light some of these new realities that are silenced or remain obscured in mainstream scholarship. In response to the first issue Levitt and Crul raise, “The questions we ask”, I would like to suggest that we perhaps could or should contemplate suspending the asking of questions, and in-

stead put methods first, reclaiming the space for experimental approaches (deemed perfectly acceptable in the sciences, for example). As I explain in the book, the principle is to reverse the usual research protocol: instead of formulating research questions and identifying the appropriate (standard) data gathering methods, we could choose a more open-ended approach by doing something “out of the box”, applying an unprecedented or innovative method or research protocol, through which entirely new research questions are generated. I will provide an example of this below. As argued in *Engaged Urbanism*,

[t]hrough the employment of alternative and unconventional methods, we can start to insert “local”, “subjective”, “phenomenological”, “psychogeographic”, “idiosyncratic” or “quirky” bits of knowledge into the vestiges of “objective” hegemonic knowledge. (Campkin and Duijzings 2016b: 9)

My suggestions are in line with postcolonial calls to “provincialize” Europe, yet (also) in a different manner than is usually understood. I would like to propose, in anthropology and urban studies at least, not only to shift our attention from Europe to “elsewhere” (outside of Europe), but also to take “provincial” places seriously, that is, to shift attention away from the large metropolitan centres, where most scholarship is produced and consumed, to second-tier cities and smaller towns which are usually ignored by scholars. So in response to the second issue, “The spaces, scales, and geographies we examine”, I suggest that instead of increasing the scale of analysis, we can also reduce the scale in our efforts to counter methodological nationalism. Europe is a very diverse continent, with many “internal” centres and peripheries, with inequalities and discrepancies at every scale of analysis (also within the local context of a city, town, or village). The major division that Levitt and Crul draw on in their paper is between the Global North and South, and although I fully agree that this is a major fault line, we should not ignore the many other divisions that exist, such as between booming capital cities and stagnating mono- and post-industrial towns in eastern and south-eastern Europe (see Duijzings 2018). This has implications for another question Levitt and Crul raise: “What does it really mean to provincialize scholarship?”. Research done by scholars coming from the periphery can be extremely innovative, as Anton Blok shows in his collective biography *Radical Innovators* (2016): truly original research is often done by people who are at the “margins”, at a distance from mainstream academia. Innovation cannot simply be engineered by investing large sums of money into teams and clusters at top universities. Blok’s book runs counter to the conventional wisdom: “far more often, radical innovation in science and art is entirely unscripted, resulting from trial and error by individuals ready to take risks, fail, and start again” (from the synopsis on the book’s back cover).

Levitt and Crul also call for new formats of academic teaching and writing, and here I would like to mention my *Nightlaboratory* project, an urban ethnography project which I started in 2012, exploring the nocturnal city and its diverse but also “invisible” inhabitants together with students and colleagues. I have done this by hanging out on urban streets at night, first in London and later in other cities such as Moscow,

Sofia, Cluj, Budapest, New York, and Bucharest. This fieldwork-at-night is an example of an experimental take on method, subverting the usual diurnal focus in ethnography, without knowing what results to expect. This open-ended strategy of “let’s see what happens” has triggered important new insights. One key finding is that in many cities, not only in a global city like London, but also in smaller cities, the great bulk of night shift work is done by migrants, for instance from Eastern Europe, Africa, or Latin America (in the case of London) or Central Asia (in the case of Moscow), who have huge difficulties accessing the daytime labour market. Another insight is that foreign languages, such as Russian, Turkish, or Romanian, are dominant in the night-time economy, and may become the lingua franca in specific workplaces. This resonates with the point made by Levitt and Crul that contemporary cities are diverse not only in terms of groups and identities, but also in terms of access, memberships and rights. Many long-term residents have no citizenship rights, are not represented in politics (nor in government statistics for that matter), and live marginalized lives, working and living during the night, while sleeping during the day.

As part of the *Nightlaboratory*, I have been experimenting with new formats of ethnographic reporting, disseminating the results of my fieldwork through blog posts (<https://nightlaboratory.wordpress.com/>). I have decided to do this in the self-imposed format of ultrashort observational pieces of 200 words max. The purpose is to offer ethnographic “snapshots” or “stills”, written in a hyper-realist and minimalist style, with the intention of providing readable and accessible ethnography for a wider audience. It offers brief anonymized portraits of night shift workers and other people who inhabit the nocturnal street, providing snippets of conversations we have with them, and of the situations we encounter during our nocturnal fieldwork. This, I assume, is what Levitt and Crul mean by new “curatorial choices” providing alternative formats and envelopes for our research output, not hiding from view our subjects (such as my already highly “invisible” night workers) in a jargon-filled refereed journal protected by a high pay-wall. Even if the blog posts are brief and experimental in format, much time goes into drafting and polishing them.

Also in Regensburg, I do nocturnal fieldwork with students, as part of the ethnographic methods course *Regensburg Nachtschichten* (*Regensburg night shifts*). Students develop their own individual projects, do nocturnal fieldwork or carry out interviews with night shift workers, and present their work in the student blog *Nachtaspekte* (<http://nachtaspekte.tumblr.com/>) in the form of ethnographic vignettes, visual images, and sound recordings. As an exercise in doing fieldwork, I have taken them to a local Bavarian beer festival and fair, where I force them to look behind the facades. Students walk around, talk to people and document the event through sound and image. They learn to perceive this event, which they may have visited themselves with friends for leisure, with different eyes. They look consciously for those people who work at the fair, operate the fairground attractions, and stop and put the machines to rest at the end of the day, when the festival closes down at around midnight. So even if this is a typical “traditional” Bavarian beer festival, the majority of the staff doing the work are East Europeans (Romanians, Poles, Lithuanians, etc.), especially when it comes to the hard physical work of setting up and closing down, cleaning and tidying up.

Let me finish with a last remaining comment on language. Let me say, a bit provocatively perhaps, that in this era of growing xenophobia and illiberalism in the Anglo-Saxon world, it may be about time to “downgrade” English a bit (as the credit rating agencies do with the countries that perform badly with their public finances). I welcome the fact that some anthropology journals, such as the Italian open-access journal *Anuac*, accept contributions in several languages (for *Anuac* this is Italian, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese). Offering more polyglot environments and opportunities is a thing we should encourage in research and teaching, through seminars, workshops, conferences and classes in which different languages can be spoken, and where participants help each other to understand and translate across linguistic boundaries. Trying to read things in languages you might not speak, as Levitt and Crul argue, helps us to develop new concepts and perspectives. Another related issue that is close to my heart is the use of jargon, which the two authors raise under the heading “What does interdisciplinary work really look like?”. Having worked my entire professional life in interdisciplinary environments, I know well that jargon blocks communication across disciplinary boundaries. As I stated recently, I am critical of anthropologists who fail to communicate across the four walls of their discipline (Duijzings 2018). By doing this, we marginalize ourselves, for instance in the urban studies field, where we could adopt a more self-confident and critical position vis-à-vis the other urban disciplines. To communicate effectively with a multidisciplinary audience takes effort and it requires us to explain complicated realities in an accessible language without too much jargon. Only this will help to secure anthropology’s relevance in the public sphere.

By discussing my own exploration of alternative formats, I hope I have provided at least some examples of what can be done, in terms of developing experimental formats and platforms for interdisciplinary exchange, choosing clear and accessible language, and using publishing outlets and formats that reach a wide audience. I am convinced that better results may be achieved by cultivating a much less regimented and more convivial and collaborative ethos in academia.

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Deconstructing and Reconstructing. Embracing Alternative
Ways of Producing, Classifying and Disseminating Knowledge:
An African Perspective

In response to Peggy Levitt and Maurice Crul’s argument, this discussion presents an African perspective to buttress the critical change they call for a recognition of

knowledge production, irrespective of the source. The authors' argument can be summed up as "knowledge knows no boundaries", thereby calling for a dismantling of the cultural, political and social barriers that are firmly in place to guarantee a Western monopoly over knowledge systems. As the African case depicts, other equally valid epistemological systems have existed and continue to exist that give credence to the universality of the production, classification and dissemination of knowledge, as Levitt and Crul request. My discussion points first to what knowledge was already available on the African continent and how such knowledge was pushed to the periphery, notably through the re-organization of African societies (through the idea of nation). Second, this will lead to looking at some alternative ways of seeing, knowing, and explaining, and third, how these notions connect with the transnational and/or global.

As a little boy aged about ten years, I overheard a conversation among my parents and some adults about a man who got entangled in the line on which he was pulling a ram along a path from one village to another. He encountered a storm suddenly, the story went, and wanted to get out of the forest very quickly. During the process he got entangled in the rope exactly at a spot where a huge tree was uprooted by the storm, and was in the process of falling. It crushed both man and ram, killing them instantly.

The young man's entire village was sad at the news of such a sudden, "unnatural" death. The question on many lips was why? "Why did he get entangled at that very time and at that very spot for that particular tree to be uprooted to crush him?" These multiple questions crammed together border on the quest for answers to the cause of the sad episode. Such questions are common among many peoples in Ghana, in Africa, and around the world. In other words, probing for causality is common in Ghanaian and African societies. It would be too simple to dismiss this quest for answers as steeped in superstition. The desire to understand the cause of an event is to certify knowledge, and African societies have always embarked on the mission to search for such knowledge.

What the nation means in the African context and the politics of knowledge

Whereas nations and their borders emerged largely naturally in Europe, the same process in Africa – while originally organic – became artificial during the colonialist era, as it was largely foisted on people already living in the areas concerned, with lines penned on cartographies dividing ethnic groups or amalgamating different ones. Thus arose the many straight lines defining national borders in Africa, dividing peoples and ethnic groups into different political dispensations, thanks to the scramble of European states for Africa, which was thoroughly executed at the Berlin conference of 1884–1885. This historic event, apart from amalgamating and divid-

ing peoples, also accounts for some of the instability some African states and communities experience today.

This was the crux of the European expansion, executed under the auspices of colonialism, that thrived on the subjugation of other peoples, an “Othering” that saw the subdued as sub-human, warranting their mistreatment. The atrocities the Germans perpetrated among the Herero of Namibia, or Belgian barbarisms in the Congo, and the penultimate transatlantic slave trade, all still undergird social relations in today’s transnational, global world, and are but examples emanating from this “Othering”.

This experience of “Othering” and of Africa’s general exploitation by the West characterizes V. Y. Mudimbe’s work *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and Order of Knowledge* (1988). The heart of this work is about colonialism that effected a re-organization and re-arrangement of African societies “into fundamentally European constructs” (Mudimbe 1988: 1). Indeed, a similar but qualitatively different encounter between the West and the Orient would lead Edward Said to write his *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978). Said argues, in the main, that the Orient is Europe’s “deepest and most recurring images of the Other” (Said 1978: 1). According to Ali A. Mazrui (2005: 68), both authors are whistle-blowers against ideologies of Otherness. While Mudimbe calls this Otherness “alterity”, Said refers to it as “Orientalism”. Suffice to say that the European outlook on other regions of the world, notably Africa and the Orient, has left some devastating cataclysms in its wake, resulting in a destruction or disregard for cultural achievements or epistemologies in pre-European Africa, for instance. In fact, the dejection inherent in Europe’s “othering” would deem cultural or epistemological achievement to be impossible to have existed on the continent.

Consequently for example, credit is naturally given to the nineteenth century French scholar Auguste Comte as the founder of sociology as a scientific discipline, while scanty references are made to the pioneering work of the fourteenth century Islamic scholar Ibn Khaldun. Ibrahim Boolaky (1994: 74) has argued that

Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332–1406) long ago demonstrated some key analytical methods in the study of traditional settlements. In fact, he was the first in world history to put forward the theory of cyclical development of society, and he also initiated the thesis that the city represents the stronghold of urban life, constantly under threat of fresh influxes of people from the countryside.

Boolaky opines that “Ibn Khaldun acquired his ideas for environmental analysis mainly from the knowledge of politics, economics, sociology and technology”, which “helped him to develop some scientific methods for the study of human settlements” (ibid.). The intentional relegation of Ibn Khaldun to obscurity points to the politics of knowledge in our world.

Indeed, the politics of knowledge with regard to Africa or peoples of African descent, which seeks to posit knowledge as a preserve of the West, is not limited to the colonial experience alone. The great but unsung contributions of Africans at home

and in the diaspora to the development of social thought or sociology as such comes to mind. A good case in point is W. E. B. Du Bois who lies buried in Accra, Ghana, a hero in the establishment of his little-known Atlanta School of Sociology whose limelight was usurped by the Chicago School. Most students of sociology know about the Chicago School but not the Atlanta School. In his book *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, Aldon D. Morris (2015) has demonstrated how the scholarship of Du Bois, who established the Atlanta School and was in the vanguard of contributing to the development of American Sociology, was edged out because of power, economics and race. Arriving at Atlanta University in 1897, Du Bois would eventually build what Morris (2015: 93) refers to as “America’s first scientific school of sociology” whose “hallmarks” were “scholarship and teaching”. Thus, according to Morris, the claim of the Chicago School’s primacy is inaccurate and fictitious. Such politics, which are characteristic of knowledge, and of who is behind which knowledge system, provide the foundation for our discussion.

So did knowledge not exist in African societies before the European expansion? Not infrequently, the oldest university in the world has been misconstrued to be the University of Bologna. Onigu Otite (1978: 15) counteracts such a view by pointing out that two “categories of university traditions are distinguishable in Africa”, the “ancient indigenous African universities” and the second university tradition introduced in Africa in the nineteenth century. Examples of the ancient universities include the University of Kairouine in Fez, Morocco, established in 857 AD, the Al Azhar University in Cairo in 972 AD, and the University of Sankore in Timbuctu that thrived between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries until the Moroccan invasion in 1590. The second university tradition in Africa started in the nineteenth century with the founding of Fourah Bay College in 1827, with others following after World War Two. They were part of the colonization process, and are European in character.

Obviously, people had to survive in their environment and had no choice but to develop knowledge or epistemological systems as a necessity for their survival. Africa is said to have been the cradle of human life, and from the beginning with hunting and gathering, to the development of agriculture and trade, humans had to develop some social thought. This process is concerned with the ideas of human beings as they relate to one another in their environment. The knowledge thus generated is a product of the interaction among people, their social heritage or culture and their physical environment (Otite 1978: 1). Examples include “the early development of the mathematical sciences by the Egyptians in their concern with the control of the floods of the River Nile and of all agricultural and other activities in the Nile valley” (ibid.), and the knowledge system that underpinned the “NOK culture and the carvings of the Bini and Ife peoples of Nigeria” (ibid.: 4). It should be no surprise, therefore, that the knowledge base on the continent had developed so far and early enough to warrant centres of learning, and even universities. This means that there have been and still exist epistemological systems on the African continent.

Rather than think of alternative epistemologies as a kind of antithesis to a “dominant epistemology” (Mills 1988) enacted by means of the politics of knowledge measured by an overriding Western canon, I propose that alternative epistemologies be understood as other ways of knowing, which are equally universal. Alternative epistemological systems refer to unique ways of knowing and theorizing about the world, from an African perspective, for example. Epistemologies are knowledge systems that explain being, beliefs and aspirations, indeed the general way of life of a people. All groups of people have their unique way of life, meaning their culture, thereby developing their own ideas through which to give expression to their existence. Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar (2007: 386) suggest that “African modes of thought [...] have validity, meaning that not only do all people have a right to think about the world in whatever way they choose, but that modes of perception unfamiliar to Western observers may – in theory, at least – be of universal application”.

Hountondji (2009: 4–5) has observed that “African philosophy should not be conceived as an implicit worldview unconsciously shared by all Africans”. Rather, it is “quite simply philosophy done by Africans”. He points out “a contradiction in Western philosophy”, which “while thinking of itself as the most self-conscious of all intellectual disciplines”, assumes at the same time “that some non-Western philosophies could be self-unconscious”. He urges African scholars to formulate “original sets of problems” to realise “an autonomous, self-reliant process of knowledge production and capitalisation that enables us to answer our own questions and meet both the intellectual and the material needs of African societies” (ibid.: 9). Such an endeavour builds on and extends existing knowledge within a system of alternative epistemologies like any other. Knowledge systems in Africa have sought to explain peoples’ general ways of life, their being, beliefs, and aspirations. Just as with any other groups of people, then, Africans have their culture or unique way of life, expressed in ways they sanction. This suggests that Africans had indigenous ideas for making sense of and explaining their origin (being), their life (existence) and the unknown (beliefs). These key ideas characterize the histories of various African societies. To this end, Africans had and still have their own understanding of the human person, the meaning of existence, the importance of religion along with the concept of God, and the meaning of death.

Examples of alternative epistemologies in Africa subsist in old human institutions, for example, such as medical systems or political organization. Knowledge of plant medicine was vital to the survival of peoples on the continent, without which most populations would most probably have succumbed very quickly to disease. Disease had either a physical or spiritual cause, or both, and so medical practice expressed such knowledge. The presence of chieftaincy or the position of the earth priest depict differing forms of political organization or political systems, and which kind of society practiced which type of political system. Yoruba sculpture, for example, depicts a hierarchy in political and religious organization. Agricultural practices such as shifting cultivation portray knowledge on the fertility or infertility of the soil, warranting a complex irrigation system along the Nile or the cultivation of rice in

swampy areas among the rice growing people of Bkpɛle, Balɛ, and Mawu (of Akpafu and Lolobi), for example, in the middle belt of the Volta Region of Ghana. Other agricultural practices that debar the cultivation of particular plots of land point to respect for the environment.

In recent times, Aimé Césaire and Léopold Senghor have developed the idea of *La Négritude*, and in spite of Frantz Fanon's critique, Kwame Nkrumah championed the idea of Pan-Africanism by building on the works of others like Henry Sylvester-Williams, while Odera Oruka has seen in Sage Philosophy the presence of the philosophical endeavour among African peoples.

Some examples of alternative ways of seeing, knowing, and explaining

African epistemologies were transmitted in various ways. One mode was obviously by means of mnemonic devices, such as proverbs, songs (Tvedtnes 1969), folklore, poems, and short and witty sayings. Some of these continue to exist today and reflect an array of ideas, values and cultural aspirations in seeing, knowing and explaining the African worldview. Their major setback was that they were transferred orally rather than in writing, the process of which itself cannot deny the knowledge base of these means.

There is further evidence supporting the fact that there were volumes of scholarly scripts indigenous to Africa prior to the advent of European influence. Indeed, books have been found in Egypt, and scripts discovered in Ethiopia and Morocco, some dating from 4000 BCE. Some of them contain various theories and explanations about African beliefs and ways of life. This discovery provides empirical evidence denouncing the long-held assumption that the African continent was a primordial preliterate society until the arrival of Europeans. Shemsw Bak (2016) has made an invaluable example available in *Smi n skhty pn: Multilingual Translation of a 4,000-year-old-African Story*. Led by Ayi Kwei Armah, the Shemsw Bak working group is making such a wealth of knowledge about ancient Africa available today through the transliteration and translation of ancient Egyptian texts in several languages. *Smi n skhty pn* reveals social stratification in ancient Egypt, corruption in the form of the exploitation of the downtrodden depicted in a peasant farmer by a state official who had blocked a public road, and who intended to seize the former's property unlawfully. The peasant farmer's oratory, however, achieves justice for him before the pharaoh and his court, the last instance of justice in their society.

Kings, queens, chiefs and their courts, with their justice system, have thus been part of many African societies for a long time. The art of argument and consultation is known in African society, sometimes dubbed "consulting the old woman" (*Ewu* in Sɛkpɛle, *abrewa* in Akan, *mama* in Ewe) for her wisdom to enable the elders to adjudicate in a difficult case. These point to the resolution of conflict, implying that concepts such as corruption, justice/injustice, conflict/harmony, and ultimately

good/evil, have all been part of the repertoire of African epistemologies. Indeed, such knowledge is universal, contrary to what an overbearing Western canon with its self-preference would like to make us believe.

How these notions connect with the transnational and/or global

Given that every society has its own epistemologies, why should only a Western canon dictate knowledge when various cultures have proven themselves capable of possessing their own epistemologies? It is obvious that colonization and its cultural hegemony made this possible while the neo-colonialist agenda continues to perpetuate this tendency. The West itself is aware that it has no monopoly over knowledge, otherwise it would not have been enamoured with works of art from Africa, for example. What else would explain why such works were looted from the African continent? There are myriad examples of Benin art, Ethiopian, Egyptian and others, which are on full display in Western museums and in their storage facilities. These institutions are still clinging on to the said artefacts and offer all kinds of reasons to circumvent the unethical dispossession of their rightful owners, and the West's unlawful possession of them. It is one of the areas where Western logic and ethics are defied by sentiments of power and greed.

Activists are clamouring for the return of these works of art to their homelands. Dr. Kwame Opoku is one of these indefatigable voices (see his blog in the references). Indeed, President Macron has seen reason in the French not holding on to them any longer, but it is yet to be seen how words can be backed by actions (*New York Times*, 29 November 2017). As the *Guardian* newspaper (3 April 2018) reports, "Treasures including a gold crown and a royal wedding dress, which were taken from Ethiopia by the British 150 years ago, could be returned to Africa by the Victoria and Albert Museum on long-term loan". Could this be the beginning of repatriation?

The recognition of alternative epistemologies would engender a symbiosis of ideas in our globalizing world, a cross-fertilization of epistemologies in a transnational circulation or exchange of knowledge that is indigenous to different societies, but meant for the benefit of humanity. So far, globalization has proven to be to the advantage of a few and to the disadvantage of the majority. If this were not the case, why is the majority of citizens in the global North silent, giving tacit approval to their countries' holding on to hijacked springs of knowledge from Africa in their museums? Francis B. Nyamnjoh has argued that the "Western epistemological export" has deepened the chasm between the "West and the rest" (2004: 163). He points out the weaknesses of Western epistemology to include limiting

reality to appearances, which it then seeks to justify (without explaining) with meta-narratives claiming objectivity and a more epistemologically secure truth status. Under this kind of epistemology, reality is presented as anything

whose existence has, or can be, established in a rational, objective manner, with universal laws operating only in perceived space and time. (ibid.)

According to him, “such a perspective has resulted in an insensitive pursuit of a *physique sociale*” in the social sciences, “informed almost exclusively by what the mind (Reason) and/or the hierarchy of senses (sight, taste, touch, sound, smell) tell us about society and social relationships”. Such an epistemology has inspired a science that tends to “celebrate dichotomies, dualisms, teleologies and analogies, dismissing anything that does not make sense in Cartesian or behaviourist terms, confining to religion and metaphysics what it cannot explain and disqualifying as non-scientific more inclusive epistemologies”. This attitude has rendered the world to be “perceived and presented as dichotomous: there is the real and the unreal”, whereby the “real is the rational, the natural, the physical and the scientific; the unreal is the irrational, the supernatural, the religious, the metaphysical and the subjective”. The logic of this epistemology is simply “if truth is one and universal, then there should be a one best way of attaining it; and those who have been there before are the best guides of the rest still in search of truth” (ibid.: 163–164).

The heart of Nyamnjoh’s argument is that the emphasis of Western epistemology is on *what* questions rather than *why* questions, steeped in “ideology and hegemony”, thereby limiting “critical thinking even as it celebrates Cartesian rationalism” (ibid.: 164). He makes the case for popular epistemologies in Africa, which make room for *why* questions where “reality is more than meets the eye; it is larger than logic”. Consequently, unlike

the rigid dichotomies of the dominant epistemological import from the West, the popular epistemologies of Africa build bridges between the so called natural and supernatural, physical and metaphysical, rational and irrational, objective and subjective, scientific and superstitious, visible and invisible, real and unreal, explainable and inexplicable, thereby making it impossible for anything to be one without also being the other. (ibid.: 166)

A complementarity between Western and African epistemologies can, indeed just as with other epistemologies, only be enriching in our transnational/globalizing world. This is exactly what Peggy Levitt and Maurice Crul’s argument on decentring knowledge seeks to achieve. Their call could not have come at a better time when hope seems to be losing ground in the face of the rather severe centring narratives and right-wing politics of division emanating from some of the world’s very important metropolises.

Conclusion

Returning to the episode of the young man who was crushed to death by the tree under the bizarre circumstances of being caught in the web of a rope, the simple answer

to the cause of death is that it was an accident. However, looking at it as more than an accident opens up the opportunity for other possible explanations. This opportunity presents the prospect of understanding the cosmology of the young man's world by means of alternative ways of seeing, knowing, and explaining reality.

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Words and Questions: The Category/Governance Complex in Social Science Knowledge-Making

After my initial reading of the article by Levitt and Crul I was overcome by a combination of exhaustion and refusal. I felt too tired to think about how to reconstruct knowledge, to create new words, to devise new methods, or to participate in the formation of new institutions. Like many university-based academics I am continually aware of a need to do so, but I felt singularly unenthusiastic about such a project. The ordinary fatigue of workload and the daily assault of global political events were enough to resist their call.

I wondered what I could possibly say. Acutely aware that our knowledge is contaminated by empire, that our words imprison, abuse, disappear and silence, and that our methods, well intentioned for sure, are often pretentious, I was mindful that never being free from grappling with all of this felt exhausting enough. And then another darkness passed over me. The darkness of the time of now. At a time when the world's clambering fascism seems to be approaching faster than we dare countenance, when global racism implicates itself in a malaise of acceptance about the inevitability of its everyday persecution of others and otherness, the call to create a new world of knowledge and methods felt overly hefty (in the face of exhaustion) and exceedingly infinitesimal (in the face of global racism and its portending tyranny).

This is the scene upon which the thoughtful piece by Levitt and Crul touches down. Theirs is a dispassionate call for academics to rethink how we might produce new ways of knowledge-making alongside the power of the hegemonic categories of "assimilation", "integration", "development", and "social inclusion". The power and pervasiveness of these categories seem all around to authorize fascist sentiment, permit and encourage a loathing of migrants and refugees, demand borders, walls, trade wars, austerity and genocide. Levitt and Crul issue a plea and a challenge to chart new and potentially positive – or at least (re)constructive – ways to move forward. Feeling ill qualified by outlook and demeanour to creatively or productively meet this challenge, I have taken it as an opportunity to reflect on my languorous response

by trying to explain the conjuncture of my new research, its location and its motivations. I endeavour to place this complex into the problematic posed by Levitt and Crul.

I write from Australia, where the foundational violence of this nation – the dispossession, massacre and attempted “elimination” of Indigenous people – persists. This violence persists in the structure and character of the nation. As the late eminent scholar, Patrick Wolfe, astutely observed, settler colonialism “destroys to replace”, and it is “eliminatorily but not invariably genocidal” (2006: 390). It does not, he argues, summarily liquidate Indigenous people, but it structures itself on their elimination. “Structural genocide” he posits, more fittingly captures the quality of invasion as the constitutive structure of the settler colonial nation (ibid.: 403). Because settler colonizers come to stay, invasion, with its logic of elimination, is a structure not an event. Its persistence is palpable in Australian political and cultural life.

In May 2017 the First Nations National Constitutional Convention delivered their *Uluru Statement from the Heart* (2017) to the Australian nation. It is a profound and urgent message to the government and the people, outlining the grounds for the future participation of Indigenous Australians in agreement-making and constitutional change. History, truth telling, the “torment of our powerlessness” and the recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty and “Makarrata” (peace-making after dispute) are its basis. After more than two centuries of “structural genocide” they offer this: “We invite you to walk with us in a movement of the Australian people for a better future.” The Prime Minister swiftly and formally rejected the recommendations to move towards a national Indigenous representative body in Parliament on the grounds that it is neither “desirable [n]or capable of winning acceptance”. Invasion logic and the desire for elimination persist.

