

Biography and Society



XIX ISA WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY
TORONTO, CANADA, JULY 15-21, 2018



Biography
and Society

NEWSLETTER/JULY 2018

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENCY

Dear Colleagues,

Next week, the XIX ISA World Congress will take place in Toronto from July 15-22, and it will be an occasion for many of us to meet. Our RC organized and co-organized 17 sessions in which biographical research is shared by about 78 oral presentations, 17 distributed papers and 7 poster presentations. There is much to look forward to!

Fortunately, the big conferences are not the only places to meet and further develop biographical research. As you can see in this newsletter, various activities have taken place since the last issue. They include a film on the life and work of Alfred Schutz, directed by Hermílio Santos, which also will be shown in an *Ad hoc* film session in Toronto. And you can find a Call for Paper for the ESA RN 35 Midterm Conference on *Belongings and Borders – Biographies, Mobilities, and the Politics of Migration*, as well as a conference and four research reports.

It is worth looking at this extensive and substantial newsletter!

As to our presidency team, it will be the last time we address you in this constellation in the newsletter. According to our statutes, Roswitha (Breckner) will resign from the position of president after 8 years, as well as Lena (Inowlocki) after her official retirement from the University of Frankfurt. Therefore, the president, vice-presidents and treasurer / secretary will be voted for in Toronto.

It was a great pleasure to see how lively the RC developed during the last years, especially by attracting young scholars who will carry on with biographical research in a period of generational change. We are very happy that we managed to keep strong and good relations between established and early career researchers, between scholars from different places as well as from different theoretical and methodological backgrounds. The plurality and professionalism present in our RC are a strong backbone for a vivid, inspiring, innovative, and fruitful development of biographical research in an international field. This shows not only in the big ISA conferences, but also in the numerous mid-term conferences which were organized in between the World and Forum Congresses by smaller teams in different places, which are important occasions to reach as many colleagues as possible also in local contexts.

We wish the new team all the best for continuing a prolific path and to further develop established as well as new ways of doing biographical research!

Best wishes for a relaxing summertime/wintertime to everybody, looking forward to meeting at different occasions!

Roswitha Breckner, Lena Inowlocki, Hermílio Santos, Maria Pohn-Lauggas

Membership fees

Please remember to pay your membership fee. To apply for membership or renew ISA and/or RC affiliation, please use the membership form online:

<https://isa.enoah.com/Sign-In>

The membership fees by the RC38 for 4 years are (see ISA regulations):

Regular members	U\$ 40
Students and members from countries B and C	U\$ 20

If you have any questions concerning the membership please contact Maria Pohn-Lauggas for advice:

maria.pohn-lauggas@univie.ac.at

The deadline for the next Newsletter is at the end of November 2018.

Please send us:

- A short paper (3-7 pages) on a topic you are currently working on
- A presentation of your current project
- Some reflections on your experiences of teaching biographical approaches and methods
- Reports or some notes about conferences you have attended
- General reports about activities in the field of biographical research in your institution, university, country, continent
- Interesting calls for papers for conferences, workshops, summer schools
- New publications from you, also in your respective native language
- Any other thought or information you would like to share.

Send your contribution directly to:

hermilio@pucrs.br

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CONFERENCES



Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities

Toronto, Canada, July 15-21, 2018

Greetings! Welcome to the XIX International Sociological Association World Congress of Sociology in Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Power, violence and justice are terms that succinctly evoke the most pressing concerns of society over the ages, and especially now. Sociology as a discipline and sociologists have been preoccupied with these issues and their imprint on society. This XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology, with its theme "Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities", provides us an important platform to dialogue and debate these key concerns that impact our lives in multiple ways.

From across the world, we come together for this Congress to consider the complexities of power, violence and justice in our time. To this end, we will address issues that influence social structures, social relations and social behavior. It will involve interrogating power and the powerful; critiquing colonial histories and contemporary land appropriations- reflecting on the structures and cultural processes that perpetuate violence against indigenous people and minorities; revisiting patriarchy and the continuing violence and discrimination against women; studying the violence of wars, poverty, racism, gender and intersectional violence, forced migration and dispossession. It also includes the need to consider a contextual global public sociology that addresses the contentious issues of our time with the ultimate purpose of creating a more just world.

The sociologist's understanding of the world is incomplete without the perspective of other disciplines. An important aspect of this conference is to also point to the synergy and better comprehension of issues that we hope to achieve through our sustained interaction with other fields and engagement with civil society. Together, we hope to deepen our insights of the complex social, economic, and political challenges of our troubled world and find effective ways of countering the forces perpetrating violence and subverting equality and justice.

A tremendous amount of work has been undertaken backstage to ensure the success of this XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology with more than 5,000 participants from 101 countries. We have over 1,200 sessions with a spectrum of topics and varied formats and this time we have also initiated three special spotlight Welcome Margaret Abraham 12 www.isa-sociology.org Margaret Abraham Introduction Welcome address by the President of the International Sociological Association

WELCOME sessions! We are fortunate to have a strong program due to the immense efforts of the Research Committees, Working and Thematic Groups, and National and Regional Associations. In particular, Local Organizing Committee Chair, Patrizia Albanese played a pivotal leadership role, and together with the Local Organizing Committee, the Canadian Sociological Association and its coordinator Sherry Fox, prepared the vital local arrangements in Canada. The ISA Program Committee has played an important role in the development of the Congress program and the ISA Executive Committee has also been an integral part of this journey. This Congress owes much to the incredible dedication, organizational experience and careful coordination at all stages of ISA Executive Secretary, Izabela Barlinska and the ISA Secretariat team.

To each of you Congress participants, this XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology is an opportunity to show that sociology matters; that together with scholars, public intellectuals, policy makers, journalists and activists from diverse fields we can contribute to the understanding of power, violence and justice and offer pathways to a more just world. May you also find time for fun, family and to build friendships along the way. Once again, a very warm welcome!

Margaret Abraham
President, International Sociological Association

Protocol, Guidelines, and Recommended Practices of Host Indigenous Communities in Toronto

Dear Colleagues,

The LOC (Canadian Sociological Association) has been working in consultation with local indigenous community members to create a document outlining the protocol for host indigenous communities in Toronto titled,

Protocol, Guidelines, and Recommended Practices of Host Indigenous Communities in Toronto

View and Download: https://www.isa-sociology.org/uploads/files/isa18_Indigenous_Protocol_and_Guidelines.pdf

The ISA, CSA and LOC are committed to creating an inclusive and respectful environment for XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology. The purpose of this document is to provide guiding principles for the ISA World Congress community as it strives to respect and honour the protocols of host Indigenous communities in Toronto.

As Indigenous Peoples have distinct histories and diverse cultural and social practices this guide is not generalizable. It is recommended that presenters and organizers be as specific as possible in their approach to protocol.

These guidelines outline observances to be followed by community members who wish to respectfully engage Indigenous knowledges, Elders, and traditional teachers in the sharing of Indigenous knowledges and experiences, both on and off campus.

We encourage delegates, RC/TG/WG to consider deepening their awareness of obligations to Indigenous students, faculty, presenters and communities. With this in mind, kindly review the Protocol document and share with your session organizers and participants.

Kindest Regards,

Sherry Fox - Executive Administrator / Conference Coordinator

Canadian Sociological Association

Société canadienne de sociologie

RC 38 Sessions ISA Congress Toronto 2018

MONDAY, 16 July 2018

Using Intersectionality in Biographical Research

JOINT SESSION RC38 (host) and RC05 (Racism, Nationalism and Ethnic Relations)

Time and Place: Monday, 16 July 2018: 10:30 - 12:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 714A

Session Organizers: Kathy DAVIS (k.e.davis@vu.nl) and Helma LUTZ (lutz@soz.uni-frankfurt.de)

Chair: Kathy Davis

Discussant: Helma Lutz

Intersectionality as theory has provided a sophisticated and dynamic way to conceptualize how socially constructed differences and structures of power based on gender, ethnicity, class, national belonging, sexuality and more work at the level of individual experiences, social practices, institutional arrangements, symbolic representations and cultural imaginaries. It has been embraced as one of the most important contributions to critical studies in the field of gender studies, critical race studies, and postcolonial scholarship. Despite its popularity, there has been less attention paid to how the insights of intersectionality as theory can be applied to empirical research on identities and experiences of exclusion, subordination, and marginalization. Biographical research is ideally suited for an intersectional approach because it allows the researcher to explore how axes of difference and power are discursively negotiated by differently located individuals as they talk about their experiences, their life histories, and their identities. This session invites scholars who have used intersectionality in their research to reflect on the the advantages, but also the problems and pitfalls of an intersectional lens for analyzing and understanding how power and difference work in people's everyday lives. The goal of the session is not to evaluate intersectionality as a theory, but rather to explore the ways it can (or cannot) be used as a method in biographical research.

Gwendolyn GILLIERON, PhD Candidate at Goethe-University Frankfurt, Germany

Intersectional Analysis of the Self-Perception of Binational Descendants in Switzerland and in Morocco

For everybody, the experience of otherness can occur since the perception of one's self is always in relation with one's perception by others. But some persons are more vulnerable concerning their (self)-perception, for example, adolescents of mixed origin. Here, multiple dimensions become relevant such as skin colour, gender, national origin of the parents, processes of othering and/or social origin, to name just a few. My research looks at the self-perception and positioning of young adults of mixed descent in Switzerland and Morocco. Comparing my field studies for my PhD research, I noticed that social discourses as well as my own positioning in the field and the research situation influence the biographical narratives of the young adults.

My presentation will be based on a contrastive comparison of biographical

interviews with adolescents of mixed descent in Switzerland and Morocco from an intersectional perspective. My analysis will highlight the different dimensions that influence the biographical constructions of the young adults, especially also the role of their specific social and societal context. Why do they present themselves the way they do? Which processes and categorisations influence their self-perception? In which way is their self-perception a reaction to social conditions such as racism, identity politics, gender, and social class? An intersectional perspective on the life course can show how experiences of difference may develop and change over time. For example, an experience of racism during childhood may influence identity constructions in the present. Furthermore, I intend to look at the individual biographical experience and at the resources the young adults have developed to deal with their positioning.

Anna RICHTER, University of Kassel, Germany

Devaluation of Biographies: Life-Stories of Older Women from Eastern Germany

The characteristics of age and ageing are rarely considered in theory or empirical research of intersectionality. The difference and inequality between East- and West Germany neither. In my recently finished research project, I focused on the intersection of gender, old age and East German belonging, using biographic narrations to examine the subjective appropriation of different socially structured and devaluated positions.

Empirically, the research is based on a sample of four narrative biographic and eight structured biographic interviews with retired women from Eastern Germany at the age of 61 to 86 years. To conceptualize the relation between the different intersectional categories, I used the “both/and-strategy” suggested by Lena Gunnarsson (2017) and Ina Kerner (2009), asking for analogies and differences between the categories as well as for their intersections. Furthermore, I used recognition as an analytical tool to investigate different forms of social appreciation and integration on the one hand, social degradation, stigmatization and exclusion on the other hand.

