

Oikos Seminar
Miscellaneous Notes, Princeton Graduate Students

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DAY 1

Opening Remarks Discussion

Mariana (?)

I wrote my dissertation on the very materiality of houses in the favela. I think it's this very interesting side to investigate different scales and social processes. Looking at what you've been saying it feels like I've strayed a bit off the ethnographic to get to the policy a bit. But it gets back to the house. And it gets us back to Arendt and it's great because it reminds us that the house blurs boundaries. House as methodology as this entry into ethnography is something that is extremely productive.

Bridget.

I'd like add two interesting strand on the talks given. On the one hand the focus on materiality, practice, on the active nature of matter. The focus is on the reproduction of daily life. On the other hand you mention about Katarina saying we'll find a house and Federico commented on people finding a house. The focus here is on transformation. I want to see how these intersect; how the house is on the one hand doing the work of daily reproduction and the other a work of aspiration.

Joe Amon

There is a lot of points that come to mind. There is the idea of the prison and removing people from a home and taking them to a place that is specifically not the home. On the other there is my recent research in Swaziland of a project to give each household an HIV test. So how does a household operate here? Especially since different kinship nucleus live in the same house. How is the household being constructed? Three is also Zimbabwe operation Murambatsvina – cleanse the filth- it is seen as so called slums as a political force and sending the state specifically to blow up those homes and get the owner to get rid of their homes. So there's a lot of political orientations.

Ann

I was thinking about the animals in the house. In the end it's about appropriating the power of the animals. It's about getting accustomed to a household environment. I think of that amazing image of that man standing in between the two houses. So much of the crux is to stand between the domestic. The place is full of water and is where bugs come in. It is about the materiality but is also where other insects come together.

Joaõ

Something that is so powerful of Arendt is that the law happens between the houses. In Katarina the swamp becomes a pathway but you are right about how is that regulated, how does it become controlled. What is possible between the houses?

Alex

Underlying what all of you say there is a strong sense of the moral of the house. House as a site where morality is being constructed by also as a site of moral good. Federico's mention as Schneider as one that focuses on a moral valence of the house. In my work the house is not just a

site of economics or political, but it is also a site of religious and the godly, it brings other relationships.

Bruno

I guess as someone who is not fully n casa. As opposed to coming about houses as bounded objects form you are necessarily coming at them as unbounded units. That is something that is not to be taken for granted.

Adriana

On this issue on unboundedness when we teach the collective it is usually very separate from kinship. We haven't really brought it into our understanding of the collective. The idea of scandal is very interesting because it brings together the private and the collective. I would like to hear more about this.

Susan

A lot of the three themes that I thought were fascinating. This confluence in the house of Oikomania is political economy and domestic economy and not just state economy but transnational economy, NGOs as other efforts to get into the house. There is a scale making project that is preoccupied about the hose as a place where there is conflicted-ness. NGOs are saying that they have missed opportunities to intervene in a house. I want to think about the way in which the house is being conceived as a place of intervention. It is a way of asking how anthropology offers different threads and to ask how these interventions produce new forms of constraints and action in an effort to transform the ways in in which a house operates.

Moises

There is the other question regarding are created through statistics. How they produce different framings if you go into the house, it objectives it. What are the kinds of questions that can be produced in the field and what kinds of objects are counted?

Paper 1: Louis Herns Marcellin

Inhabiting the Post-Colony: Personhood, House, and Configuration of Houses

FIRST ROUND

- Benoit: Come back to importance of the lakou. How is the lakou a necessary link to the state?
- Bridget: How do people transition to rural to urban? What does it mean to constitute lives in orderly fashion?
- Unknown Woman 1: How do you relate the idea of belonging to several houses to Americas? How does it relate to plantations and Afro-descendants in the Americas specifically?
- Federico: How is configuration of houses valuable to other social configurations? What extent does it allow us to think about other ethical situations?

DR. MARCELIN'S RESPONSE

- Anthropological notions of groups, not only housing configurations, tend to depoliticize; historical remnant of society/individual divide. In terms of lakou, the state of Haiti has reputation of being disconnected to houses but in reality actors know how to connect to houses through the lakou. Lakous have to deal with transmissions, everyday order of communities.
- Plantations: term is perhaps too broad of a catchall category so we should be mindful of that. Historical formations that are unique to Americas (and Haiti specifically) need to be taken into account. But plantations useful to go back to talk about marginalizations and hierarchy.
- Migration happening in networks that are embedded in houses and configurations that precede movement. Challenge is in designing tools to trace the genealogies of forms and housing configurations. To better understand power in localities. Example: Mapping in slums to connect them to rural localities of origin.

SECOND ROUND

- Joao: Towards the end, emphasis on history, plantation, etc. What about other dimensions that were flagged in opening session, like the virtual, the imagination? Touch on the elements of futurity that change the dimensions of the house.
- Joao p2: Even in repetition, values might be altered. How are these changes occurring? What are the different calculations?
- Moises: What is the idea of scales doing for you? How can we think about social movements through the lakou? How might we look for connectors of scale? Also, how can we think of configurations across class?