As I write, a newly elected politician, in his first speech to Parliament quoted Gramsci’s approach to cultural revolution as responsible for the rise of “nanny state meddlers” and “cultural Marxists”, and their subversion and attempted re-engineering of the nation’s “values”. In addition to condemning immigration policies, refugee and migrant settlement and welfare policies, he focused most strongly on the migration/values nexus: “In order for us to remain the nation that we are now, those who come here need to assimilate and integrate”, and after a few more breaths he arrived at his crux, “historically, however, the one immigrant group here and in other Western nations that has consistently shown itself to be the least able to assimilate and integrate is Muslims”, to which he proposed a *final solution*. “The final solution to the immigration problem is, of course, a popular vote” (Anning 2018). To be sure, popular and political outrage ensued, but this was largely limited to the “final solution” phrase and not to the substance of his anti-immigration, race baiting rhetoric which has become integral to the permissible hate that currently circulates. As one political figure noted of Australia, “Five years ago, when I began my term as Race Discrimination Commissioner, I wouldn’t have said it was likely that we would see the resurgence of far-right politics. I wouldn’t have expected that the biggest threats to racial harmony would come from within our parliaments and media”

(Soutphommasane 2018). Moreover, Indigenous people continue to remind us that targeted race laws, impossibly high rates of Indigenous incarceration and deaths in custody, are evidence enough that race discrimination is alive and well.

I present the above as a broad brush of the context within which I respond to the call by Levitt and Crul. I think about this call in relation to my scholarly context in Australia where race and racism loom large, evidenced by government and media generated panic and outrage about “African gangs”, claims that multiculturalism encourages ethnic separatism, alarm about Chinese investment and its potential influence in Australia, calls for policy to disallow Muslim immigration, and warnings that Australia will be “swamped” by refugees and asylum seekers if we weaken the current regime of incarcerating and banishing those who arrive at our shores. To be sure, while this context is local, its character is not exclusively Australian. That this atmosphere and political landscape is shared by many who might be reading and responding speaks to both the difficulties of and the resistance to the demanding labour of thinking about how to bring about effective or impactful changes to knowledge-making, beyond what is already occurring.

I work as an interdisciplinary anthropologist and gender studies scholar with a focus on gender and cultural difference, particularly on the relationship between people’s everyday lives and the controversies that are addressed to them. These controversies include forced marriage, religious devotion and women’s rights, Muslim women in public space, and most recently and as a new focus of my research, the renewed attention by the law, media and advocacy groups to the practices corralled under the banner of “Female Genital Mutilation”. In Australia, the U.K., the U.S. and in some African countries, prosecutions against these practices are intensifying. In Australia and the U.K., where laws banning and criminalizing the practices referred to as FGM have been in force for more than two decades, and despite several long and harrowing attempts to prosecute, not one successful conviction has been achieved. In Australia there is strong nexus between immigration, claims that the practices are travelling with migrants into non-practicing countries, the introduction or strengthening of laws, and the renewed interest in prosecuting.

The anthropologist Saida Hodžić has recently pointed out in her excellent book, *The Twilight of Cutting* (2017), that this is an historical moment in which the practices that fall under the rubric of FGM are waning. This waning, however, is accompanied by the representation of FGM as an “intractable” problem. Hodžić asks, “what does it mean that while cutting is ending, the discourse of ‘intractable FGM’ is on the rise?” (Hodžić 2017: xii). The rise of “intractable FGM” raises questions about “who cannot let go of FGM?” (ibid.: 333), and for whom is this discourse intractable? This is an important call to inquire after the motivations, forms and effects of this renewed attention to these practices, particularly in countries of migration where communities have been living for more than 25 years, and where research demonstrates scant evidence of the practices occurring (Vaughan et al. 2014) and changed commitments among community members to the practices (Johnsdotter and Essén 2016).

Levitt and Crul remind us that knowledge is bound by categories that become “sites of governance”, and ask us to consider this category/governance complex by attending to “what is silenced and what is said out loud” through these categories and “what is obscured, hiding in plain sight, or given centre stage”. We are challenged to create “new words, new methods, new institutions”.

Female Genital surgeries, procedures, and operations, now branded through the dominant idiom of “FGM”, is an example *par excellence* of being bound not just by categories such as assimilation, but by a governance that is increasingly legitimated and secured through the binding power of one word – the word of *mutilation*. It seems impossible now, forty years after its introduction to the global lexicon, to overestimate the powerful semantic effects of *mutilation*. The deployment of this word as part of the assimilation/governance nexus has driven the creation of laws, policies, politics, discourses and cultures. Mutilation is therefore a word of tremendous biopolitical power. I now briefly present something of the hegemonic framing and governing power of this word as it plays out in Australia (and elsewhere) today. I hold in mind the call of Levitt and Crul as I do so.

A brief story of mutilation

The action of mutilating or being mutilated. The infliction of serious damage on something. Inflict a violent and disfiguring injury on... “maimed, mutilated, lopped off”. (*Oxford Dictionary*)

Mutilation was introduced by Western, English speaking, white feminists at the juncture of two important moments in the 1970s. Western sexologists had determined that the clitoris was crucial to female orgasm, and radical feminism was positioning itself as a global force. Fran Hosken, an American feminist, activist and writer along with her radical feminist allies, advocated *a new attitude* to the circumcision of girls, dramatically transforming the way genital ritual practices would be understood and responded to. The terminology of mutilation was introduced in the highly cited *The Hosken Report: Genital and Sexual Mutilation of Females* (1982). At the World Conference on Women in July 1980, Hosken called for a new global knowledge of mutilation as “emblematic of all women’s suffering under patriarchy” (Boddy 1998: 89). While African delegates to the conference boycotted Hosken’s session on the grounds that her perspective was ethnocentric, offensive, and insensitive to African women (Boyle 2002: 47 in Johnsdotter and Mestre i Mestre 2017), activist efforts following the conference resulted in an increasing acceptance of the term *mutilation*. Objections to the word mutilation continued among scholars, feminists and activists who were sharply sensitive to its ethnocentrism and racism, but eventually it triumphed. *Mutilation* is now the established term, and it successfully “forges a single decontextualized fact out of diverse practices and meanings and imbues it with specific moral and ideological outrage” (Boddy 1998: 80).

Since the 1990s, the “global campaign” (Shweder 2002) against the practices has actively divorced itself from the original public health and community education approach to the practices, shifting rather to a human rights and legal paradigm (Shell-Duncan 2008). In the 1990s the World Health Organization formally adopted the term “female genital mutilation”, shaping its policies and other interventions through this language. Governments in Europe followed, changing the terminology in existing laws banning the practice, to refer expressly to mutilation. In 1993 at the UN Conference on Human Rights, “Female Genital Mutilation” was classified as a form of violence against women, thus situating it under the purview of international law.

The temporal link between the renewed focus on the language of mutilation (which has inspired the hasty enactment of laws and prosecutions), and the migration of refugees from the Horn of Africa in the 1990s, is significant. It was during this time that a rapid and clumsy introduction of laws occurred in Australia, amidst a panic about children being subjected to the practices (Rogers 2003). This evident “necessity” for legislation to protect the girl children of immigrant women, received further legitimacy and greater urgency after September 2001. Joining up the language of women’s rights, and “harmful cultural practices”, a new “moral crusade” to save and protect Muslim women (Abu-Lughod 2013; Boddy 1998) was advanced through the language of feminism.

Mutilation thus can be grasped less as a description and more as a biopolitical technology of laws, moral outrage and punitive regimes. It zealously “establishes and polices boundaries and borders between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between proper and improper bodies” (Sullivan 2007: 400), between those who belong to the civilized world of sexual freedoms, and those who are coerced by or trapped in cultures of abuse and denigration.

Judging mutilation in Australia

Mutilation has created laws, subjects, and practices. And “the law, while claiming to perceive the truth of a practice, in fact constitutes that practice, and those who participate in it” (Sullivan 2007: 397). This is the challenge of creating new words. Naming something makes it visible; moreover, that something becomes known principally through that name. This is an important aspect of all transformative political and knowledge-making projects. For example, sexual violence and rape in war, renamed as a “weapon of war”, produced new knowledge about the gendered strategies of war. Translating women’s claims to equality and inclusion through the maxim of “women’s rights as human rights” also produced new ways of seeing. There is always a politics to such naming and knowledge-making projects. Mutilation was crucial to new policies as it also motivated new laws and the “modernizing” of old ones to incorporate the word mutilation, but as Sullivan (2007) notes, the political credentials of this naming can also be suspect: anti-FGM legislation distinguishes “between barbarism and propriety – between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (ibid.: 400). Mutila-

tion as *horror* affectively congeals a racialized otherness and its others. These others are made horrible. When this plays out in law as it recently has in Australia, the harshness of the consequences raises serious questions about where the harms of mutilation lie.

In 2012 three people were charged with the crime of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in New South Wales, Australia. In 2015 they were found guilty. The convictions resulted from the case known as *Magennis and Vaziri*. Two of the convicted served 11 months in home detention and the third spent three months in prison (released from the full sentence when an appeal against the judgement was lodged). In the absence of any evidence of harm to the two young girls in question, including no evidence of injury, cut, nick or mutilation, the defendants, including the girls' mother, were found to have committed the crime of *Female Genital Mutilation*.

The Prosecution argued that a midwife had been employed to perform a ritual "excision", that the mother had consented to this and that she was present during the act. The Imam associated with the family's community (The Dawoodi Bohra) was found to be an accessory after the fact. The Defence argued that only a touch to the genitals had occurred, and that no trauma to the skin – no incision in the flesh – had taken place. Therefore, what was specifically in dispute was whether what had happened could be considered "mutilation" (Rogers 2016). In order to establish that FGM had taken place, the Crown was obliged to prove that the girls' genitals had been "mutilated". The case proceeded despite the fact that the prosecution's own medical expert acknowledged that there was no evidence of any injury or of any procedure having been performed. Two additional doctors from the Royal Children's Hospital, who conducted ultrasound examinations, also concluded that there was no evidence of injury to the girls. Without evidence of injury, the clause in the legislation that expands to "or otherwise mutilates" was mentioned by the judge in his instructions to the jury (see Rogers 2016).

Following years of intense personal surveillance leading up to the trial, scrutiny by police and social workers, the insertion of phone taps and secret recording devices in their cars and homes, and after serving several months of home detention during which the mother of the girls was only allowed to take her three-year-old to a park for five minutes a day, the defendants appealed the conviction. On 10 August 2018, three years after the trial and six years after the original charges, the convictions were quashed on appeal and acquittals were entered on *all counts*. A finding of a *potential miscarriage of justice* based on new medical evidence was entered.

While FGM laws were introduced with aim of preventing harm, the failure of all attempts in Australia (and also in the U.K.) to enforce these laws suggest the need for serious consideration of the harms associated with the laws themselves. What are the effects of such laws on the communities subjected to them? What harms are the laws themselves perpetuating? The research I am currently engaged in is not motivated by a desire to eliminate the practices known as FGM, nor to argue against the laws, rather it asks after the impact of legislation on the women and community members it targets, and the concomitant effects of racialized popular and state discourse about

the dangerous presence of these people and their practices in our society. Following Hodžić (2017) we also ask why, when there is a worldwide decline in the practice, is there such a renewed and punishing legal and political campaign.

On new words and new knowledge

Mutilation, its uses, its power, effects and its harms emerge as a serious problem in my research. This word originated from a process which deliberately set out to deconstruct and reconstruct a range of contextually specific genital and bodily practices, that emerge from and produce social, cultural and religious meaning, kin and social relations, persons, politics, obligations and burdens. Mutilation thus has a reconstructive power that collapses all of this into horror and torture. It might be argued therefore that reconstruction rather than deconstruction offers no guarantees of anything, let alone the sort of change we might like to think that our knowledge-making ways might contribute to. What is even more gloomy here (from my perspective) is that the word *mutilation* relied on feminist arguments to secure its championed disruptive force.

Since the 1990s mutilation has served powerfully to consolidate dense boundaries between the civilized and the uncivilized on the basis of those who can demonstrate a commitment to equality between men and women and those whose beliefs, practices and laws are based on opposition to sexual freedom and liberal democratic values. Mutilation has made anti-FGM advocacy, laws against the practice, and surveillance of practicing communities an indisputable good. Any questioning of this approach is suspect at a minimum, and an unequivocal wrong at the extreme.

Mutilation has generated a global discursive recognition that FGM is a serious social problem in need of urgent action. But what, as Levitt and Crul ask, has been silenced by this amplification of mutilation. What is obscured or hiding in plain sight? As others have pointed out, mainly in relation to the wearing of the Islamic veil or burka, mutilation obscures not only the range and arguable harmlessness of some of the practices crowded under its name, but also an increasing discrepancy between the horror of the practice and the evidence that it is actually happening in the places where prosecutions are occurring. But the stakes are even higher as this lack of evidence is once more reconstructed, this time through the rhetoric of hidden, concealed and secret practices. Almost every study that addresses the prevalence of the practice among migrant communities in the West, is able to claim nothing more conclusive than the lack of any reliable evidence that the practices are occurring. This is almost universally followed by research results that claim that because the practices follow migrants from the practicing countries as they settle in places like Europe, the U.K., North America and Australia they must therefore be found (see Sureshkumar et al. 2016). The lack of evidence is thus converted to surveillance and reporting regimes designed to discover its prevalence.

When Abu-Lughod (2013) speaks about a global “commonsense” that fuels “moral crusades” to save women from the dangers of culture, religion and their associated practices, she asks further about how we might engage with sensitive issues in ways that do not stigmatize entire communities. She asks, as do Levitt and Crul, what do the existing approaches prevent us from seeing? In this vein I ask what mutilation prevents us from seeing. Moreover, could it be that mutilation is increasingly deployed as an instrument to prevent us from seeing? Thus, I stutter on my contingent claim as either or both defence and resistance, that finding new words is not an emancipatory knowledge-making project in itself. As we can see here, it depends on who uses these new words, for what purposes, for or against whom, and in what contexts. I am convinced we need to proceed with our critical knowledge-making projects but with some reserve about our capacity to influence and with a great deal of analytical clarity about the appropriative power of the forces working against us. I think many scholars are doing this already, but we might all do it better.

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Enriching the Academic Canon: From Singing One Tune to Embracing Multivocality

Prelude

[... *A short introduction to succeeding movements*]

Let me start by thanking the editorial team of *Etnološka tribina* for inviting me to react to the piece by Levitt and Crul. It is significant that this plea for a fundamental reconsideration and reorganization of knowledge production, classification and dissemination is published here and not in one of the currently dominant Anglo-Saxon journals. I respond to the ideas put forward from my privileged position as a European anthropologist who was trained in Western countries (Belgium, the U.K. and the USA) but who has lived and worked on various continents. It would have been nice if Levitt and Crul had also included a brief reflection on how their own positionalities (education, age, gender, race, nationality, etc.) within the global system they are criticizing informs their reasoning. While I agree with the main thrust of the argument, for the sake of further dialogue I focus on the points that I want to see elaborated or where I respectfully disagree. Because Levitt and Crul's piece is written

from a generic social sciences and humanities perspective, I make the issues at stake more concrete by giving examples from my own discipline, anthropology.

Ricerca

[... *An exploration of the permutations of a given motif*]

As Levitt and Crul acknowledge, their ideas inscribe themselves in a tradition of scholarly work within critical theory and postcolonial studies. Anthropologists are familiar with the “crisis of representation” (or the “reflexive turn”) that beset their discipline. This shift was brought about by “decolonization, anti-imperialist struggles, the civil rights movement, and the rise of Third World nationalisms” (Ribeiro and Escobar 2006: 7). These societal changes made scholars in the dominant centres of knowledge production reflect on their scientific praxis and consider “alter-native” paradigms (Saillant, Kilani and Graezer Bideau 2011).

One such framework is termed world anthropologies, “an approach intended to de-essentialize anthropology and to pluralize anthropological inquiry by building on non-hegemonic anthropological practices” (Escobar 2008: 12). Not surprisingly, this line of thinking was largely developed outside the Anglo-Saxon academic world. In 2001, a group of engaged anthropologists, the majority from Latin America, launched the *Red de Antropologías del Mundo – World Anthropologies Network* (WAN 2003). The world anthropologies agenda they propose is deeply influenced by an awareness of hierarchical relations in knowledge production marked by the historical construction of canons of expertise established by the powers-that-be (Ribeiro and Escobar 2006).

In 2004, the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA) was founded in Brazil. The aim of the WCAA is to promote worldwide communication and cooperation in anthropology (bypassing existing hegemonic structures). Interestingly, the American Anthropological Association (AAA), the largest and most powerful anthropological association in the world, was very quick to embrace the idea of world anthropologies. The various contributions to the World Anthropologies section of their flagship journal, *American Anthropologist*, and the long bibliography compiled by the AAA’s Committee on World Anthropologies (CWA 2016) showcase the various directions in which world anthropologies have been taken.

I mention this fragment of recent disciplinary history here because at the heart of Levitt and Crul’s piece is a displeasure with the current way in which scholarly knowledge is produced, classified and disseminated. Language remains a crucial barrier (Kuwayama 2014). In anthropology, the WCAA has put a lot of energy into pluralizing the dissemination of anthropological knowledge on a global level. It has done so through (1) multilingual thematic webinars (<https://www.wcaanet.org/events/webinar/>); (2) *Déjà Lu*, an online journal that republishes articles in multiple languages from WCAA member associations (<https://www.wcaanet.org/>

dejalu/); and (3) *In One's Own Terms*, an online channel “for the World Anthropologies to express themselves in their own languages” (https://www.wcaanet.org/publications/propios_terminos.shtml).

Levitt and Crul only mention language in passing. Their list of references is remarkable. First, all works cited are in English (although some are translations), going against the plea to “trying to read in languages you might not speak”. Second, the scholars from the “Global South” are, or were, all based in hegemonic academic institutions in the U.S. (Edward Said, Talal Assad, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Gayatri Spivak, Walter Mignolo and Alejandro Portes), the U.K. (Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall) or France (Frantz Fanon). Only Ashis Nandy remained based in India and Nestor Garcia Canclini moved from Argentina to Mexico, but both spent considerable amounts of their academic lives on fellowships in Europe and the USA. So, ironically, the only remaining voice from “the South” is not a scholar but a Brazilian poet, Oswald de Andrade.

I bring this up to point to the necessity of developing a dynamic and processual approach to knowledge production, classification and dissemination. When talking about the power of academic knowledge, it is far too simplistic to think in terms of North and South. There are peripheries in the North, and the South has centres too. Moreover, scholars are among the more mobile professional categories (Spivak L'Hoste and Hubert 2012). Many academics from the “Global South” were educated and trained in the “Global North” (and some never returned). Even those who moved not once outside their academic periphery have been disproportionately confronted with knowledge produced in hegemonic academic institutions throughout their education and career (Keim 2010).

I wholeheartedly agree with Levitt and Crul that “too much of the scholarly conversation involves deconstruction and not enough reconstruction or charting a new, potentially positive way forward”. The question remains of how to do this. For one, we need to be careful not to put our words and ideas in other peoples' mouths and heads. As guest editor of an *American Anthropologist* special section on “anthropologies of tourism” (Salazar 2017), I witnessed how the contributors, who came from other academic traditions and had no expertise publishing in a top-ranked anglophone journal, tried to mimic the typical article style of the journal. This went against the idea of the “World Anthropologies” section editor to publish contributions that are marked by “difference”.

As the co-editor of a book series, I was recently involved in the publishing of an edited volume that showcases Central and Eastern European expertise in the anthropology of tourism (Owsianowska and Banaszkiewicz 2018). It took a lot of energy to explain to the Polish guest editors that it is worthwhile and timely to publish

such a book, while they insisted on including contributions by well-known scholars from the Anglo-Saxon world because this would give the publication more prestige and recognition. These anecdotal examples serve to illustrate the danger of exoticizing and essentializing in our efforts to give “academic others” a voice.

To stay within the theme of publishing, Levitt and Crul want “high impact journals to not just be written in English and to be available to everyone”. Well, whether we like it or not, English is currently the lingua franca of academia. A bilingual journal such as *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* has a very hard time finding native French speakers wanting to publish articles in their mother tongue. Particularly the younger scholars prefer to publish in English so that their work reaches a larger audience. Paradoxically, the issue of access is mostly a problem in the Anglo-Saxon publishing world. Most other main academic languages have since long implemented open access systems (e.g. SciELO for Spanish and Portuguese), so in this internet age it makes sense to publish in languages such as Mandarin or Spanish (Salazar 2006a, 2016). Unfortunately, many scholars are forced by their universities to publish in paywalled “high impact” journals (particularly those indexed in the Web of Science). In such a context, publishing in non-hegemonic journals has almost become an activist statement (Salazar 2006b, 2015).

Levitt and Crul also make some observations regarding the situation in the EU. The comment that brilliant minds such as Albert Einstein would not thrive in the current research environment may be slightly misguided. First, as early as in his own time Einstein had problems because his ideas were too innovative (and, thus, threatening) for his peers to accept them. Second, every scholar can register as an “expert” to assess EU proposals or monitor projects. That not enough academics do this, and so consultants need to be hired to do the job, is a problem of the scholarly community more than the administration behind EU research funding. Third, the natural sciences have a much longer tradition of organizing themselves in powerful organizations that lobby for their interests. To stay within the European context, it was the general dissatisfaction with science policy and funding instruments and the lack of involvement of scientists in policy making that led the natural and life sciences in the early 2000s to establish the Initiative for Science in Europe (ISE). The initial focus was on the idea of a European funding instrument to foster and fund frontier research of the highest quality in all scientific disciplines. This led to the creation of the European Research Council (ERC) and its highly influential scheme of grants.

As Levitt and Crul are hinting at, many scholars within the social sciences and humanities are experts in deconstructing and criticizing whatever goes wrong in society, without focusing much on how to change things for the better. Indeed, it took the social sciences and humanities in Europe much longer to get organized.

While some of the more engaged disciplines (including sociology and anthropology) joined ISE, we had to wait until 2015 for the creation of the European Alliance for Social Sciences and Humanities (EASSH). Like ISE, EASSH is now becoming a partner that is increasingly consulted in all stages of EU science policy (including the writing of the funding calls).

Finally, Levitt and Crul want “international networks not just to mean people from Europe and the United States”. The good news is that such networks already exist (but we could certainly have more of them and, again, multilingualism is key). Within anthropology, the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) is a good example. Their conferences are attended by anthropologists from all over the world. At the same time, it is true that many Western anthropologists ignore IUAES because the “theoretical” level of presentations is judged to be low (compared to the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association for example). This brings us back to the issue of knowledge production, classification and dissemination. After all, creating new theory is a luxury that many scholars around the world do not have time for. Their main job is teaching and, thus, the consumption and circulation of theory produced elsewhere (Krotz 2011).

Coda

[... A passage that brings a movement to an end]

It is good that Levitt and Crul remind us of some of the serious challenges that we are facing as scholars in the social sciences and humanities. What they identify as the most important challenge, namely the reform of universities in their current form, is also the hardest one. Let us not forget that the scholarly community silently agreed to have its institutions led by managers (naively hoping that this would leave academics with more time for research). To make the point with a musical image, leaving the academic orchestra in the hands of a director who knows only one kind of repertoire seriously limits the potential of the musicians. Going against the homogenizing trends Levitt and Crul witness across the globe requires not only interdisciplinary approaches (which usually stay within academia) but broad intersectoral dialogue and collaboration. Changing the relationship between knowledge and power brings us automatically beyond the ivory tower. If we want universities to survive beyond this century and have them play a relevant role in society, we will need to leave our comfort zone and lead by example. Levitt and Crul give us some important elements to start acting before it is too late...

REPLY

Peggy Levitt

Maurice Crul

We are delighted to have such a wonderful group of scholars engage so actively and thoughtfully with our ideas. They have nuanced and extended our arguments and, in some cases, challenged us to sharpen our positions. We are grateful for this.

What we are calling for is not easy. Maree Pardy felt exhausted after reading our call to action. She feels that the problems of human rights abuses and socio-economic inequality that confront her every day are already overwhelming. How can we think deeply about how to transform knowledge production when other issues are so pressing? Ger Duijzings poignantly describes being told by his colleagues to do his research on the Srebrenica massacre “in his own time”. Such topics were too risky and unconventional for a traditional path to academic success, especially in the context of the Research Excellence Framework. Having moved from London to the University of Regensburg in Germany, he is now able to continue his work in a more “supportive, albeit ‘provincial’ environment, and develop new formats of research, teaching, and dissemination”. We’re sorry he felt forced to choose between pursuing his academic interests and a more conventional path to academic success.

Many of our interlocutors highlight examples of how and where aspects of the work we call for has already been taken up by researchers. Noel Salazar and Michal Buchowski describe how the field of anthropology has taken steps to even the intellectual playing field. They note the creation of worldwide networks; on-line, open access journals in which authors are encouraged to publish in their own language; and efforts to translate works from around the world. Michael Okyerefo points to alternative epistemologies that are alive and well throughout the African continent. The key to arguments such as those articulated by Francis B. Nyamnjoh, upon which part of his intervention is based, is that Western epistemologies focus too much on “*what* questions” as opposed to *why* questions, steeped in “ideology and hegemony” and looking for “rational” answers. He argues for the need to bring popular ways of knowing more centrally into the conversation that allow for *why* questions where “reality is more than meets the eye; it is larger than logic”. Jasna Čapo explodes the category of Europe, arguing that a strong reflexive turn has characterized knowledge production in post-socialist European countries since the 1990s. Europe, therefore, is not a homogeneous space but one that is divided by “internal political, socio-economic and cultural inequalities” that together with “the ensuing hierarchies of

power spill over into scientific hierarchies”. Bringing these inter and intra-regional differences to light reinforces calls by Noel Salazar and Subhadra Mitra Channa to acknowledge the positions from which we understand the world, and to do our best to free ourselves from our subjectivities by producing knowledge from multiple sites, using multiple voices.

The “transcendence of subjectivity” required to transform knowledge production is no easy task. In many ways, our project is aspirational. It is a form of intellectual practice. We believe that small steps add up, that small networks grow into larger, more inclusive ones, and that small shifts in how we speak to and explain things to one another can make a difference. We believe strongly in the need to critique but, even more importantly, in the need to chart a way forward. It is easy to deconstruct but difficult to imagine, let alone put into place, new approaches and institutions. We also believe in the role of the next generation. It is not we who will reform the university and what takes place within it, but our students.

Rather than responding further to the many valid critiques that our interlocutors propose, and get caught up in all the reasons “why not”, we chose to instead reflect more deeply on what we have learned so far as we try to make our way. Our comments draw on our own fieldwork experiences, and on our efforts to build the Global (De)Centre.

As we write this Peggy Levitt is completing a month of fieldwork in Argentina for a new book on how artists and writers from what have been culturally peripheral countries gain recognition on the global stage. The answer is obvious – money buys economic and symbolic power. So what more is there to say? Well, it turns out that many other, subtler factors are at work, shaped by how Argentina locates itself vis-à-vis the rest of the world, and by how and where the world positions Argentina. We will just share a few examples here.

As we write, Argentina is going through yet another economic crisis. So far, the Argentinian peso has lost almost 50 percent of its value against the dollar during 2018. In August, interest rates rose to 60 percent. This is a not-too-instant replay of what happened to the country in 2001 – from one day to the next, the money people had was worth a lot less. Inflation rates soared. This inability to plan, to believe that what you have today will be worth the same tomorrow, or to depend on government institutions to fix things, creates a unique culture around money and value that strongly affects the cultural sector. For one thing, many of the authors and writers Peggy interviewed said that people are more likely to choose careers that they are passionate about, like becoming artists or writers, because studying engineering or the law is no guarantee that you will have a secure future. People are also more likely to take risks around money. “I might not know where the money will come from next month to pay my rent or my electricity bill”, said one editor, “but I’ll put what I have into a small, independent publishing house that puts out four books a year by myself and my friends”. People take more risks because they know things are out of their control. And people know how to do this with very little. They use what they have to make art with a resourcefulness and creativity not seen in other places. So, in

the end, it is not just about money. It's about the cultures of money and art making that arise in response to economic unpredictability, and institutions that cannot be counted on.