In my presentation I will discuss these methodological considerations as well as my central results: First, the structural devaluation of East German biographies is highly important for the interviewees identity-constructions. Second, the intersections have differentiated effects, which is a) the interweaving of different positions of inequality can lead to new discrete forms of subjectivation, b) intersectional structured positions are not necessarily linked in the subjective appropriation and c) the coupling of positions of inequality can increase experiences of difference and lead to a higher degree of vulnerability.

Tina SPIES, University of Potsdam, Germany and **Elisabeth TUIDER**, University of Kassel, Germany

Always ‘Discursively Negotiated’ – Using Intersectionality in Biographical Research

Analyzing life stories in the context of post-colonialism and migration reinforced

once again one of the basic assumptions of biographical research: that patterns of individual structuring and processing of experiences are produced within powerful social contexts, and that therefore biographical narrations always refer to social norms and discourses (cf. Dausien et al. 2005). Gender, ethnicity, and class are both social structure categories and biographical positionings that are (re)produced and performed, resisted and negotiated in biographical narrations.

In this respect, an intersectional perspective brings an advantage for biographical research as "it allows the researcher to explore how axes of difference and power are discursively negotiated by differently located individuals as they talk about their experiences, their life stories, and their identities" (cfp). At the same time, there remains a vacancy pertaining to methodological and methodical questions when using an intersectional approach: The interwovenness of biographies and discourses (cf. Spies/Tuider 2017) is not considered sufficiently in intersectional analysis.

Following Stuart Hall and his concept of articulation, as well as Judith Butler and her post-sovereign subject, our paper deals with the sex mob narratives in Germany that flared up again as a consequence of the moral panic after the alleged sexual assaults by young migrants and refugees during the New Year's Eve celebrations of 2015/2016. In this context, our point is to identify the specific subject positioning of the 'sexually dangerous Muslim refugee' as a new 'ethno-sexism' (Dietze 2016) and to develop an understanding of subjectivation that not only brings together the categories of sex/gender/religion/ethnicity but also considers the discursive context in the sense of power/knowledge/subject/agency.

This paper
 - conceptualizes theoretically the axes of difference and power as well as experiences of exclusion and marginalization always as 'discursively negotiated'
 - develops methodologically an understanding of subjectivation that pleads for negotiations, obstinacy, and contextualization.

Maria NORKUS, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany

Precarious Employment and Inequality in the Context of the German University System

The German university system, as part of the public sector, has been subject to comprehensive reform efforts for years, changing not only the structures of scientific research but also working and employment conditions of the university staff. Part-time and temporary employment is increasing and permanent contracts are becoming very rare for scientific staff. But also the non-scientific staff has to handle insecure forms of employment. This trend can also be described as an increasing precarisation. The way in which different social groups are affected by precarisation is intimately linked to dimensions of inequality and to how these axes of inequality intersect: while certain groups can cope with precarious working conditions, others may be genuinely disadvantaged.

This study is based on biographical-narrative interviews with different groups of

university staff members. By choosing a biographical approach, it can be shown how the different axes of inequality affect people's life courses and how this is connected to precarisation. With regard to the theory of intersectionality, the qualitative design allows to explore which dimensions of inequality are crucial, in which way they are interwoven, and how they shape individual biographies. Furthermore, by adopting the framework of intersectionality, this study also contributes to the theory of precarisation.

Lalitha CHAMAKALAYIL, University of Applied Sciences and Art, Northwestern Switzerland, Switzerland and **Christine RIEGEL**, University of Education Freiburg, Germany

Methodological Considerations on Intersectional Perspectives on Life Histories, Practices and Strategies in Contexts of Family and Migration

Intersectionality is an important perspective of analysis and a valuable sensitizing concept with regard to power relations (cf. Davis 2008; Phoenix 2010; Riegel 2014). In our paper we would like to discuss methodological considerations on how intersectionality as a perspective can be utilized in biographical research: As a contextualizing framework of analysis as well as with the potential to critically question dominant constructions of difference. With this, it becomes possible to delineate the empirical interplay of different contexts of power and inequality, of asymmetrical gender, class, ethnicity and body contexts in a globalised capitalist world, and to portray the different social levels on which these become relevant. The objective scope of possibility with its societal and social contextuality as well as the subjective perspective and assessment of ones own potentials and agency in these social contexts can be analysed in its relevance in the biography. Here, changes and shifts of the specific social positioning and their importance for the actions of a person during the biographical span and on the background of their experiences can be looked at. A set of questions of intersectional perspectives of analysis has been developed (cf. Riegel 2016) and will be discussed, followed by an illustration of analyses conducted within the framework of an international research project on life histories, practices and strategies in contexts of family and migration in marginalised neighbourhoods in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Based on this, we would like to discuss potentials as well as challenges connected with an intersectional perspective on biography.

DISTRIBUTED PAPERS

Tina MASCHMANN, Methodenzentrum Sozialwissenschaften, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen, Germany

Perspectives on Intersectional Interrelations in Biographies of First-Generation Students.

The core business of social-constructivist biographical research is to reconstruct biographical trajectories, which are interrelated with historical societal processes

and individual processes of action. By combining different approaches to the research object, and by the search for diversity of perspectives and the reconstruction of self-attributions and attributions by others, this approach is predestined to uncover processes of positioning and intersectional interactions in life-histories. As current developments in biographical research show, an explicit consideration of balances of power in individual and collective historical processes is a worthwhile addition (Rosenthal 2016). But the extent to which discrimination, exclusion processes and inequality dimensions are considered and weighted still depends largely on the sensitivity and education of the researcher.

This is why I argue for a systematic and explicit integration of the concept of intersectionality into the process of hypothesis formation and abductive inference.

I have implemented this approach in my research, which is based on biographical-narrative interviews with first-generation students and their parents and gained an insight into how the interrelationships between gender and class, or social positioning, can have effects within family systems. On the basis of a case study, I will discuss how the educational advancement of a child may shift the balance of power in the family system, and why parents sometimes find it harder to deal with the educational advancement of their child if it is a girl.

Sara PARK, Kobe University, Japan

“As a Japanese Woman, I...”: Gender, Nationalism and Post-Colonialism in Biographies of Japanese Female Supporters for so-Called “Comfort Women” Issue

Wartime sex-slavery system by Japanese military has caused serious political, diplomatic and academic concern in international debates. In Japan, academia often concerns two topics, (1) facticity of oral testimony and (2) conflict between nationalism and gender. Especially, the second topic still causes serious divide in Japanese academia. Well-known feminist in Japan, Chizuko Ueno argues that there were various types of “comfort women” in Japanese military, other colonial empires also had similar problems on female status, and nationalistic movements which call for official compensation from Japanese Government actually hinder resolution of the problem. On the other hand, some scholars are strongly against the above-mentioned discourse and actions by Ueno, accusing them as “violence of relativism by Japanese feminists” (Lee 2015). They argue that Ueno blurs the vital question how Japanese and international society judge Japan's war crime under the name of female solidarity while she blames indictors as nationalists. At the same time, this issue is first and foremost political/social issue supported by non-academic activists in the country of concern, including Japan as well. Then, how do they, especially Japanese female supporters, support women's rights and at the same time face their own responsibility as Japanese, namely a member of the perpetrating nation? In search for answers to this question, I conducted interviews of the activists in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto. From their narrated biographies, we could see that the Japanese female activists regard formal apology by the Japanese Government and former comfort women's recovery of dignity as inseparable; they take the

problem of "conflict between nationalism and gender" as pseudo-problem that is caused by ignorance of imagination for lives of individual victims and their recovering process. Recovery of women's rights and holding account of Japanese citizens consistently managed in personal friendship and supporting surroundings of victims and Japanese female supporters.

Paul SCHEIBELHOFER, University of Innsbruck, Austria, Austria

Precarious Masculinity in the Context of Refugee Migration.

Not just since the „long summer of migration“ of 2015, dominant representations of male refugees in Europe have centered around imageries of an archaic, dangerous and deceitful hyper male. While these depictions are useful for legitimizing anti-immigrant politics, they say little about the actual life of male refugees. But also opposing depictions of male refugees as passive victims of their circumstances are stereotypical in nature. Employing an intersectional approach, this paper analyses the complex and contradictory processes of constructing masculinity in the context of refugee migration. The paper presents the biographical analysis of a male refugee who travelled from Syria to Austria in the course of three years. Integrating critical masculinity studies and migration studies, the analysis shows how the young men's experiences of social marginalization and institutionalised exclusion have both masculinizing and emasculating effects. But the analysis also shows moments of resistance to marginalization, practices of "caring masculinity" and solidarity across social boundaries. The intersectional biographical analysis thus not only documents how multiple social hierarchies interact to create a precarious masculinity in the context of refugee migration, but also how this situation is navigated, confronted and subverted.

Ina SCHAUM, Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany

'Being Jewish', 'Being German' and Being in Love

Intersectionality enhances constant alertness and sensibility to (new) omissions and exclusions within modes of knowing in relation to embodied categories of difference (Lutz 2001; 2014). Next to being a tool for (narrative) analysis, intersectionality can be practiced as creative and critical methodology of feminist analysis and the production of accountable theory (Davis 2014). Within my research about 'Jewish dating', intersectionality as critical analytic perspective and methodology allowed me to complicate and deconstruct the assumption of essentialized and distinct realms of 'Jewish' and 'non-Jewish' experiences of love, and instead lay the focus on the constant shift of boundaries, of relations of proximity and distance and ongoing processes of what I term biographical conversion(s). I use the term 'conversion' to denote the constant boundary crossing between difference and commonality; not in a conventional sense of (religious) status change, but as a narrative and biographical process of positioning and negotiation of unequal distributions of mobility, visibility and vulnerability. Moreover, a biographical strategy of conversion may manifest as appropriation (the desire to be Jewish), as denial or suppression of guilt or as

strategy to overcome the past of Nazi violence.

In my contribution to the session, I will delineate how my interview partners and I engaged in dialogic/performative interviews in which stories were co-produced in a “complex choreography in spaces between teller and listener, speaker and setting” (Kohler Riessman 2008: 105) and which I link to the dialogic analysis of interaction as Lutz and Davis (2005: 241-242) propose it. This embodied co-construction is linked to the topic of my biographical research: gendered relational life and intimacy – and the shifting gulf between ‘being Jewish’ and ‘being German’ as complex axis of difference, itself comprised of the intersection of religion, culture, ethnicity, ‘race’, and cultural/social memory related to the Shoah.

Daisuke YASUI, Meiji Gakuin University, Japan

Identity Politics and Intersectionality: Gender and Ethnicity in Japanese Okinawan Women

The paper aims to describe intersectional self-representation of ethnicities and gender of immigrants in Japan. In intersectionality studies, the relationship of gender and ethnicity have often discussed.

My paper is based on field research conducted in an ethnic town of Japanese old industrial area. In Tsurumi ward, Yokohama city, historically many ethnic minorities including Okinawan and Korean (both immigrants came from Japan empire colony) have moved to work in industrial complex of coastal areas. I intensively collected life histories of old Okinawan immigrants in this town. Although their ethnic community functions as mutual-assistance network in Japanese discrimination, this community is male-centered and women members are marginalized. They face double suppressed: they are discriminated as Okinawan in Japan society and they are discriminated as woman in Okinawan ethnic community. However, they are also trying out practices to overcome their difficulties in their daily lives.