- Alex: Struck by lakou being directed by the dead. What sort of outside relations does the dead bring in? Alternative history? Continued social actors? What does it mean to migrate with the dead?
- Susan: Role of the US to turn peasants into consumers in Haiti. Expand on this. How does it reinforce or challenge configuration?
- Unknown man 2: Term configuration is very specialized. Dr. Marcellin said that configurations is not localized. Why use the term? What it should be doing?

DR. MARCELIN'S RESPONSE

- Configuration question: it's a category he struggles with. Comes from Elias and idea of interdependency of people and social things like houses. Idea of configuration in the shared stuff carries moral obligations that is not necessarily tied to physicality.
- Future: the idea of the house is about possibility of capitalizing on the resources of the present for future. The future is present in the everyday processes of housing. How do people respond in a certain way to particular constraints through housing configurations? There is barely an escape from these configuration and it usually exists through institutions like the state
- Lakou coming into the urban areas brings new elements from structural constraints and opportunities that take place of older peasant configurations. Adapting; transforming. Building future in the present
- Belonging to multiple households: belonging has never been unidirectional; Strathern; there's been a way of seeing society/individual that has neglected the many diff ways people connect
- Dead: Presence of history in Marcellin's work but new imaginaries still exist and the dead is part of it. The dead is more than history. They are constitutive of collectivities and they take different importance in the spaces that they travel. Constitutive of worldviews.
- International community and consumption: Haitian society as a problem. Haiti is appropriated as an anomaly of history. Questions of what constitute the us that is reflected in housing. Reconstruction models of housing to reconstitute or reconfigure society Political power at stake in reconstruction models related not only to housing, but to consumption, education, etc. All mediate potential for agency and the space of the house is somewhere where this is salient.

Role of class: No answer for now. Need to have the right questions and operationalization to get at these question.

Paper 2: Mariana Cavalcanti

The Politics of Low-Income Housing in Rio de Janeiro in Light of the Program Minha Casa, Minha Vida

Ann Kelly:

I was struck by the speculative logic. This process is like a game which stands in contrast to what this home ownership is going to do... that is going to inoculate you against social risk. IN these kinds of housing project how does inheritance play in? how does that map on to speculations?

Megan Steffan:

I work in China and Onur works in Turkey. The policies are very similar. In china, people who take the apartments created an emerging class that is looked down upon and morally bankrupt because they didn't "earn" it. How are these people perceived by people outside of social class?

Moises Kopper:

Which kinds of broader debates impact the notion of the middle class?

How do values change even though built environment doesn't? What are the field of possibilities, political subjectivities that emerge from these housing policies?

The courses to educate people on how to live, speaks to new sorts of moral languages and citizenship?

Sebastian Ramirez:

Striking how similar these policies are in Colombia. How the market is entering these spaces? How the arrival into these places opens them to new markets? What are the expectations for opening new market ventures? What are the horizons of expectations by the bureaucrats of the state? And how does that change citizenship?

Andre Dumans Guedes:

Are these conflict mediation workshops a zone to learn? "Conflict resolution technologies" I know they are not exactly new, but not as old as these living courses. What are these novelties doing to the space of political life? Technologies of governmentality produced

Mariana Cavalcanti:

I think that conflict mediation is new. It goes with this whole language of rights that governs this whole thing. It was about modernization and moralizing the poor... it wasn't this. There is something about urgency here too that needs to be thought through. Who defines what gets done? What is a priority? IN the case of Brazil, what sets these priorities is the question of violence. IN this case you are going to teach these people to live in a condominium but you also need to have conflict resolution. People need to discuss how this happens on a global scale? We need to drop this favela thing. We are dealing with this in China, Colombia, and Turkey. We are dealing with social urbanization. The kind of circuit of ideas and practices because our national traditions deal with poverty on provincial terms. There is an interplay of continuities and discontinuities within the city.

What separates the projects from the condominium is the conflict resolution. The mediation.

Joao Biehl: What's happening to citizenship and the market here?

Mariana Cavalcanti: This is also the case in several places. How informalities get formalized. There is all this space to imagine a better city through this and then you have the market entering into the favelas. In Brazil, the market could exist without incorporating these people, but people look at the favelas and see consumers and they are agents of the market themselves. I'm dying to see what happens when these apartments go on the market. Once you set up these apartments with all these government subsidies. Governance of poverty extrapolates the ideas between the formal city and the informal city. The state and the market act upon that.

Federico Neiburg:

People and the families in these locations. It is a move from relatively open spaces into more closed spaces. A room could be double purpose. This big picture of the transformation of many cities can also put this movement within the problematic of families and houses. What kind of houses we find in these places? What happened with families and people? It is very important to think in the comparative perspective but also in terms of history. We find these policies in the past in Nigeria, Egypt; there are always the intention between putting together the policies and the houses and families.

Consuelo Araos:

This happened in Chile too. It is not just about the logic of the system, but also the ideology behind it, a dualistic ideology. On the one side, isolated units made up of nuclear families and on the other we have an abstract notion of community or collective group in the condominium. What is the play of kinship in this design of poverty?