There is a great deal to be admired in this commitment to culture and intellectual life despite the economic conditions. Crisis produced a thriving independent publishing sector – some of which are vanity projects, but some of which have grown into viable companies that compete respectably in the international market. But Argentina, many people expressed, is going through a period of looking inward, of being self-referential. It's not just that since the country is at the end of the world, people assume that it is automatically meant to be on the margins of the global art scene. It is also, as one editor put it, "if you don't know, from one day to the next, if you will have a job or if the subway will actually get you where you need to go, you are pretty focused on understanding your own problems". Few books by Argentinian authors, she said, circulate in countries like Peru, Chile, or Bolivia. Because of the cost, corrupt distribution networks, small markets, and the power of publishing conglomerates based in Spain, few such books make it to Mexico and only if they are lucky. Here again, we learn important things about the impact of positionality and its role in shaping national subjectivity. Argentina holds back from the world. The idea of a category labelled Latin American literature or Latin American social science is called into question. It certainly exists in bookstores and course catalogues in and outside the country. Where it does not exist, beyond an historic old guard that includes the likes of Borges and García Marquez, is in the exchange of materials between readers and writers living in the region.

Maurice Crul is working with a group of scholars from Lebanon and Turkey to study the integration of Syrian refugee children into the education systems of countries that border Syria, and in Europe. Most research that is either funded by the EU or the national science agencies in Europe, only considers what happens to refugee children in Europe. But Crul and his team believe that we must go beyond the boundaries that funding agencies draw as lines in the sand. Instead, we must use regional or transnational frameworks that take the important intra and international links between regions into account. Doing so sometimes requires creative funding solutions. But it is precisely these kinds of collaborations that bring new and sometimes crucial knowledge to the table. For example, not all school systems are equally equipped to absorb refugee pupils. Forty percent of the pupils attending Lebanese public schools are currently students of Syrian descent, which puts an oversized burden on Lebanese resources. Moreover, when the EU gave funds to Turkey to help settle refugees within its borders instead of allowing them to move on to Europe, it assumed that the differences in the conditions of settlement in Turkey and Europe would slowly disappear. The reality, however, is much different – more than a third of school-aged Syrian youngsters in Turkey do not attend school.

These examples show that to move beyond business as usual, and to create new agendas and collaborations, we need to actively and deliberately take steps to resist the status quo. We take inspiration and hope from the fact that there is pushback eve-

rywhere. Any number of academics, writers, publishers, and artists are contributing to the work of decentring by creating visual and written messages that encourage a critical rethinking of how colour, gender, ethnicity or religion affect and are affected by power dynamics in the present and in the colonial past. In fact, artists and writers are often far ahead of academics in addressing these topics. We are thinking here of works such as the “I am Queen Mary” (<https://www.iamqueenmary.com/>) sculpture by the artists Jeannette Ehlers and La Vaugh Bell, placed in the Copenhagen harbour where captains involved in the slave trade began and ended their journeys. The exhibition by Danh Vho (<https://www.guggenheim.org/exhibition/danh-vo>) – now traveling around the world – that tells the story of French colonialism, American war atrocities, boat refugees, and asylum seekers from the personal perspective of the artist also comes to mind.

The power of (de)centring as an intellectual practice goes far beyond question asking. It also involves experimenting with different ways of studying, explaining, representing, and intervening. These are strategies we are working to develop as we build the Global (De)Centre (GDC). The GDC is a platform that brings together a growing network of scholars, creators, cultural administrators, and activists from across the world who are committed to producing new knowledge, and to using different epistemologies and methods by working collaboratively.

At our first summer school, held in Budapest in July 2018, we thought deeply, not just about asking different kinds of questions and about what constitutes acceptable answers, but about how to (de)centre cultural production and social innovation. For example, after a visit to the Hungarian National Museum, during which students practiced “reading” the exhibition to decode its messages about Hungarian nationalism, they created new exhibitions that called into question some of these assumptions. In a discussion about emerging forms of transnational social protection, we tried out different ideas about what constitutes state-sponsored protection (as opposed to control or co-optation) in this current moment of precarious employment and welfare-state retrenchment. One result of our week together is an organic, collective project that took shape among our students. Two participants decided to write short stories about their own experiences of privilege, discrimination, the hypocrisy of academia itself, and about participating in its structures and logics of power from the margins. A small group of writers has coalesced who will share their stories on-line.

These are, admittedly, small steps, but we end this brief response to our interlocutors with a warm invitation to join us and to spread the word.

D EKONSTRUKCIJA I REKONSTRUKCIJA

Prihvaćanje alternativnih načina proizvodnje, klasifikacije i diseminacije znanja

Peggy Levitt

**Odsjek za sociologiju, Fakultet Wellesley
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Maurice Crul

**Odsjek za sociologiju, Fakultet društvenih znanosti,
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U ovom kratkom radu autori se zalažu za temeljito preispitivanje i reorganizaciju proizvodnje znanja. Intelektualna i kulturna nejednakost dio su socioekonomske nejednakosti. Kako možemo stvoriti bolji svijet ako nismo načisto s premisama znanja koje o tom svijetu imamo te načinom na koji se ono proizvodi? Moramo pažljivo razmotriti što je utišano, a što se glasno izgovara, što je zamagljeno, neprimjetno iako je očigledno ili čemu je dano središnje mjesto. Zadatak nije samo jasno razabrati ono što se ukazuje nakon što se iskopaju te duboko ugrađene pretpostavke. Riječ je i o tome da je potrebno stvoriti nove riječi, nove metode i nove institucije koje neće ponoviti iste greške. Zalog je sljedeću generaciju odgojiti drugačije kako bi bila spremna ucrtati novi put za proizvodnju, klasifikaciju i korištenje znanja na konstruktivniji i inkluzivniji način.

Ključne riječi: proizvodnja znanja, decentrirati, postkolonijalno, kritičko, kultura, globalno

Gotovo milijardu ljudi (ili otprilike svaka sedma osoba na svijetu) su ili unutarnji ili međunarodni migranti koji se sele pod prisilom ili po svom izboru, uspješno ili u velikoj muci. Istovremeno, odluka Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva da napusti Europsku uniju, poziv predsjednika Trumpa da se ojača zid između SAD-a i Meksika te jačanje populističkih stranaka u Mađarskoj, Poljskoj i Italiji odražavaju sve snažniji nacionalizam i ksenofobiju te sve veće napore da se spriječi mobilnost, posebice izbjeglica, siromašnih i nekvalificiranih.

Takve dinamike sa sobom nose dramatične društvene, političke i institucionalne posljedice. One predstavljaju izazov dugotrajnim pretpostavkama o tome kako ljudi žive i rade te kako funkcioniraju društvene institucije – kako i gdje pojedinci podižu svoju djecu i brinu se za svoje starije; kako se uspostavljaju klasa, rasa i rod; kako se zarađuje za život; mnogostruke zajednice s kojima se ljudi identificiraju; što zapravo znače kategorije kao što su “asimilacija”, “integracija”, “razvoj”, “društvena inkluzija”

te “globalni Sjever” i “globalni Jug”; gdje se ispunjavaju građanska prava i obveze. One pozornost skreću na nove ljestvice i mjesta upravljanja, na sve važnije regionalne i nadnacionalne institucije koje pokušavaju donijeti sklad, no umjesto toga nerijetko stvaraju nove oblike društvene isključenosti. Proizvode društva koja su sve raznolikija – rasno, etnički i religijski, ali i u odnosu na pripadanje i prava. Sve je više onih koji imaju dugotrajno boravište ali ne i pripadanje, koji dulje vrijeme žive bez ostvarivanja punih prava ili predstavljenosti, u uvjetima polutrajne privremenosti. Također je sve više onih koji pripadaju ali nemaju boravište, koji iz inozemstva utječu na ekonomiju i politiku u svojoj domovini, a pritom možda jesu ili nisu formalno politički predstavljeni.

Fluidni globalni leksikon koncepata iz devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća kojemu su mnogi od nas pridonijeli, uključujući očekivanja protoka, mreža, transnacionalizma i kozmopolitizma, nije usklađen sa stvarnostima današnjeg svijeta te je za neke rasne i ekonomske skupine ostvariv više nego za druge. Glavne struje u proučavanju migracija, rase i etniciteta velikim dijelom također ne zvuče uštimano jer i dalje bez razmišljanja počivaju na starim kategorijama bez razmatranja njihovih intelektualnih genealogija ili pretpostavki o prostoru, razmjerima i vrijednostima na kojima se temelje (Alba i Foner 2015; Portes i Rumbaut 2014; Alba i Nee 2003). Integracija i asimilacija su takvi koncepti. U velikom broju istraživanja i dalje se pretpostavlja da se migranti u SAD-u i Europi trebaju integrirati ili da će se integrirati u bjelačku većinsku maticu, unatoč tomu što znanstvenici uzimaju u obzir da se obje skupine mijenjaju i međusobno mijenjaju jedna drugu. U mnogim velikim gradovima, međutim, migranti i njihova djeca žive s drugim migrantima na područjima u kojima uglavnom nema autohtonog stanovništva. Također su brojni slučajevi u kojima su tzv. migranti zapravo dugotrajni stanovnici koji žive u gradu već tri ili više generacija, dok su stvarne novopridošlice bijeli stanovnici koji se vraćaju urbanom središtu. Postoje i primjeri gdje se većina s kojom bi se novopridošli trebali asimilirati definira etnički ili religijski.

Znanstvenici koji se bave rasom i etnicitetom nisu jedini krivi zbog zanemarivanja posljedica intelektualnih genealogija i kategorija na koje se oslanjaju. Mnogo je društvene i humanističke znanosti proizvedene u Europi i SAD-u i dalje zapadno-centrično, utemeljeno na teorijama koje su se razvile na globalnom Sjeveru i odražavaju njegovo iskustvo. Radi se o zatvorenom razgovoru koji prvenstveno vode osobe koje čitaju i pišu na engleskom jeziku, a zemljopisno je usredotočen samo na ono što se naziva globalnim Sjeverom ili Zapadom. Upečatljiv primjer čini istraživanje o političkim krizama do kojih dolazi zbog migracija izbjeglica iz Sirije, Afganistana, Iraka i Eritreje 2015. i 2016. godine. Europski istraživači prvenstveno su se bavili učincima po Europu, iako su najpogođenije bile države poput Jordana, Turske i Libanona. Stručnjaci za obrazovanje u Europi koji istražuju integraciju sirijske djece izbjeglica činili su to gotovo posve odvojeno od istraživača koji se bave sličnim pitanjima na Bliskom istoku. Propustili su preispitati školski sustav iz kojeg učenici dolaze te su tako izostavili važan element za postizanje uspjeha učenika.

U ovom kratkom radu želimo se založiti za temeljito preispitivanje i reorganizaciju proizvodnje znanja. Intelakturna i kulturna nejednakost dio su socioekonomske nejednakosti. Kako možemo stvoriti bolji svijet ako nismo načisto s premisama znanja koje o tom svijetu imamo te načinom na koji se ono proizvodi? Moramo pažljivo razmotriti što je utišano, a što se glasno izgovara, što je zamagljeno, neprimjetno iako je očigledno ili čemu je dano središnje mjesto. Zadatak nije samo jasno razabrati ono što se ukazuje nakon što se iskopaju te duboko ugrađene pretpostavke. Riječ je i o tome da je potrebno stvoriti nove riječi, nove metode i nove institucije koje neće ponoviti iste greške. Zalog je sljedeću generaciju odgojiti drugačije kako bi bila spremna ucrtati novi put za proizvodnju, klasifikaciju i korištenje znanja na konstruktivniji i inkluzivniji način.

Velik je i bogat korpus radova kritičke teorije i postkolonijalnih znanstvenika koji se tiče onoga što mi predlažemo (usp. npr. de Sousa Santos 2016; Garcia Canclini 2014; Mignolo 2012). Gilroy (2005), Hall (1997), Spivak (1999), Chakrabarty (2000) i Asad (1993, 2003) izrazito zanimljivo pišu o potrebi "provincijalizacije Europe", ne u smislu preusmjeravanja pažnje s Europe na "neko drugo mjesto", već u smislu obraćanja pozornosti na to kako se europske i američke teorijske tvorbe promiču kao opće, univerzalne teorije i na sveobuhvatne učinke tih teorija koje univerzaliziraju. Međutim, kao što navodi Chakrabarty (2000) (i kao što to sugerira pojam "provincijalizacija"), svrha kritike nije odbaciti "europske" teorije i zamijeniti ih drugim teorijama, ili "ispuniti" našu teorijsku armaturu kako bi počela uključivati alternativna stajališta na načine koji ne uspijevaju razmotriti oblikovnu snagu tih dominantnih teorija. Neposredan fokus "provincijalizacije" Europe znači prišivanje specifičnih povijesnih uvjeta njezinih teorijskih projekata na ili u te teorije, kako bi znanstvenici i drugi mogli procjenjivati iste te teorije jednako kao i druge teorije za koje se općenito ne smatra da se mogu univerzalizirati. Istinska decentralizacija znanstvenog i analitičkog znanja iziskuje prepoznavanje i uvažavanje drugih znanja i drugih povijesti koji su proizvedeni izvan eurocentrične osi.

Taj su poziv u različitoj mjeri preuzele razne discipline. Znanstvenici koji se bave komparativnom književnošću, feminističkim i religijskim studijima te antropolozi prolili su prilične količine tinte dok se politolozi i sociolozi većinom nisu oglašavali. Dio izazova čini navesti mislioce iz različitih područja koji se manje ili više bave takvim uvidima da preuzmu tu dužnost. Potrebno je deprovincijalizirati sve discipline i na taj način smanjiti epistemološku razdaljinu između Sjevera i Juga, odnosno onoga što su središta i periferije u proizvodnji znanja.

O čemu točno govorimo i koji bi mogli biti konstruktivni putovi naprijed? Predlažemo razmatranje sljedećih točaka:

I. Pitanja koja postavljamo

Sve su više pitanja koja postavljamo definirana prioritetima agencija za financiranje koje nam daju sredstva kako bismo pružili odgovore. Europska unija je izvrstan pri-

mjer. Njezina istraživačka agenda često nam se čini vođena potrebom da se riješe politička pitanja. Financijeri osmišljavaju istraživačke programe s obzirom na hitne probleme te podržavaju velike projekte čija je namjera pružiti odgovor na te probleme koji uključuju više partnera unutar Europske unije. U slučaju proučavanja migracija brojni se takvi projekti bave pomaganjem europskim i nacionalnim tvorcima politika u rješavanju problema do kojih dolazi u školama, četvrtima i gradovima koji su postali etnički, rasno i religijski raznolikiji. Riječ je o razumijevanju procesa integracije, društvenoj inkluziji i stvaranju naredne generacije istraživača i birokrata koji će uspješno objašnjavati te procese i upravljati njima u budućnosti.

S tim je programima financiranja povezano nekoliko problema. Prvi je činjenica da su europski znanstvenici izloženi ogromnom pritisku da dobiju velika financijska sredstva poput onih koja se nude u okviru programa Obzor 2020. Evaluatori prednost daju osobama koje su objavljivale u recenziranim časopisima na engleskom jeziku. Budući da su financijska sredstva organizirana oko radnih paketa osmišljenih tako da izravno oblikuju politike, ostaje malo prostora za postavljanje temeljnih pitanja kao što je pitanje kako se (re)produciraju nejednakosti ili koju su ulogu u njihovom kreiranju imale nacionalne institucije te nacionalne i europske politike. Istinski inovativni Alberti Einsteini danas vjerojatno ne bi dobili sredstva jer se njihova pitanja ne uklapaju u kategorije koje su potrebne za dobivanje potpore.

Drugi problem odnosi se na činjenicu da, dok s jedne strane pozdravljamo komparativno istraživanje, rezultati takvih projekata često nisu ništa više nego zbroj njihovih pojedinačnih dijelova. Vrijeme propisano za njihov dovršetak često je prekratko da bi omogućilo nešto više od prikupljanja podataka. Za analize podataka, posebice one kojima se pokušavaju usporediti različiti slučajevi, vremena nema. Izaзов da se kaže nešto smisleno o nizu potprojekata koji su u nekim aspektima usporedivi dok su u drugima jako različiti često je prevelik za glomazni skup istraživačkih partnera koji se međusobno jedva poznaju.

Treći se problem tiče toga što nije riječ o nečemu što je problematično samo u Europi. Silnice globalizacije i neoliberalizma sve više homogeniziraju visoko obrazovanje diljem svijeta. Znanstvenici izvan Zapada također su izloženi pritisku jer moraju objavljivati na engleskom jeziku u visoko rangiranim časopisima. Moraju dokazivati svoju vrijednost tako što se s međunarodnim partnerima uspješno natječu za velika financijska sredstva. Oni također nemaju puno prilika za postavljanje pitanja samo stoga što su ona intelektualno zanimljiva ili otvaraju nova područja, što je još jedan čavao u lijesu kreativnosti i proizvodnje znanja na načine koji su različiti od dominantnog.

2. Prostori, razmjeri i geografije koje istražujemo

Iako se posvuda pojavljuju pozivi da se stane na kraj metodološkom nacionalizmu, velik dio znanstvene produkcije još uvijek državu-naciju kao automatsku, logičnu jedincu društvenog života uzima zdravo za gotovo. No, kada pomoću transnacionalne vizure proširimo pogled, vidimo da nije moguće razumjeti dinamike koje se označa-

va lokalnima ili nacionalnima bez da barem postavimo pitanje na koji su način one povezane s udaljenim zbivanjima i iskustvima. Prepoznavši to, Edward Said (1993) je obrazložio potrebu za kontrapunktnim iščitavanjem književnosti, za čitanjem na način na koji slušamo glazbu istovremeno primajući sve dijelove skladbe i uočavajući njihovu međusobnu interakciju. Stoga, ne možemo čitati Jane Eyre bez razumijevanja kako je ta velika kuća u Britaniji izgrađena na leđima radnika na vlasnikovim plantažama u kolonijama. Naizgled se radi o narativu o metropoli, no udaljeni krajevi imperija uvijek su neprimjetno prisutni.

Nacije se same po sebi također razlikuju, ne samo na uobičajeni način koji uočavamo (nacije organizirane oko zajedničkog zakonskog državljanstva nasuprot nacija utemeljenih na zajedničkoj etničkoj pripadnosti). Postoje nacije koje teže pluralizmu i multikulturalizmu i one, poput Libanona, u kojima se više religijskih skupina jednostavno nada zajedničkom životu pod izlizanim nacionalnim okriljem. Fanon (1961) je pisao o nacijama koje nastaju iz kolonijalne svijesti, kritizirajući pokret crnaštva (*Negritude*) zbog oživljavanja tradicija koje su se povezivale sa štetnom kolonijalnom prošalošću i time je ponavljale. To znači da ne samo da moramo empirijski utvrditi relevantne parametre i razmjere društvenih polja svojih istraživanja i pitanja koja postavljamo, nego također moramo pomno sagledati kako varijacije unutar kategorija poput "nacija" utječu na naše rezultate. Ne možemo smatrati zadanim ono što podrazumijeva pojam "nacije" kao niti razne budućnosti kojima njezini sastavni dijelovi teže.

3. Kako zaista izgleda interdisciplinarni rad?

Većina nas vjeruje u prednosti rada u kojem se prelaze okviri disciplina. No to je lakše reći nego učiniti. Ono što se često događa u prostoriji za sastanke jednako je gledanju sjednice Opće skupštine Ujedinjenih naroda bez prevoditelja. Neka su područja preplavljena žargonskim izrazima pa se, čak i onima koji to doista žele, gotovo nemoguće uključiti u razgovor. Tu su i kolege koji tvrdoglavo odbijaju da se malo jače potrudu pa se na brzinu povlače u sigurnost svojih disciplina čim razgovor krene smjerom koji im je nepoznat ili u kojem se ne osjećaju ugodno. Rijetki su znanstvenici koji su spremni slušati i naučiti ono što je potrebno da se prijeđu granice određenih disciplina te da se uključe u pravi interdisciplinarni dijalog.

Zbog toga se većim dijelom isti razgovori ili njihovi ekvivalenti odvijaju u izolaciji pojedinačnih disciplina. Stalno ponavljamo iste kritičkoteorijske i postkolonijalne argumente i odgovore unutar i između humanističkih i društvenih znanosti propuštajući tako priliku da stvari poguramo naprijed udruženim snagama. Postoji južno-američka i južnoazijska inačica rasprave, ali se one nikada ne uparuju (Go 2018).

4. Što provincijalizacija znanstvenog rada doista znači?

To je pitanje možda najvažnije. A njemu se može doskočiti na razne načine. Kao prvo, treba razmisliti kada neka priča započinje. Ako povijest Sjeverne i Južne Ame-

rike započinje 1492. godine, propuštaju se brojne civilizacije koje su u toj regiji doživjele procvat prije osvajanja. Ako se kolijevku civilizacije smjesti u Grčku i Rim, zanemaruje se intelektualna i kulturna proizvodnja koja je cvjetala u Kumasiju i Bagdadu. Ako se iz povijesti Poljske izbrišu Židovi, zaboravlja se činjenica da je židovsku povijest nemoguće razumjeti bez Poljske kao i poljsku povijest bez Židova. Stoga mjesto i vrijeme radnje zaista znače puno u tome koje vrste znanja dobivaju vrijednost, legitimiziraju se i diseminiraju. Te se stvari čine kao pitanja zdravog razuma, no ako samo bacimo pogled na brojne udžbenike kojima se danas služe učenici i studenti u Europi i SAD-u, otkrit ćemo da takav etnocentrizam i dalje vlada bez premca (Levitt i Rutherford 2018).

Kao drugo, treba prepoznati, kao što smo prethodno ustvrdili u vezi s različitim vrstama "nacija", da je ono što se smatra teorijom, kao i razumijevanje onoga što se od teorije očekuje, u različitim dijelovima svijeta drugačije konstruirano i ima različite ciljeve. Teorije nastale na Zapadu ne povezuju se automatski s iskustvima proživljenim izvan njega. Ono što znači znati i objasniti ne zrcali zapadne epistemološke i ontološke pretpostavke. Intelektualne okvire koji su nastali prema različitim standardima da bi obavili različite aktivnosti valja ocjenjivati u skladu s njihovim vlastitim tvrdnjama i uvjetima.

Uzmimo, na primjer, imigraciju. U nekim dijelovima svijeta, kao što su Karibi, nije uobičajeno govoriti o imigraciji jer kretanje među otocima radi zarade za život čini sastavni dio svakodnevice. Nitko se ne useljava niti asimilira niti je društveno isključen. Ljudi se jednostavno redovito sele u potrazi za zaradom ili radi brige za svoje rođake (Fog Olwig 2010). Ponovno vidimo da se terminologija i iskustva koje smatramo univerzalnim proživljavaju, klasificiraju i poimaju sasvim drugačije. Prije nego što započnemo, moramo odraditi što je potrebno i zapitati se kako su nastali, kako se koriste i kome služe.

Ashis Nandy u klasičnom članku naslovljenom "History's Forgotten Doubles" (1995) taj argument vrlo jasno iznosi (o čemu ovdje raspravljamo kako bismo ponovno ukazali kako se u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima postavljaju brojna slična pitanja i na njih daju odgovori). Postoje ljudi i iskustva, piše Nandy, prema kojima se postupa kao da žive izvan povijesti.

Oni imaju svoje teorije o prošlosti, oni vjeruju da je prošlost važna i da oblikuje sadašnjost i budućnost, no također shvaćaju, suočavaju se i žive s prošlošću koja se razlikuje od prošlosti koju su konstruirali povjesničari i povijesna svijest. (Nandy 1995: 44)

Te razlike proizlaze iz onoga što Nandy naziva "principijelnim zaboravom". "Svi su mitovi moralne priče", piše on.

Mitologizacija je također moralizacija, uključuje odbijanje da se zapamćena povijest razdvoji od svog etičkog značenja u sadašnjosti. Kod tog je odbijanja često bitno *ne* sjećati se prošlosti na objektivan, jasan i sveobuhvatan način. Mitska društva osjećaju snagu mita i prirodu ljudskih slabosti, ona su ispunjena strahom nego moderna društva. (ibid.: 47)

Drugim riječima, svi ljudi znaju svoju prošlost i kako je ispričati. Neki ljudi povijest jednostavno konstruiraju drukčije nego što se ona konstruirala na Zapadu, temeljem drukčijih moralnih i empirijskih smjernica pa tako selektivno uključuju neke stvari dok druge zaboravljaju.

Drugi primjer pronalazimo kod brazilskog književnika Oswalda de Andradea (1991). On uvodi razliku između društava s antropofagičnim svjetonazorima (konzumirajućim ili kanibalističkim) od antropoemičnih (od grčke riječi *émein*, povraćati) i tvrdi da su ona drukčije reagirala na "drugog". Zapadna suvremena društva na drugost su odgovorila izolacijom, isključivanjem ili povraćanjem. Društva u kojima je ritualiziran kanibalizam asimilira su "drugog" tako što su ga simbolično probavila. Prema Joãou Cezaru de Castru Rochi, Oswald je antropofagiju zamislio kao tehniku kulturnog kontakta koji obuhvaća sustavnu i kreativnu inkorporaciju drugosti u identitet pojedinca. Takva beskrajna inkorporacija novih oblika i prelazaka granica dovela je do stalnog procesa samoosmišljavanja i samosuočavanja (de Castro Rocha 2013).

Andradeov rad ukazuje ne samo na kulturna ishodišta različitih odgovora na drugost i na različite režime upravljanja različitošću koji se pojavljuju kao odgovor, nego i na njihove intelektualne i političke posljedice. Društva razumiju drugost i odgovaraju na nju na različite načine, a to pokreće različite znanstvene i političke putanje. Moramo proširiti izvore znanja na koje se oslanjamo da bismo razumjeli te procese – da bismo bili upućeni u alternativna značenja i okvire te kako bismo ih procjenjivali prema njihovim vlastitim tvrdnjama i kriterijima a ne prema našim standardima. Kako bi američki i europski režimi upravljanja različitostima mogli biti drugačiji da su utemeljeni na antropofagičnom svjetonazoru? Pridošlica bi mogao biti dočekan s većom naklonošću i dobrim namjerama jer se ubrzava prirodni proces upoznavanja i transformacije umjesto onoga koji iziskuje izgradnju društvenih granica koje jamče kulturnu zaštitu.

5. Kojim se konstruktivnim putovima može krenuti naprijed?

Vjerujemo da previše znanstvenih rasprava uključuje dekonstrukciju a nedovoljno rekonstrukciju ili zacrtavanje novog i potencijalno pozitivnog puta naprijed. Radi se o izazovu koji se sastoji od puno dijelova, a mi ovdje započinjemo s onim najjednostavnijim.

Kada počnemo proizvoditi različite vrste znanja, moramo reorganizirati kategorije koje smo navikli koristiti kod klasifikacije i diseminacije znanja ili stvoriti nove. U ovom nas trenutku i dalje dijele granice među disciplinama, naša se istraživanja moraju uklapati u odsjeke, stručne organizacije i disciplinarne časopise. Članak znanstvenice iz društvenih znanosti u kojem ona kulturne institucije ili povijest umjetnosti analizira iz perspektive društvenih znanosti, vjerojatno bi bio odbijen u sociološkom ili antropološkom časopisu kao i u povijesnoumjetničkom. Urednici tih ča-

sopisa odgovorili bi da se njezin rad bolje uklapa negdje drugdje. Nemaju dovoljno hrabrosti ili mašte uvidjeti da dva seta analitičkih alata na njezina pitanja odgovaraju puno snažnije kada se upotrebljavaju zajedno.