I conducted participant observations to Okinawa Association. Also I conducted in-depth interviews with some woman in order to understand their identities and their everyday lives. From this ethnographical research, my paper describes the aspects of Okinawan women distress between ethnic identity and gender role based on their biographical research. Through their narratives, I show the details complicated relationship of gender and ethnicity in the context of Japanese society. So I analyze their everyday practice to negotiate the challenge of dual distress.

Jihye JEONG, Chung-Ang University, South Korea

Mrs. Lee, Who Has Lived in a Small Town with US Army Base in South Korea: Intersectionality with Power, Gender, and Class

This paper analyzes intersectionality, based on power, gender and class, through oral history of Mrs. Lee in seventies. With a question that how to analyze a biography with intersectionality as theory, it aims to extend possibility of feminist Epistemology especially in the context of South Korea, which could be situated as a post/colonial State. The approach without intersectionality as theory could scrutinize how a condition acted on research objects(narrativity) and what its result was(causality). But it has little attention to explain how the condition 'constructed' recognition and lives of objects(constructivism). Here puts the importance of intersectionality. The storyteller has grown up in a small town of a region, 'Dongducheon', known for the station of US army base-a representative feature as considerable power over South Korea-. The experience that a son of the storyteller received treatment in a U.S. army hospital, which had advanced technology, critically changed her recognition about the US army from as strange neighbor to as the savior. Another experience is that she was 'sent' to husband for marriage in the hope of 'getting fed'. In terms of gender the right to live of women has been dependent on men's labor. While men earn wheat from work, women are situated in kitchen only to cook bread with it. During the interview, she exhibited her evaluation of herself with moral superiority compared to that of prostitutes, who live in a red-light district to 'comfort' US soldiers. However, in regard of economic status, the absolute poverty of the storyteller made her presume that the status of prostitutes would be higher than that of them. Hence, she is blinded to problems embedded on existing structure. On the other hand, we open our eyes from interpreting her experiences with intersectionality as theory.

Biographies in Organizations – Organizations in Biographies – Poster Session**POSTER SESSION**

Time and Place: Monday, 16 July 2018: 15:30 - 17:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, Hall B

Session Organizers: Marita HAAS (marita.haas@tuwien.ac.at), Miriam SCHAEFER (miriam.schaefer@sowi.uni-goettingen.de)

Chairs: Maria POHN-LAUGGAS, Eva BAHL

People are involved in organizations in diverse ways and in different phases of life. These are public institutions of socialization, such as schools, professional organizations in the economic, academic or public sectors, but also organizations of religious groups or associations for leisure activities. Individual trajectories, in this context, underlay the social and institutional setting of organizations. Vice versa, individual biographies influence organizations in various ways: People with diverse biographical backgrounds are included and promoted in organizations and co-construct the structures and processes in place.

The aim of this session is to gain a deeper insight into the interrelation of biographical experiences and organizational constellations from a perspective of biographical research.

We invite papers that deal with the interrelation between biographic experiences and organizations illustrating how structural and institutional aspects of organizations interrelate with the biographical history.

Miriam SCHAEFER, Georg-August-University Goettingen, Germany

Biographical Research in the Context of Organizational Research: The Interrelations between Biographical Experiences of German Police Officers and Their Actions within the Organization

The police is an example of a strongly hierarchical organization. Careers in the police follow an established path, and yet are very different. It thus appears that, in this highly structured setting, occupational careers and (inter-)acting are interconnected with biographical experiences inside and outside the organization.

With reference to my current empirical research on occupational choices of police officers and their everyday life as policemen and policewomen, I will discuss how biographical experiences can widen and/or limit occupational careers in this hierarchically structured setting, and how experiences in the police force structure biographies. On the basis of a case study, I will show that being in the police does not influence biographies in a one-sided way, but that it can be used as a biographical strategy to open up biographical opportunities which can only be realized within such a structured setting.

Additionally, I will show how biographical research based on the theory of knowledge can contribute to organizational research.

Nina LEONHARD, Bundeswehr Center for Military History and Social Sciences, Germany

Degradation Ceremonies Revisited: Organizational and Biographical Ways of Coming to Terms with the Military Past of the GDR

When the German Democratic Republic (GDR) acceded to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) on 3 October 1990, the National People's Army of the GDR (*Nationale Volksarmee*, NVA) as well ceased to exist. Full command authority over the GDR armed forces passed to the Federal Minister of Defense of the now unified Germany, and the Bundeswehr, the military organization of the Federal Republic of Germany, was called to dissolve the East German armed forces and to integrate parts of its personnel. The paper analyses this politics of integration and its impact on East German soldiers' biographies. For this, it draws on the findings of a research project based on biographical interviews with former officers of the East German National People's Army.

The aim of the paper is twofold: On the one hand, by taking up the concept of degradation ceremonies first introduced by Harold Garfinkel (1956), it will explain the logic by which the Bundeswehr organized (and legitimated) the admission of former "enemies" amongst its ranks. On the other hand, the effects of this politics of integration on the individual level are discussed. They show that organizational degradation ceremonies imply the assignment of new social identities by devaluating the past, which also has to be dealt with biographically and thus affects (and alters) biographical narratives.

Nicole WITTE, University of Goettingen - Center of Methods in Social Sciences, Germany

(Social) Parents in the Healthcare System: Helped or Trapped?

When children are born, this leads to big changes in the life of the adults who are responsible for them. This goes far beyond intrafamilial changes, for it inevitably involves contact with various organizations within the healthcare and education systems. This applies to an even greater degree to (social) parents of children with a so-called developmental delay, whether physical, mental or psycho-social.

In a research project on children with motor development delay, my colleagues and myself are studying the course and the meaning, or interpretation, of interactions between the (social) parents and the professional actors in such organizations in Germany. In addition to considering the 'effects' of these interactions on and for the children, we are mainly interested in reconstructing the interactions against the background of the biographical experiences of the individuals involved. At least for the professional actors, experiences with and in the organization are an immanent part of their biographical experiences and are constituted daily.

If, for instance, we analyse a consultation between a mother and a nursery school teacher, we are not only interested in whether the mother accepts the teacher's

advice and puts it into practice in her handling of the child, and what effect this has on the child's development. Rather, our main focus is on reconstructing the course of the interaction, in order to reveal how the specific organization is (re)produced and structured by, or structures, the social actions that take place within it.

In a contrastive comparison of biographical case studies and video analyses of interactions between (social) parents and the professional actors, we will be able to show not only how the organization (the nursery school) structures the interaction in different ways, but also how the organization is structured by the actions of the individuals involved.

Sabine FREUDHOFMAYER, University of Vienna, Austria

Title: Students' Educational Biographies within a Changing Higher Education System in Austria

Societal shifts towards knowledge economies and the globalisation of markets have caused significant institutional change within European universities. One central aspect of universities' transformation process is the Bologna Process which has been implemented in order to meet the demands of a global economy. Particular in German speaking countries, the Bologna Process and the introduction of a new two-tiered study structure, consisting of Bachelor and Master programmes, has affected students' educational trajectories. This structure has increased both rigid regulations (such as the successive achievements of credit points) and flexibility (as students can more easily change study subjects and study across European countries) and thereby reconfigured individual biographies. However, the interrelation between individual biographies and a modified higher education system has not yet been examined. Therefore, this paper focuses on the question of how students shape their educational biographies and experience higher education under changing institutional environments. Biographical-narrative interviews with former students of educational science at two Austrian university sites have been carried out to explore how they construct their educational biographies within a specific study environment. To assess the impact of the new study structure students are sampled into two groups: one that graduated before and one that finished their Master degree after the implementation of the Bologna Process. Students' narratives are analysed abductively following principles of reconstructive methodology. The results highlight differences and commonalities amongst the two student groups in the ways in which they form their educational biographies. It is outlined that individuals' constructions of their educational biographies are clearly embedded within institutional imperatives and the given study context. However, the analysis also highlights that individuals used biographical meanings as reflective spaces to influence regulations and to shape their educational environments.

Justyna STRUZIK, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland

Polish HIV/AIDS Organizations through the Lens of Various Social Actors' Biographies

From an epidemiological perspective Poland has never experienced an epidemic level in terms of HIV/AIDS. The first diagnoses and the first attempts at shaping policy responses took place in the mid- and late 1980s, respectively. The history of creating HIV/AIDS policies in Poland (as throughout Central and Eastern Europe) is intertwined with political, economic and cultural transformation. The transformation of the early 1990s brought about several HIV/AIDS organizations in the biggest Polish cities, and the first state institutions addressing their activities to people living with HIV/AIDS. In the beginning of the 1990s political and economic changes taking place in the CEE created new political, discursive and cultural opportunity structures for social organizing and civil acting in the field of HIV/AIDS. On the one hand, it allowed for the strengthening of the Catholic Church and its greater involvement in humanitarian action/social assistance, also with respect to HIV, and on the other it contributed to the emergence of progressive social HIV/AIDS-related organizations acting in the field of human and minorities rights. The purpose of the proposed presentation will be to look at HIV organizations in the 1990s on the basis of biographical interviews conducted with activists and professionals throughout Poland. By introducing voices of activists and experts from different localities (both in terms of geographical differentiation and institutional and thematic diversity of organizations), the presentation will provide the mapping of personal stories of HIV engagements. Special attention will be given to the reflections of systemic changes visible in the collected narratives of the representatives of different organizations: civil society organizations, state institutions and church-related initiatives. The analysis will also present agency of the actors emerging from their personal biographies, showing the ways in which they shaped the organizations in the context of the transformation.

Isabella ENZLER, Georg-August-University Göttingen, Germany

Members of Migrant Organizations, Refugees and Volunteers – a Study Based on Figural Sociology and Biographical Research

In this paper I will present findings from my PhD project on figurations between members of migrant organizations, volunteers and refugees, as well as the biographical processes that lead to participating in the field of 'refugee support'. I argue that with a biographical and figural approach, it is possible to analyze an individual's lifeworld embedded in organizations, power relations and discourses in the past and the present. This approach draws attention specifically to the power relations between the members of the involved groupings and the interrelations between life courses, collective histories and types of engagement.

To present how power relations in this field are entangled with different types of (biographical) engagement, I will discuss case reconstructions of members of migrant organizations and participants in so-called befriending programs, where

refugees are matched with volunteers for social, emotional, informational and instrumental support. One finding of my case studies is that the relationship structures in befriending programs, which are initiated and overseen by an organization, are characterized by the denial of traumatizing experiences. In terms of power balances – in the sense proposed by Elias/Scotson – between refugees and volunteers, this weakens the refugees' (interactive) power, while it increases the power of the (established) volunteers. In accordance with my findings, I will discuss possible ways of rectifying this imbalance, for instance by giving refugees a voice in the organizational structure or developing refugee self-organizations.