Clemence Leobal:

The control of the state is very strong on houses. I was just wondering because in space there is conservatism to housing policies, and in France we have a more progressive way of housing politics. How different states control?

Alexander Wamboldt:

Is land considered as part of the house? Do you see this as a resurgence of a socialist form of ownership?

Benoit de L'Esoile:

Looking at these people. First is the difference in physicality. Second they were very happy because there was dignity in living in a house but then they complained about their neighbors that aren't dignified and unfit to live in a house. Sharing a space with people you don't think should be there.

Joao Biehl:

Birds eye view. What are the political presences? There is something of a model policy that allows us to build a more political approach to this rationality. These are socio-economic rights, not civil. What are the objects of socio-economic rights?

What is poverty? What are rights here? What is the relationship between the state and the market? How productive for the market are these policies? Think systemically.

Mariana Cavalcanti:

To look at singular cases is powerful. An example, an old abandoned factory that got occupied. And very quickly that gets incorporated into the favela real-estate.... Sometimes these off-cases that are counterintuitive is helpful. It is difficult to figure out the black box between the state and the market. How do we access it? Is property ownership necessarily good?

To get back to Federico, we should look at spaces that are not favelas to illuminate historically what are not favelas. We come up with a housing program that does not allow for mixed use despite knowing people's needs. The practice of the market doesn't go in, but THE market.

The "model program" brings people from all over the city from "risk areas." It is not really clear what sorts of interactions happen in this space. It is a sort of ideal lab for us to observe how people come here. How they are distributed in these spaces through a draw. All these people get dispersed. On the one hand there is a political narrative of being torn away from social ties as a strategy, but also it is real. We need more students.

DAY TWO

Paper 3: Benoit de L'Estoile

Oikonomia: Governing the House in the Land Reform Settlements in Brazil

- Thomas: Is there any place for religious rituals inside the house?
- Where are the ancestors, the invisibles that form the house? How do they configure the house in symbolic terms?
- Where is the kinship production?
- How do families celebrate themselves within the house?
- What is the connection between the living units and family lives?
- Double striving for autonomy and protection? Is it becoming overproductive?
Autonomy/liberty, is it just mimicking the landlord? Is the sítio only a smaller version of the casa grande?

Answers- Round 1

- Ancestors: I observed some photography on the wall but not like what happens in Bahia, with sacred objects in the house. Most people are evangelical, they have some Assembléia de Deus Churchs that were built on donated plots. One women offered a Thanksgiving fest for children and family that act as both a religious ritual and celebration of family. Building the house, collectively, is also a festive moment. Anniversaries bring together families and neighbors.
- Kinship: are created through the places. When the first people came to Bonito, they wanted sítio but then it was decided to build an agrovila (due to violence, among other reasons). In most families, over half emigrated to São Paulo. What I argue is that although they are not legal owners, they act as masters of the houses.
- I am not sure that we have exhausted the framework of autonomy/protection. The framework of Casa Grande is still important in where they build the houses as well as in how they talk about them.

Questions, round 2

João - Who sells those products, the bricks? The state comes in attempting to make them into subjects and you define Oikonomia as between household and state but what about the market?

Moyses-Can we think of urban settings where people are hoping for things to come?

-How do you qualify the relation between Incra and the people?

Alex-Gendered aspect. Aristotles privileges masculine ownership and political voice, what is the role of gender?

-Were these people already there? Did they occupy the land?

Answers – Round 2

Dona and *dono* are exactly the same thing. The quality of the owner is assessed by the quality of the house, how well feed and cared for people are, not their gender.

They mostly have some sort of government provided income like Bolsa Família which allows them to get into debt and consume, but what I think is important is that the state is constraining an opportunity of the people, the state creates this new place. It is not a traditional market place because you cannot sell the house, in that sense it is similar to Minha Casa Minha Vida, the way

people organize themselves, find ways of cheating the rules, how they are waiting for the future, which might materialize or not.

Also, people are trying to mobilize friendship. There is very little statistical information about how they live.

João - So do they really constitute a population in the Foucautian sense?

I wrote a paper called “Freedom under the shadow of the state”. The state is a bad landlord, but it is there, regulating in some way their lives.

Paper 4: Eugênia Motta

Houses: Quantified, Projected, Lived

Susan: Can you pick up on the last two points of research objectives: how do the documentary processes of state agents as part of a relational household link to the lived experience of households?

Bridget: Domicile as the ideal of the isolate house. Do you see this idea or value or aspiration circulating among people who live in the favelas? Do people aspire to live in them? Social movements use the locality of relations to people in the ground as a justification against, but people in the favela actually move a lot within them and around. Argument that people use that discounts mobility (and temporality) of people's lives. Even the apartments can be viewed as a momentary stop, or a part of a larger constellation of other homes that might be owned, lived in, or used. These houses are just one small part in the trajectory of people.

Pablo: Relationship between knowledge and government. What forms of knowledge do the people you are dealing with have that the state does not have?