A kako bi njezin rad mogao pronaći put do udžbenika ili kurikula? Ako povjesničarka umjetnosti podučava samo ono što se tradicionalno smatra poviješću umjetnosti, njezini studenti neće moći razumjeti institucionalnu dinamiku i dinamiku moći kojima je ta disciplina oblikovana. Isto tako, znanstvenik društvenih disciplina koji ne obuhvati raspravu o tome kako umjetnost i kultura oblikuju društvo također doprinosi intelektualnoj ograničenosti. Očajnički potrebno znanje na razmeđu često ne pronalazi svoje mjesto ili propada. Mladi znanstvenici koji ga žele proizvoditi izlažu se riziku da će na taj način ugroziti svoje karijere jer se ne ponašaju u skladu s ustanovljenim i prepoznatljivim mjerilima ili poticajnim strukturama. Ako ništa drugo, studente trebamo podučiti kako prepoznati moć tih kustoskih izbora. No ono što nam je doista potrebno nove su kategorije, discipline i udžbenici koji prihvaćaju i priznaju kompliciranu nesređenost ljudskog iskustva te od samog početka prepoznaju kako pokušaji da tu nesređenost učinimo urednom i posloženom zapravo potkopavaju naše razumijevanje društvenog života.

Ponovna izgradnja kategorija znači ponovnu izgradnju institucija u kojima one nastaju. To je najteže ali i najvažnije pitanje. Uvjereni smo da se sveučilišta trebaju drugačije organizirati, no brojni su čimbenici koji to priječe. Sebični interesi zastavljaju jednostavnu promjenu. U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, na primjer, regionalni studiji, osnovani šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća zbog zabrinutosti oko komunizma i opasnosti po svjetsku sigurnost, još uvijek organiziraju dobar dio intelektualnog života na sveučilištima. Postoje centri za europske, bliskoistočne, južnoazijske i azijske studije koji ometaju podučavanje, istraživanje i raspravu o širim vremenskim i prostornim pojasevima. Latinoamerički studiji i latino studiji i dalje se većinom predaju i istražuju odvojeno dok je, prema našem mišljenju, nemoguće razumjeti jedne bez da se u obzir uzmu drugi.

Ipak, mi istovremeno želimo rekonstruirati i dekonstruirati. Zamišljamo razgovore među znanstvenicima prirodnih, društvenih i humanističkih znanosti. Želimo da međunarodne mreže ne podrazumijevaju samo ljude iz Europe i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Želimo da utjecajni časopisi ne budu napisani samo na engleskom jeziku te da budu dostupni svima.

Vjerujemo da su istraživači koji slijede ideje, stvari ili skupine preko različitih prostora i kroz vremenska razdoblja i koji žele otkriti njihove međusobne poveznice poduzeli važne korake naprijed. Učinili su to i oni koji promatraju kako se ljudi i predmeti integriraju u različite mreže i polja koji premošćuju prostore i razmjere. Rasprave koje uključuju znanstvenike različitih disciplina koje su organizirane oko pojedinih problema, kao što su klimatske promjene ili reforma kaznenog pravosuđa, također mogu biti vrlo plodne. Možemo li stvari preokrenuti ili zamisliti drukčija intelektualna ishodišta te potom zamisliti različitu intelektualnu putanju do koje bi moglo doći? Na primjer, što bi bilo kada knjižnice ne bi bile organizirane prema Deweyjevom decimalnom sustavu ili prema kategorijama materije (knjige, zbirke

itd.)? Koje bi se sve prilike pojavile kada bi korisnici otkrili drugačije, neočekivane stvari pokraj onoga po što su došli, povezane s njihovim interesima na neki neočekivan način? Što bi se desilo kada bi arhivistkinja počela s kutijom broj 50 umjesto s kutijom broj 1? Ili kada bi započela usred kutije broj 50? Mjesta susreta izgrađena prema sadašnjim načinima rada i klasifikacije bi se bez sumnje promijenila i presložila te bi nastale različite vrste uvida i znanstvenog rada.

Ne kažemo da treba u potpunosti napustiti stare načine promatranja i spoznavanja (kad bi to uopće bilo moguće). No kažemo da je potrebno više prostora dati alternativama te da trebamo ponovno razmotriti ono što vrednujemo kao “uzoran znanstveni rad”. Jako su važne analize koje izrađuju stručnjaci koji dugi niz godina proučavaju države i regije. Potrebni su nam ljudi s dubokom lingvističkom, kulturnom i povijesnom fluentnošću. No u današnjem nam je svijetu također potrebna dubinska analiza nekoliko različitih mjesta koja rasvjetljuje široke društvene obrasce koje dijele ili ono što je Richard Wilk (1995) nazvao “strukturama zajedničke razlike”. Pisac Tony Judt je, kao *homage* Isaiahu Berlinu, u jednoj od posljednjih knjiga za sebe rekao “odlučno odbijam biti jež. Nemam neku veliku teoriju o suvremenoj europskoj povijesti koju bih mogao iznijeti na ovim stranicama, niti jedinstvenu, sveobuhvatnu priču koju bih mogao ispričati” (Judt 2006: 7). To ne znači, nastavlja, da europska povijest nema tematski oblik. Umjesto toga, “Europa poput lisice zna puno toga” (ibid.). Smatramo da Judt ukazuje na važnu metodološku poantu. Nama su također potrebni opisi koji su nalik lisici, koji ne pretendiraju obuhvatiti svaki detalj mjesta koja opisuju nego daju precizne uvide jer istovremeno vide i šumu i stabla – te obrasce koji ih objedinjuju.

Nesavršenost takvog pristupa ne iznenađuje. Da bi se to moglo napraviti kako treba, mora se biti načisto s onim što se može i što se ne može tvrditi na osnovi nalaza te osvijestiti što se zna a što se ne može znati. Zadaća se mora napisati, ovisno o ježevima u određenom polju i trudeći se čitati na jezicima koje se možda ne govori. Ne može se biti “kaubojški” etnograf koji dogalopira na visokom konju arogantno vjerujući da sve može brzo i jednostavno vidjeti iz svog sedla. No najvažnije je da je potrebno krenuti s puno poniznosti i zamoliti kolege za vodstvo i praćenje na tom putu. “U glazbi”, napisali su Barbara Tomlinson i George Lipsitz (2013: 12),

pratiti druge svirače podrazumijeva više nego jednostavno dodavati nove zvukove u mješavinu. Praćenje iziskuje pažnju, komunikaciju i suradnju. Podrazumijeva proširivanje, naglašavanje ili susret jednog glazbenog glasa s drugim.

To znači truditi se u stvaranju dalekosežne istinski međunarodne mreže stručnjaka, znanstvenika i prijatelja koji će pružati potporu, te zahvaljujući tome živjeti puno bogatiji društveni i intelektualni život (Levitt 2015).

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O prihvatanju drugih znanja

Prije svega, želio bih zahvaliti autorima na uvijek pravovremenom doprinosu debati o hijerarhijama znanja proizvedenog u različitim dijelovima svijeta, uvjetima proizvodnje znanja, eurocentrizmu te, naposljetku no ne manje važno, na sugestijama o tome što bi valjalo činiti kako bi se smanjile nejednakosti u globalnom sustavu prestiža znanja. Autori predstavljaju svoje ideje kao niz čvršće ili manje čvrsto povezanih problema. Mogu komentirati samo neke od njih dopunjavanjem i pridodavanjem nekih novih ideja inspiriranih tekstom.

(1) Posve se slažem s time da integralni dio socioekonomskih nejednakosti čine intelektualna i kulturna nejednakost. Naravno, ta izjava traži detaljnije pojašnjenje, jer, shvati li se doslovno, mogla bi potvrditi kako znanje proizvedeno u bogatijim zemljama i/ili bogatijim i prestižnim akademskim centrima po definiciji ima veću kvalitetu. Po mom mišljenju, ta tvrdnja znači da su postojeće hijerarhije u stvarnom svijetu akademskih krugova uspostavljene upravo zbog već postojećih odnosa moći koji su određeni povijesno evolvirajućim socioekonomsko-političkim nejednakostima. Kako je to opisao Michel Foucault, kulturi i znanju koji su proizvedeni u takvim moćnim žarištima znanstvenog rada pripisuje se veća vrijednost. Zahvaljujući reproduktivnim mehanizmima kulturnih reprezentacija, koje je već razotkrio Edward Said (1978), materijalna se moć vrlo lako pretvara u simboličku moć, koja opravdava nadmoć moćnih predodžbi. Intelektualni kapital proizveden u tim središtima moći i znanja sami njegovi proizvođači u samoobrani i samohvali ocjenjuju kvalitetnijim. Predstavnici dominirajućih standarda djeluju kao normalizatori i propisivači normi te reguliraju polje društvenih znanosti. Zahvaljujući njima pojedine intelektualne tradicije neprestano imaju "više paradigmatске težine" (Restrepo i Escobar 2005: 100).

Sustav je zamršen, gusto isprepleten i s puno niti; podsjeća na rizomatsku strukturu Deleuzea i Guattarija (1987); čini samoopravdavajući i samoperpetuirajući skup. Teško da možemo ikoga okriviti za njegove posljedice. Snaga inercije čini neka stara "znanja" moćnima unatoč slabljenju ekonomske i političke moći koja podržava

proizvodnju tog znanja. Umanjivanje relativne globalne važnosti Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva nije proporcionalno pogodilo reputaciju britanske znanosti. Rast pojedinih ekonomskih sila poput Japana kao i moćnih ekonomskih i političkih supersila poput Kine ne podudara se direktno s utjecajem koji akademsko znanje proizvedeno u tim zemljama ima u globalnim znanstvenim trendovima – svakako je to slučaj u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima. Ulogu u tome bez sumnje igra jezična dominacija. U članku se s pravom kritizira to da je engleskom dodijeljena uloga jedinog *lingua franca* u akademskom svijetu, dok su izdanja na drugim jezicima podcijenjena. Znanstvenici su zbog toga pod pritiskom da objavljuju svoje radove u časopisima ili knjigama onih izdavača koji se smatraju prestižnima, naravno gotovo u pravilu na engleskom jeziku, a ne mora se posebno naglašavati da pisanje na jeziku koji nije materinski iziskuje puno više truda i vremena. Kako bi objavljivali na međunarodnoj sceni, znanstvenici koji žive izvan zapadnih centara oprimjeruju “provincijalni kozmopolitizam” (Lins-Ribeiro i Escobar 2006: 13) prema kojem uče dominantne zapadne teorije i paradigme. Čuvari ulaza koji kontroliraju sadržaj i kvalitetu tih časopisa i knjiga dolaze iz zapadnih centara znanstvene proizvodnje. Oni naginju reprodukciji paradigmi koje su im poznate i predstavljaju “kozmpolitski provincijalizam” (ibid.): zadovoljni sustavom koji ojačava njihovu poziciju ne moraju savladavati radikalno nova i njima strana znanja. Na taj se način začarani krug zatvara, sprečavajući cirkulaciju paradigmi.

(2) U takvom, hegemonijskom postavljenom svijetu naravno da je proizvedeno znanje zapadnocentrično. Ono se neizbježno pretvara da je univerzalno. Univerzalistička pretenzija tog znanja vidljiva je u gotovo svim aspektima života i područjima učenja. Ilustrativan je primjer koji su autori naveli koji pokazuje kako se migracije u karipskom području razumijevaju drugačije nego na “Zapadu”. A *pro domo sua*, kao antropolog bih dodao kako se u toj disciplini mnogo truda uložilo u stjecanje takvog relativiziranog znanja. Sada već desetljećima znamo da se znanje uvijek proizvodi lokalno, pa ni u društvenim znanostima nije drugačije. Levitt i Crul su u pravu kada kažu kako bismo trebali proučavati “premise koje su u pozadini znanja”, a da bismo lokalna iskustva integrirali u sveobuhvatniju sliku, nužno je istražiti povijesno-kulturno-genealoške razloge i strukturalne okolnosti zbog kojih fenomen nastaje. Radovi Erica Wolfa (1982) i Sidneyja Mintza (1985) poznate su prekretnice u proučavanju globalne međupovezanosti ljudi, stvari, povijesti i procesa. Knjiga Jamesa Boona *Other Tribes, Other Scribes* (1982) ili naslov članka Marshalla Sahlina “Other Times, Other Customs” (1983) lijepo ocrtavaju ideju prihvatanja ne-zapadnih, alternativnih epistemologija. Antropološki perspektivizam koji je ustanovio Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998) – koji zagovara tezu kako su kategorije starosjedioca Južne Amerike jedinstvene kozmologije čije su konfiguracije distinkcija nesvodive na zapadne binarne opozicije između kulture i prirode – može se smatrati recentnim oličenjem tih antropoloških napora. Supostavljanje dijakronijski i sinkronijski uzroka, lokaliziranje znanja, uključujući i naše vlastito, te povezivanje različitih znanja danas je naprosto nužnost. “Kontrapunktno čitanje” kulture i “opisi nalik lisici” koje autori preporučuju iznimno su važni. Znanstvenik društvenih znanosti djeluje više kao

karikaturist nego kao slikar. I, na kraju premda ne manje važno, metodološki nacionalizam sakriva više nego što može otkriti. U globaliziranom svijetu on je neodrživ.

(3) Globalizacija ekonomije, politike i znanosti nužno vodi prema dvama kontradiktornim procesima. S jedne strane, ona stvara ranije razmotrenu i osude vrijednu homogenizaciju akademskih paradigmi. S druge strane, takva mnogostrukost implicitno stvara raznolikost. Pluralizacija se odvija na nekoliko razina. Najprije, tu su inherentna rasprava i natjecanje između postojećih subparadigmi unutar hegemonijske “zapadne paradigme”. Stoga je opredmećena ideja “zapadne paradigme” oduvijek bila unutar sebe podijeljena. Razne nacionalne, regionalne i lingvističke grupe unutar “Zapada” žale se na dominaciju nekih drugih tradicija – Francuzi na anglo-američku, Nijemci na anglo-američko-francusku, Slaveni na anglo-američko-francusko-njemačku, ako se zadržimo na sjevernoj hemisferi i samo u Europi. Istovremeno, često naglašavana podjela na globalni Sjever i globalni Jug esencijalizira mapu koja je mnogo raznolikija i kružnija. Esencijalizirana predodžba zasjenjuje mnoge druge podjele, primjerice onu između Istoka i Zapada. Potonja također poprima formu regionalnog europskog orijentalizma. U domeni znanosti nalazimo je u načinu na koji je istočnoeuropska znanost klasificirana kao konceptualno inferiorna hegemonijskom Zapadu (Buchowski 2012). Hijerarhijski sustav koji podcjenjuje znanje koje se proizvodi u bivšim socijalističkim zemljama ima razorne materijalne posljedice. Ovdje to ne mogu šire elaborirati, no dovoljno je reći da su među projektima koje financira Europsko istraživačko vijeće oni projekti čiji prijedlozi dolaze iz spomenute regije iznimno rijetki.¹ Mehanizam je okrutan: u panelima prevladavaju zapadni znanstvenici, za vanjske recenzente predlažu kolege koji dijele njihove istraživačke paradigme, a projekti koji nisu u skladu s tim predodžbama osuđeni su na propast. No, ne možemo nikoga držati odgovornim za to jer je u pitanju sustav. Levitt i Crul ističu mane u praksi dodjele sredstava EU-a, no iz perspektive onih koji ih dobivaju.

Na razini teorijskih promišljanja ostaje nam pitanje hegemonijskih epistemoloških i metodoloških pretpostavki koje se stječu u zapadnom akademskom svijetu. Provincijalizacija Europe može imati različita lica. Prvo je spomenuto u članku Levitt i Crula. To je postkolonijalna kritika i/ili subalterni studiji. Međutim, eminentni predstavnici te tradicije – Gayatri Spivak, Dipesh Chakrabarty ili Achille Mbembe – zapravo su bili kooptirani ili su bili intelektualno i institucionalno obuhvaćeni zapadnim akademskim svijetom. Namjera mi nije umanjiti njihov neosporni doprinos kritičkoj misli, no mora se priznati da njihovi radovi obiluju referencama na Nietzschea, Hegela, Marxa, Heideggera, Freuda, Lacana, Haydena Whitea,

¹ Brojne informacije o tome mogu se pronaći na internetskoj stranici Europskog istraživačkog vijeća. Za ilustraciju ću navesti da je 2017. godine u kategoriji “Advanced Grants” raspodjela po državama bila sljedeća (u zagradama su sredstva dodijeljena društvenim i humanističkim znanostima): Austrija 7 (1), Belgija 8 (2), Danska 5 (2), Finska 4 (2), Francuska 34 (8), Njemačka 42 (4), Mađarska 2 (1), Irska 4 (1), Izrael 13 (1), Italija 11 (4), Luksemburg 1 (0), Nizozemska 16 (6), Norveška 2 (1), Portugal 1 (0), Slovenija 1 (0), Španjolska 18 (6), Švedska 10 (2), Švicarska 24 (1), Turska 1 (1), Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo 66 (17). Ponovno vidimo da lavovski dio odlazi u Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo, Njemačku i Francusku, a proporcionalno velik dio manjim ali bogatim državama (npr. Švicarska, skandinavske zemlje, Nizozemska, Izrael). U bivšoj Istočnoj Europi samo su Mađarska i Slovenija zajedno uspjele dobiti tri potpore od ukupno dvjesto sedamdeset, što je nešto više od 1%! (<https://erc.europa.eu/projects-figures/statistics?data, pristup 26. 8. 2018.>).

Carrea i druge utemeljitelje zapadne filozofije i povijesti. Drugu tradiciju, protuhegemonijsku zapadnoj tradiciji, predstavljaju latinoamerički znanstvenici kao što su Anibal Quijan, Walter Mignolio i Ramon Grosfoguel (2008), koji su razvili tzv. "dekolonizirajuću perspektivu". Oni zagovaraju radikalnu dekolonizaciju znanja potpunim odbacivanjem epistemološkog eurocentrizma, pogotovo kantovskog dualizma. Odbacivanje zapadne episteme trebalo bi osloboditi modalitete misli koje Zapad potiskuje. Drugi način potkopavanja zapadnog univerzalizma politički sponzoriraju države koje žele spriječiti neželjeni transfer znanja. Rezultat toga je da, iako zapadne ideje bujaju posvuda, neke istraživačke zone društvenih znanosti mogu formirati, barem djelomično, nezavisne intelektualne zone i unutarnje održive znanstvene jedinice. Primjer su toga Kina i Rusija. Čak i ako ih Zapad označi provincijalnim, njega one mogu vidjeti kao izvor irelevantnih intelektualnih propozicija. Pokazuje se da ne zagovaraju svi protuhegemonijski programi slobodan protok znanja te da ne zaslužuju svi našu podršku.

(4) Levitt i Crul su u potrazi za integrativnim programom koji bi omogućavao spajanje intelektualnih horizonata. Možda je Chakrabartyjev program koji prihvaćaju zaista uvjerljiv. Zasigurno, njihova dijagnoza u suglasju je s ocjenom Ulricha Becka:

Mainstream društvena teorija još uvijek udobno lebdi iznad nizina epohalnih transformacija [...] u stanju univerzalističke superiornosti i instinktivne izvjesnosti. Ta univerzalistička društvena teorija [...] danas je i zastarjela i provincijalna. *Zastarjela* jer isključuje a priori ono što se može opažati empirički [...]; *provincijalna* jer krivo apsolutizira putanju, povijesno iskustvo i buduća očekivanja zapadne, tj. pretežno europske ili sjevernoameričke, modernizacije i time također ne uspijeva vidjeti vlastitu partikularnost. (Beck 2016: 258)

No tom se krizom ne bave samo u sociologiji. Kako sam ranije napomenuo, ona je već podosta vremena na dnevnom redu antropologa.

(5) Nešto je u zraku već neko vrijeme i nekoliko je pokušaja nedavno bilo u antropologiji. Ovdje nema dovoljno prostora za raspravu o knjigama i člancima objavljenima na tu temu. Glavni argumenti izloženi su u *The Lausanne Manifesto* (Saillant, Kilani i Graezer Bideau 2011). Naznačio bih samo kako taj uzlet poprima i organizacijski oblik. Godine 2004. osnovana je mreža *World Council of Anthropological Associations*, u čijem se statutu² može pročitati kako su ciljevi između ostalog: služiti kao forum za komunikaciju; raspravljati kako profesija može najbolje odgovoriti na suvremene izazove koji su i sami često rezultat sila i odnosa koji se nalaze iznad razine individualne nacije-države; olakšavati diseminaciju antropološkog rada na brojnim jezicima kako bi se poboljšalo znanje svjetskih antropologija; suprotstavljati se hegemoniji proizvodnje znanja na engleskom jeziku. Iako izraženi intradisciplinarnim jezikom, ti ciljevi savršeno slijede želju Peggy Levitt i Mauricea Crula za izgradnjom nehegemonijskog i nehijerarhijskog znanja, i u akademskom svijetu i izvan njega. Interdisciplinarna suradnja u tom i u mnogim drugim aspektima zaista je jako preporučljiva.

² http://www.iaaes.org/wau_constitution_171124.pdf (pristup 26. 8. 2018.).

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Promišljanje o istini i objektivnosti: etika proizvodnje znanja

Sredinom dvadesetog stoljeća, kada je proces dekolonijalizacije bio gotovo dovršen, a nove su nacije oblikovale svoje identitete, dogodila se promjena paradigme u proizvodnji znanja kada su oni koji su prethodno bili bez glasa, "starosjedioci", počeli činiti da ih se čuje. Postkolonijalna proizvodnja znanja uglavnom se razvijala u obliku kritike, procesa dekonstrukcije homolognog ograničenjima i granicama identiteta, geopolitičkih, filozofskih, estetskih i intelektualnih, koja je protresla temelje, kako se sada vjeruje, konstruirane "istine" kao jedinog legitimnog oblika znanja. Danas razumijemo raspodjelu moći u pozadini tog oblika proizvodnje znanja. Kolonijalizacija i ekonomska dominacija dijela zapadnog svijeta išle su ruku pod ruku s definicijom znanosti i "objektivne istine".

Kao što ukazuju autori, samo višeglasna i višelokalna proizvodnja znanja može odgovarati ontološkoj stvarnosti današnjeg svijeta pokreta i konflikata. Međutim, glavna je prepreka tom izvrsnom pothvatu, čak ako ga načelno prihvatimo, to što je transcendenciju subjektivnosti koja se tim projektom podrazumijeva teško ili čak nemoguće postići. Levitt i Crul dotakli su se ciljeva koji su usredotočeni na ego i ostvarivanje interesa moćnika, poput onih koji dodjeljuju sredstva za istraživanje. Nema sumnje da se radi o stvarnim problemima, no želim naglasiti da čak i intencionalnost može biti zamagljena našom zatomljenom subjektivnošću, duboko ukorijenjenom psihom koja nama upravlja protivno našoj volji.

Jedno je od rješenja, iako samo intelektualno, odustati od ideje objektivnih istina. Radi etičnosti javlja se potreba za odustajanjem od hinjenja objektivnosti jer je to nemoguć, a u ovim okolnostima i nepoželjan cilj. Moramo prepoznati istinu o višestrukim izvorima znanja i mnogobrojnim metodama stjecanja znanja, drugim riječima, višestrukost epistemologija. No stvarni problem predstavljaju praktični aspekti univerzalizacije brojnih škola proizvodnje znanja. Riječ je o problemu s kojim se suočavaju oni koji rade na autohtonim sustavima znanja. Problem prijevoda nije prenošenje riječi iz jednog jezika u drugi, nego prijelaz u potpuno drukčiju kognitivnu perspektivu.

Činjenica da govorimo različitim jezicima velika je razdjelnica među različitim skupinama ljudi. No kao što svi lingvisti i antropolozi dobro znaju, nije riječ (*langue*) ta koja proizvodi značenje nego govor, društveni kontekst pojma. On se izražava ne samo riječima nego i intonacijom, gestama, izrazima lica i svim neverbalnim znakovima. Osim toga, postoje lingvistički koncepti poput metafora i tropa koji imaju ključnu ulogu u postizanju točnog značenja što nije ekvivalent onoga što je rečeno. Drugim riječima, riječi same po sebi, ako su prevedene, ne prenose ništa od onoga što je potrebno prenijeti. Svi mi koji smo prošli obuku iz antropološkog terenskog

rada vrlo smo dobro upoznati s tim aspektima prijevoda, no uvijek dolazi do omaški jer je naš nesvjesni um strukturiran tako da subjektivnost nije moguće u potpunosti transcendirati. Stupanj do kojega se može "odučiti", recimo to tako, jest stupanj svjesnosti o vlastitoj subjektivnosti. U svakoj kulturi određene riječi i koncepte uzimamo zdravo za gotovo, nesvjesni kako se oni mogu učiniti drugima, čime ograničavamo stupanj odučavanja.

Dok sam predavala starijim učenicima u SAD-u u sklopu programa cjeloživotnog učenja, prišla mi je jedna starija gospođa i upitala me zašto Indijke svoje vjenčano prstenje nose na nožnim prstima! Činjenica jest da u nekim dijelovima Indije udane žene doista nose nešto što se na engleski može prevesti "prsten za nožne prste", no na lokalnom jeziku koristi se pojam koji taj ukras ne povezuje s prstenom. To nije prsten, nego predmet koji ima svoj vlastiti identitet, a pojam na hindskom jeziku je "*bichuya*" i u potpunosti je različit od pojma za prsten koji glasi "*angûthi*". Stoga, u umu Indijaca ono što se nosi na nožnom prstu ni na koji način nije povezano s onim što se nosi na prstu na ruci. Zapravo, bilo koji izvorni govornik ostao bi potpuno zatečen kada bi netko takvo što uopće sugerirao. No čak i u Indiji, kada ljudi govore engleski jezik, upotrebljavaju pojam "prsten na nožnom prstu", ali mentalno ga ne povezuju s prstenom koji se nosi na ruci. Tako se dublje nijanse kulturnih konotacija i njihovih izražaja u jeziku nastavljaju u doslovnom prijevodu. Upijanje i primjena znanja proizvedenog u drugoj kulturi zato su teški i potrebno je istinsko usklađivanje s kulturom i načinima života. Na neki način to može biti pravo rješenje za transcendiranje "drugosti" i izgradnju mostova. Učenje stranog jezika zapravo otvara vrata razumijevanju koje može ostati nepotpuno bez istodobnog razumijevanja drugog u kulturnom i društvenom smislu.

Što se tiče stereotipa koji se projiciraju na "drugoga", postoji aspekt stereotipa koji često ostaje neprimijećen, bez obzira na to radi li se o dobrim ili lošim stereotipima. Iako se često slažemo da stereotipi vode homogenizaciji "drugoga", zaboravljamo na aspekt unutarnje "proizvodnje drugosti". "Drugi" je najčešće i interno stratificiran. Kada slika "drugog" nije namjerno usmjerena na stvaranje negativne slike, "drugi" se često konstruira u slici onih koji dominiraju ili koji čine moćan segment druge skupine. Tako me kao Indijku ljudi iz drugih zemalja, čak i antropolozi, često pitaju zbog čega nisam vegetarijanka!

Potom muku mučim objašnjavajući da ne samo da svi Indijci nisu hinduisti nego da čak među hinduistima mnogi jedu mesu. Promatrajući iz perspektive dominacije, razlog postojanja takve predrasude leži u činjenici da su najpoznatiji i najmoćniji Indijci istovremeno i hinduisti i kao pripadnici više klase hinduista nerijetko vegetarijanci. U Indiji pripadnici nižih kasta nikada nisu vegetarijanci i to je i dalje osnovni kriterij diskriminacije usmjerene protiv njih. No postoje i mnogi autohtoni ljudi, koje se naziva "plemenima", a koji imaju posve jednak politički položaj kao starosjedioci koloniziranih zemalja poput Australije, Novog Zelanda i SAD-a. Oni nisu niti hinduisti niti vegetarijanci, a ni ne odijevaju se poput većine Indijaca. Međutim, i dalje je tu stereotip o Indijkama kao ženama odjevenim u sari koje uglavnom jedu ono što zrakoplovne tvrtke nazivaju "hinduističkom vegetarijanskom" hranom. Kul-

tura i načini života marginaliziranih ljudi, nižih kasta i autohtonog stanovništva ne ulaze u dominantnu sliku onoga što znači "biti Indijac". Tako je proces unutarnje kolonijalizacije puno zlokobniji od one eksterne jer ostaje nezamijećen. Kada se bavimo izbjeglicama ili preseljenim stanovništvom, osim što moramo biti pažljivi prema njihovim institucijama i kulturama, također moramo biti osjetljivi na taj aspekt unutarnje stratifikacije i heterogenosti.