Débora RINALDI, Universidade Pontifícia Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

From a Waste Collector to a Businessman: A Biographical Study in Southern Brazil

The research aims to study the formation process of a private waste collection and separation company, founded and managed by a waste collector in southern Brazil. Based on the biographical case reconstruction method, I analyze the institutionalizing process from the practice of an individual waste collector, which culminates in the foundation of a small private collection and separation company. The biographical case reconstruction is a method of data analysis developed by Sociologist Gabriele Rosenthal, in Germany, from the perspective of the interpretive sociology. In this way, the biographical approach used here allows both an analysis of the socialization processes experienced by my interviewee as well as the understanding of the mechanisms of institutionalization and legitimation of the waste collection practice in the reality in which this individual is inserted. The advantage of this methodological approach arises from its systemic character and the quality of the results it provides.

Biographies, Figurations and Discourses in the Global South

JOINT SESSION RC38 (host), RC09 Social Transformations and Sociology of Development

Time and Place: Monday, 16 July 2018: 17:30 - 19:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 602

Session Organizers: Artur BOGNER (artur.bogner@web.de), Jesus PINEDA OLIVIERI (jesus.pineda@ocides.org)

Chair: Artur BOGNER

Co-Chair: Jesus PINEDA OLIVIERI

For long biographical research in sociology has mostly focused on people from countries of the "Global North", or even chiefly the "G7" countries, and on their lifeworlds. We invite contributions that concentrate firstly on life stories and life courses from outside of these geographical areas, and secondly on the intricate entwinement of biographical (self-)interpretations and life courses of individuals with larger social figurations and collective discourses in the course of time. In other words, we hope for contributions that understand and explain the *intertwining* of individual, biographical and collective processes in a diachronic ("historical") perspective - and ideally this intertwining itself too as a long-term or lengthy process. Among others we propose to pay attention to the interaction of *individual* and *collective* self-images, and to the inequalities of power and "voice" which are typical of established-outsiders figurations.

Arne WORM, University of Goettingen, Germany; University of Goettingen, Center of Methods in Social Sciences, Germany

The Presence of Collective Violence, or: How Do Syrian Refugees Re-Construct Their Biographies within the Figurations of Illegal Migration from a (civil) War?

In this paper I will present empirical findings from my PhD project on changing constructions of belonging and processes of (re-)grouping within the biographies of Syrian refugees, which forms part of the bigger DFG-funded research project "The Social Construction of Border Zones". In the field of sociology of violence/violent conflicts, and in migration research, changes in the social order and in relations between groupings, as well as transformations of images of the self, group belonging and perspectives on other groupings on different levels (e.g. gender, religion, ethnicity, class) have long been important topics. Yet, these two perspectives have rarely been combined.

Based on biographical case reconstructions from our fieldwork in the Spanish exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa, and drawing on considerations of the sociology of violence and figurational sociology, I will present different courses of illegal migration against the background of an ongoing (civil) war. I will highlight that specific experiences of (collective and individual) violence in the past and the present play a crucial role in the processes of biographical re-orientation of my interviewees and thereby the dynamics of (forced) migration. To understand these courses, I will argue that we have to pay attention to the complex *interrelation between life courses and the collective and family histories* of refugees, as well as *their figurations with other groupings* before, during and

after their migration projects from a (civil) war.

Meenoo KOHLI, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA

Privilege and Uncertainty: Life in a New Delhi Middle Class Neighborhood

My research is based on a case study of a middle class neighborhood in New Delhi that was established in the mid 1960ies as a retirement community for government officials. Based on ethnographic work I investigate the intersection between the history of the neighborhood and the life course of its residents. My research addresses the impact of the changes in the Indian political economy on the neighborhood, and how different types of capital are accumulated and deployed as the owners/residents make the transition from public officials to private citizens. By incorporating the spatial (neighborhood based) and temporal (neighborhood history and the residents' life course) I enhance our understanding of middle class experience in the Global South and contribute to the theoretical formulations of the middle class in terms of its contradictory class location and its relative advantage with respect to certain types of capital.

Katharina TEUTENBERG, Center of Methods in Social Sciences, University of Göttingen, Germany

Transnational Intimacies - a Biographical and Ethnographical Study of the Figurations between German Female Tourists and Kenyan Males in Mombasa (Kenya)

My paper is about a phenomenon, which is currently referred to as female sex tourism or romantic tourism. Based on the results of biographical and ethnographic research, I will discuss the figurations between female tourists and local men, their (unequal or asymmetric) power balances, and the interrelation between discourses and biographical self-presentations.

While the behavior of sexually active men in countries of the Global South is relatively well researched, little is known about female tourists and their intimacies with local males. In my paper I will focus on the figurations between female German tourists and Kenyan men on the eastern coast of Africa. I will discuss the question of how the involved actors configure and experience their intimate relationships? How do they deal with inequalities and changing balances of power and how do discourses on these relationships influence their biographical self-presentations, in other words how are these discourses perceived, modified or rejected by the biographers?

The research results are based on a combination of participant observations and the analysis of biographical-narrative interviews which were carried out at the Kenyan coast. According to my empirical findings we need to question the simplified representations that dominate the current scientific discussion: while some researchers present the sexual activities of female tourists, in contrast to male sex tourism, as a distinctly different activity, others argue that sex tourism or

romantic tourism does not depend on biological sex or gender.

My reconstruction of biographies of women and men shows that both interpretations fail to do justice to the complexity of social reality, and that a deeper understanding of the phenomenon “female romantic or sex tourism” is only possible if one goes beyond the “holiday situation”.

Marlize RABE, Department of Sociology, University of South Africa, South Africa, Ignatius SWART, University of the Western Cape, South Africa and Stephan DE BEER, Centre for Contextual Ministry, University of Pretoria, South Africa

White Do-Gooders or Good Doers in an African City?

More than two decades after the first democratic elections in South Africa, white South African citizens become increasingly aware of their minority status even though many are still in positions of power. In analysing marginalised youth in Pretoria, resource people were interviewed in their organisations' current roles in promoting social cohesion. A white primary school principal and a pastor in the inner city gave particularly reflective accounts of their life worlds, commitments and the changes in the city over the last two decades in this qualitative research project. The former is heading a primary school with a rich white heritage who now only hosts black pupils due to the larger urban changes since 1994. Many of the pupils live in dire poverty and hence have poor resources at home. Yet the principal's optimistic account of the children's future and the difference the mostly white teacher corps bring to the educational experiences is partly fuelled by his religious beliefs and partly by his empathetic way of looking at other people's lives. The pastor gave an account of innovative practices adopted by the former white church (his main employer) by transforming religious spaces into more utilitarian spaces. Despite the remarkable adaptations and pragmatic approach to engage with aspects such as childcare needs of sex workers and theft of homeless people's belongings, he is far more pessimistic about the future of the city and the impact that the church may have. Both men are open and honest about their own identity and their place in an African city. Their views and their opinions on their place in the world are discussed within the larger dynamic national and urban contexts.

TUESDAY, 17 July 2018

Biography and City

JOINT SESSION RC21 Regional and Urban Development (host committee), RC38

Time and Place: Tuesday, 17 July 2018: 08:30 - 10:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 714B

Session Organizers: Nicole WITTE (nwitte@gwdg.de), Johannes BECKER (johannes.becker@sowi.uni-goettingen.de)

Chairs: Johannes BECKER, Nicole WITTE

How do cities affect the lives of their inhabitants? This question has been relevant for sociological research since the publication of Georg Simmel's essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), and the programmatic writings of the Chicago School (see esp. Park 1915). They were also concerned with the social and geographical organization of living together in cities, as well as with group formation and mechanisms of segregation.

These questions have not lost their urgency for the social sciences, on the contrary. Mega cities continue to grow, and generally, urbanization is still on the rise. Urban growth, and processes such as segregation and precarization, are directly connected to the life courses and biographical constructions of their inhabitants.

In light of these considerations, our interest is the connection between biography and city, i.e. how urban contexts influence life courses *and* how cities have been formed and changed in the past and the present by interactions between their inhabitants. We welcome contributions which are based on empirical research dealing with questions such as the following:

- * How does the city influence life histories and life stories? How are urban contexts constituted by interactions between their inhabitants?
- * How can we explore a city's history by employing biographical research?
- * Which (combinations of) methods are suitable for research on biographies and cities?
- * What role is played in biographies by 'urban materialities' and geographical features?
- * How can we compare living in urban areas and living in rural areas on the basis of biographies?

Chhavi SHARMA, IIT Bombay, India

Biography of Mumbai City through Its Taxi Drivers

Mumbai city has been written about as a cosmopolitan city, as a melting pot that has people from all walks of life, from different parts of the country to access better prospects of economic upward mobility for themselves and for the generations to come next along with simultaneous assertions of Maratha identity from past few decades. It has been written about extensively in terms of housing, its slums, its religious diversity, being the manufacturing hub to becoming the commercial capital, hub of Indian (Hindi) cinema, having an underbelly of smuggling and

other criminal activities, etc.

My effort is to present biography of the Mumbai city through the narratives of taxi drivers who have been associated with taxi trade of the city that started in 1909. Taxi drivers of the city have mostly been migrants to the city, who moved from small remotely situated villages to a large metropolitan city that's ever expanding and have left an indelible mark on making of this city.

Drawing from interviews of taxi drivers detailing their lives as taxi drivers in the city and their constant touch with their native places in the rural hinterlands of the country along with interviews of their leader and archival material this paper would want to show the transformation of the city through the change of key practices-structural and operational of this century old taxi trade. Taxi that's both simultaneously symbolic and operational necessity of the city shall allow me to show how the macro makings of the city change the everyday at a micro, rather an individual level. It shall be an endeavor to make a biography of Mumbai through biography of its quintessential taxi and taxi drivers and the reciprocity of this process.

Eva BAHL, Center of Methods in Social Sciences, University of Goettingen, Germany

Perspectives on City History and Their Interdependency with Constructions of Belonging in Ceuta and Melilla

In my paper, I will discuss the interdependencies between life- and collective histories, perspectives on history and constructions of belonging in Ceuta and Melilla. These two Spanish cities in the north of Africa were conquered in the wake of the so-called *Reconquista* in the 15th century and have been Spanish ever since. The two cities played a central role in the colonial period of Spanish-Morocco (1913-1956) and were the setting for a military coup that led to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Today they are known all over the world because of the high fences that surround them to prevent illegalized migrants from entering this small piece of the European Union on the African continent.

My research, which deploys biographical and ethnographic methods, explores how these border cities' conflictual histories are remembered and referred to by members of different groupings and how these historical perspectives relate to their respective constructions of belonging. It is part of the project "The Social Construction of Border Zones", funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

Nowadays, the proportion of the population in these two cities that is Muslim and/or Moroccan is growing constantly. As a result, power balances are shifting slowly, and part of the Christian-Spanish population feels endangered by this societal change that is perceived by them as "Moroccanization". Furthermore, there is a tendency in the established population to harmonize the conflictual history (and present) of these cities by a discourse of peaceful coexistence ("*convivencia*"). On the basis of my empirical analysis, I argue that this discourse essentializes cultural differences and hinders the negotiation of historical conflicts

and power inequalities.

Talia MEER, University of Cape Town, South Africa

Of Home and History: Life Stories, Race and Place-Making in Observatory, Cape Town

The recent upsurge of interest in urban migration, place-making and identity has focused largely on issues of international and regional refugees and immigrants, and integration. There is however less focus on how people move through spaces in individual cities, and how 'small movements' (Arnaut, 2012) shape both life stories and understandings of a place.