Most houses have water connected through pipes constructed by people. No one in the government knows how these systems work. People know where these pipes go and can control its flow. The person who decides or knows where and how to put water thus has a lot of power. The official company managing the water does not know. Part of the intervention is not knowing how pre-existing infrastructure works.

Ann: What kind of statistical knowledge is produced, and how does it relate to other arenas (public health, etc)?

Bruno: Aesthetics and beauty. Equivalency between morality and geometry. Does this language that gets seemingly dropped from the language of technocrats get picked up by the people on the ground? How are these new housing houses perceived?

People have mixed feelings about it. It is common that they express one part of their feelings in some spaces, and others in different ways (in different places). These spaces can be seen as a better place to live by some people, but living in those apartments can also mark people as someone who "needs" a house, or someone who did not have a house. People themselves have mixed feelings.

No one talks about beauty or geometry these days, but these official definitions have this idea in a veiled way. Important for the researchers themselves (for example, the census takers) to account for. When census takers see a building that they cannot easily distinguish the categorization of or amount of people living there they mark that the people were not there. Because numbers matter! People want to be counted, and the "fear" of the favelas prevents making this knowledge.

Louis: Limits of poverty. There is an official definition, and a practical knowledge. Is there a particular category of what is poor that is being contested by the state? The idea of poor is highly

contested, as well as the idea of the community itself, even by the people living there. The contested amounts of people living in the margins is always an issue

There are attempts to objectify the idea of poor (one minimum wage, two, etc). People manipulate this construction of oneself as poor to be able to demand, for example, a house. People leave their jobs to have a lower income officially to be able to be a candidate for a house. People negotiate in dialogue with technicians.

The poor is always the other in daily life. People rarely call themselves poor, which has little to do with income. “You, that are poor like us,” because I pay rent. Not owning a house becomes a classification and an index of poverty. Richness also has bodily criteria (talking loud).

João: The issue of rights. What is the culture of rights in this environment? The right to sanitation (attaching to the healthy, hygienic household).

Network of institutions operating in these areas.

Consuelo: Ethnographic words alongside statistics. Can ethnographic work serve to construct better statistics? How do you see your work in dialogue with these officials and their definitions? Is domicile not a bad definition between domiciles, but rather incomplete. Can you help create a better one?

The motive is to create a population through statistics which necessitates creating discrete objects. This definitions serves what they want to do very well. The question is what is the relations between this idea of domicile and how people live. I think statistics and ethnography can help each other, but they are also different, incomparable categories that cannot replace one another.

Mariana: These notions have less to do with the private sphere and more the “arrival” of the state. How does that show up in the lived experience of the house?

Celeste: Follow-up on the numbers. Population pressure (ie if the numbers go up it's a terrible thing). Are there people who don't want to be counted as it is more intervention in daily life?

People want to be counted and want to be able to tell something about their lives.

Paper 5: Federico Neiberg

The Pragmatics of the House: Preliminary Remarks on Socio-Spatial Categories, Intersections, Scales and Agencies

(No notes!)

DAY THREE

Paper 6: Susan Ellison

The Conflictual Social Life of an Industrial Sewing Machine

Joao: You know I love this story and your work it's just phenomenal. A few questions, just to think with...Do you see those courts as a kind of technique of governance? But then where is the state in the story? You know the state, Eva Morales, something power...where is the state? Is it because the state somehow represents something power somehow...They use it as a kind of leverage? Is this again a parainfrastructure somehow? But then what is the larger impossibility of the legal subject in the country? Speak of justice. We also now speak of justice. In Brazil, when the poor go to court they say..."we enter justice," as though they were out of justice. What makes poor people in Brazil enter justice when in Bolivia they speak of justice?

Pablo: Compadres...speak more about compadres? Also when someone dies does the debt die?

Federico: Collateral. You classify sewing machines as collateral. What are collaterals? Are there other kinds of collaterals? Why collaterals in this context? We tend to think of money as the most important thing, but money comes with other important things and how can they prioritize between other things? The other thing is about men and houses. Where this woman will live and what kind of relationship they have between them and where this sewing machine is in the house and who is capable to use it, for example. Talk a little bit more about houses.

Sebas: I was very intrigued by the graffiti on the wall accusing people of being debtors. You know that. What does that do to people's sense of being in a place when you're accused of something and you see all these other signs of debt everywhere. What does this play of accusation and hope do to people walking down the street.?

Alex: For once I see a lot of weird parallels with Israel. Center for Women's Justice...gendered women...for helping women out of domestic abuse situations. What I'm curious about in this overlap is the gendering of a particular form of justice and particular form of solving justice. To what extent are these forms of resolving disputes being offered to women and not to men.

Bridge: So many parallels with what I'm looking at as how women are being something something. These forms of violence are being portrayed as rural or traditional. I was wondering if you had a sense of whether these forms of violence are different for them.

Heath: I was curious about if we think of these domestic spaces as being in some ways boundaries from non-domestic spaces if there's a way in which someone comes into your house as a guest...when someone's coming over maybe it's the same person but for a loan is there a difference in what the person there takes on and is there WHO the person's a bank teller, you know what I mean? How does the loan retrace what it means for someone to be a person?