Postoji veća potreba za prepoznavanjem procesa unutarnje kolonijalizacije, unutarnjih raznolikosti "drugoga", pa tako čak ako kao antropolozi ili humanitarni radnici osjećamo potrebu za povezivanjem, moramo razumjeti da "drugi" nije homogena kategorija. Jezik, na primjer, ima brojne oblike uvjetovane rodom, a razlikuje se i među klasama, pa čak i starosnim dobima. Kada se povezujemo s drugim ili kada prevodimo, važno je da prepoznamo i budemo osjetljivi na to da ne prevodimo samo na jezik moćnika. Pogreška svojstvena čak i antropolozima jest da su oni u određenim situacijama čuli samo jednu vrstu jezika ili su obratili pozornost na samo jednu vrstu objašnjenja, čak i kada je ona došla od autohtonih naroda. U Indiji, na primjer, postoji čitava generacija više kaste i patrijarhalnih objašnjenja sustava kasta, koja iako nisu pogrešna niti se mogu okriviti s intelektualnog gledišta, čine samo jedan od mogućih opisa, kao što je to gledište Dalita ili feminističko gledište. Višeglasje je aspekt življene stvarnosti. Njegovo prihvatanje stvara pritisak na naše konvencionalne načine razumijevanja te predstavlja izazov za prevodenje i korištenje jezika. Kao antropolozi moramo prihvatiti taj izazov da bismo ostali vjerni svom pozivu, odnosno da bismo dali vjerodostojnost drugim životima i načinima spoznavanja.

Zato, kada mislimo da zapravo ugrađujemo druge oblike znanja, na primjer kineskog ili indijskog, ne smijemo zaboraviti da ne postoji samo jedan jezik već da i unutar drugog postoje ljudi s različitim stupnjevima moći koji im omogućuju da ih se čuje. Iz toga proizlazi da je antropološki konstrukt "očiste istraživanih" (*native point of view*) zapravo možda puno raznolikije no što može biti poznato. Pravi antropološki doprinos i razumijevanje podrazumijevali bi stoga društvenu i političku kontekstualizaciju svih oblika primljenog znanja. Čak i ako ne možemo prihvatiti i znati sve oblike spoznavanja, možemo ih poštivati uvažavajući da postoje.

Da bismo bili poštteni prema drugima, moramo osvijestiti svoje predrasude i shvatiti da "tamo vani" nema ničega što je moguće pojmiti na brzinu, već da postoje stvarnosti koje trebamo razumjeti tako što ćemo im posvetiti dovoljno vremena. Nekima od njih možda nikada nećemo moći pristupiti, no i to je potrebno prihvatiti. Ortiz (2016: 128) tako citira Wittgensteina, koji smatra da može postojati bezbroj opisa iste situacije (što se često događa sa svjedocima). Ne postoje laži ili istine, već samo izvedivost, tj. ono što najbolje odgovara određenoj situaciji. Što se tiče pravnih propisa, komparativnu nefleksibilnost modernog pravnog sustava možemo usporediti s fleksibilnošću nekih autohtonih sustava u kojima se svaki slučaj ocjenjuje u kontekstu, a tako se i presuđuje, imajući na umu ne samo ono što se dogodilo nego i ono što će se dogoditi ako se poduzme neka radnja. U tom smislu, a posebno u odnosu na izbjeglice i prisilne migrante, pravni aspekti ne smiju prevladati humanost. Na primjer, što će se dogoditi ako se djecu razdvaja od njihovih roditelja! Stoga kod

primjene pravila i normi nije riječ samo o onome što *treba* učiniti već djelovanje treba diktirati i moguća posljedica te norme.

Društvena stvarnost se i proživljava i provodi, i oba ta aspekta trebaju činiti dio filozofije istine, koju su se antropolozi posvetili slijediti.

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Europske unutarnje hijerarhije proizvodnje znanja:
pogled iz nekoć izuzetno raznolikog društvenog konteksta

Peggy Levitt i Maurice Crul postavljaju važno pitanje premisa proizvodnje znanja u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima te pozivaju na "njihovo temeljito preispitivanje i reorganizaciju". Kao i bogat korpus radova kritičke teorije i postkolonijalnih studija, autori tvrde da su znanstveni pristupi u SAD-u i Europi zapadnocentrični, "utemeljeni na teorijama koje su se razvile na globalnom Sjeveru i odražavaju njegovo iskustvo". Autori pozivaju na kritičko promišljanje te činjenice kako bi se prepoznale specifične povijesne okolnosti zapadne proizvodnje znanja te kako bismo iskoračili iz njenih univerzalizirajućih tvrdnji i hegemonije. Poziv autora ima i dekonstruktivistički i konstruktivistički aspekt: dekonstruiranjem proizvodnje znanja u SAD-u i Europi autori žele ucrtati "put naprijed". Njihov ću rad komentirati iz svog položaja europske etnologije i sociokulturne antropologije.

Kritičko promišljanje vlastite proizvodnje znanja bitna je značajka socijalne i kulturne antropologije. Ono je postalo nezaobilazno postmodernim obratom i razvojem postkolonijalnih i feminističkih teorija u antropologiji 1980-ih godina. Devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća antropološku/etnološku proizvodnju znanja u europskim postsocijalističkim zemljama također je obilježio snažan refleksivni obrat. Njegovo pojavljivanje odražava otvaranje mogućnosti dijaloga između bivšeg Zapadnog (demokratskog) i Istočnog (socijalističkog/komunističkog) bloka nakon raspada potonjeg 1989. godine. Također, ukazuje na činjenicu da Europa nipošto nije homogena cjelina kako se često implicira kada se o njoj govori. Europske unutarnje političke, socioekonomske i kulturne nejednakosti te s njima povezane hijerarhije moći prelijevaju se u znanstvene hijerarhije. Znanstvenici iz Istočne Europe te su hijerarhije doveli u pitanje; etnolozi/antropolozi³ iz bivšeg socijalističkog bloka i oni sa Zapada pokrenuli su raspravu, koju su predvodili kolege iz Poljske i Hrvatske. Ukratko, ra-

³ Povijesne okolnosti nastanka i razvoja etnoloških i antropoloških znanosti u različitim europskim zemljama utjecale su na njihove nazive, fokus i predmet istraživanja, kao i na teorijske okvire te na utjecaje iz disciplina koje se prakticiraju u susjednim zemljama i centrima globalne proizvodnje znanja.

sprave su se vodile o prirodi etnologija koje se prakticiraju na Istoku i o tome mogu li one težiti uključenju u socijalnu i kulturnu antropologiju kako je definira zapadna praksa discipline. Neki su zapadni antropolozi u tim raspravama degradirali etnološka i folkloristička istraživanja u bivšem socijalističkom bloku smatrajući ih drugorazrednom antropologijom koja ne pripada relevantnom znanju. Znanstvenici Istočnog bloka “uzvratili su udarac”, ukazujući na to da sama rasprava razotkriva hijerarhije moći u proizvodnji znanja te da se može promatrati kao primjer akademskog neokolonijalizma (usp. Čapo 2014 za pregled).

Takvi kritički glasovi, usmjereni protiv onog što se doživljava zapadnom akademskom hegemonijom, u posljednje su se vrijeme uskladili, a u konačnici su ih poduprli i antropolozi sa Zapada (ili onoga što se doživljava Zapadom). Između ostalih, François Ruegg (2014) se uvjerljivo zauzeo za “deontologiju pravednosti i jednakosti” u akademskim raspravama diljem Europe kao preduvjet za dijalog i razmjenu među različitim nacionalnim tradicijama bavljenja etnologijom/antropologijom.

Premda je ograničena na europske znanstvenike, te time europocentrična, ta je rasprava važan dio drugih regionalnih pokušaja razotkrivanja zapadne hegemonije u antropologiji. Oni time sudjeluju u postkolonijalnoj kritici zapadnih fantazija projiciranih na lokalne kulture u nekad kolonijaliziranim područjima i zalažu se za to da se doprinosi domaćih antropologa vide kao relevantno znanje te da se antropologija odmakne od svoje zapadne pristranosti.

Popriličan je to zadatak za društvene i humanističke znanosti. Prilikom predlaganja “konstruktivnih putova naprijed” potrebno je, kako ističu Levitt i Crul, prevladati cijeli niz raznovrsnih prepreka. Među ostalim, to su homogenizirajući učinak globalizacije i neoliberalizma, financiranje projekata koji su povezani s izradom politika te njihovo vremensko ograničenje, metodološki nacionalizam, odjelite disciplinske niše s njima svojstvenim žargonima te zapadne epistemološke i ontološke pretpostavke. Smatram da spomenute prepreke nisu sve jednako problematične. S jedne strane, metodološki nacionalizam uglavnom je prevladan u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima, a svakako u antropologiji i istraživanju migracija. S druge strane, unatoč trima desetljećima kritike proizvodnje znanja i apelima za njeno decentriranje, zapadne znanstvene pretpostavke pokazale su se tvrdokornima. Čini se da se s njima najteže obračunati zbog duboko ukorijenjene pretpostavke da su univerzalne. Što se tiče financiranja projekata – a pritom mogu govoriti jedino o projektima u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima financiranim od strane EU-a – osim što je raspodjela sredstava određena aktualnim društvenim pitanjima i vođena politikama, determinirana je i ekonomijom, odnosno financijskim doprinosima pojedinih država članica u zajednički proračun EU-a. To također ukazuje na sveprisutni pozadinski problem nejednake (ekonomske) moći.

Slažem se da zone udobnosti pojedinih disciplina sprečavaju dijalog među disciplinama. U nekim disciplinama to je manje izraženo nego u drugima. Među njima bih istaknula dvije discipline na čijem sam razmeđu započela svoj susret s društvenim i humanističkim znanostima – sociokulturnu antropologiju i demografiju. Antropologija je otvorenija interdisciplinarnom dijalogu zbog težnji prema holizmu i

kontekstualizaciji, a demografija stoga što se oslanja na teorije izvedene iz ekonomije i drugih društvenih znanosti. Problemi koji stoje iza nesklonosti dijalogu među disciplinama nisu samo nesavladive konceptualne i žargonske razlike te nerado napuštanje zone udobnosti nego i uspostavljene hijerarhije moći među disciplinama. Te hijerarhije mogu biti različito artikulirane u različitim zemljama.

Popis prepreka usložnjava se kada se pridoda pitanje jezika. Naime, da bismo stvorili pravedan i informirani međunarodni dijalog unutar pojedinih disciplina i među njima, koji bismo jezik trebali koristiti? Kojim bismo jezicima trebali ovladati? Ako engleski jezik nastavi biti dominantan jezik akademskog svijeta, izgledno je da će postojeće nejednakosti i hijerarhije moći ostati netaknute.

Naposljetku, metafore koje autori koriste za suočavanje s problemom zapadnih epistemoloških i ontoloških pretpostavki o ljudskom iskustvu smatram nadahnujućima za ucrtavanje smjera za alternativne proizvodnje znanja. Konceptualiziranje stranosti i drugosti kao i inkorporiranje migracija i različitosti te upravljanje njima doista su povijesno i društveno konstruirani. Etnička i religijska raznolikost – i tolerancija – bile su bitne značajke Srednje i Jugoistočne Europe duboko u 20. stoljeće. Nakon Prvog svjetskog rata nove nacionalne države utemeljene na ruševinama Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i Osmanskog Carstva započele su proces homogenizacije. No, taj proces nije u potpunosti potisnuo povijesnu raznolikost. Također, dnevne, sezonske i dugotrajne migracije u druge dijelove Europe i svijeta bile su uobičajeno, a ne izvanredno, iskustvo brojnih ljudi u Srednjoj i Jugoistočnoj Europi. Smatram da bi širenje znanja o tim prošlim društvenim obrascima izvan uskih stručnih krugova istraživača regije (obično povjesničara, uz poneke antropologe) u dominantna društvenoznanstvena i humanistička istraživanja suvremenih pitanja mobilnosti i različitosti otvorilo nove perspektive istraživanja i potaknulo prijeko potrebno preispitivanje naslijeđenih kategorija i intelektualnih genealogija. Pojedina znanstvena istraživanja migracija, među kojima radovi Peggy Levitt i Mauricea Crula zauzimaju istaknuto mjesto, već su krenula tim smjerom: upućeni su pozivi za decentriranje i “demigrantizaciju” studija migracija te za rekonceptualiziranje uloge migranata i poslijemigracijskih naraštaja kao i nemigranata u velikim gradovima; javili su se pozivi za ponovno promišljanje značenja “integracije” i rasprave o tome kojim bi skupinama integracijske mjere trebale biti namijenjene itd. (Crul i Schneider 2010; Treibel 2015; Nieswand 2016; Dahinden 2016). Sve su to odlični primjeri stvaranja novih putova u proizvodnji znanja. Uz odgovarajuću podršku medija dobrobit tog novijeg znanstvenog rada vidim i izvan akademske zajednice, gdje je sve potrebnije potaknuti promjenu trenutno široko rasprostranjene percepcije da migracije i različitost predstavljaju ugrozu našim društvima.

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Kako se samo-od-disciplinirati: u potrazi za alternativnim
i eksperimentalnim formatima

Kritika uvjeta proizvodnje znanja koju iskazuju Peggy Levitt i Maurice Crul dio je rastućeg nezadovoljstva radnim uvjetima u visokom obrazovanju (usp. npr. dva novija izdanja talijanskog časopisa otvorenog pristupa *Anuac: Journal of the Italian Society of Cultural Anthropology* posvećena "neoliberalnom sveučilištu").⁴ Njihov je poziv na traženje alternativa pozitivan i svjež jer nas potiče na razmišljanje kako izaći iz akademskog okruženja koje je sve više izloženo revizijama i organizirano po strogim načelima, gdje uprave vode sveučilišta kao da vode korporacije, diktiraju naše akademske aktivnosti i ograničavaju naše akademske slobode vrednujući ono što radimo samo u odnosu na financijsku korist koju taj rad donosi. U samo nekoliko desetljeća takav je pristup doveo do globalnog tržišta istraživanja i obrazovanja, s nejednakostima između sveučilišta i unutar njih, s obzirom na to je li pojedinac socijaliziran i apsorbiran u taj neoliberalni sustav ili nije, ima li pristup vodećim međunarodnim časopisima iz svoga područja te može li se kao neizvorni govornik prebaciti na sofisticirani akademski engleski kao jezik komunikacije.

Lakše je o opiranju takvim trendovima govoriti nego to učiniti i shvaćam da govorim iz povlaštene pozicije budući da sam osamnaest godina radio na University College London, jednom od najbolje rangiranih i samodeklariranom "globalnom sveučilištu", a danas sam profesor u stalnom radnom odnosu na jednom njemačkom sveučilištu. Ipak, znam o čemu govorim: prije nego što sam se prije četiri godine preselio u Njemačku, uprava sveučilišta mi je dala do znanja koja su istraživanja prioritet, a na koja mogu zaboraviti (savjetovali su mi, na primjer, da pokolj u Srebrenici nastavim istraživati "u svoje slobodno vrijeme" s obzirom na to da sam već bio objavio jednu monografiju). Neki od ključnih rezultata istraživanja koje ću prikazati u ovom tekstu smatrani su isuviše "riskantnima" i nekonvencionalnima da bi se 2014. godine mogli kvalificirati za REF (*Research Excellence Framework*, Okvir za istraživačku izvrsnost), sustav za procjenjivanje kvalitete istraživanja u visokoobrazovnim ustanovama u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu. Srećom, nakon što sam izbjegao takve pritiske, sada radim u okruženju koje pruža puno više podrške, mada se nalazi u "provinciji", u kojemu mogu nastaviti istraživati genocid u Srebrenici i razvijati nove formate istraživanja, podučavanja i diseminacije znanja, kako sam to započeo u Londonu. U

⁴ <http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/anuac/index>; *Forum. Anthropologists in/of the Neoliberal Academy* 5/1, 2016, <http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/anuac/issue/view/63> i *Forum. Anthropologists Witnessing and Reshaping the Neoliberal Academy* 6/1, 2017, <http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/anuac/issue/view/86>.

komentar u ću pružiti kratak pregled svojih aktivnosti kako bih se pozabavio nekim od pitanja koje su Levitt i Crul spomenuli.

Isprva me na drukčiji put nagnala nelagoda zbog onoga što sam napisao o događanjima u Srebrenici: djelo o lokalnoj povijesti koje je objavljeno kao prilog izvješću o padu Srebrenice koji je financirala nizozemska vlada (Duijzings 2002). Premda sveobuhvatno i utemeljeno na intenzivnom četverogodišnjem istraživanju, ipak sam imao osjećaj da je “nepotpuno” jer nije omogućavalo dublje razumijevanje zbivanja. Osim toga, unatoč mojim naporima da bude uravnoteženo, nije imalo željeni odjek – da pruži inkluzivni prikaz koji bi mogao biti temeljem za zajedničko razumijevanje rata. Iako je izvješće imalo velik utjecaj (privuklo je puno medijske pozornosti i dovelo do ostavke nizozemske vlade), bio sam prilično razočaran (što je s moje strane bilo naivno) zbog ograničenog utjecaja koje je postiglo u suočavanju s bolnom prošlošću. Prvi korak koji sam poduzeo u smjeru proizvodnje nečega drukčijeg bio je eksperimentalni film koji sam snimio s Rastkom Novakovićem, umjetnikom koji živi u Londonu, koji je pružio kritičko i osobno promišljanje o mom radu u bivšoj Jugoslaviji (*Lebensraum | Living space*, 2009).⁵ Na filmu smo radili dvije i pol godine, a scenarij se temeljio na dnevniku istraživanja koji sam pisao dok sam boravio u regiji tijekom 1992. godine. Film prikazuje kako “izvodim” arhivu dnevničkih zabilješki, izlazeći iz ureda i hodajući londonskim ulicama (podroban osvrt na film v. u Duijzings i Novaković 2016). Film je, dok je meni bio važan u smislu promišljanja o ratovima i mog antropolozskog rada, viđen kao previše nekonvencionalan da bi se uklopio standardnu akademsku bibliografiju; nije se uklapao u REF.

Isto vrijedi i za projekt *Cities Methodologies* (CM), hibridni format događanja koji sam razradio negdje u isto vrijeme, kombinirajući izložbu umjetničkog i akademskog rada u području urbanih studija, s razgovorima umjetnika i akademskim raspravama. Projekt je ubrzo izrastao u važno događanje koje se jednom godišnje odvijalo u sklopu UCL Urban Laboratory (2008. – 2016.).⁶ Misao vodilja bila je potaknuti promišljanje o tome kako nastaje znanje o gradovima te kako prepoznati nove inovativne ideje istraživanja suvremenog urbanog života koji se brzo mijenja. Prikazani su novi i eksperimentalni radovi umjetnika i pripadnika akademske zajednice raznih disciplina. Sudionike je prisilio na razmatranje metoda i protokola te drugih pitanja kao što su suradnja i diseminacija. CM je, kao otvoren i fleksibilan format događanja prema načelu “creative commons”, bio “ponuđen” drugima za izvedbu drugdje (što se dogodilo u Bukureštu 2010., Beogradu 2016. i Tirani 2018. godine; za Bukurešt usp. Duijzings, Dumitriu i Király 2011). Prednost tog projekta bila je i još uvijek jest činjenica da može prikazati višestruke lokalne perspektive, urbana istraživanja i umjetničke prakse. Niti taj se projekt nije uklopio u REF.

Zbornik *Engaged Urbanism: Cities, Methodologies* (uređen s Benom Campkinom; Campkin i Duijzings 2016a) sadrži izbor od tridesetak projekata prikazanih u sklopu CM-a zajedno s kratkim esejima s pojašnjenima i popratnim vizualnim materijalima.

⁵ Film se može pogledati na: <http://www.rastko.co.uk/lebensraum/> ili preuzeti s: <https://archive.org/details/LebensraumLivingSpace>.

⁶ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/urbanlab/research/cities-methodologies>.

U uvodu knjige (Campkin i Duijzings 2016b) bavimo se gotovo istim pitanjima kao Levitt i Crul, promišljamo o važnosti inovativnih i eksperimentalnih praksi i predlažemo nove načine provođenja istraživanja u urbanim kontekstima. Njihove procjene da postojeći leksik nije “usklađen” s današnjicom, da glavna struja u znanosti “nije uštimana”, sadržavajući teorije i koncepte koji su relevantni samo globalnom Sjeveru, te da se novi fenomeni ne uklapaju u “stare kategorije” u velikoj se mjeri poklapaju s točkama koje navodimo u uvodu. Jedan je od naših zaključaka da svaki grad, urbana lokacija ili urbani fenomen mogu trebati specifičan skup metoda, prepoznajući i potvrđujući poseban ontološki status pojedinačnih gradova u različitim dijelovima svijeta s njima svojstvenim osobinama i povijestima. Glavna je inspiracija rad humane geografinje Jennifer Robinson, koja se zalaže za postkolonijalni i empirički utemeljen komparativni urbanizam, koji u prvi plan stavlja studije slučaja iz različitih dijelova svijeta, kao što su gradovi postsocijalističke Istočne Europe (usp. npr. Robinson 2011, 2016). Ona naglašava intrinzičnu lokalnu ukorijenjenost naših koncepata i teorijskih nastojanja dok ih oblikujemo i prilagođavamo kontekstima u kojima radimo te tvrdi da bismo trebali sve više početi “razmišljati o drugim mjestima”. Nove se ideje mogu pojaviti samo ako se zagledamo dalje od postojećih pristupa znanosti koji se fokusiraju na nekolicinu glasovitih “globalnih gradova” na ona mjesta gdje se zbivaju najdramatičnije urbane transformacije, kao što je to slučaj u postsocijalističkim gradovima.

Engaged Urbanism poziva na eksperimentalni obrat u urbanim studijima, pomicanje metodoloških granica i proizvodnju nove vrste podataka. Kao što tvrdimo u uvodnom dijelu, to podrazumijeva preispitivanje ustanovljenih metodoloških navika, olabavljenje ustanovljenih intelektualnih i konceptijskih mreža, pronalaženje inspiracije u umjetničkom radu te omogućavanje okušavanja i testiranja “nediscipliniranih” istraživačkih praksi. Također se zalažemo za rušenje institucionalnih ograda između akademskih i neakademskih okruženja kako bi neke od novih stvarnosti koje su utišane ili zamagljene u glavnim strujama istraživanja postale vidljive. Kao odgovor na prvi problem koji ističu Levitt i Crul, “pitanja koja postavljamo”, predložio bih da bismo možda mogli ili trebali razmisliti o suzdržavanju od postavljanja pitanja te umjesto toga na prvo mjesto staviti metode, ponovno tražeći prostor za eksperimentalne pristupe (koji se primjerice smatraju savršeno prihvatljivim u prirodnim znanostima). Kao što objašnjavam u knjizi, načelo je da se preokrene uobičajeni protokol istraživanja: umjesto osmišljavanja istraživačkih pitanja i utvrđivanja odgovarajućih (standardnih) metoda prikupljanja podataka, mogli bismo odabrati otvoreniji pristup odabirom nečega što je manje “uobičajeno”, primjenjujući neku dotad neviđenu ili inovativnu metodu ili protokol istraživanja, koji otvaraju sasvim nova istraživačka pitanja. Niže u tekstu ću dati primjer. Kao što se navodi u *Engaged Urbanism*:

Primjenom alternativnih i nekonvencionalnih metoda možemo početi uključivati “lokalne”, “subjektivne”, “fenomenološke”, “psihogeografske”, “idiosinkratske” ili “neobične” djeliće znanja u ostatke “objektivnog” hegemonijskog znanja. (Campkin i Duijzings 2016b: 9)

Moji prijedlozi usklađeni su s postkolonijalnim pozivima na “provincijalizaciju” Europe, no (također) na drukčiji način nego što se to inače razumije. Htio bih predložiti da se, barem u antropologiji i urbanim studijima, naša pozornost ne samo preusmjeri s Europe na “neko drugo mjesto” (izvan Europe), već i da se “provincijalna” mjesta shvate ozbiljno, odnosno da se pozornost preusmjeri s velikih metropola, u kojima se najveći dio znanosti proizvodi i konzumira, na sekundarne gradove i gradiće koje znanstvenici obično zanemaruju. Dakle, kao odgovor na drugi postavljeni problem, tj. “prostore, razmjere i geografije koje istražujemo”, predlažem da umjesto proširivanja razmjera analize, također pokušamo smanjiti razmjere u našim naporima suzbijanja metodološkog nacionalizma. Europa je vrlo raznolik kontinent, s puno “unutarnjih” centara i periferija, s nejednakostima i diskrepancijama na svim stupnjevima analize (također unutar lokalnog konteksta određenog grada, gradića ili sela). Glavna podjela koju Levitt i Crul ističu u svom radu jest ona između globalnog Sjevera i Juga, pa iako se u potpunosti slažem da je to glavna razdjelnica, ne bismo smjeli zaboraviti brojne druge podjele koje postoje, kao što je ona između rastućih glavnih gradova te stagnirajućih monoindustrijskih i postindustrijskih gradova u istočnoj i jugoistočnoj Europi (usp. Duijzings 2018). To se odražava na još jedno pitanje koje otvaraju Levitt i Crul, a to je “što provincijalizacija znanstvenog rada doista znači?”. Istraživanja znanstvenika s periferije mogu biti iznimno inovativna, kao što to pokazuje Anton Blok u zbirci biografija *Radical Innovators* (2016): istinski originalna istraživanja nerijetko provode ljudi koji se nalaze na “marginama”, udaljeni od glavnih akademskih strujanja. Inovacija ne može biti izvedena samo investiranjem ogromnih svota novca u timove i klastere na najboljim sveučilištima. Blokova knjiga ide smjerom suprotnim uobičajenom razmišljanju: “mnogo je češće radikalna inovacija u znanosti i umjetnosti u potpunosti neplanirana i proizlazi iz pokušaja i promašaja pojedinaca koji su spremni riskirati, ne uspjeti i započeti iznova” (iz kratkog opisa sadržaja na koricama knjige).

Levitt i Crul također pozivaju na nove formate akademskog podučavanja i pisanja, a tu bih spomenuo svoj projekt nazvan *Nightlaboratory*. Riječ je o urbanom etnografskom projektu započetom 2012., u kojemu zajedno sa studentima i kolegama istražujem noćni život grada i njegove raznolike i istovremeno “nevidljive” stanovnike. Radio sam to provodeći vrijeme na gradskim ulicama noću, prvo u Londonu, a kasnije u drugim gradovima kao što su Moskva, Sofija, Cluj, Budimpešta, New York i Bukurešt. Noćno terensko istraživanje primjer je eksperimentalnog pokušaja metode, koji preokreće uobičajeni dnevni fokus u etnografiji, bez znanja o tome koje rezultate očekivati. Ta je otvorena strategija – “pogledajmo što se može dogoditi” – donijela neke važne nove uvide. Jedan je od ključnih nalaza da u mnogim gradovima, i to ne samo u globalnom gradu poput Londona, nego i u manjim gradovima, velik dio noćnih smjena odraduju migranti, na primjer iz Istočne Europe, Afrike, Latinske Amerike (u slučaju Londona) ili Središnje Azije (u slučaju Moskve), koji nailaze na ogromne poteškoće kada žele ući na dnevno tržište rada. Još jedan uvid je da strani jezici, poput ruskog, turskog ili rumunjskog, dominiraju noćnom ekonomijom te na nekim radnim mjestima mogu postati i lingua franca. To je u skladu s tvrdnjom koju

Levitt i Crul iznose o suvremenim gradovima kao raznolikima ne samo po pitanju skupina i identiteta nego i u odnosu na pristup, pripadnost i prava. Brojni stanovnici nemaju pravo državljanstva, nemaju političke predstavnike (a ne postoje niti u službenim statistikama), žive marginalizirane živote, radeći i živeći noću, a spavajući danju.