In Cape Town, Observatory is often seen as an inclusive neighbourhood in the segregated city, accepting of race and class mixing, and described historically as a 'grey area' – neither black nor white, or both during apartheid (Unneberg 2005; Peck & Banda 2014).

The life stories of 20 feminine residents of Observatory, elicited through in-depth interviews, reveal that individuals' movements in and out of Observatory have frequently had a profound impact on their life courses. Observatory's status as a diverse space allowed residents to reshape their biographies: white residents have shed their racist or conservative homes and histories to create new post-apartheid identities in Observatory; black residents have achieved class-mobility, and access to the (white) urban centre, to construct lives tenuously outside of the oppressive effects of segregation. Frequently however, the experiences of black residents, whose biographies include dispossession or discrimination within Observatory, remain 'unreal'; while those of white residents that affirm Observatory as diverse or inclusive, are seen as 'real' (Skeggs et al. 2004).

I argue that, in the example of Observatory, biographical research demonstrates the significance of small movements in and out of the neighbourhood in shaping both individual lives and collective understandings of place, and also challenges the pervasive perspective of Observatory as unwaveringly inclusive and diverse. Thus, participant biographies can help unpack or trouble dominant understandings of place and history, and can contribute to a more robust account.

Priscila SUSIN, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Brazil

Biography and Access to the City: The Working-Class Women Struggle for Housing in Brazil

The housing policy in Brazil was never stable, frequently shifting from more centralized to more decentralized governmental actions. It was not before the 1940's that, as part of the national-developmental strategy - in a framework of intense urbanization and industrialization - that Brazilian's government assumed housing to be a matter of social welfare. If the segmentation in the access to adequate housing was relevant as pertaining to the class realm, one can say that a second segmentation would be the *gendered differences* in the access to

durable goods: the history of urbanization in Brazil and land distribution from colonial time to the present cannot be easily separated from the processes of social - *symbolic and material* - inclusion and exclusion of women. By *biographically* interviewing women engaged in urban housing social movements, I aim the access to the historical and biographical sense of the development of housing stratification from the perspective of the embodied actions and narratives. In this sense, the main objective of this investigation is to make sense of the problem of women and housing from the perspective of the actors - women engaged in social urban housing movements - trying to understand what are the symbolic and material experiences, changes and continuities experienced by women throughout life that can help us understand the class and gender segregation in urban spaces and in the access to adequate housing.

Sebastian JUHNKE, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Becoming the 'creative Self': On the Relationship between Urban Environments and Biographical Desires

The relationship between the city and the individual is reciprocal: urban environments influence biographies and life stories, and biographical desires in turn take part in shaping the city. This is the case for members of Richard Florida's (2003) creative class, a demographic attracted to cities that display tolerance in the form of openness and diversity. Whereas this conceptualization has been criticized for its neglect of intra-urban inequalities and often problematic applications by urban policy-makers around the globe, little is known about the relationship between 'creatives' on a personal level and the urban environments that attract them.

Based on qualitative interviews with creative professionals in London and Berlin neighbourhoods attractive because of their diversity and urban change, this paper will shed light on the biographical construction of a 'creative self' that is dependent upon a particular urban form. Furthermore, this paper will discuss the ways in which a 'creative' self-understanding and biographical desires impact upon the city, both materially and discursively (e.g. in the form of representation, gentrification and segregation).

Questions of living together with difference in diverse and tolerant (socio-geographical features), and particularly 'creative' urban environments (materialities such as Victorian/Wilhelminian housing stock, industrial architecture, street markets, the 'right' degree of urban decay) are directly related to the biographical construction of the 'creative self'. This not only relates to working conditions such as the presence of other 'creatives' and being inspired by diverse and 'edgy' neighbourhoods but also to the construction and narration of individual biographies through norms, values and questions of lifestyle, taste and distinction. This becomes particularly evident when creative professionals contrast their arrival to the city with their past in 'non-creative' urban or rural places.

DISTRIBUTED PAPER

Amy HANSER, University of British Columbia, Canada

Public Bus As Urban Space

Drawing upon examples from North America, this paper will explore the public bus as a quintessential urban space, a space in which urban residents encounter social difference in close proximity. Drawing upon the ideas of scholars as varied as Geog Simmel, Iris Marion Young, Jane Jacobs, Lyn Lofland, and Robin Kelley, this paper will consider public bus as theatrical space, as a space where strangers encounter one another, and in particular as a space in which social difference is experienced in close proximity. Public buses are also social spaces that are transformed as they move through physical space of the city, as riders embark and disembark, and through time, as the rhythms of work, school and leisure all manifest themselves in the terms of numbers, composition and demeanor of bus riders. If city life embodies difference, as Iris Marion Young has argued, then the public bus offers an opportunity to consider how difference—strangers “being together”—is experienced in the most immediate and mundane ways.

Visualizing Power: Epistemological and Theoretical Aspects of Studying Biographies Affected By Violence and Injustice

JOINT SESSION RC57 Visual Sociology (host), RC38 Biography and Society, RC37 Sociology of Arts

Time and Place: Tuesday, 17 July 2018: 10:30 - 12:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 602

Session Organizers: Regev NATHANSON (regev@umich.edu), Roswitha BRECKNER (roswitha.breckner@univie.ac.at), Paulo MENEZES (paulomen@usp.br)

Chairs: Regev NATHANSON, Paulo MENEZES, Roswitha BRECKNER

This joint session seeks to present different sociological perspectives on how visuals and the arts are related to biographies affected by power, violence and injustice. How images of different kinds and media, e.g. paintings, drawings, collages and photographs from art history, contemporary artists, scholars and non-scholars create ways to depict experiences, situations and social contexts shaped by power and violence? In what way images are used to deal with power and violence e.g. in political activism, public media or within families? How do they become relevant in processes of transmission between generations and within communities affected by power, violence and injustice? How can images become powerful and violent by themselves?

We seek papers that will explore various methodological, epistemological, and theoretical approaches concerning visibility and invisibility of power, violence and injustice. We particularly welcome papers that will examine these aspects in a comparative manner: between different observers, cross culturally, or across historical periods.

Vikki BELL, Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom

Chacabuco and the Crystal: Relating Narratives and/As Refracting the Past

This paper takes the gift of an interview that emerged unexpectedly on fieldwork in Chile with an ESRC(UK)-funded project. As part of the project, we visited the ex-detention centre Chacabuco in the Atacama Desert, where hundreds of political prisoners were held in the 1970s during Pinochet's dictatorship. The paper considers how we meet the past multiply in such research, as the story of 'what happened' emerges via several routes: experientially, visually, cinematically and biographically. Drawing on Benjamin's comments on story-telling and Cavarero's arguments concerning 'relating narratives', the paper considers how the story told by our interviewee, Osvaldo Valdés, a survivor of the camp, adopts a mode of a narrating the history he has lived that shares and supplements the 'crystalline' approach adopted not only in Gúzman's majestic 'Nostalgia de la Luz' (2010) but also in the film 'cited' by Gúzman, 'Yo He Sido, Yo Soy, Yo Seré'(1974), shot clandestinely in the camp at the time it was being used as a detention centre. Valdés shares the telling with a friend, another survivor, and they distribute not only the story but the sentiments between them, allowing a web of generosity and receptivity between us that like a game of cat's cradle (Haraway, 2016:34) enables the remarkable story of torture, creativity and laughter to be gifted to us.

Susan BELL, Drexel University, USA

Crossing Borders: Power and Violence in New York City Galleries

This paper considers two recent exhibitions that used artifacts and other tracings left by refugees when they crossed the Mediterranean from North Africa to Northern Greece and undocumented migrants when they crossed the Sonoran Desert from Mexico into Southwestern United States. Both combine objects (e.g., backpacks, clothing, prayer cards, boots and shoes, water bottles) with documentary films, stories, photographs, text, and other media to explore state violence, suffering and resistance.

"Laundromat" (2016) focuses on clothing, shoes and boots left behind when Idomeni refugee camp was closed and residents were forced to leave. Ai Weiwei and his team documented the camp's closure and laundered the objects and displayed them at the Deitch gallery. The exhibition reflects the artist's long-standing commitment to art and activism: to make art that speaks truth to power and hold states accountable for their violence, negligence, and authoritarianism. "State of Exception/ Estado de Excepción" (Amanda Krugliak and Richard Barnes, with Jason De Leon, at Parsons School of Design, 2017) focuses on a wall of more than 700 backpacks. Each was retrieved by anthropologist Jason De Leon after 2009, when he began a study of the border crossings in response to the US immigration enforcement strategy known as "Prevention through Deterrence."

This paper takes a comparative focus to look critically at how these contemporary artists and social scientists depict experiences, situations and social contexts of displaced people in contexts of power and violence. What stories and identities are carried in/by the exhibitions' images of walls, water, and documentation practices? What relevance and responsibility do they have to contemporary politics in the Americas, Europe and Northern Africa? What risks do they take in reclaiming and transforming objects and stories in their efforts to understand and resist violence and suffering in crossing borders?

Vicki HARMAN, University of Surrey, United Kingdom, Benedetta CAPPELLINI, Royal Holloway, University of London, United Kingdom and Susana CAMPOS, University of Lisbon, Portugal

Drawing the Unspeakable: Critical Reflections on the Ethics and Emotions of Conducting Arts-Based Research on Domestic Violence from a Feminist Perspective

This paper provides a critical discussion of the ethical issues arising from a recent project utilising arts based research in a women's refuge. Through a series of art workshops, the study explored the liminal identities of women living in a refuge through their relationship to objects (loved, lost, missed and hated objects). The project culminated in an art exhibition, titled 'Displaced'. Analysing reflexive logs written by the research team and interviews with research participants, we discuss experiences from the fieldwork in relation to feminist literature on research

methods. We focus on the manifestation of emotion work during research on domestic violence, the nature of friendship with participants, the research as a 'gift' from participants to the researchers (Oakley, 2016), and power and vulnerability in the research process and the exhibition.

Tami LIBERMAN, Freie Universitaet Berlin, Germany

How to Show an Invisible Man: An Experiment in Filmic Representation of Illegalized Sub-Saharan Migrants

The political status of sub-Saharan migrants residing in nation-states around the world without work or residence permits affects the migrants' public representation: while compelled to conceal their identity in mass media out of cautionary measures, the migrants become "hyper-visible" in public discourse through their repetitive representation as masses of victims or dangerous invaders.

The "invisibility" of the migrants' subjective identity led to a filmic experiment in which the main participant – a West African refugee living in Berlin without a work permit – is never seen on camera. Named in this film Mr. X, to protect his identity, the refugee joins the filmmaker/researcher behind the camera as cinematographer and storyteller. His voice recites memories from his life in Africa, Italy and Berlin, constructing a fragmentary narrative conceived through his collaboration with the filmmaker. Mr. X uses the camera to illustrate these memories with images of German landscapes, and to engage in a self-reflexive dialogue with the filmmaker who appears on screen.

Contextualizing the migrant's cultural invisibility, the research addresses the centrality of vision in modern thought as a means of understanding and capturing reality. It presents an experimental visual approach that criticizes the observational tradition's search of cultural "sameness" through the corporeal, and celebrates cultural diversity expressed through the visually absent. The methods used – participatory research, "third voice" dialogue, montage, self-reflexivity, reversing of the cinematic/scientific gaze – are evaluated for their ability to both bypass and confront the migrant's forced invisibility, and the underlying political, sociocultural and epistemological order.