Federico: THREE MINUTES

SUSAN: Moneylenders desperate to meet their timeline...but a lot of them are relationships where you know these people and they're your neighbor, and a lot of these things are storefront moneylenders...a lot of the stories I heard are people who have ongoing social relations...Marta turning down a loan and how painful that is because she feels implicated in her death...when things got grinding they'd start insisting they'd write them down. Some people who are established money lenders will do this with everyone—you have to give collateral. But for a lot of people it's an after-the-fact thing. Is this acceptable in intimate relationships. For some it's fine, for others, you don't do that with kin. Lenders who are also debtors would do these things because they were desperate to repay their own loans

Urban and rural: Yes. This is a really powerful trope than (the complicated stories). Domestic violence....drinking. If you do it when you're sober you've crossed the lines. They'll talk about people being saloso and jealous. There are different ways of people theorizing and explaining what's going on...

The graffiti and the way that space is marked. Women telling stories about basically being shutins. Shame and the sense that you can't go out in public anymore because people can't go out in the market anymore. Most of these women are working in the market so in order to make a living you have to go out but you're also being marked. But there's also the microfinance practices of people banging on your door in the middle of the night and demanding collateral and gas cannisters...there's the violence of the humiliation and the knocking on the door, but then there can be acts of domestic violence right there as it's happening. But you do have the signage. Signage EVERYWHERE. Just these huge billboards throughout El Alto. That is covering El Alto, these celebratory stories of small business owners men and women. And then you have all the signage of defaulting debtor and it gets published in the newspaper. The promise and peril of these debts, public and private does not exist.

Compadres lend each other money all the time. Today for you, tomorrow for me, life has its ups and downs but we'll be there for each other (fictional kinship). Jonathan yesterday...you're actively constructing kin networks that also blend outward...I have another piece where people are coming in to get law-like documents. They're bringing them into their intimate relationships. People don't trust the courts, they don't go to court. People are looking for ways to take the law home with them even though they know that the law is painful...Part of what I'm interested in too is that ADR is part of this...in 70s and 80s community mediation project...NGOs will say Bolivian people are oral people it's more culturally appropriate. And we're developing these kinds of programs and now they've been exported as part of larger neoliberal structuring programs. Courts are really slow so we've got to get foreign capital out of them and then it became the idea that these are good ideas for everybody. Better than street protests(?)

We can't trust the state...but the people I'm talking to are saying I WANT the state to address my needs, so I'm going to go use this organization...there's still this idea of having legal systems that work that people yearn for.

Entrepreneurial models of citizenship and economy.

Consuelo: The role you play in these circles of violence. You just observed that or your were in some ways involved in this...these women have this expectation that you mediate or give money?

Shreya: The way these stories are told. You spent time in the center and also in th home...how do you kind of navigate your role in the space?

Onursh: Is there a particular genre or narrative of talking about violence. We know in many cases violence whether it's domestic or not it shatters or disrupts people's capacity to talk about it. Most of the time we're more capable of talking about it when there's a political narrative or a common genre.

Celeste: This is wonderful because for one thing in my own experience I had remembered these offices full of dusty old objects and dusty old chairs and things I can't remember would be collected as anything. The idea that this is circulating among people and lenders...this is very compelling. But I'm also wondering is there a point when the sewing machine ceases to circulate...Is the economy of ADR tied to the economies of microfinance. I'm wondering to what extent thefjdkal;f

Andre: How microfinance relates to the traditional forms of money lending? What kind of insituional overlaps exist?

Joel: I want legal systems that work. Is that necessarily a strong state? Or is that talking about something else? You're talking about people bringing in these legal systems from abroad....couldn't this also work?

Magdalena: I think that your analysis to see how there's a link between the global financial flows which go over the ...I had a question about the...do you see among the women a reproduction of the discourse of the donors? About thefjdkal;

SUSAN: I'll focus on the methodological. This is a complicated thing. Multiple registers in the way I was implicated in and enfolded into these relationships. I lived and worked in Bolivia for four years before I went to graduate school where I'm also a comadre. Most of my comadres and copadres have difficult lives...there was a lot of violence in the house. I would have these conversations that are difficult to go into getting advice from people who work in the field of domestic violence on how to return...my comadre had gotten advice from her relatives to leave, and she came back. I'm often called to act as a mediator. Everytime I go back I play the social role that comadres play....Compadres are often called onto play mediating role. One of the major social roles is mediating these money lending practices...I was called on sometimes because I was a gringita and sometimes it was because this is the role of the comadre.

Relationship...something that's unresolved. In the integrative justice center they said sure can you do an intake right now. I very quickly became a social worker in these centers. So a lot of my role was that I was getting these really interesting and difficult stories and entering them into the systems....coproducing narratives...for interns, the way women are using it, for forensic examiner checkups...tehr's all the ways these narratives are being produced in a very public venue that I was also doing. You have to do that public dance of receiving people and playing

that role. Listen you've seen me a lot here, I'm nan anthropologist, would you allow me to follow up? I didn't want people to think they had to do that to gain access to these resources. If I had permission from all the parties I would follow these people out from these conciliation sessions. People would not want to go by themselves to invite people to conciliation sessions and in that case I wouldn't sit in on the sessions because I didn't want people to think I was on their side. And I think we need to wrap up.