U sklopu projekta *Nightlaboratory* eksperimentirao sam s novim formatima etnografskog izvještaja diseminirajući rezultate terenskog rada na blogu (<https://nightlaboratory.wordpress.com/>). Odlučio sam pisati u formatu jako kratkih tekstova od najviše dvije stotine riječi. Svrha je pružiti “trenutne snimke” ili “kadrove” napisane hiperrealističnim i minimalističkim stilom; etnografiju koja bi široj publici bila čitljiva i pristupačna. Prikazani su kratki anonimni portreti noćnih radnika i drugih ljudi koji noću žive na ulicama, kratki dijelovi razgovora koje smo s njima vodili kao i situacije u kojima smo se našli za vrijeme našeg noćnog terenskog rada. Pretpostavljam da je to ono što Levitt i Crul smatraju novim “kustoskim izazovima” koji rezultatima našeg istraživanja omogućavaju alternativne formate i kontekste, ne skrivajući naše subjekte od pogleda (poput mojih već vrlo “nevidljivih” noćnih radnika) u recenziranim časopisima punim žargonskih izraza i zaštićenim visokim pretplatama. Iako su objave na blogu kratke, a format im je eksperimentalan, puno vremena odlazi na njihovo skiciranje i poliranje.

U Regensburgu također održavam noćnu terensku nastavu sa studentima u sklopu kolegija o etnografskim metodama pod nazivom *Regensburg Nachtschichten*. Studenti razvijaju svoje individualne projekte, provode noćno terensko istraživanje ili vode intervju s noćnim radnicima te svoj rad predstavljaju na studentskom blogu *Nachtaspekte* (<http://nachtaspekte.tumblr.com/>) u obliku etnografskih vinjeta, vizualnih prikaza i zvučnih snimki. Jednu od vježbi u obavljanju terenskog istraživanja čini posjet lokalnom bavarskom festivalu piva i sajmu gdje ih potičem da pogledaju iza kulisa. Studenti hodaju unaokolo, razgovaraju s ljudima te zvukovno i slikovno dokumentiraju događanje. Uče kako to zbivanje, koje su možda u slobodno vrijeme posjećivali s prijateljima, promatrati drugim očima. Svjesno traže ljude koji rade na sajmu, koji upravljaju atrakcijama na sajmu i koji zaustavljaju i gase strojeve kada na kraju dana, negdje oko ponoći, festival završi. Premda se radi o tipičnom “tradicionalnom” bavarskom pivskom festivalu, većina zaposlenika su Istočnoeuroljani (Rumunji, Poljaci, Litvanci itd.), posebice u teškim fizičkim poslovima postavljanja i rastavljanja, čišćenja i pospremanja.

Završio bih s komentarom koji se tiče jezika. Dozvolite mi da, možda pomalo provokativno, kažem da je u ovo doba rastuće ksenofobije i iliberalizma u anglosaksonskom svijetu možda kucnuo čas da se engleski jezik malo “degradira” (kao što agencije za kreditni rejting postupaju s državama koje ne ostvare dovoljno dobre rezultate u javnim financijama). Pozdravljam to što neki antropološki časopisi, poput talijanskog časopisa u otvorenom pristupu *Anuac*, prihvaćaju članke na nekoliko jezika (u slučaju časopisa *Anuac* to su talijanski, engleski, francuski, španjolski i portugalski). Više poliglotskih okruženja i mogućnosti nešto je što svi trebamo poticati u istraživanju, podučavanju, na seminarima, radionicama, konferencijama i u nastavi

gdje se može govoriti više jezika i gdje si sudionici međusobno pomažu u boljem razumijevanju i prevođenju preko jezičnih granica. Nastojanje da čitamo nešto na jeziku koji ne govorimo, kao što tvrde Levitt i Crul, pomaže nam razviti nove koncepte i perspektive. S tim je povezano i pitanje koje mi je blisko, a to je primjena žargona koje autori spominju pod naslovom "Kako zaista izgleda interdisciplinarni rad?". S obzirom na to da sam čitav radni vijek proveo u interdisciplinarnim okruženjima, dobro mi je poznato da žargon onemogućava komunikaciju preko disciplinarnih granica. Kao što sam nedavno naveo, kritičan sam spram antropologa koji ne mogu komunicirati izvan četiri zida svoje discipline (Duijzings 2018). Kada to činimo, sami sebe marginaliziramo, na primjer u području urbanih studija, gdje bismo mogli usvojiti samopouzdaniji i kritičniji stav prema drugim urbanim disciplinama. Djelotvorna komunikacija s multidisciplinarnom publikom zahtijeva trud i iziskuje objašnjavanje kompliciranih stvarnosti na pristupačnom jeziku bez puno žargona. Jedino to će pridonijeti tome da antropologija bude relevantna u javnoj sferi.

Nadam se da sam raspravljajući o vlastitom istraživanju alternativnih formata iznio barem neke primjere onoga što se može učiniti u smislu razvijanja eksperimentalnih formata i platformi za interdisciplinarnu razmjenu, odabira jasnog i pristupačnog jezika te korištenja formata objavljivanja koji dopiru do šire publike. Uvjeren sam da je bolje rezultate moguće postići kultiviranjem akademskog etosa koji je puno manje strogog ustroja, a više druželjubiv i suradnički.

Michael P. K. Okyerefo

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Dekonstrukcija i rekonstrukcija. Prihvaćanje alternativnih načina proizvodnje, klasifikacije i diseminacije znanja iz afričke perspektive

Kao odgovor na argument koji iznose Peggy Levitt i Maurice Crul, ovaj komentar prikazuje afričku perspektivu, kao potpora kritičkoj promjeni na koju pozivaju u smislu prepoznavanja proizvodnje znanja bez obzira na izvor. Argument autora može se sažeti kao "znanje ne poznaje granice", čime se poziva na uklanjanje čvrsto uspostavljenih kulturnih, političkih i društvenih barijera koje garantiraju zapadni monopol nad sustavima znanja. Afrički slučaj pokazuje da su postojali i još uvijek postoje podjednako validni epistemološki sustavi koji ukazuju na univerzalnost proizvodnje, klasifikacije i diseminacije znanja kako to zahtijevaju Levitt i Crul. Moja rasprava prvo prikazuje kakvo je znanje već bilo dostupno na afričkom kontinentu te

kako je ono bilo odgurnuto na periferiju, ponajviše kroz reorganizaciju afričkih društava (idejom o naciji). Potom slijedi razmatranje nekih alternativnih načina promatranja, spoznavanja i objašnjavanja, a naposljetku se ukazuje na to kako su ti pojmovi povezani s transnacionalnim i/ili globalnim.

Kao desetogodišnji dječak čuo sam razgovor svojih roditelja i nekih drugih odraslih osoba o čovjeku koji se zapetljao u konop dok je od jednog do drugog sela po putu vukao ovna. Priča kaže kako ga je odjednom zatekla oluja i htio je brzo izići iz šume. Pritom se zapetljao u konop točno ispod stabla pogođenog olujom koje samo što se nije srušilo. Stablo je palo i na licu mjesta ubilo i mladića i ovna.

Cijelo je mladićevo selo žalovalo kada je čulo za njegovu naglu i "neprirodnu" smrt. Svi su se pitali zašto. "Zašto se zapetljao baš u tom trenutku i baš na tom mjestu u blizini tog stabla koje se srušilo i ubilo ga?" Mnogobrojnim pitanjima htjelo se razotkriti razlog tog nesretnog slučaja. Takva su pitanja uobičajena među mnogim narodima u Gani, Africi i širom svijeta. Drugim riječima, u ganskom i afričkim društvima uobičajeno je istraživati kauzalnost. Bilo bi prejednostavno takvu potragu za odgovorima pripisati praznovjerju. Želja za razumijevanjem uzroka nekog događaja podrazumijeva potvrđivanje znanja, a afrička su se društva uvijek upuštala u misiju traganja za znanjem.

Što nacija znači u afričkom kontekstu i politike znanja

Dok su nacije i njihove granice u Europi nastajale uglavnom prirodno, u Africi je u doba kolonijalizma taj izvorno organski proces postao artificijelan, s obzirom na to da je u velikoj mjeri bio nametnut ljudima koji su već naseljavali određena područja, s ucrtanim kartografskim linijama koje su razdijelile etničke skupine ili ih pomiješale. Tako su se pojavile mnogobrojne ravne linije koje definiraju nacionalne granice u Africi, dijeleći narode i etničke skupine u različita politička uređenja, zahvaljujući jagmi europskih država za Afriku što je temeljito provedeno na Berlinskoj konferenciji 1884. – 1885. godine. Uz to što je pomiješao i podijelio narode, taj je povijesni događaj odgovoran i za dio suvremene nestabilnosti u pojedinim afričkim državama i zajednicama.

Bila je to bit europske ekspanzije provedene pod pokroviteljstvom kolonijalizma koji se hranio podjarmljivanjem drugih naroda, "proizvođenje drugosti" koje je potlačene smatralo podljudima opravdavajući time loše postupanje prema njima. Zlodjela koja su Nijemci počinili nad narodom Herero u Namibiji ili belgijski barbarizam u Kongu te pretposljednja transatlantska trgovina robovima i dalje upravljaju društvenim odnosima u današnjem transnacionalnom globalnom svijetu i primjeri su koji proizlaze iz takvog "proizvođenja drugosti".

Iskustvo "proizvođenja drugosti" i eksploatacije Afrike od strane Zapada obilježila su djela *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and Order of Knowledge*, koje je napisao V. Y. Mudimbe (1988). Djelo se bavi kolonijalizmom koji se odrazio na

reorganizaciju i preslagivanje afričkih društava “u, u osnovi, europske konstrukte” (Mudimbe 1988: 1). Doista, sličan, no kvalitativno drukčiji susret Zapada i Istoka naveo je Edwarda Saida da napiše knjigu naslovljenu *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978). U osnovi, Said tvrdi da Orijent Europi služi kao “najdublja i najčešće ponavljana slika Drugoga” (Said 1978: 1). Prema Aliju A. Mazruiju (2005: 68), oba su autora zviždači koji se bune protiv ideologija drugosti. Mudimbe drugost naziva “drugotnost”, a Said koristi pojam “orijentalizam”. Dovoljno je reći da je europski pogled na druge dijelove svijeta, posebice Afriku i Orijent, za sobom ostavio razorne kataklizme koje su, na primjer, dovele do razaranja ili zanemarivanja kulturnih postignuća ili epistemologija u Africi prije dolaska Europljana. Zapravo bi malodušnost svojstvena europskom “proizvođenju drugosti” smatrala da bilo kakvo kulturno ili epistemološko postignuće na tom kontinentu nipošto nije moglo postojati.

Na primjer, utemeljiteljem sociologije kao znanstvene discipline smatra se devetnaestostoljetni francuski znanstvenik Auguste Comte, dok se pionirski rad četrnaestostoljetnog islamskog znanstvenika Ibna Khalduna spominje rijetko. Ibrahim Boolaky (1994: 74) ustvrdio je da je

Ibn Khaldun iz Tunisa (1332. – 1406.) davno pokazao neke ključne analitičke metode u proučavanju tradicionalnih naseobina. On je, zapravo, prvi u povijesti obrazložio teoriju cikličnog razvoja društva, a također je iznio tezu da grad čini osnovu urbanog života, neprekidno pod prijetnjom novog priljeva ljudi sa sela.

Boolaky smatra da je “Ibn Khaldun došao do svojih ideja za analizu okoliša uglavnom iz saznanja o politici, ekonomiji, sociologiji i tehnologiji” što mu je “pomoglo u razradi određenih znanstvenih metoda za proučavanje ljudskih naseobina” (ibid.). Namjerno potiskivanje Ibn Khalduna u zaborav ukazuje na politike znanja u današnje doba.

Nema sumnje da politike znanja u odnosu na Afriku ili narode afričkog podrijetla, koje teže znanje postaviti kao stečevinu Zapada, nisu ograničene samo na kolonijalno iskustvo. Primjer su veliki ali nepriznati doprinosi Afrikanaca u domovini i dijaspori razvoju društvene misli ili sociologije. Tu tezu dobro ilustrira slučaj W. E. B. Du Boisa, sahranjenog u Accri u Gani, osnivača slabo poznate Škole sociologije u Atlanti koja nikada nije bila u središtu pozornosti zbog Čikaške škole. Većina studenata sociologije zna za Čikašku školu, ali ne i za Školu u Atlanti. Aldon D. Morris u knjizi naslovljenoj *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (2015) pokazuje kako je znanstveni rad Du Boisa, koji je osnovao Školu u Atlanti i bio među onima koji su znatno doprinijeli razvoju američke sociologije, bio izgurao na margine zbog odnosa moći, ekonomije i rase. Stigavši na Sveučilište u Atlanti 1897. godine, Du Bois izgrađuje ono što Morris (2015: 93) naziva “prvom američkom znanstvenom školom sociologije” čija su “glavna obilježja” bila “znanstveni rad i podučavanje”. Stoga je, prema Morrisu, tvrdnja da Čikaška škola ima primat netočna i izmišljena. Takve politike, koje su svojstvene znanju i tome tko je u pozadini sustava znanja, podloga su za našu raspravu.

Dakle, nije li znanje postojalo u afričkim društvima prije europske ekspanzije? Nerijetko se pogrešno tvrdi da je najstarije sveučilište na svijetu Sveučilište u Bolonji. Onigu Otite (1978: 15) suprotstavlja se takvom stajalištu ukazujući na dvije "kategorije sveučilišnih tradicija u Africi": "drevna autohtona afrička sveučilišta" i druga sveučilišna tradicija koja je uvedena u Afriku u 19. stoljeću. Drevnim sveučilištima pripadaju Sveučilište Kairouine u Fezu u Maroku koje je osnovano 857. godine, Sveučilište Al Azhar u Kairu osnovano 972. godine i Sveučilište Sankore u Timbuctuu koje je vrhunac doživjelo između 13. i 16. stoljeća sve do marokanskog osvajanja 1590. godine. Druga sveučilišna tradicija u Africi započela je u 19. stoljeću osnutkom Fakulteta Fourah Bay 1827. godine te drugih institucija nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. One su bile dio procesa kolonizacije i po karakteru su europske.

Jasno, ljudi su morali preživljavati u svom okruženju i nisu imali drugog izbora no razvijati znanje i epistemološke sustave da bi mogli opstati. Kaže se da je Afrika kolijevka ljudske civilizacije, a počevši od lova i sakupljanja do razvitka poljoprivrede i trgovine ljudi su morali razvijati neku društvenu misao. Taj se proces bavi idejama ljudskih bića koja se međusobno povezuju u svom okruženju. Tako stečeno znanje proizvod je interakcije među ljudima, njihovog društvenog nasljeđa ili kulture te njihovog fizičkog okruženja (Otite 1978: 1). Primjeri obuhvaćaju "rani razvoj matematičkih znanosti kod Egipćana zbog njihove potrebe za uspostavljanjem kontrole nad poplavama Nila te svim poljoprivrednim i drugim aktivnostima u dolini rijeke Nil" (ibid.) i sustav znanja na kojem se temeljila "kultura Nok i rezbarije naroda Bini i Ife u Nigeriji" (ibid.: 4). Stoga, ne bi trebalo biti iznenađenje da su se temelji znanja na kontinentu razvili toliko i dovoljno rano da su izrodili središta učenja, pa i sveučilišta. To znači da su na afričkom kontinentu postojali i još uvijek postoje epistemološki sustavi.

Umjesto promišljanja o alternativnim epistemologijama kao svojevrsnoj antitezi "dominantnoj epistemologiji" (Mills 1988), usvojenoj sredstvima politika znanja mjerenih prevladavajućim zapadnim kanonom, predlažem da se alternativne epistemologije shvate kao drugačiji načini znanja koji su jednako univerzalni. Alternativni epistemološki sustavi odnose se na jedinstvene načine znanja i teoretiziranja o svijetu, na primjer iz afričke perspektive. Epistemologije su sustavi znanja koji objašnjavaju postojanje, vjerovanja i težnje, općeniti način života ljudi. Sve ljudske skupine imaju svoj poseban način života, odnosno kulturu, pa tako razvijaju vlastite ideje kroz koje izražavaju svoje postojanje. Stephen Ellis i Gerrie Ter Haar (2007: 386) sugeriraju da je "afrički način razmišljanja [...] validan, što znači da ne samo da svi ljudi imaju pravo razmišljati o svijetu kako to sami odaberu nego i da načini percepcije koji su nepoznati zapadnim promatračima mogu – barem u teoriji – imati univerzalnu primjenu".

Hountondji (2009: 4–5) primjećuje da se "afrička filozofija ne treba smatrati implicitnim pogledom na svijet koji svi Afrikanci nesvjesno dijele". Radije, riječ je "prilično jednostavno o filozofiji koju su napravili Afrikanci". Ukazuje na "kontradikciju zapadne filozofije" koja "iako za sebe smatra da je najosvještenija intelektualna disciplina" istovremeno pretpostavlja "da pojedine nezapadne filozofije mogu

biti neosviještene". Autor afričke znanstvenike poziva na osmišljavanje "originalnih skupova problema" ne bi li ostvarili "samostalan, samodostatan proces proizvodnje i kapitalizacije znanja koji će nam omogućiti da odgovorimo na vlastita pitanja te udovoljimo i intelektualnim i materijalnim potrebama afričkih društava" (ibid.: 9). Takav poduhvat nadograđuje i proširuje postojeće znanje unutar sustava alternativnih epistemologija kao bilo koji drugi postupak. Sustavi znanja u Africi pokušavaju objasniti općeniti način života ljudi, njihovo postojanje, vjerovanja i težnje. Poput bilo koje druge skupine ljudi, Afrikanci imaju svoju kulturu ili jedinstveni način života koji izražavaju onako kako oni žele. Time se sugerira da su Afrikanci imali svoje autohtone ideje o tome kako razumjeti i objasniti svoje podrijetlo (biće), svoj život (postojanje) i nepoznato (vjerovanja). Te ključne ideje obilježavaju povijest raznih afričkih društava. U tom smislu Afrikanci su imali i još uvijek imaju vlastito razumijevanje ljudske osobe, značenja postojanja i važnosti religije zajedno s konceptom Boga i značenjem smrti.

Primjeri alternativnih epistemologija u Africi postoje, na primjer, u starim ljudskim institucijama kao što su medicinski sustavi ili politička organizacija. Poznavanje biljne medicine imalo je vitalnu ulogu za preživljavanje na afričkom kontinentu jer bi bez njega većina stanovništva najvjerojatnije vrlo brzo podlegla bolestima. Uzroci bolesti bili su fizičke ili duhovne prirode ili su bili kombinacija i jednog i drugog te je medicinska praksa slijedila to znanje. Postojanje poglavice ili pozicija zemaljskog svećenika opisuju različitu političku organizaciju ili političke sustave te koja je vrsta društva prakticirala koji politički sustav. Skulptura Yoruba, primjerice, opisuje hijerarhiju političke i religijske organizacije. Poljoprivredne metode poput odmaranja zemlje ukazuju na znanje o plodnosti i neplodnosti tla, što je omogućilo kompleksan sustav navodnjavanja uzduž Nila ili uzgoj riže u močvarnim područjima gdje su rižu kultivirali narodi Bkpele, Bale i Mawu (Akpafuli i Lolobi) u središnjem dijelu regije Volta u Gani. Neke druge metode u kojima se izbjegavalo obrađivanje određenih dijelova zemljišta ukazuju na poštivanje okoliša.

U novije vrijeme Aimé Césaire i Léopold Senghor razradili su ideju o *La Négritude*, Kwame Nkrumah je, unatoč kritici Frantza Fanona, zagovarao ideju panafrikanizma nadograđivši se na radove drugih pojedinaca kao što je Henry Sylvester-Williams, a Odera Oruka je u onome što je nazvao *Sage Philosophy* prepoznao prisutnost filozofskih nastojanja među Afrikancima.

Neki primjeri alternativnih načina promatranja, spoznavanja i objašnjavanja

Afričke epistemologije prenosile su se na brojne načine. Jedan su očito činila mne-monička sredstva kao što su poslovice, pjesme (Tvedtnes 1969), folklor, poezija, kratke i duhovite izreke. Neka od njih postoje i danas, a u njima su izražene razne ideje, vrijednosti i kulturne težnje u promatranju, spoznavanju i objašnjavanju afričkog

svjetonazora. Njihov je najveći nedostatak bilo to što su se prenosile usmeno a ne zapisima, no taj proces sam po sebi ne može umanjiti njihovo utemeljenje u znanju.

Tomovi autohtonih afričkih zapisa postojali su prije europskog utjecaja. U Egiptu su pronađene knjige, a u Maroku i Etiopiji rukopisi, od kojih neki potječu iz 4000. godine pr. n. e. Neki od njih sadrže različite teorije i pojašnjenja afričkih vjerovanja i načina života. To otkriće pruža empirijski dokaz kojim se pobija pretpostavka u koju se dugo vjerovalo da je afrički kontinent do dolaska Europljana nastanjivalo drevno društvo bez pisma. Shemsw Bak (2016) nam je omogućio neprocjenjiv primjer u djelu *Smi n skhty pn: Multilingual Translation of a 4.000-year-old-African Story*, višjezičnom prijevodu četiri tisuće godina stare afričke priče. Pod vodstvom Ayija Kweija Armaha, radna skupina Shemsw Bak transliteracijama i prijevodima drevnih egipatskih tekstova na nekoliko jezika čini dostupnim veliko bogatstvo znanja o drevnoj Africi. *Smi n skhty pn* razotkriva društvenu stratifikaciju drevnog Egipta, korupciju u obliku eksploatacije potlačenih koja je opisana događajem s jednim seljakom i državnim službenikom koji je blokirao javnu cestu i imao namjeru seljaku nezakonito oduzeti imovinu. Međutim, seljakov govor pred faraonom i njegovim sudom, kao posljednjom instancom za ostvarivanje prava u njihovom društvu, postiže pravdu.

Kraljevi, kraljice, poglavice i njihovi sudovi sa svojim pravosudnim sustavom dugo su bili sastavnim dijelom mnogih afričkih društava. Umijeće argumentiranja i savjetovanja poznato je u afričkom društvu, a ponekad se navodi kao "savjet starice" (*Ewu* na jeziku *Sekepele*, *abrewa* na akanskom, *mama* na jeziku naroda Ewe) koja svojom mudrošću pomaže starješinama u donošenju odluke o nekom zamršenom slučaju. To ukazuje na rješavanje konflikata, što podrazumijeva da su koncepti kao što su korupcija, pravda/nepravda, konflikt/sklad te, konačno, dobro/zlo bili dio repertoara afričkih epistemologija. Zaista, takvo je znanje univerzalno, što je suprotno onome u što bi bahati zapadni kanon obilježen samodostatnošću htio da povjerujemo.

Kako te pojmove povezati s transnacionalnim i/ili globalnim

S obzirom na to da svako društvo ima svoje epistemologije, zašto bi samo zapadni kanon diktirao znanje ako su se brojne kulture pokazale sposobnima za stvaranje vlastitih epistemologija? Sasvim je očito da su to omogućile kolonizacija i njezina kulturna hegemonija, dok neokolonijalistička agenda perpetuirala tu tendenciju. Zapad je svjestan da nema monopol nad znanjem jer u suprotnom, na primjer, ne bi bio zaljubljen u umjetnička djela iz Afrike. Čime bi se drugim moglo objasniti zašto su ta djela pokradena iz Afrike? Bezbrojni su primjeri umjetnosti nastale u Beninu, Etiopiji, Egiptu i drugdje koji se danas izlažu u muzejima na Zapadu i nalaze u njihovim depoima. Te ustanove i dalje ne puštaju afričke umjetnine i nude raznorazne razloge kako bi zaobišle činjenicu neetičke otimačine od njihovih zakonitih vlasnika i to da ih Zapad nezakonito posjeduje. Radi se o jednom od područja u kojem zapadnu logiku i etiku pobjeđuju moć i pohlepa.

Aktivisti se zalažu za povratak tih umjetnina u zemlje u kojima su nastale. Jedan od tih neumornih glasova je dr. Kwame Opoku (njegov je blog naveden u popisu literature). Predsjednik Macron ne vidi razlog zbog kojeg bi ih Francuzi još uvijek trebali držati kod sebe, no tek treba vidjeti hoće li njegove riječi pratiti i djela (*New York Times*, 29. studenoga 2017.). List *Guardian* je 3. travnja 2018. izvijestio: “Blago koje uključuje zlatnu krunu i kraljevsku vjenčanicu, a koje su Britanci oteli Etiopiji prije sto pedeset godina, Muzej Viktorije i Alberta mogao bi vratiti u Afriku na dugo-ročnu posudbu”. Znači li to početak repatrijacije?

U našem globaliziranom svijetu priznavanje alternativnih epistemologija urodilo bi simbiozom ideja, međusobnim oplemenjivanjem epistemologija u transnacionalnom kruženju ili razmjeni znanja koje je svojstveno različitim društvima, ali mišljeno kao korisno za čovječanstvo. Dosad se pokazalo da je globalizacija nekolicini donijela prednosti dok je većina iskusila njezine nedostatke. Jer zašto je inače većina stanovništva globalnog Sjevera nijema, čime prešutno odobrava činjenicu da njihove zemlje u svojim muzejima i dalje drže vrela znanja koja su oteta Africi? Francis B. Nyamnjoh ustvrdio je da je “zapadni epistemološki izvoz” produbio jaz između “Zapada i ostatka svijeta” (2004: 163). Naglašava slabosti zapadne epistemologije koja

stvarnost ograničava na pojavnosti, što potom pokušava opravdati (bez objašnjenja) pomoću metanarativa koji se pozivaju na objektivnost i epistemološki sigurniji status istine. Prema takvoj epistemologiji, stvarnost je predstavljena kao nešto čije se postojanje utvrdilo ili se može utvrditi na racionalan, objektivčan način uz pomoć univerzalnih zakona koji funkcioniraju samo u uočenom prostoru i vremenu. (ibid.)

Smatra da je “takva perspektiva dovela do neobazrive potrage za *physique sociale*” u društvenim znanostima, “koja se gotovo u potpunosti temelji na onom što nam um (Razum) i/ili hijerarhija osjetila (vid, okus, opip, zvuk, miris) govore o društvu i društvenim odnosima”. Takva epistemologija inspirirala je znanost koja je sklona tome da “slavi dihotomije, dualizme, teleologije i analogije, odbacujući sve što nema smisla u kartezijanskom ili biheviorističkom kontekstu, ograničavajući na religiju i metafiziku sve što ne zna objasniti te diskvalificirajući kao neznanstvene one epistemologije koje su inkluzivnije”. Takvo stajalište dovelo je do toga da se svijet “promatra i predstavlja dihotomno: postoji stvarno i nestvarno” pri čemu je “stvarno racionalno, prirodno, fizičko i znanstveno, a nestvarno je iracionalno, natprirodno, religijsko, metafizičko i subjektivno”. Logika takve epistemologije je jednostavno “ako je istina jedna i univerzalna, tada mora postojati jedan najbolji način da se ona dostigne, a oni koji su tamo došli prije, najbolji su vodiči ostalima koji su još uvijek u potrazi za istinom” (ibid.: 163–164).