Private link to the film Napps - Memoire of an Invisible Man:

<https://vimeo.com/96679622>

password:

storyofmrx

Film

Trailer:

<https://vimeo.com/128956736>

Ozge DERMAN, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales - Paris (CRAL), Turkey

Remembering the Victim(s): "You'Re Not a Fish after All"

The assassination of the Armenian-Turkish journalist Hrant Dink in Istanbul in 2007 by a Turkish nationalist is a drastic incident in Turkey that remained engraved in people's memory. He was not the first or the last intellectual assassinated and those repetitive forms of death constitute a very strong image of Turkish history. His

assassination brings into light once again the political crimes against humanity and subsequently the dynamic relationship between art and politics.

In 2010, Mihran Tomasyan, a member of Ciplak Ayaklar Dance Company, creates his performance called "You're not a fish after all" in memory of Hrant Dink. The performance is introduced in a fragmented mode like dreams, however it articulately addresses a collective memory shaped by continuous violence and injustices. It represents an individual recollection of a certain event through which the artist interferes with the remembering of a large group of people like a big family. That so-called family is concerned by and follows closely multiple comparable killings of intellectuals and journalists in Turkey. In fact, after 2015, the assassination of Tahir Elçi, a Kurdish lawyer specialized in human rights issues, could become the subject matter of the same performance. The performance thus unwittingly stages instances and images from historically repetitive periods.

This paper focuses on the reconstruction of the collective memory through that artwork and it adopts a qualitative methodology, introducing hermeneutics as a process of understanding. The data will be provided by semi-structured interviews with Tomasyan and the spectators of the performance in several occasions, taking into account the place and date of the performances.

DISTRIBUTED PAPERS

Marianna SIINO, University of Enna "Kore", Italy

The Power of the Image: The Narration of Life Experience between Creativity and Reflexivity

The paper aims to highlight the potentialities of self-expression through images, particularly when dealing with "sensitive" topics and when the verbal communication or introspective ability of the target group is compromised. More specifically, this paper reports the results of a research project carried out in a Southern Italian city about the perception of family roles, forms of relationship between the sexes, and how violence is experienced within the family.

The target group was made up of Muslim young men and women living in Palermo. In most cases, they had been living in the hosting community for a short and were in a permanent "emergency" situation regarding job, housing and sometimes even health. Since they had considerable difficulties to understand or speak Italian, I decided to frame the data collection within a visual sociology perspective.

The use of collage or drawing/painting was the tool through which the migrants unconsciously conveyed their emotions. When the product was ready, a verbal setting was created with the aim to understand its content, allowing the author to become more conscious of his/her emotions. As such, the most interesting aspect of using the collage technique is not the aesthetic quality of the work, but the great evoking value actualised by the author in his/her choice of different images

and their particular and unique combination. All of this becomes a small window on the author's personality and life experiences. Through the collage technique participants were able to "delegate" to images the expression of their deep emotions without directly putting themselves on the line, except for the crucial moment of their choice or when creating the drawing.

The visual method triggers, starting from the first creative choice, a reflective process that facilitates the expression of emotions and the narration of life experiences, even in case of "painful" biographies.

Lena INOWLOCKI, Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, Germany

Insinuations and Threats of the (new) Extreme Right. Actors' Biographical Deployment in Visual and Verbal Terms

Explicit and implicit threats against adversaries as well as references to violence in images and rhetoric characterize the extreme right. Focusing mostly on Germany during the last decades, I will point out changes and also continuities of topics and their visual and verbal presentation, by means of different biographical documents. These range from interviews in a research setting to photos taken during political demonstrations and to recent promotional videos of actors of the extreme right.

The self-presentation of women in these videos as main actors denouncing but also insinuating violence raises many questions for the analysis. Another important aspect concerns the relationship between biography and history: going from the explicit denial of the Holocaust and an implicit fascination with its power of destruction to seemingly more "subtle" forms of justification. Thus, as presently among Identitarians and their "post-modern turn", there is a disposal of history at will, "freeing" one's biography from its consequences.

Malfrid Irene HAGEN, Østfold University College, Norway

Political Art Activists in the Past and Present Time

The well-recognized Norwegian artist Per Kleiva (1933-2017), was one of the front figures of the Norwegian art activist group "Gras" in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These artists, who mainly worked within graphic art, were engaged in a variety of political problems both in Norway and around the world, for example the Vietnam War and the military coup in Chile, in 1973, and expressed their protests through their art expressions. The printing techniques of Pop art, in particular serigraphy, inspired the members of the group. The most iconic serigraphic print of Per Kleiva; "American Butterflies" (1971), show American war helicopters over Vietnam, applied with butterfly wings. In this paper, I discuss these Norwegian art activists in the perspective of a broader tradition of artists as political activists, as well as the political conditions and movements of the current periods. Finally, I look at: how do art activism appear in contemporary art (after 2000), and what are the main issues of today's art activists compared with those of the 1900s?

Biography and Violence

Time and Place: Tuesday, 17 July 2018: 15:30 - 17:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 203D

Session Organizers: Gabriele ROSENTHAL (g.rosenthal@gmx.de), Hermilio SANTOS (hermilio@puccs.br)

Chair: Hermilio SANTOS

For this session we invite papers on the interrelations between violence, life courses and life stories from the perspective of biographical research. When researching people's everyday life experiences and the entanglement of biographies with family and collective histories in their respective socio-historical contexts, being confronted with experiences of violence in one way or the other comes almost naturally as a part of biographical research. At the same time, sociological research on dynamics and experiences of violence still poses a lot of challenges analytically and methodologically.

In this session we will specifically address the issue of living in contexts, situations and social spaces that have been (more or less permanently) shaped by recurring forms of collective (organized or 'spontaneous') violence, such as (civil) wars, pogroms, (state) terrorism, and violent conflicts between different groupings. We will discuss questions such as: How are experiences of violence (from the perspectives of violent actors, victims or bystanders) interrelated with life courses, power relations/figurations between different groupings and constructions of belonging? We hope to open a broad comparative discussion and therefore invite papers concerning biographies, violent actors, armed groups, violent settings and violent actions in the so-called Global North and the so-called Global South.

Michaela KOETTIG, Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, Germany

How Refugees Live in Germany and Australia: Biographical Reconstructions between Insecurity and Trauma

In view of the fact that in global terms there are over 65 million refugees, the topics of migration and asylum are gaining in importance. Immigration countries – especially in the 'global West' – often have a negative attitude to immigration, trying to keep numbers as low as possible by guarding their borders and developing strict asylum procedures.

My current research project is concerned with examining the asylum system and asylum procedures in two of these 'Western' host countries: Germany and Australia. The aim of the research is to show the effects of these two systems on refugees. By reconstructing the biographies of asylum seekers, I want to find out how people from different social and national backgrounds and with very diverse lived realities are able to adapt to life in their host country, and what opportunities and restrictions result from the immigration and integration systems of that country. I am interested in why people leave their country of origin, their experiences during their migration, and their settlement process. In Germany, I am recording the biographies of people who have arrived in the country recently, and following up their experiences in Germany in a long-term study (10-12 years). In Australia, by contrast, I record the biographies of people who have already lived in Australia for

some years, and who can give me a retrospective account of what they have experienced in their host country.

My paper is focused on this research. On the basis of the experiences of the refugees/asylum seekers, I will briefly discuss the differences between the two immigration systems, and what kind of effects and impacts they have on the lives of people. Specifically, I will show differences in coping with lived-through traumas, and how people talk about these at the time of the interview.

Aide ESU, University of Cagliari, Italy

Breaking the Silence, Biographical Narrations of Violence Naturalization

Social studies of intractable conflicts has focused on how these enduring situations cast doubt on the likelihood of peaceful solutions, by their appealing to national unity, demand patriotism and self-sacrifice. In this regard, scholars of different disciplines consider the long lasting conflict between Israel and Palestine as a paradigmatic case. It has become a social laboratory of protracted conflict—conflict that is perceived as irresolvable, demanding extensive investment (military, technological, economic, psychological), perceived as zero sum in nature (neither side will consider compromise and/or concessions), and central for social actors (members of society are involved constantly and continuously with the conflict). This proposal questions how difficult it is for a society that is engulfed in an “ethos of conflict” to move beyond mutually reinforcing spirals of violence. In an asymmetric conflict, such as the Israeli-Palestinian, the acceptance of human rights violations and denial of responsibilities by members of the in-group is stronger than in a symmetrical conflict.

Since today the study on everyday life and conflict reproduction is underestimate on social science. We wish to approach the intractability by exploring the sociological key question of everyday life reproduction and experience, how human agency is expressed and regulate under the rule of occupation. We wish, also, to explore the relation between victim and victimizer by studying interaction between Palestinian residents, settlers and IDF soldiers. In order to better understand the process of violence naturalization, the proposal will investigate on the biographical narration of members of *Breaking the Silence*, a group of Israeli soldiers who served in Hebron and emerged into the Israeli public sphere by telling about the harsh behavior of the Israeli Army in the Occupied Territories.

Artur BOGNER, Sociology of Development, University of Bayreuth, Bayreuth, Germany

From Victim to Perpetrator and Back? Biographies of Former "Child Soldiers" in Uganda

As Foucault and others have emphasized, it is impossible to understand the actualities of macro-violence or collective violence unless one takes seriously, and confronts, the *concrete, bodily and sensorial*, bloody and cruel aspects of this subject matter - in a detailed and palpable, virtually painful manner. The paper

summarizes some findings of a research project on the life stories & life courses of former so-called child soldiers or abductees of the “Lord’s Resistance Army” in Uganda. The biographies of individuals who were abducted as children or adolescents by this Christian-millenarian and ethno-nationalist rebel group and forcefully recruited as fighters and/or “wives” (often in the context of very bloody raids on the homes of their families, relatives or neighbours) show central features of their experiential history, their life courses and their changing biographical self-interpretations. Amongst others the biographies show the necessity of a critical analysis, and empirical investigation, of the *concrete* relations between self-presentations and reality, or between narrated and lived lives. The same applies to the relations between practices and discourses among the civilians who were close to them before their abduction/recruitment and after their “return” from the rebels. I focus on varying blends or ratios of enslavement/subjugation and agency/autonomy, at various moments and in different phases of the lives of the former rebel fighters or abductees. At the same time the research shows the power and actual *working* of ethno-political belongings as discourses that shape the images of the self and the we-group, their history and the world.

Young-Hee SHIM, Hanyang University, South Korea, South Korea

The after-Effects of Gwangju Incidence after 37 Years: An Analysis of in-Depth Interviews of Those Who Experienced It

Thirty-seven years have passed since the Gwangju Democratic Movement occurred in May, 1980. At that time many innocent students and citizens were cruelly beaten and/or shot to death by the army of their own nation. Even though the citizens of Gwangju have regained the damaged reputation as ‘commie’ later, the trauma of the terrible experience of being attacked by their own soldiers were very severe. This paper tries to show the after-effects of those people who observed and/or experienced the May massacre at Gwangju, Korea in 1980 by analyzing their biographies based on in-depth interviews of them in accordance with their life-course. The theoretical perspective to be used is Ulrich Beck’s theory of emancipatory catastrophism and the three conceptual lenses of violation of the sacred norms, anthropological shocks and catharsis or cosmopolitan morality. Meaning work through which they redefine the situation and themselves will also be analyzed, since meaning work might be able to lead them to cosmopolitan morality, not apocalyptic catastrophism.