Paper 7: Ann Kelly

Towards an Anthropology of Light and Zoonosis: Shadows of Home

Shreya. You could play with the idea of house as laboratory, conceptually and methodologically.

Ann. Yes! It is a provocative mode of thinking. I have been thinking of this. They build “experimental huts” for malaria. Laboratory is a place they build there, site of exception among houses. This connects to idioms of hospitality. People are paid to sleep on huts to attract mosquitoes, and to trap them. This makes people into amateur entomologists. Nightmare of imperial science.

Benoit. In Brazil there is idea that in mud houses there’s a particular type of insect. This becomes the rationality to tear them down. Not really justified. Process has to do more with needs of construction industry than anything else. Talk about the government, and how it uses presence of animals as rationality to intervene, to destroy houses.

Ann. It is an important question: When does public health intervene? There are different ways of imagining disease, and each has a particular way of intervening. No relocation schemes where I work, but some proposals that are equally single-minded. For example, there was a proposal to immunize rats, to vaccinate them all. Very nuanced studies of the ecology translated into simple solutions.

Alex. This is a *Purity and Danger* question. Biosecurity idiom suggests that light and fire are cleansing. Darkness is unclean, associated with contagion. In Jewish and Catholic laws (and maybe Muslim) suggest the opposite. Darkness and cold water are cleansing. And light has to do with impurity. In your field site, how do native conceptions of light and dark, of cleanliness, relate to the logic of biosecurity.

Ann. There’s a slippage in the uses of light and the conceptions of it. Possibility of sanctuary is key to what makes a home. Secret societies know about the importance of concealment. Public health people infiltrate sanctity of house. In this way local categories can be complicated through public health interventions.

Sebastian. There’s an intimacy between rats and people. There’s something to a rat licking your fingers that makes them seem not very dangerous. The affect of distrust, being afraid of rats, how much of that comes from public health? How are people trained to be afraid at night, afraid of rats?

Shreya. The training of a different type of scientific observers. People who live with rats now study them. That’s what I meant by laboratory question.

Ann. People are indeed accustomed to rats. They don’t see need to repair what health practitioners ask them to repair. Children play and catch things, as seen in talk. They have intimacy with these things. Post 9-11 funding and people. Town rats, they don’t eat. They’re dirty. This is a challenge in thinking of this things.

Ann. Fieldwork, doing laboratory work in these places, where people have to participate, have to give access to the land, this makes scientific work a bit more open to think about how we understand research, and what does capacity building means.

Joaо. I want to hear more about bush meat eating practices. People have a close relationship to animals via taste.

Ann. Now they're called wild animals, not bush meat. Politics changed the name. People know how tasty rats are. They talk about how much they like it, knowing they are not supposed to. After ebola there are campaigns not to eat antelopes, other animals. Cover many animals, because there's ambiguity, uncertainty about how disease spreads. Locally, there's a sometimes a sense that conservationists are exterminating people, asking them not to eat. We have become relevant to them. The problem is that anthropologists are often asked to make people exotic, describe how they're touching dead bodies.

Joaо. Including animals makes us think of subject of oikos differently. We have not done this yet in this conference. You also bring in darkness. What does this imply for subjects?

Federico. "Zoo-oikonomia"? What does this mean?

Ann. Languages of domestication are generally about dominance of animals, extracting economic value from them. Relationship of domination by humans. A more interesting view of domestication is about reciprocal adjustment, about the co-shaping capacity of animals and humans. This is seen in case of mosquitoes; they shape how our houses are configured. We respond to them.

Federico. Also, talk about your fieldwork. How did you do it? Did you work at night? Was it dangerous? How did you take care of yourself during ebola outbreak?

Clemence. Are you part of a scientific team? What's the profession of your collaborator? Are there policy recommendations that emerge from your work? There was a case in a French territory where people and animals were re-housed together, intentionally.

Ann. Almudena, my collaborator, is also an anthropologist. She works on maternal health in Benin. I comes from scientific angle—I work with scientific teams, go out with them, to set up labs. Almudena stayed in one place for long time. Our work is a meeting of anthropology of science and household anthropology. But she was incorporated by health teams when outbreak began. There is hunger for what's happening on the ground. There's a place for anthropology now. It's interesting how we have been brought in. We teach them what is contagion.

Joaо. We matter when everything else has failed!

Susan. Quarantine is an interesting thing to study. The image you showed is provocative. How do local and international representations of light and dark play, circulate and interact?

Ann. Quarantine, old and blunt solution. There are debates on whether it works. It makes people anxious. What was happening in borders and airports, it was interesting to see it there.

Paper 8: Bridget Purcell

The House Unbound: or, Decoupling the 'Place' of Women and the Pace of Change

QUESTIONS

Pablo:

Could you talk about who, make a genealogy of the layouts of these apts to the city. Rooms divided differently than they are in the village. Where did that come from, architects, planners, the state?