U srži Nyamnjohovog argumenta jest zaključak da je naglasak zapadne epistemologije stavljen na pitanja *što* umjesto na pitanja *zašto*, duboko ugrađen u “ideologiju i hegemoniju” te da se na taj način ograničava “kritičko promišljanje iako se slavi kartezijanski racionalizam” (ibid.: 164). Autor se zalaže za popularne afričke

epistemologije koje otvaraju prostor za pitanja *zašto* gdje je “stvarnost više od onoga što se okom može vidjeti; veća je od logike”. Prema tome, za razliku od

krutih dihotomija dominantnog epistemološkog uvoza sa Zapada, popularne afričke epistemologije grade mostove između takozvanog prirodnog i natprirodnog, fizičkog i metafizičkog, racionalnog i iracionalnog, objektivnog i subjektivnog, znanstvenog i praznovjernog, vidljivog i nevidljivog, stvarnog i nestvarnog, objašnjivog i neobjašnjivog, te tako čine nemogućim da je nešto jedno bez da istovremeno nije i drugo. (ibid.: 166)

Komplementarnost zapadnih i afričkih epistemologija, kao i drugih epistemologija, može naš transnacionalni/globalizirani svijet samo obogatiti. Upravo to Peggy Levitt i Maurice Crul svojim argumentom o decentriranju znanja žele postići. Njihov poziv nije mogao doći u boljem trenutku kada se čini da se gubi nada s obzirom na prilično oštre centrirajuće narative i desničarske politike podjele koje se šire iz nekih vrlo važnih svjetskih metropola.

Zaključak

Ako se vratimo epizodi s mladićem kojeg je ubilo stablo kada se u bizarnim okolnostima zapleo u konop, jednostavno objašnjenje uzroka njegove smrti je da se radilo o nesreći. Međutim, ako to sagledamo kao nešto drugo a ne kao nesreću, otvara se mogućnost i drugih objašnjenja, odnosno prilika za razumijevanje kozmologije mladićevog svijeta primjenom drukčijih načina promatranja, spoznavanja i objašnjavanja stvarnosti.

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Riječi i pitanja: kompleks kategorija/upravljanja u stvaranju znanja u društvenim znanostima

Kada sam prvi put pročitala članak Peggy Levitt i Mauricea Crula, preplavio me osjećaj koji je bio mješavina iscrpljenosti i odbijanja. Osjećala sam se preumornom da bih razmišljala o tome kako rekonstruirati znanje, stvoriti nove riječi, osmisлити nove metode ili sudjelovati u stvaranju novih institucija. Kao i brojni drugi znanstvenici na

sveučilištu, stalno sam svjesna te potrebe, ali me nije obuzeo entuzijazam oko upuštanja u takav projekt. Uobičajeni umor zbog opterećenosti poslom i dnevni pritisak globalnih političkih zbivanja bili su dovoljni razlozi za oduprijeti se njihovom pozivu.

Pitala sam se što bih uopće mogla reći. Potpuno svjesna da je naše znanje kontaminirano imperijem, da naše riječi zarobljavaju, zlostavljaju, nestaju i utišavaju, a da su naše metode, sasvim sigurno u dobroj namjeri, nerijetko pretenciozne, zaključila sam da nemogućnost hvatanja u koštac sa svim tim jednostavno iscrpljuje. A onda me obuzelo još jedno crnilo. Crnilo sadašnjosti. U doba kada se čini da se sve prisutniji fašizam približava puno brže nego što se usuđujemo priznati, kada se globalni rasizam upliće u nelagodu zbog prihvaćanja neizbježnosti svakodnevnog progona drugih i drugosti, poziv na stvaranje novog svijeta znanja i metoda učinio se preteškim (s obzirom na iscrpljenost) i neizmjereno malenim (s obzirom na globalni rasizam i tiraniju koju on nagovještava).

Upravo na to smjera promišljen rad koji su napisali Levitt i Crul. Oni hladne glave pozivaju znanstvenu zajednicu na ponovno promišljanje o novim načinima proizvodnje znanja usporedo sa snagom hegemonijskih kategorija kao što su "asimilacija", "integracija", "razvoj" i "društvena inkluzija". Čini se da snaga i sveprisutnost tih kategorija posvuda odobravaju fašistički sentiment, dozvoljavaju i potiču prijezir prema migrantima i izbjeglicama, zahtijevaju granice, zidove, trgovinske ratove, strogu štednju i genocid. Levitt i Crul pozivaju na izazov osmišljavanja novih i potencijalno pozitivnih, ili barem (re)konstruktivnih putova kojima se treba krenuti naprijed. Osjetivši se nedovoljno kvalificiranom u odnosu na način razmišljanja i ponašanje da bih kreativno i produktivno odgovorila na taj izazov, prihvatila sam ga kao priliku da se zamislim o svom mlakom odgovoru tako što ću pokušati objasniti okolnosti svojega novog istraživanja, njegovu lokaciju i ono što me na njega potaknulo. Nastojim taj kompleks ugraditi u problematiku koju navode Levitt i Crul.

Pišem iz Australije gdje fundamentalno nasilje nacije – oduzimanje vlasništva, pokolj i pokušaj "eliminacije" starosjedioca – ne prestaje. Nasilje se nastavlja u strukturi i osobinama nacije. Kao što je oštroumno primijetio znameniti pokojni znanstvenik Patrick Wolfe, kolonijalizam naseljenika "uništava da bi nadomjestio" te je "eliminacijski, iako ne uvijek genocidan" (2006: 390). Tvrdi da on ne teži likvidirati starosjedioce po kratkom postupku, ali se strukturira prema njihovoj eliminaciji. "Strukturalni genocid", ustvrđuje, prikladnije zahvaća osobine invazije kao konstitutivnu strukturu kolonijalne nacije naseljenika (ibid.: 403). Budući da su kolonizatori došli zato da bi ostali, invazija i njezina logika eliminacije postaju struktura, a ne događaj. Njezina je ustrajnost opipljiva u australskom političkom i kulturnom životu.

U svibnju 2017. godine *First Nations National Constitutional Convention* australskoj je naciji objavila *Uluru Statement from the Heart* (2017). Radi se o dubokoj i hitnoj poruci vladi i ljudima u kojoj se iznose temelji za buduće sudjelovanje australskih starosjedioca u sklapanju sporazuma i donošenju ustavnih promjena. Utemeljena je u povijesti, kazivanju istine, "muci naše bespomoćnosti" i priznavanju suverenosti Aboridžina i "Makarrate" (pomirenje nakon svađe). Nakon više od dva stoljeća "strukturalnog genocida" nude sljedeće: "Pozivamo vas da s nama koračate

na putu Australaca prema boljoj budućnosti.” Premijer je ubrzo službeno odbio preporuke da se krene s osnivanjem starosjedilačkog predstavničkog tijela u parlamentu na osnovi toga da to nije “niti poželjno niti postoji spremnost da se prihvati”. Logika invazije i želja za eliminacijom ne posustaju.

Dok ovo pišem, novoizabrani političar u svom prvom obraćanju parlamentu citirao je Gramscijev pristup kulturnoj revoluciji i pripisao mu odgovornost za porast “nametljivih država dadilja” i “kulturnih marksista” te njihovo podrivanje i pokušaj mijenjanja “vrijednosti” nacije. Uz to što je osudio imigracijske politike, naseljavanje izbjeglica i migranata te socijalne politike, najviše se usredotočio na poveznicu migracija i vrijednosti: “Da bismo ostali nacija kakva smo sada, oni koji ovdje dolaze moraju se asimilirati i integrirati”, a nakon što je nekoliko puta udahnuo, došao je do vrhunca i rekao: “povijesno gledano, međutim, imigrantska skupina koja se ovdje i u ostatku zapadnog svijeta konzistentno pokazuje najmanje sposobnom za asimilaciju i integraciju su muslimani”, za koje je predložio *konačno rješenje*. “Konačno rješenje problema imigracije je, naravno, referendum” (Anning 2018). Svakako da je nakon toga uslijedila javna i politička osuda, no ona se najvećim dijelom odnosila na izjavu o “konačnom rješenju”, a ne na suštinu njegove antiimigrantske rasističke retorike, koja je postala sastavnim dijelom trenutno prisutne dozvoljene mržnje. Jedan je političar o Australiji primijetio: “Prije pet godina, kada sam počeo raditi kao povjerenik za rasnu diskriminaciju, ne bih bio rekao da je za očekivati da ćemo svjedočiti povratku ultradesničarske politike. Nisam očekivao da će najveća opasnost po rasnu harmoniju dolaziti iz našeg parlamenta i medija” (Soutphommasane 2018). Osim toga, starosjedioci nas i dalje podsjećaju da ciljani rasni zakoni, nevjerojatno visoke stope zatvaranja starosjedioca i broj smrtnih slučajeva u zatvorima sasvim dovoljno potvrđuju da je rasna diskriminacija živa i zdrava.

Pokušala sam ugrubo ocrtati kontekst unutar kojeg odgovaram na poziv koji su uputili Levitt i Crul. O tom pozivu promišljam u odnosu na znanstveni kontekst u Australiji, u kojoj pitanja rase i rasizma donose zabrinutost, što se vidi iz panike i ogorčenja zbog “afričkih bandi” koje su proširili vlada i mediji, tvrdnji da multikulturalizam potiče etnički separatizam, zabrinutosti zbog kineskih ulaganja i njihovog potencijalnog utjecaja na Australiju, poziva da se donesu mjere koje zabranjuju imigraciju muslimana te upozorenja da će Australija biti “preplavljena” izbjeglicama i tražiteljima azila ako se oslabi sadašnji režim uhićivanja i protjerivanja onih koji stignu do naših obala. Iako je riječ o lokalnom kontekstu, on nije svojstven samo Australiji. Činjenica da takvo ozračje i politički krajolik dijele mnogi koji čitaju i odgovaraju na ovaj tekst govori i o poteškoćama i o odupiranju zahtjevnoj zadaći promišljanja o tome kako pokrenuti djelotvorne i utjecajne promjene u stvaranju znanja ponad onoga što se već događa.

Radim kao antropologinja i bavim se rodnim studijima s posebnim interesom za rod i kulturne razlike, posebice za veze između svakodnevnih života ljudi i kontroverzi s kojima se suočavaju. Te kontroverze uključuju prisilne brakove, pobožnost i ženska prava, muslimanke u javnom prostoru, a odnedavno i moj novi predmet istraživanja – ponovni interes zakonodavstva, medija i zagovaračkih skupina za prakse

pod zajedničkim nazivnikom “ženska genitalna mutilacija”. Kazneni progon takvih praksi jača u Australiji, Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i nekim afričkim državama. U Australiji i u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, gdje su zakoni koji zabranjuju i kažnjavaju takve prakse na snazi više od dva desetljeća, unatoč nekoliko dugotrajnih i grozomornih pokušaja kaznenog progona dosad još nitko nije bio osuđen. U Australiji se uočava snažna poveznica između imigracije, tvrdnji da takve prakse zajedno s migrantima ulaze u države u kojima ih inače nema, usvajanja ili jačanja zakona te novog zanimanja za kazneni progon.

Antropologinja Saida Hodžić nedavno je u svojoj izvanrednoj knjizi *The Twilight of Cutting* (2017) pokazala da svjedočimo povijesnom trenutku u kojem prakse koje pripadaju kategoriji ženske genitalne mutilacije nestaju. Međutim, njihovo nestajanje popraćeno je predstavljanjem ženske genitalne mutilacije kao problema koji je “nerješiv”. Saida Hodžić postavlja pitanje: “što zapravo znači činjenica da je diskurs o ‘nerješivoj ženskoj genitalnoj mutilaciji’ sve prisutniji iako sakaćenje prestaje?” (Hodžić 2017: xii). Sve veća pojavnost “nerješive ženske genitalne mutilacije” otvara pitanje “tko ne može odustati od ženske genitalne mutilacije” (ibid.: 333) i tko smatra da je takav diskurs nerješiv. Radi se o važnom pozivu na preispitivanje motivacija, oblika i učinaka te obnovljene pozornosti koja se posvećuje tim praksama, posebice u zemljama migracije u kojima su zajednice živjele više od dvadeset i pet godina i u kojima istraživanja pokazuju vrlo malo dokaza o takvim praksama (Vaughan et al. 2014) i promijenjene odnose prema praksama među članovima zajednice (Johnsdotter i Essén 2016).

Levitt i Crul nas podsjećaju da je znanje vezano uz kategorije koje postaju “mjesto upravljanja” te nas pozivaju da razmotrimo taj kompleks kategorije/upravljanja tako što ćemo uočiti “što je zamagljeno, neprimjetno iako je očigledno ili čemu je dano središnje mjesto”. Pred nama je izazov stvaranja “novih riječi, novih metoda, novih institucija”.

Ženski genitalni kirurški zahvati, postupci, operacije, danas brendirani sintagmom “ženska genitalna mutilacija”, primjer su *par excellence* vezanosti ne samo kroz kategorije poput asimilacije nego i upravljanja koje se sve više legitimizira i jamči snagom jedne jedine riječi, a to je *mutilacija*. Danas, četrdeset godina nakon što je ta riječ ušla u globalni rječnik, čini se nemogućim precijeniti moćne semantičke učinke *mutilacije*. Upotreba te riječi u sklopu spone između asimilacije/upravljanja dovela je do stvaranja zakona, politika, političkih odnosa, diskursa i kultura. Mutilacija je tako postala riječ ogromne biopolitičke moći. Ukratko ću predstaviti pojedine aspekte hegemonijskog uokvirivanja i upravljačke moći koju ta riječ danas ima u Australiji (i drugdje). Pritom na umu imam poziv koji su uputili Levitt i Crul.

Kratka priča o mutilaciji

Čin sakaćenja ili bivanja osakaćenim. Nanošenje ozbiljne štete na nečemu. Nanošenje nasilne i deformacijske ozljede na... “obogaljen, osakaćen, odrezan”. (*Oxfordski rječnik*)

Pojam *mutilacija* uvele su zapadne bijele feministkinje engleskog govornog područja na spoju dvaju važnih momenata sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Zapadni seksolozi utvrdili su da je klitoris ključan za ženski orgazam, a radikalni feminizam pozicionirao se kao globalna sila. Američka feministkinja, aktivistica i spisateljica Fran Hosken je zajedno sa svojim saveznicama, radikalnim feministkinjama, zastupala *novo stajalište* prema obrezivanju djevojčica, čime se stubokom promijenilo razumijevanje genitalnih ritualnih praksi i odgovor na njih. Terminologija mutilacije pojavila se u često citiranom *The Hosken Report: Genital and Sexual Mutilation of Females* (1982). U srpnju 1980. na konferenciji *World Conference on Women* Hosken je pozvala na novo globalno shvaćanje mutilacije kao “emblematske za svu žensku patnju pod patrijarhatom” (Boddy 1998: 89). Dok su afričke izaslanice na konferenciji bojkotirale Hoskenino izlaganje tvrdeći da je njezino gledište etnocentrično, uvredljivo i neobazrivo prema Afrikankama (Boyle 2002: 47 u Johnsdotter i Mestre i Mestre 2017), aktivistička nastojanja nakon konferencije dovela su do sve rasprostranjenijeg usvajanja pojma *mutilacija*. Prigovori pojmu mutilacija nastavili su se među znanstvenicima, feministkinjama i aktivisticama koji su bili osjetljivi na njegov etnocentrizam i rasizam, no s vremenom je pobijedio. Danas je to uvriježen pojam koji uspješno “uobličava jednu dekontekstualiziranu činjenicu iz različitih praksi i značenja te je prožima specifičnim moralnim i ideološkim nezadovoljstvom” (Boddy 1998: 80).

Od devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća “globalna kampanja” (Shweder 2002) usmjerena protiv takvih praksi odvojila se od izvornog pristupa javnog zdravstva i obrazovanja zajednice preusmjerivši se na ljudska prava i pravnu paradigmu (Shell-Duncan 2008). Tijekom devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća Svjetska zdravstvena organizacija formalno je usvojila pojam “ženska genitalna mutilacija”, čime je svoje politike i druge načine interveniranja oblikovala putem tog jezika. Europske vlade to su podržale pa su uskladile svoju terminologiju u postojećim zakonima koji zabranjuju takvu praksu, jasno navodeći riječ mutilacija. Na UN-ovoj konferenciji o ljudskim pravima održanoj 1993. “ženska genitalna mutilacija” definirana je kao oblik nasilja nad ženama čime postaje područjem međunarodnog prava.

Važna je vremenska poveznica između obnovljenog fokusa na jezik mutilacije (koji je doveo do žurnog usvajanja zakona i kaznenih progona) i migracija izbjeglica s područja roga Afrike tijekom devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Upravo su u to vrijeme brzo i šlampavo usvojeni zakoni u Australiji jer je nastala panika zbog djece izložene tim praksama (Rogers 2003). Nakon rujna 2001. očita “potreba” za zakonodavstvom koje će zaštititi žensku djecu imigrantica stekla je dodatni legitimitet i postala još hitnija. Spajajući se s jezikom ženskih prava i “štetnih kulturnih praksi”, novi “moralni križarski pohod” usmjeren na zaštitu muslimanki (Abu-Lughod 2013; Boddy 1998) unaprijeđen je jezikom feminizma.

Mutilacija se stoga može shvatiti manje kao opis, a više kao biopolitička tehnologija zakona, moralnog nezadovoljstva i kaznenih režima. Ona revno “uspostavlja i nadgleda granice između ‘nas’ i ‘njih’, između odgovarajućih i neodgovarajućih tijela” (Sullivan 2007: 400), između onih koji pripadaju civiliziranom svijetu seksualnih sloboda i onih koji su primorani ili zarobljeni u kulturama zlostavljanja i ponižavanja.

Prosudba mutilacije u Australiji

Mutilacija je stvorila zakone, subjekte i prakse. A “zakon, dok tvrdi da uočava istinu o nekoj praksi, zapravo utvrđuje što je ta praksa i tko u njoj sudjeluje” (Sullivan 2007: 397). To je izazov kod stvaranja novih riječi. Ako nešto imenujemo, ono postaje vidljivo; štoviše, to nešto postaje poznato uglavnom preko tog imena. To je važan aspekt svih transformacijskih političkih projekata i projekata stvaranja znanja. Na primjer, seksualno nasilje i silovanje u ratu preimenovano kao “ratno oružje” stvorilo je novo znanje o rodnim strategijama rata. Prevođenje ženskih zahtjeva za ravnopravnost i inkluziju kroz maksimu “ženska prava kao ljudska prava” također je dovelo do novih načina promatranja. Uz takva imenovanja i stvaranje znanja uvijek je vezana politika. Mutilacija je bila ključna za nove politike jer je dovela do toga da se u nove i “modernizirane” stare zakone ugradi riječ mutilacija, no kako uočava Sullivan (2007), politički bodovi kod tog imenovanja također mogu biti sumnjivi: zakoni koji zabranjuju žensku genitalnu mutilaciju razlikuju “barbarizam i uljudnost, ‘nas’ i ‘njih’” (ibid.: 400). Mutilacija kao užas vrlo djelotvorno skriva rasno određenu drugost i druge. Ti drugi postaju strašni. Kada se to odrazi na zakon, kao što je nedavno bio slučaj u Australiji, težina posljedica postavlja ozbiljna pitanja o tome gdje je sadržana šteta zbog mutilacije.

Troje je ljudi 2012. optuženo za počinjenje zločina ženske genitalne mutilacije u New South Walesu u Australiji. Osuđeni su 2015. godine. Presude su proizišle iz slučaja poznatog kao *Magennis* i *Vaziri*. Dvije optužene osobe odslužile su jedanaest mjeseci kućnog pritvora, a treća je provela tri mjeseca u zatvoru (skraćena joj je zatvorska kazna nakon što je uložena žalba). Bez dokaza o ozljedama dviju djevojčica, uključujući dokaze o povredi, rezanju, zarezivanju ili mutilaciji, optuženici su, zajedno s majkom djevojčica, osuđeni za počinjenje zločina *ženske genitalne mutilacije*.

Tužilaštvo je obrazložilo da je angažirana primalja koja je izvela ritualno “obrezivanje”, da je majka dala pristanak i da je nazočila tom činu. Naknadno je utvrđeno da je imam povezan sa zajednicom te obitelji (*Dawoodi Bohra*) bio suučesnik nakon čina. Obrana je tvrdila da su spolni organi bili samo dodirnuti i da nije došlo do ozljede kože – do zarezivanja mesa. Stoga se povela rasprava o tome može li ono što se dogodilo smatrati “mutilacijom” (Rogers 2016). Kako bi se utvrdilo da je došlo do ženske genitalne mutilacije, tužilaštvo je trebalo dokazati da je došlo do “mutilacije” genitalija djevojčica. Sudski se postupak nastavio iako je medicinski vještak tužilaštva kazao da nisu postojali dokazi o ozljedi ili o izvođenju nekog zahvata. Još je dvoje liječnika Kraljevske dječje bolnice, koji su napravili preglede ultrazvukom, također zaključilo da ne postoje dokazi da su djevojčice bile ozlijeđene. Bez dokaza o ozljedi sudac je u napatku poroti naveo stavak zakona koji se proširuje na “ili na drugi način sakati” (usp. Rogers 2016).

Nakon godina intenzivnog nadzora prije suđenja, policijskih istraga i ispitivanja socijalnih radnika, prisluškivanja telefona i tajne primjene uređaja za snimanje u osobnim vozilima i domovima te nakon nekoliko mjeseci kućnog pritvora tijekom kojih je majci djevojčica jedino bilo dozvoljeno trogodišnjakinju odvesti u park pet minuta dnevno, optuženici su uložili žalbu. Dana 10. kolovoza 2018., tri godine na-

kon suđenja i šest godina nakon prvih optužnica, presude su poništene i izrečene su oslobađajuće presude po *svim točkama* optužnice. Na temelju novih medicinskih dokaza donesen je zaključak o *mogućoj pogrešnoj primjeni prava*.

Iako su zakoni o zabrani ženske genitalne mutilacije doneseni s ciljem sprečavanja štete, neuspjeh svih pokušaja njihovog provođenja u Australiji (u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu također) ukazuje na potrebu za ozbiljnim ponovnim razmatranjem štete koja je povezana sa samim zakonima. Koji su učinci takvih zakona po zajednice na koje se primjenjuju? Kakve sve štete donose ti zakoni? Istraživanje u kojem trenutno sudjelujem nije motivirano željom za uklanjanjem praksi poznatih pod nazivom ženska genitalna mutilacija niti zalaganjem protiv zakona, već se radi o ispitivanju utjecaja zakonodavstva na žene i članove zajednice na koje se zakoni odnose te istovremenih učinaka rasno uvjetovanog javnog i državnog diskursa koji se odnosi na opasnu prisutnost tih ljudi i njihovih praksi u našem društvu. Slijedeći Hodžić (2017) također postavljamo pitanje zašto, dok se u svijetu bilježi pad te prakse, postoji takva obnovljena i kažnjavajuća zakonska i politička kampanja.

○ novim riječima i novom znanju

U mom se istraživanju mutilacija, njezino korištenje, njezina moć, učinci i štetnost pojavljuju kao ozbiljni problemi. Riječ je nastala iz procesa koji je namjerno osmišljen kako bi dekonstruirao i rekonstruirao razne kontekstualno specifične genitalne i tjelesne prakse koje nastaju iz društvenih, kulturnih i religijskih značenja, rodbinskih i društvenih odnosa, osoba, politika, obveza i opterećenja i stvaraju ih. Mutilacija stoga ima rekonstruktivnu snagu koja sve to urušava u užas i mučenje. Moglo bi se stoga reći da rekonstrukcija radije nego dekonstrukcija ne nudi nikakva jamstva, a kamoli promjene kojima bi, kako bismo možda željeli misliti, mogli pridonijeti naši novi načini stvaranja znanja. Ono što je još tužnije (iz moje perspektive) jest da je riječ *mutilacija* počivala na feminističkoj argumentaciji kako bi si zajamčila razornu snagu.

Od devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća mutilacija moćno služi za konsolidiranje čvrstih granica između civiliziranog i neciviliziranog na temelju onih koji mogu pokazati opredjeljenje za ravnopravnost muškaraca i žena i onih čija se vjerovanja, prakse i zakoni temelje na suprotstavljanju seksualnim slobodama i liberalnim demokratskim vrijednostima. Mutilacija je zagovaranje protiv ženske genitalne mutilacije, zakone protiv te prakse i nadzor zajednica koje je prakticiraju učinila neupitnim dobrom. Bilo kakvo dovođenje u pitanje takvog pristupa u najmanju je ruku sumnjivo, a u najgorem slučaju neupitno pogrešan pristup.

Mutilacija je generirala globalno diskurzivno priznanje da je ženska genitalna mutilacija ozbiljan društveni problem koji iziskuje hitno djelovanje. No što je, kako pitaju Levitt i Crul, utišano takvom amplifikacijom mutilacije. Što je zamagljeno ili neprimjetno iako je očigledno? Kao što su drugi pokazali uglavnom u vezi nošenja islamskog vela ili burke, mutilacija zamagľjuje ne samo raspon i spornu bezopasnost pojedinih praksi koje su obuhvaćene tim nazivom nego i sve veću diskrepanciju iz-

među užasa te prakse i dokaza da se stvarno događa na mjestima gdje se zbivaju kazneni progoni. No ulozi su još veći jer se taj nedostatak dokaza još jednom rekonstruira, ovoga puta kroz retoriku skrivenih i tajnih praksi. Gotovo svako istraživanje koje se bavi rasprostranjenosti te prakse u migrantskim zajednicama na Zapadu ne uspijeva zaključiti ništa više osim nedostatka pouzdanih dokaza da se takve prakse uopće pojavljuju. Nakon toga gotovo u pravilu slijede rezultati istraživanja u kojima se tvrdi da ih se svakako mora pronaći zato što prakse prate migrante iz država u kojima se one prakticiraju dok se naseljavaju u mjestima poput Europe, Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, Sjeverne Amerike i Australije (usp. Sureshkumar et al. 2016). Izostanak dokaza na taj se način pretvara u režime za nadzor i izvještavanje kako bi se ta rasprostranjenost razotkrila.

Kada Abu-Lughod (2013) govori o globalnom "zdravom razumu" koji pogoni "moralne križarske pohode" čiji je cilj spašavanje žena od opasnosti kulture, religije i s njima povezanih praksi, također postavlja pitanje kako se pozabaviti osjetljivim pitanjima bez stigmatiziranja čitavih zajednica. Ona, kao i Levitt i Crul, postavlja pitanje što nam to postojeći pristupi ne daju da vidimo. U tom smislu postavljam pitanje što nam to mutilacija sprječava da vidimo. Štoviše, primjenjuje li se mutilacija sve više kao instrument koji sprječava uvid? Tako posrćem na svojoj kontingentnoj tvrdnji, koja je ili obrana ili otpor ili oboje, da pronalaženje novih riječi nije samo po sebi emancipacijski projekt stvaranja znanja. Kao što vidimo, to ovisi o tome tko koristi nove riječi, u koju svrhu, za ili protiv koga i u kojim kontekstima. Uvjerena sam da moramo nastaviti s kritičkim projektima stvaranja znanja, ali uz određenu suzdržanost prema našoj mogućnosti utjecaja te uz punu analitičku jasnoću o apropijacijskoj snazi sila koje djeluju protiv nas. Mislim da mnogi znanstvenici to već čine, ali da bismo svi to mogli činiti bolje.