Gemita OYARZO, Escuela de Ciencia Política, Universidad Diego Portales, Chile

Life after Struggle: Transformation of Left-Wing Militant Identities during Post-Dictatorship Chile (1990-2017)

The paper presents some results collected in an ongoing research about left-wing militancy transformation in post-dictatorship Chile. Firstly, through a micro sociological approximation based on comparative case studies and an analysis of biographical itineraries, the research reviews various social and political processes of militant identities transformation. Three biographical levels are considered: in a

first level, the work describes the forms of political participation; the relationships between political organizations during the dictatorship and, the disengagement or changes of political parties during the 1990s. In a second level, the paper approaches the career development and labor trajectories from 1990 to 2017. Finally, the research deepens into familiar and emotional histories of the interviewees. The paper shows how these three dimensions of the militant life are keys to understand the social mechanisms that explain the transformations of political identities of left-wing militants.

Secondly, based on those empirical evidences, the paper comment main analytical challenges posed by life stories methodological approaches: (a) the justification and advantage of its use and (b) the limits of interpreting evidence following the contributions of the sociology of militancy. The cases analysis allows the review of two new theoretical frameworks: political generations and the sociology of the individual. I argue that both approaches can better explain the transformations of the political identities of left-wing militants during Chilean post-dictatorship.

DISTRIBUTED PAPER

Natalia OTTO, University of Toronto, Canada

Aggressive Wife, Caring Mother: Representations of Gender and Violence in the Biographical Narrative of an Incarcerated Girl in Brazil

This paper analyzes the biographical narrative of Helena, a 17-year-old girl who, at the time of the research, was incarcerated at a Juvenile Detention Center due to the homicide of a girl from her neighborhood, who allegedly had an affair with her husband. I interviewed Helena in 2015 at the Center for Social and Educational Services for Teenage Women in Porto Alegre, Brazil. In my analysis, I aim at understanding how Helena's representations of gender and physical violence (both suffered and committed) intersect in her narrative. I investigate the connections she establishes between violent practices and the positions she occupies as a young woman in her social space. I aim at understanding under which conditions the practice of physical violence is regarded as coherent with her representations of femininity, and under which conditions it is not. I identify three elements that are central to her narrative: i. the construction of an aggressive and invulnerable personality and, hence, the refusal of victimization; ii. the justification of the use of violence to preserve the stability of heterosexual relationships; iii. the notion of motherhood as a possibility of redemption. Her aggressive personality is narratively coherent with many aspects of her femininity, but incoherent with her role as a mother. To her, aggressiveness is acceptable in a context of "survival of the fittest". Such "survival" strategies, however, were not employed for self-preservation, but to defend her social role as a wife. Notwithstanding, by doing so, she jeopardized another feminine role she expects to play: that of the mother. Thus, the same violence that defies some aspects of

her femininity is mobilized to reinforced another facet of it. This reveals the ambiguous and nuanced patterns of gender socialization within contexts of family and urban violence.

'Doing Memory' of Violence in Images and Biographical Narrations

Time and Place: Tuesday, 17 July 2018: 17:30 - 19:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 203D

Session Organizers: Faime ALPAGU (faime.alpagu@univie.ac.at), Maria POHN-LAUGGAS (maria.pohn-lauggas@univie.ac.at)

CHAIRS: Faime ALPAGU, Maria POHN-LAUGGAS

The session wants to highlight the question of *doing memory* of violence twofold: Firstly, the session asks for historical-social and institutional conditions, which structure doing memory processes in the sense that they open spaces for memories, limit opportunities to remember or even prevent memories. The borders of these spaces are amongst others defined by established rules of speaking about violence. Secondly, in biography research crucial studies on memory processes are carried out in the last decades. However, because verbal narrations have been the main data source other forms of memory, especially images, stayed rather in the background. Therefore, the session is interested in papers which deal with the question of *doing memory* of violence in verbal narrations as well as in images. Further we invite papers which question the significance of images and verbal narrations for biographical mnemonic processes. The following questions will be discussed: To what extent and how does violence become an issue in biographical narrations and/or in and through images? Which forms of violence can be narrated and/or visualized and which not? Are there any dominant (collective) narrations, which structure biographical narrations about experienced violence? In which way does the materiality of *doing memory* structure the memory process? In which way does the materiality influence the manner how violence is addressed as an issue in biographical memory processes?

Bruna TRIANA, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

The Portuguese Colonialism through the Lens of Ricardo Rangel: Analytical Contributions on Photography and Memory

During the colonial period in Mozambique, mainly when the conflicts for the independence intensified, a set of counter narratives were built and became important for the memory of the country, particularly because they contradicted the hegemonic and official narratives of the Portuguese empire. One name that occupies a privileged position in that context was Ricardo Rangel (1924-2009), a Mozambican photographer who wanted to bring attention to the violence, conflicts and paradoxes generated by the Portuguese colonization. Rangel's photographs could be deemed a precursor of the Mozambican photography. The idea of this paper is to examine the work of Rangel in the context of intensification of anti-colonial struggle and independence in Mozambique, between 1950 and 1975. The empirical object of my research is his visual collection, from which I would like to examine, on the one hand, the narrative mechanisms used by him to compose a photographic experience – a particular point of view and a way to understand the daily life and the violence of colonial period, outlining an ambivalent socio-political context. On the other hand, I seek to investigate the importance and specificity of Rangel's work within the panorama of Mozambican photography, in order to analyse which memories are possible to access from the

images, which leads to looking at what senses and experiences the photographs generate. To do so, the photographs will be contrasted with a variety of materials, such as, but not limited to, interviews with people who lived in the colonial period, documents and newspapers of the colonial time, and Mozambican literature. Therefore, the axes of my analysis are the Rangel's anticolonial activism (both in his trajectory and in his photographs), the inventiveness in the practice of photojournalism, and the memoir aspects present in his work.

Jonathan SCOVIL, University of Warsaw, Poland

Overcoming the Trauma of Mass Violence: Museum of the History of Polish Jews and Its Attempt to Bring One Thousand Years of Polish-Jewish History out from the Shadow of Holocaust

The paper analyzes the ways in which the creators of the main exposition of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw (POLIN), opened in 2014, tried to impact collective memory about Polish-Jewish relations, deeply marked by the images of XX-th century cases of mass violence. The author describes three originating from this tension targets of the Museum's main message, which are: 1) bringing one hundred years of Polish-Jewish history out from the shadow of Holocaust; 2) presenting the main actors of Museum's exhibition not as "Jews from Poland" or "Jews, who once lived in Poland", but as truly "Polish Jews", who have unique Polish-Jewish identity, which can't be simply reduced just to Polishness or Jewishness; 3) showing a balanced vision of Polish-Jewish relations, which was compared by one of the authors of the exposition to a "marriage of convenience" and which contains both episodes of violence and peaceful, fertile cohabitation, not favorizing any of these aspects of the image. The paper provides also a wider background to all of these targets, by showing the beliefs and the stereotypes – common among Poles, Jews and other nations – creators of the exposition wanted to deal with: e.g. a stereotype of a "Pole-antisemite" linked with wrongful image of "Polish death camps", or, on the contrary, a belief that as it comes to Polish-Jewish relations during the World War II Poles have nothing to feel guilty about (still surprisingly popular among Poles, as the results of contemporary researches show).

Kristina MEIER and **Katharina TEUTENBERG**, Center of Methods in Social Sciences, University of Göttingen, Germany

How Are Acts of Collective Violence during War Remembered in Times of Peace? - Doing Memory by German Soldiers Returned from Combat Missions

This paper is about returning soldiers, their re-integration processes, discourses in the civilian population, and the interaction between discourses and biographical self-presentations.

From the beginning of the first military operations of the Bundeswehr (the German army) in the early 1990s (e.g. in Bosnia, Kosovo or Afghanistan), these operations were referred by the German media as "peace missions" or "stabilization missions". Government officials classified them as "military assistance", "commitment" and

“international responsibility”.

According to our empirical findings, which are based on a combination of discourse and biographical analysis, this dominant public and political discourse diverges from the reality presented by the soldiers. In our paper we will discuss the question of how everyday life and political discourses constitute the biographical self-presentations and how the discourses are perceived, modified or rejected by the biographers.

We will discuss two case studies of ex-soldiers who faced the challenge of integrating their experiences of combat missions into everyday life. It will be seen that they established different biographical repair strategies which (initially) enabled them to exclude their (traumatizing) experiences of combat missions from their own biography in order to adapt themselves to "normal" civilian life. They learned that it is necessary to keep silent about their experience of violence, to deny or trivialize it. These strategies fit the dominant discourse and present the military operations as largely harmless.

At the same time, the biographers complain of a lack of recognition and define themselves as returnees "without a voice". This self-perception fits with a relatively new counter discourse, established since 2010 by several thousand (former) soldiers, who have joined together in veterans' associations. They call themselves "New German Veterans" and fight "against forgetting" and for acknowledgement as returnees from the war. They understand themselves as "mouthpieces" of their grouping and want to "break the silence".

Eren YETKIN, Goethe University, Frankfurt, Germany

The Path in between. Story Telling of “Back then, the Coexistence” and “Now It Happens to Us”

This paper discusses the idealization of the past, times before the massacres and genocides, and historical analogies in the process of (analepsis) story telling during auto-biographical narrations. In these terms, it focuses on the Kurdish collective memory, questions the re-constructions of the Armenian Genocide and tackles the arguments made by the interviewees concerning different violent events happened in the past and / or conducted today. These phenomena, the anachronism and idealization, build an interrelation between events and point out a continuity, for example regarding violence exercised by the Turkish state apparatus against the Kurds, Genocide of Yazidis by ISIS in Iraq and the Armenian Genocide 1915. Alongside interrelated stories, this discursive field contains hegemonic and official nation-state representations in Turkey or dominant group narratives of Kurdish politics such as the reconciliation with the victims of genocide. Hence, a sphere of contested memories emerges within this context since the Kurdish young generations challenge the foundations of “settled” stories with their reflexive re-readings.

In these terms, I ask how such memory regimes regarding the violence, experienced or told, appear in biographical narrations, how its mnemonic

processes are connected to each other as well as to the biography and what can and would be silenced in this context. I discuss these issues based on Kurdish auto-biographical accounts from Van and Istanbul in a comparative perspective.

Charlotte NELL, Goethe University Frankfurt a/M, Germany

Negotiating, Narrating and Modelling Terrorism - Using the Example of the “Munich Shooting“ in 7/2016

Taking the Munich Shooting 2016 as an example, this presentation aims to investigate socio-cultural images and framings of violent incidents by tracing how they are negotiated and deployed in order to better understand the construction process of coherent narratives. Understanding that the public (i.e., media, legal and civic action) take an active part in shaping and modelling these narratives, this presentation will describe the conflicting debate of public negotiation that leads into a situation-definition that itself shapes and structures further images and understandings not only of history but also of future assessments.