Homogenizing effort? Kurds, turks, arabs living in spaces much alike?

Mariana:

Peri-urban and urban settings? are these made up categories? They don't let us see the complexity of the ethnography you are doing. When you divide them like that, you go back to idea of space as a box. The way you present this, is that the peri-urban is this dialectical synthesis of urban and rural. This detracts from the nuance of what you are doing. Back to what Pablo is saying, how do these get produced? Intended state transformation?

Onur

Nostalgia for the past, you put it as a clustering [?], a reaction of the urbanites to the rural kurds and arabs but how do you situate the destruction of the Armenians in urfa? Resaldo's concept of urbanisit nostalgia, we know that urbanism was not there in a certain way. . . . [Bridget interjects, it was!]

Scale. In urfa there is the state, the government party and the like, they work in a particular way but also urfa is the place where the pkk started fighting with the tribes and the state. They have a focus on the role of women, I want to hear your ideas about the big story. What constitutes the political here? Different projects of Turkish nation state? Turkish islam and the Kurdish movement? How your ethnography talks to this bigger story?

Alex

In talking about the village home and its architecture there is a literature in Islamic archeology and art history. Creation of Islamic space as a mutable category

Oleg Grabar

Ian Straughn

Lila Abu-Lughod

Ibn Khaldun-Rihalat's passage about coming to Baghdad though palace, illusion of infinity
In your example, I'm struck by question of why this building needs two rooms, infinite space, goes really nicely with your questions. Creating a space larger on the inside than the outside
In dealing with women: "Do Muslim women really need saving?" argues that women is a form of house, veil, woman brings house with her.

ANSWERS:

Alex, the veil as house. This idea that what the veil enables is maintaining that privacy outside the home. I think it hat is how it works but in addition to that this is a particular form of urban religiosity that one doesn't find in the village setting. Veil inside and outside the house doesn't have to do with making domestic enclosure. . . but when women go from village to city people where this formal religious style in the spaces of the city. In these spaces, the veil does have to do with a formal religiosity but the personal religiosity of the woman doesn't matter. . . .

Alex: that is a form of a permanent domestic space (mutable). . .

Benoit: pictures,? Dressing Style?

Bridget: why there are two rooms? Pre-Islamic. This area had Armenians and Jews and the two rooms were always there. Men's room, women's room. Only exception is if there are a lot of guests not from the same family, you'll divide men and women for sleeping

Onur's question: I have chapters dealing with this. The violence against Armenians.

Exclusion/denial is a reaction but the pluralist imaginary is another way, also problematic. And there is a "local" way of reckoning the plural past.

PKK and the Turkish state. One of the major things I am doing in my work more broadly is holding off these kinds of questions. I think they really tend, this is what work is about on turkey, so you kind of miss. . . these big questions end up obscuring more finer forms of differentiation. Urfa is not _____. the pkk began in _____ which is where this is. The way that politics is working here is about these much finer distinctions among families and their distinctions. I want to hold off on these questions and return to them from an ethnographic base

Mariana, you're right. I presented this. . . overly schematized. The neighborhood I got to in the end is one of 6 children. Different women, different life trajectories. And that's how i try to get at this. Mobility seems to be one way. People never go back to the village here. Imagined as a teleological trajectory from village to city.

Pablo, the question of these new city apts and their separate functions for different kinds of activities and idea of everyone eventually coming to live there I'm not sure whether in the planning stages there was some question of homogenization because these were built ad hoc by elite turks in the old city wanting to get out. So there was a demand for European style layouts
Joao: I'd push you on what you think preliminarily about the broader systemic question. I agree that you are highlighting the granular, but can one not make some preliminary takes on what is happening to the political? Is the city becoming a box of sorts, given where politics stands grandly is in the country? Can you not make some preliminary statements on what is happening, granularity in everydayness, gender, different gradations of Islamic religiosity, could you not give us glimpses of what has happened more broadly in the country?

Heath: counterintuitive that people seem to become more religious as they urbanize? Why? Do people fall into buttoning up around the throat, around the neck, when you move into these urban spaces? Was it because the relationships were more diffuse because spatially it was? Are they under surveillance in the urban setting in some way? When we think of Foucault, along with policing surveillance, comes urbanization? Is it that people feel they are under surveillance much more and that's why they have to do that

Ann Kelly:

Creating spaces impenetrable, immune, side by side, and idea that there is a closing off that these urban spaces, I was wondering about what happens to the threshold.

Celeste:

Yes, threshold as so productive in your work and the overlap with ann's and my own. If we think of threshold not only as to the home, but as thresholds of contamination (ann's case), population (my own and ann's too), thresholds of financial speculation .. this can get you to speak more about scale, the state, etc. Seems like a very productive way in. The threshold as doorway opens to this.