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Obogaćivanje akademskog kanona:
od pjevanja jedne melodije do prihvaćanja višeglasja

Preludij

[... *Kratak uvod u nadolazeće glazbene stavke*]

Započeo bih zahvalom Uredništvu *Etnološke tribine* na pozivu da reagiram na članak koji su napisali Levitt i Crul. Značajno je što se taj poziv na temeljito preispitivanje i reorganizaciju proizvodnje, klasifikacije i diseminacije znanja objavljuje upravo tu, a

ne u jednom od trenutno dominantnih anglosaksonskih časopisa. Na iznesene ideje odgovaram iz svog privilegiranog položaja europskog antropologa koji je obrazovanje stjecao u zapadnim zemljama (u Belgiji, Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu i SAD-u), ali koji je živio i radio na raznim kontinentima. Bilo bi lijepo da su Levitt i Crul također uključili kratko razmatranje o tome kako njihove pozicioniranosti (obrazovanje, dob, rod, rasa, državljanstvo itd.) unutar globalnog sustava koji kritiziraju utječu na njihovo rasuđivanje. Dok se slažem s osnovnim polazištem njihove argumentacije, zbog daljnjeg dijaloga usredotočujem se na točke za koje smatram da trebaju biti elaborirane ili na one s kojima se, uz dužno poštovanje, ne slažem. S obzirom na to da je njihov tekst napisan s općeg stajališta društvenih i humanističkih znanosti, postavljena pitanja želim konkretizirati primjerima iz vlastite discipline – antropologije.

Ricercar

[... Istraživanje permutacija zadanog motiva]

Kao što Levitt i Crul potvrđuju, njihove se ideje upisuju u tradiciju znanstvenog rada kritičke teorije i postkolonijalnih studija. Antropolozima je blizak pojam “kriza reprezentacije” (ili “refleksivni obrat”) koji opsjeda njihovu disciplinu. Do pomaka je došlo zbog “dekolonizacije, antiimperijalističkih borbi, pokreta za građanska prava i buđenja nacionalizama u Trećem svijetu” (Ribeiro i Escobar 2006: 7). Zbog tih društvenih promjena znanstvenici u dominantnim centrima proizvodnje znanja počeli su razmišljati o svojoj znanstvenoj praksi i razmatrati “alter-nativne” (engleski “*alter-native*”) paradigme (Saillant, Kilani i Graezer Bideau 2011).

Jedan od tih okvira nazvan je svjetske antropologije, a podrazumijeva “pristup čija je namjera deesencijaliziranje antropologije i pluralizacija antropološkog istraživanja na temeljima nehegemonijskih antropoloških praksi” (Escobar 2008: 12). Ne iznenađuje što se takav pravac razmišljanja uglavnom razvio izvan anglosaksonskog akademskog kruga. Skupina angažiranih antropologa, većinom iz Latinske Amerike, pokrenula je 2001. godine mrežu *Red de Antropologías del Mundo – World Anthropologies Network* (WAN 2003). Predložena agenda svjetskih antropologija pod izrazitim je utjecajem svijesti o hijerarhijskim odnosima u proizvodnji znanja obilježenim povijesnim razvojem stručnih kanona koje su uspostavili moćnici (Ribeiro i Escobar 2006).

U Brazilu je 2004. godine osnovana mreža *World Council of Anthropological Associations* (WCAA). Cilj je te organizacije promicanje globalne komunikacije i suradnje u antropologiji (zaobilazeći postojeće hegemonijske strukture). Zanimljivo je da je američko udruženje *American Anthropological Association* (AAA), najveće i najmoćnije antropološko udruženje na svijetu, brzo prihvatilo ideju o svjetskim antropologijama. Razni prilozi u rubrici o svjetskim antropologijama u njihovom vodećem časopisu *American Anthropologist* zajedno s podugačkim popisom literature koji je sastavio *Committee on World Anthropologies* (CWA 2016) ukazuju na razne smjerove kojima su svjetske antropologije krenule.

Spominjem taj fragment nedavne povijesti discipline jer se u središtu rada koji su napisali Levitt i Crul nalazi nezadovoljstvo zbog trenutačnog načina na koji se proizvodi, klasificira i diseminira znanje. Najveća je prepreka i dalje jezik (Kuwayama 2014). U antropologiji je WCAA uložio značajne napore u pluralizaciju diseminacije antropolozkog znanja na globalnoj razini. To se činilo putem (1) višejezičnih tematskih *webinara* (<https://www.wcaanet.org/events/webinar/>); (2) elektroničkog časopisa *Déjà Lu* koji na raznim jezicima ponovno objavljuje članke udruženja koja su članovi WCAA (<https://www.wcaanet.org/dejalu/>) te (3) online kanala *In One's Own Terms* "koji služi tome da se svjetske antropologije mogu izraziti na vlastitim jezicima" (https://www.wcaanet.org/publications/propios_terminos.shtml).

Levitt i Crul jezik spominju samo usputno. Njihov popis literature je vrijedan pažnje. Kao prvo, sva citirana djela su na engleskom jeziku (iako su neka prijevodi) što je suprotno pozivu da se pokuša "čitati na jezicima koje se možda ne govori". Kao drugo, znanstvenici "globalnog Juga" pripadaju ili su pripadali hegemonijskim akademskim institucijama u SAD-u (Edward Said, Talal Assad, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Gayatri Spivak, Walter Mignolo i Alejandro Portes), Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu (Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall) ili Francuskoj (Frantz Fanon). Samo je Ashis Nandy ostao u Indiji, a Nestor Garcia Canclini se iz Argentine preselio u Meksiko, no obojica su značajan dio svog akademskog života proveli na studijskim boravcima u Europi i SAD-u. Dakle, ironično, jedini preostali glas s "Juga" nije znanstvenik, nego brazilski pjesnik Oswald de Andrade.

Spominjem to kako bih ukazao na nužnost razvijanja dinamičnog i procesualnog pristupa proizvodnji, klasifikaciji i diseminaciji znanja. Kada se govori o moći akademskog znanja, previše je pojednostavljeno razmišljati u okvirima Sjevera i Juga. Na Sjeveru postoje periferije, dok Jug također ima centre. Osim toga, znanstvenici pripadaju mobilnijim profesionalnim kategorijama (Spivak L'Hoste i Hubert 2012). Brojni pripadnici akademske zajednice "globalnog Juga" obrazovani su i obučeni na "globalnom Sjeveru" (neki se nikada nisu ni vratili). Čak su i oni koji nijednom nisu iskoračili iz svoje akademske periferije tijekom svog obrazovanja i karijere disproportionalno suočavani sa znanjem proizvedenim u hegemonijskim akademskim institucijama (Keim 2010).

Svim srcem se slažem s Levitt i Crul kada kažu da "previše znanstvenih rasprava uključuje dekonstrukciju a nedovoljno rekonstrukciju ili zacrtavanje novog i potencijalno pozitivnog puta naprijed". Postavlja se pitanje kako to učiniti. Prvenstveno moramo paziti da svoje riječi i ideje ne stavljamo u usta i glave drugih ljudi. Kao gostujući urednik posebne sekcije posvećene "antropologijama turizma" u časopisu *American Anthropologist* (Salazar 2017), posvjedočio sam kako su autori koji dolaze iz drugih akademskih tradicija i nemaju iskustva u objavljivanju u jednom od najviše rangiranih časopisa na engleskom jeziku pokušavali oponašati stil pisanja članka

tipičan za taj časopis. To je bilo protivno ideji urednika sekcije posvećene “svjetskim antropologijama” o objavljivanju članaka koji su obilježeni “različitošću”.

Kao jedan od urednika jedne biblioteke nedavno sam bio uključen u objavljivanje zbornika radova koji pokazuje srednjoeuropsku i istočnoeuropsku stručnost na području antropologije turizma (Owsianowska i Banaszkiewicz 2018). Dosta sam energije uložio u to da poljskim gostujućim urednicama pojasnim da je važno i pravovremeno objaviti takvu knjigu, dok su one inzistirale na tome da se uključe radovi poznatih znanstvenika iz anglosaksonskog svijeta jer bi publikacija time dobila na prestižu i prepoznatljivosti. Ti anegdotalni primjeri služe kako bi ilustrirali opasnost egzoticiziranja i esencijaliziranja u našim nastojanjima da glas damo “akademske drugima”.

Da ostanemo u kontekstu teme objavljivanja, Levitt i Crul žele da “utjecajni časopisi ne budu napisani samo na engleskom jeziku te da budu dostupni svima”. Svidalo se to nama ili ne, engleski je trenutno lingua franca akademske zajednice. Dvojezični časopis poput *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* s puno poteškoća pronalazi izvorne govornike francuskog jezika koji žele objaviti članke na materinskom jeziku. Posebice mladi znanstvenici radije objavljuju na engleskom jeziku kako bi njihov rad mogao doći do šire publike. Paradoksalno je što je pitanje pristupa uglavnom problem anglosaksonskog izdavaštva. Većina drugih glavnih akademskih jezika već dugo primjenjuje sustave otvorenog pristupa (npr. SciELO za španjolski i portugalski) pa u doba interneta ima smisla objavljivati na jezicima poput mandarinskog ili španjolskog (Salazar 2006a, 2016). Nažalost, mnoge znanstvenike njihova sveučilišta prisiljavaju na objavljivanje u “visoko utjecajnim” časopisima na pretplatu (posebice onima koji su indeksirani u *Web of Science*). U takvom je kontekstu objavljivanje u nehegemonijskim časopisima postalo gotovo aktivistički čin (Salazar 2006b, 2015).

Levitt i Crul također primjećuju neke pojedinosti koje se tiču situacije u EU-u. Njihova primjedba da se briljanti umovi poput Alberta Einsteina u današnjem istraživačkom okruženju ne bi uspjeli razvijati možda može malo dovesti u zabludu. Kao prvo, Einstein je već u svoje doba nailazio na probleme jer su njegove ideje bile previše inovativne (pa time i opasne) da bi ih njegovi kolege mogli prihvatiti. Kao drugo, svaki se znanstvenik može registrirati kao “stručnjak” za procjenu EU prijedloga ili praćenje projekata. To što to čini nedovoljno znanstvenika pa je za taj posao potrebno zapošljavati konzultante više je problem znanstvene zajednice nego administracije koja upravlja istraživačkim fondovima EU-a. Kao treće, prirodne znanosti imaju puno dulju tradiciju povezivanja u snažne organizacije koje lobiraju za njihove interese. Zadržimo li se u europskom kontekstu, opće nezadovoljstvo znanstvenom politikom i instrumentima financiranja te nedovoljno uključivanje znanstvenika u izradu politika naveli su prirodne i biološke znanosti da ranih 2000-ih pokrenu ini-

cijativu *Initiative for Science in Europe* (ISE). Početni je naglasak bio na ideji europskog instrumenta financiranja kako bi se potaknulo i financiralo istraživanje najviše kvalitete u svim znanstvenim disciplinama. Tako je nastalo Europsko istraživačko vijeće (*European Research Council*, ERC) i njegov vrlo utjecajan program za dodjelu sredstava.

Kako navode Levitt i Crul, mnogi su znanstvenici u društvenim i humanističkim znanostima stručnjaci za dekonstruiranje i kritiziranje svega što u društvu pođe po zlu, a da pritom ne posvećuju dovoljno pozornosti promišljanju kako stvari promijeniti nabolje. Doista, društvenim i humanističkim znanostima u Europi trebalo je puno više vremena da se organiziraju. Iako su se neke angažiranije discipline (uključujući sociologiju i antropologiju) pridružile ISE-u, morali smo čekati sve do 2015. godine da se osnuje *European Alliance for Social Sciences and Humanities* (EASSH). Kao i ISE, EASSH sada postaje partner kojega se sve više konzultira u svim fazama znanstvene politike EU-a (uključujući pisanje natječaja za dodjelu sredstava).

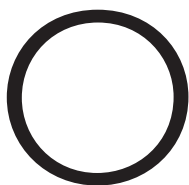
Naposljetku, Levitt i Crul žele da "međunarodne mreže ne podrazumijevaju samo ljude iz Europe i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država". Dobre su vijesti da takve mreže već postoje (no svakako bi ih moglo biti više, pri čemu je ponovno ključna višejezičnost). Dobar primjer na području antropologije je *International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences* (IUAES). Na njihovim konferencijama sudjeluju antropolozi iz cijelog svijeta. Istovremeno, istina je da mnogi zapadni antropolozi ignoriraju IUAES jer je "teorijska" razina prezentacija ocijenjena niskom (u usporedbi s godišnjim susretima američkog udruženja *American Anthropological Association* na primjer). To nas ponovno vraća pitanju proizvodnje, klasifikacije i diseminacije znanja. Stvaranje nove teorije je, naposljetku, luksuz za koji mnogi znanstvenici širom svijeta nemaju vremena. Njihov su glavni zadatak predavanja pa time i konzumiranje i cirkuliranje teorije koja je proizvedena negdje drugdje (Krotz 2011).

Koda

[... Pasaž kojim se stavak privodi kraju]

Dobro je što nas Levitt i Crul podsjećaju na pojedine ozbiljne izazove s kojima se suočavamo kao znanstvenici u društveno-humanističkim znanostima. Ono što prepoznaju kao najveći izazov – reforma sveučilišta u današnjem obliku – također je i najteži izazov. Ne zaboravimo da je znanstvena zajednica tiho pristala na to da njezinim ustanovama upravljaju menadžeri (naivno se nadajući da će to znanstvenicima ostaviti više vremena za istraživanja). Izražavajući se glazbenom slikom, može se reći da prepuštanje akademskog orkestra dirigentu koji zna samo jednu vrstu repertoara ozbiljno ograničava potencijal glazbenika. Protivljenje trendovima homogenizacije, kojima Levitt i Crul svjedoče u cijelom svijetu, iziskuje ne samo interdisciplinarnu pristupu (koji obično ostaju unutar akademske zajednice) već i širi međusektorski dijalog i suradnju. Promjena odnosa između znanja i moći automatski nas dovodi

onkraj kule bjelokosne. Ako želimo da sveučilišta opstanu i nakon ovog stoljeća i da imaju važnu ulogu u društvu, moramo napustiti svoju zonu udobnosti i voditi svojim primjerom. Levitt i Crul nude nam neke važne elemente s kojima možemo započeti djelovati prije nego što postane prekasno...



SVRT NA KOMENTARE

Peggy Levitt**Maurice Crul**

Izuzetno nam je drago što se tako izvanredna skupina stručnjaka tako aktivno i promišljeno pozabavila našim idejama. Oni su naše argumente nijansirali i proširili, a u pojedinim su slučajevima pred nas postavili izazov da izoštrimo svoja stajališta. Zahvalni smo na tome.

Ono na što pozivamo nije jednostavno. Nakon čitanja našeg poziva na akciju Maree Parady osjećala se iscrpljenom. Ona misli da su problemi kršenja ljudskih prava i socioekonomska nejednakost s kojima se svakodnevno suočava već ogromni. Kako možemo temeljito promišljati o transformaciji proizvodnje znanja ako su druga pitanja toliko neodložna? Ger Duijzings dirljivo opisuje kako su mu kolege predložili da istraživanja masakra u Srebrenici provodi u “svoje slobodno vrijeme”. Takve su teme bile previše rizične i nekonvencionalne za tradicionalni put ostvarivanja akademskog uspjeha, posebno u kontekstu Okvira za istraživačku izvrsnost (*Research Excellence Framework*). Nakon što se iz Londona preselio na Sveučilište u Regensburgu u Njemačkoj, svoj rad može nastaviti “u okruženju koje pruža puno više podrške, mada se nalazi u ‘provinciji’”, te tu “razvijati nove formate istraživanja, podučavanja i diseminacije znanja”. Žao nam je što se osjećao prisiljenim birati između svog znanstvenog interesa i konvencionalnijeg puta prema akademskom uspjehu.

Mnogi naši sugovornici naglašavaju primjere toga kako i gdje su znanstvenici već pokrenuli aspekte rada na koji mi pozivamo. Noel Salazar i Michal Buchowski opisuju kako su se u antropologiji već poduzeli koraci s ciljem ujednačavanja konteksta za intelektualni rad. Uočavaju uspostavljanje globalnih mreža, elektroničke časopise otvorenog pristupa u kojima se autore potiče na objavljivanje na vlastitim jezicima te napore da se prevode radovi iz cijelog svijeta. Michael Okyerefo ukazuje na alternativne epistemologije prisutne širom afričkog kontinenta. Ključ za argumente poput onih koje izražava Francis B. Nyamnjoh, na čemu se temelji i dio komentara Michaela Okyerefa, jest činjenica da se zapadne epistemologije pod utjecajem “ideologije i hegemonije” i potrage za “racionalnim” odgovorima previše fokusiraju na pitanja *što* umjesto na pitanja *zašto*. Nyamnjoh se zalaže za to da se više važnosti treba dati popularnim načinima spoznavanja koji dozvoljavaju pitanja koja počinju sa *zašto* i u kojima je “stvarnost više od onoga što se okom može vidjeti; veća je od logike”. Jasna Čapo razgrađuje kategoriju Europe, tvrdeći da je snažan refleksivni obrat obilježio proizvodnju znanja u postsocijalističkim europskim državama od devedesetih godina

20. stoljeća. Europa, stoga, nije homogeni prostor, nego prostor koji je podijeljen “unutarnjim političkim, socioekonomskim i kulturnim nejednakostima” te se one i “s njima povezane hijerarhije moći prelijevaju u znanstvene hijerarhije”. Rasvjetljavanje tih razlika između regija i unutar njih ide u prilog pozivima koje su uputili Noel Salazar i Subhadra Mitra Channa za razmatranje pozicija iz kojih razumijevamo svijet oko sebe i za to da damo sve od sebe kako bismo se oslobodili subjektivnosti putem proizvodnje znanja na raznim mjestima i koristeći višestruke glasove.

“Transcendencija subjektivnosti” koja je potrebna za transformaciju proizvodnje znanja nije jednostavan zadatak. Naš je projekt po mnogo čemu težnja. Riječ je o obliku intelektualne prakse. Uvjereni smo da jedan mali korak vodi drugome, da male mreže prerastaju u veće, inkluzivnije mreže te da mali pomaci u načinu na koji međusobno razgovaramo i objašnjavamo stvari jedni drugima mogu nešto promijeniti. Čvrsto vjerujemo u potrebu kritike, no, još važnije, u potrebu zacrtavanja puta naprijed. Jednostavno je dekonstruirati, no teže je zamisliti, a kamoli uspostaviti nove pristupe i institucije. Također vjerujemo u ulogu sljedeće generacije. Nismo mi ti koji će reformirati sveučilište i ono što se u njemu događa, već će to učiniti naši studenti.

Umjesto daljnjeg odgovaranja na brojne opravdane kritike koje predlažu naši sugovornici i upadanja u zamku svih razloga “zašto ne”, odabrali smo dublje promisliti o onome što smo dosad naučili dok pokušavamo pronaći naš put. Naši komentari naslanjaju se na naša iskustva terenskog istraživanja i na naše napore u izgradnji platforme *Global (De)Centre* (GDC).

Dok ovo pišemo, Peggy Levitt dovršava jednomjesečno terensko istraživanje u Argentini za novu knjigu o tome kako umjetnici i pisci iz država koje su smatrane kulturno perifernima stječu ugled na međunarodnoj sceni. Odgovor je očit – novac kupuje ekonomsku i simboličku moć. Što se onda još može reći? Pa, pokazalo se da su u igri brojni drugi, suptilniji faktori, oblikovani time kako se Argentina smješta u odnosu na ostatak svijeta te načinom i mjestom na koje svijet smješta Argentinu. Iznijet ćemo ovdje samo nekoliko primjera.

Argentina trenutno prolazi kroz još jednu gospodarsku krizu. Argentinski pezo je dosad tijekom 2018. izgubio gotovo 50 posto vrijednosti u odnosu na američki dolar. U kolovozu su kamatne stope narasle na 60 posto. Radi se o ponavljanju onoga što se zemlji dogodilo 2001. godine kada je novac koji su ljudi imali iz dana u dan jako gubio na vrijednosti. Stopa inflacije značajno je porasla. Ta nemogućnost planiranja i vjerovanja da će ono što ljudi danas imaju sutra vrijediti isto ili ovisnost o vladinim institucijama koje trebaju popraviti stvar, stvaraju jedinstvenu kulturu oko novca i vrijednosti koja ozbiljno utječe na kulturni sektor. Na primjer, brojni autori i pisci s kojima je Peggy razgovarala rekli su da ljudi vjerojatnije odabiru karijere do kojih im je stvarno stalo, poput umjetnosti ili pisanja, jer studiranje da bi se postalo inženjerom ili pravnikom nije jamstvo sigurne budućnosti. Ljudi također jednostavnije preuzimanju rizike vezane uz novac. “Možda ne znam kako ću sljedeći mjesec doći do novca da platim stanarinu ili račun za struju”, rekao je jedan urednik, “ali ću ono što imam uložiti u malu nezavisnu izdavačku kuću koja godišnje objavljuje četiri

knjige koje smo napisali moji prijatelji i ja". Ljudi su spremniji na veće rizike jer znaju da su stvari izvan njihove kontrole. I znaju kako to učiniti s vrlo skromnim sredstvima. Koriste ono što imaju za stvaranje umjetnosti, sa snalažljivošću i kreativnošću koja drugdje nije viđena. Tako, na koncu, nije sve u novcu. Riječ je o kulturama novca i stvaranja umjetnosti koje nastaju kao odgovor na ekonomsku nepredvidljivost i na institucije na koje se nije moguće osloniti.

Puno je toga vrijedno divljenja u takvoj posvećenosti kulturi i intelektualnom životu unatoč ekonomskim uvjetima. Kriza je proizvela bogato nezavisno izdavaštvo – neki izdavači nastali su iz taštine, ali neki su prerasli u održive tvrtke koje se respektabilno natječu na međunarodnom tržištu. Međutim, mnogi su izrazili da Argentina prolazi razdoblje introspekcije i autoreferencijalnosti. Nije riječ samo o tome da zbog toga što se zemlja nalazi na kraju svijeta ljudi pretpostavljaju da se automatski nalazi na marginama međunarodne umjetničke scene. Riječ je i o tome, kao što je objasnila jedna urednica, "ako iz dana u dan ne znaš hoćeš li još uvijek imati posao ili hoće li te podzemna željeznica doista odvesti tamo kamo trebaš ići, prilično si fokusiran na razumijevanje svojih problema". Kazala je da mali broj knjiga argentinskih autora kruži u zemljama poput Perua, Čilea ili Bolivije. Zbog troškova, korumpiranih distribucijskih mreža, malih tržišta i moćnih izdavačkih konglomerata sa sjedištem u Španjolskoj, malo tih knjiga stiže do Meksika i to samo ako imaju sreće. Tu ponovno možemo naučiti važne stvari o utjecaju pozicionalnosti i ulozi koju ona igra u oblikovanju nacionalne subjektivnosti. Argentina se povlači u odnosu na ostatak svijeta. Dovodi se u pitanje ideja o kategoriji nazvanoj latinoamerička književnost ili latinoamerička društvena znanost. Ona dakako postoji u knjižarama i na popisima kolegija unutar zemlje i izvan nje. Ona ne postoji, osim povijesne stare garde koja uključuje pisce kao što su Borges i García Marquez, u razmjeni građe među čitateljima i piscima koji žive u regiji.

Maurice Crul radi sa skupinom znanstvenika iz Libanona i Turske s kojima proučava integraciju djece izbjeglica iz Sirije u obrazovne sustave u državama koje graniče sa Sirijom te u Europi. Većina istraživanja financiranog ili od strane EU-a ili od nacionalnih znanstvenih agencija u Europi u obzir uzima samo ono što se s izbjeglom djecom događa u Europi. Međutim, Crul i njegov tim vjeruju da trebamo otići onkraj granica koje agencije za financiranje crtaju kao tragove u pijesku. Umjesto toga, trebamo koristiti regionalne i transnacionalne okvire koji u obzir uzimaju važne unutarnje i međunarodne poveznice između regija. Takav pristup ponekad iziskuje kreativna rješenja za financiranje. No upravo takve vrste suradnje donose novo i ponekad presudno znanje. Na primjer, nisu svi školski sustavi podjednako opremljeni kako bi prihvatili izbjegle učenike. Četrdeset posto učenika koji pohađaju libanonske javne škole danas su učenici sirijskog podrijetla, što prekomjerno opterećuje libanonske resurse. Nadalje, kada je Europska unija Turskoj dala financijska sredstva kako bi pomogla smjestiti izbjeglice unutar njezinih granica umjesto da im dozvoli daljnje kretanje prema Europi, pretpostavila je da će razlike u uvjetima smještaja u Turskoj i u Europi postepeno nestati. Stvarnost je, međutim, prilično drukčija – više od trećine Sirijaca školske dobi u Turskoj uopće ne pohađa školu.

Ti primjeri pokazuju da je za mijenjanje uobičajenog načina rješavanja problema i za stvaranje novih agendi i suradnji potrebno aktivno i promišljeno poduzimati korake koji se protive statusu quo. Inspiraciju i nadu crpimo iz činjenice da je otpor vidljiv posvuda. Znanstvenici, pisci, izdavači i umjetnici doprinose projektu decentriranja tako što stvaraju vizualne i pisane poruke koje potiču na kritičko promišljanje o tome kako boja kože, rod, etničnost ili religija utječu na ili su pod utjecajem dinamika moći danas i u kolonijalnoj prošlosti. Zapravo, umjetnici i pisci su često puno ispred znanstvenika u adresiranju tih pitanja. Tu mislimo na djela kao što su skulptura "I am Queen Mary" (<https://www.iamqueenmary.com/>) umjetnica Jeannette Ehlers i La Vaugh Bell u kopenhaskoj luci gdje su pomorski kapetani uključeni u trgovinu robovima započinjali i završavali svoja putovanja. Prisjetimo se i izložbe radova Danha Vhoa (<https://www.guggenheim.org/exhibition/danh-vo>), koja sada putuje svijetom, a koja iz osobne perspektive umjetnika pripovijeda o francuskom kolonijalizmu, američkim ratnim zločedinima, izbjeglicama iz čamaca i tražiteljima azila.

Snaga (de)centriranja kao intelektualne prakse ide puno dalje od postavljanja pitanja. Obuhvaća i eksperimentiranje s raznim načinima izučavanja, tumačenja, predstavljanja i interveniranja. To su strategije na kojima radimo dok gradimo *Global (De)Centre* (GDC) – platformu koja okuplja sve veću mrežu znanstvenika, stvaratelja, kulturnih administratora i aktivista iz cijelog svijeta koji su posvećeni proizvodnji novog znanja i upotrebi drukčijih epistemologija i metoda kroz zajednički rad.

Na našoj prvoj ljetnoj školi, održanoj u Budimpešti u srpnju 2018. godine, duboko smo promišljali ne samo o postavljanju različitih pitanja i o onome što čini prihvatljive odgovore, nego i o tome kako (de)centrirati kulturnu proizvodnju i društvene inovacije. Na primjer, nakon posjeta Mađarskom nacionalnom muzeju, tijekom kojeg su studenti vježbali kako "pročitati" izložbu i dekodirati njezine poruke o mađarskom nacionalizmu, stvorili su nove izložbe koje su preispitivale neke od tih pretpostavki. U raspravi o nastajućim oblicima transnacionalne socijalne zaštite iskušali smo razne ideje o tome što čini zaštitu koju pruža država (nasuprot nadzoru ili kooptiranju) u sadašnjem trenutku prekarnog zapošljavanja i slabljenja socijalne države. Jedan od rezultata našeg rada tijekom tjedan dana jest organski kolektivni projekt koji je zaživio među našim studentima. Dvoje sudionika odlučilo je napisati kratke priče o svojim iskustvima privilegiranosti, diskriminacije, licemjerja same znanstvene zajednice te o sudjelovanju u njezinim strukturama i logici moći s margina. Udružila se manja skupina pisaca koji će svoje priče objavljivati na internetu.

Riječ je o malim koracima, no ovaj ćemo kratki odgovor našim sugovornicima završiti toplim pozivom da nam se pridruže i prošire glas.

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