Onur:

I really appreciate the way you bring how these differentiations work in your critique of developmentalism, which is so important in urfa. Last year I edited a book on how people in the kurdish region remember the genocide, different generations of people, how they remember the

genocide. How these bigger political projects and social movements, thinking of the state and the -- approach on the genocide, how it changes how people remember the past and how it happened. Going back to these big questions, I think urfa will be the first place that comes to mind when you talk about the genocide in Kurdish reasons. But urfa is 50km away from ISIS and PKK fighting. Last year, I remember the magazine mary claire. I'm thinking of the documentary that we watched last night. Its it really possible to talk about working class families and histories without mentioning the deindustrialization. How the bigger political, many people are talking about pkk, islam, but not at the level of the oikos.

Consuelo

How do you process coping with strangeness, moving btwn spaces?

Benoit

Luke De P [?] Bourdieu's most structuralist piece, you are opposing this structuralist fixed view against memories in flux. I want to press you on that, you are showing things mobile but not necessarily in flux. Rural is in flux because more mutable. Urban not.

Bridget:

Religiosity and the shoring up of boundaries. From an American perspective, it seems that urbanization and increasingly conservative religiosity go hand in hand. Formalization of islam in urban centers. Has to do with literacy and reading texts . and converting everyday religious practices around texts.

Maybe joao this goes to your question about broader political forces. Revitalism is. . . movement from rural to urban contexts is a much bigger story. I didn't foreground religiosity because this has been done. Islam and the privileging of closed spaces.

Why the veil in the city? Ann you went right to the point of being among strangers. In the village the house is more permeable, you know neighbors. That village had only 4 last names. Idea that everyone is related. Going to the city and being among strangers means donning a more formal religious outfit, also just kind of style and norms. If you go to a restaurant you wear a jacket because that's what is expected of you, something similar going on.

Threhsold: these are things that I try to get to ethnographically and not sure how to get to in a more abstract way

Onur, the question of the genocide takes me far afield. . .

Paper 9: Andre Dumas

Barracks, Huts, Camps and Stable Houses: Mobilities and Economic Moralities in Transitory Sites

megan - outside/inside and fear of migrants. can we talk more about sex in the context of the house. there is this anxiety about what is legitimate and what counts as domestic life. what is excluded?

alex - hear about diachronic life cycle model. marriage/divorce is always negotiated, people are treated like children after divorce again, and they occupy that space. how do people think about their live in this?

b/c it is synchronic, there is a tension to reintroduce itself into the house. especially, how kinship relationships are experiencing into the house in the terms of which kind of kinship relation represents the world and which represents the house.

differentiation, are there gender and class differences of these concepts?

marissa - what are the alternatives to little rooms? a big house where there are supposedly appropriate ways of gathering and hosting people.

pablo - destabilized the notion of the oikos as a fixed thing. reads levi-strauss

contrasting case with what we saw yesterday in movie, think about how working place and the infrastructure around this place, so how do work and place act as an infrastructure for the house as a means to stabilize and build in the many senses of the building (architectural and symbolic)

the importance of movement in stabilizing this house, constructing normative private sphere/space, where...i will really like to hear you telling more things about the importance of religious movements in creating a new frame of private life.

did you have views of this concept of nomadism and to connect with it as the phenomenon you observed in your fieldwork

one thing we have to fight with here is the identity of things, bc we have been wired to think about the things in a certain way in which...they serve a purpose.

don't give a life that things don't have from the perspective of actors and agents

we mention separation as operational, but we don't take separation enough seriously.

susan

want to return to the idea of women in the fever. in thinking about brothels/prostitution, there is a real hierarchy, many different fevers, and questions about autonomy and vulnerability tied to that work in terms of where women are located. people will move to different places like the mines, but there is also the sense that some of those places are considered that the conditions are more

difficult. so women are moving in terms of which boom town to go to, work that goes on for creating spaces within these structures about how you are relating to other women working in those spaces. so thinking of inside and outside and the way women and the fever of that work as terms of the way people are relating to. has your friend stayed connected to the brothel or did she start another one or connect to another one? think about boom and bust as they are circulating.

thinking of stability as potential.

think of fevers and how these strike with health, there is a real virus that spreads, to think about how those kinds of circulations might relate here.

joao

wondering about the wear and tear of those bodies, the movement, flows vis a vis the up and down of the economies. what does that do to the bodies? is the body a site in which one can understand how these ups and downs get housed.

the larger question is migratory flows, movement, i wonder if when you because you are drawn to that, the engaged anthropologists to make your case, their analytics, when you site them, sounds like sometimes it is bounding, but you are unbounding it. so my question is what are you writing against? you write a lot with, but what are you writing against? it will help to illuminate the uniqueness of the analytic work you are doing.

federico

integration link between mobility and instability, b/c the question by joao is important b/c we need to know whom you are speaking against. not all the people mobilize and not all the people are wrong and not all rest. i think it will be useful to know about these kinds of differentiations, not just diachronic, but this kind of...who are the newcomers. differentiation of newcomers and denizens is not so significant, then who are they then?

the newcomers come from the world or come from other houses and other places?

benoit

position between casa and monde house in my fieldwork and the idea in the fact that the house is a more solid type of tent. you could use the idea of shelter, temporary shelter, which is shelter against the world.