It is crucial to investigate how the construction of a coherent narrative in response to fatal incidents works; in fact, is necessary for shaping the communicative memory (Assmann) and collective narratives of a society. For that, the presented findings are based on a “Mass-Medial Dialogical Network“- Analysis (Nekvapil) focusing on media data of the Munich incident in order to gain an insight into the cultural knowledge used to meaningfully denote such events for the societal public. A phenomenological lens is deployed that looks at norms in action by taking the sequence of social action a (Garfinkel).

The Munich attack is an important example since the first definition (Islamist shooting) proved false, the motive of right-wing-extremism was then dropped and it was then defined as deriving from personal trauma. Furthermore, this presentation will take into account the biographical perspective of the attacker's fascination for violent right-wing extremism, documented in his manifesto.

Overall, this presentation will contribute to a better understanding of public debates that structure images and narratives of violence, spaces of memory culture and cultural knowledge. Also, it will investigate how forms of violence can be mediated through specific cultural narratives.

DISTRIBUTED PAPERS

Natalie GEHRINGER, University of Augsburg, Germany

Doing Memory of Violent Experience, Performative Approach

As studies on conflict and war societies show, the way of dealing with violent experiences and trauma depends on the (in-)stability of social order and objective circumstances of living, besides one's own psychological resilience. Especially with regard to violence and sexual violence, we argue that the institutions of conflict transformation a society provides (“help-system”) for dealing with these kind of issues, e.g. concrete assistance for the victims and persons who are affected, the police, social workers or the law, reveal that violent experiences and traumas have

more than their individual dimension; rather they are tied to social and political conditions. Based on the analysis of the narrations of victims, perpetrators and representatives of institutions, this paper wants to shed light on the way how the relationship between institutions in the German "help-system" structures the interwoven dimensions of our experience and the doing memory processes of violent experiences. We particularly focus on the narrations of offenders and how they memorize and legitimate their actions and experiences. Methodologically, we want to discuss the approach of the "embodied knowledge" understood as the link between experience, social metaphors, narratives and political institutions and apply embodied methods (e.g. active listening, theatre and collage technique) of research on (sexualized) violence, in order to demonstrate that the "doing memory process" of violent experiences oscillates between speechlessness and a language-dependency and that the societal and political discourses are responsible for the self-positioning and integration of violent experience in the own biography. We want to give first answers to the question how an institutional setting should be arranged to offer an open space for people who have experienced violence (as victims and/or offenders) and to provide an opportunity to process their memories.

WEDNESDAY, 18 July**Ethnography and Biographical Research**

JOINT SESSION Research Committee RC33 Logic and Methodology in Sociology (host), RC38

Time and Place: Wednesday, 18 July 2018: 08:30 - 10:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 713B

Session Organizers: Gabriele ROSENTHAL (g.rosenthal@gmx.de), Johannes BECKER (johannes.becker@sowi.uni-goettingen.de)

Chairs: Gabriele ROSENTHAL, Johannes BECKER

What can ethnographers learn from biographical researchers and vice versa? What commonalities and differences are there between the two paradigms? In both research traditions most scholars are committed to interpretative sociology and we therefore think that a continuing exchange is fruitful, especially regarding methods and methodology.

However, both paradigms have 'defining' methods – biographical-narrative interviews in the case of biographical research, and participant observation in ethnography. They emphasize different facets of the social world.

In the case of observation, for example, the central focus is often on (inter-)action in its non-verbal and bodily dimensions. Although conversations in certain social settings (often in public or semi-private spaces) are also important elements, the emphasis is not on the self-descriptions of the actors.

An important characteristic of narrative interviews is that the *genesis* of specific features and patterns of activity and interpretation is taken seriously – in contrast to most ethnographic studies there is a systematic interest in a diachronic perspective.

We invite contributions which are based on a combination of different forms of data collection and which discuss concrete experiences with such combinations in specific empirical projects. We are also interested in contributions which highlight limits or mutual

Eva BAHL and **Arne WORM**, University of Goettingen, Germany

Involved Outsiders – Reflections on the Combination of Ethnography, Biographical Research and Figurational Sociology

In this presentation, we will discuss how we combine biographical and ethnographic research methods within the framework of the research project "The Social Construction of Border Zones", funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

We will tackle the question of the benefits and challenges of combining participant observation and (biographical) narrative interviews by reflecting on the various figurations that frame (and are framed by) our interactions with members of different groupings. We will show how patterns of interaction, as well as presentations of images of the self, of the we-group and of other groupings represent the complex web of power relations within the research field (including our position as researchers). This includes the different levels and ambivalent dynamics of being an 'outsider' or a 'stranger' as a researcher while at the same

time becoming involved with affairs in the field. For example, in some circumstances, conducting interviews as an 'outsider', in the sense of not being part of the local everyday interactions and relations, may turn out to be beneficial in gaining access to certain perspectives, especially when it comes to the members of marginalized groupings. In other cases, we may only gain access by closely participating in everyday interactions.

From our perspective, both methods – which are rooted in similar sociological backgrounds – can benefit a lot from each other if we reconstruct these (unequal) power balances in the field as a part of the research, and reflect on how this relates to a specific methodical approach. We argue that we need to adjust our methods to the circumstances in the field, and that a figurational perspective sensitizes us to the socio-historic genesis of these figurations.

Nayanee BASU, San Diego State University, USA

'Healing' through the Arts: Notes on Methods and the Researcher's Dilemma

The paper attempts to look at how narrative interview and the ethnographic method of participant observation contribute to discern the reality of the field in qualitative sociological research as well as give rise to dilemma for the sociologist in creating a Rashoman effect when representing social phenomena that span across the level of the individual and that of the larger collective process as each remain enmeshed in the other. This is experienced while conducting a field-based research in West Bengal, eastern India where certain artist-activists belonging to the civil society enter into long-term workshop relationship with inmates of prisons and with survivors of (and those belonging to sections economically and socially vulnerable to) human trafficking. Digitally recorded on-site data from interviews, with both the artist-activists and their beneficiaries within select prisons and in the space of an NGO working with rehabilitation through art training of survivors and people vulnerable to trafficking, and field observational notes, form the primary data. Questions of interpretation of such data is deeply embedded in the relationship that these two data-collection methods have with each other and this is what I try to present through a discussion of the complexities that confront the researcher.

Howard DAVIS, Robin MANN, David DALLIMORE and **Marta EICHSTELLER**, Bangor University, United Kingdom

Researching Participation: Dimensions of Time and Space in Methodological Perspective

In a three-year study of participation in local civil society in two localities in Wales, the authors set out to explain how volunteering, collective action and participation in local associational life are embedded in place and how they are changing over time. The rich tradition of community studies and other place-based ethnographies has typically generated data from a variety of sources, including elements of life stories and narratives. The present project made a deliberate choice to use

autobiographical narrative interviews and narrative ethnography to capture temporal aspects of participation, including social and spatial mobility, occupational trajectories, and variations in engagement across life stages. These interviews took place alongside participant observation of local events and meetings, informal conversations, a local survey, and analysis of local media and archive materials. The paper reflects on the experience of using this research design and the interactions between the different forms of data, comparing examples from autobiographical narratives with examples from the ethnographic data. The research reveals significant complexity in patterns of participation and belonging both in the present and over the life course. Biographical data is particularly appropriate for understanding the social embeddedness or dis-embeddedness of participation and its salience in actors' lives. Ethnographic data is essential for understanding institutional contexts and their meanings. The paper explores questions of method and interpretation including the relationship between ethnographic time and biographical time, types of biographical interview, and the complementarities (or dissimilarities) between ethnographic and biographical data concerning sites of participation, actors, organisations and events.

Michael BARR, Newcastle University, United Kingdom

Where Biography Meets Ethnography: The Psychoanalytic Foundations of Autoethnography

Autoethnography combines biographical narrative with ethnographic methods. It operates at the intersection of the personal and the cultural, where the author thinks and observes as an ethnographer but writes as a storyteller (Denzin, 2014). In recent years autoethnography has become an established, if at times contested, method across the social sciences. Yet despite its popularity, autoethnography remains undertheorized. As a method, it is indebted to a social constructivist project that rejects binary oppositions between the researcher and the researched, objectivity and subjectivity, process and product, self and others, and the personal and the political (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008). Yet beyond these broad claims, many proponents resist articulating a firmer basis for the ontological, epistemic and reflexive status of autoethnographic writing. In this paper I argue that a reluctance to underpin autoethnography with a more robust theoretical justification ends up harming the attempt to combine biography and ethnography. The paper draws on empirical data from a course on autoethnography at a British university where MA level students were asked to consider their own autobiographies as political texts and to systematically analyse and relate their personal experience to wider political, cultural and social events. I combine this data with variants of psychoanalytic theory (Ruti, 2009) and insights from the literature on philosophy as a way of life (Hadot, 1995) to critique autoethnography's epistemic inadequacy of strong reflexivity. The aim of the paper is both facilitate a dialogue between ethnographers and biographical researchers and to bolster the theoretical underpinnings of autoethnography.

Casey STRANGE, Holly BENTON and **Maxine THOMPSON**, North Carolina State University, USA

The Values and Virtues of Solicited Ethnographic Journals

Ethnographers often struggle with gaining access to certain populations and/or witnessing social interactions that occur outside of their own experiences. Our research team sought to circumvent this issue by soliciting ethnographic observations and reflections from the participants themselves. As part of a year-long study of microaggressions on a large predominately white public university campus in the Southeast of the United States, we solicited student ethnographic observation reports and reflections (i.e., journals) as a means of capturing the occurrence of microaggressions in everyday life, as well as students' reactions to these interactions. Student ethnographic contributors represented approximately the demographic diversity of the undergraduate student body of the campus. Their reports yielded a much more diverse array of microaggressive experiences than would likely have been captured by any single researcher, particularly one with a majority group status. While there is limited research on solicited ethnographic observations and reflections, we find that this method for data collection allows us to obtain deeper insight into microaggressions than previous research, which relies primarily on interviews and focus groups of marginalized respondents. We explore the advantages and limitations of soliciting ethnographic journals in comparison with more traditional qualitative data collection methods. We highlight the rich data such journal entries can yield, particularly with respect to student reflections provided in this study. We draw on our data to demonstrate potential for high quality data collection when soliciting ethnographic journals from students provided with some training in ethnographic methods. We advocate for the use of this method across research settings and highlight the usefulness of this method in a campus setting particularly.

Biographical Research: Epistemological and Methodological Foundation, Balance and Perspectives I

Time and Place: Wednesday, 18 July 2018: 10:30 - 12:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 803A

Session Organizers: Michaela KOETTIG (koettig@fb4.fra-uas.de), Hermilio SANTOS (hermilio@puccs.br)

Chair: Michaela KOETTIG

Since the establishment of the RC Biography and Society, the biographical research showed a multifold development, founded in many epistemological schools and based in different methodological approaches. However, neither the epistemological foundation nor the methodological procedures are always explicit in the papers presented in the RC 38 sessions. Often the papers are focused on research projects and results and due to the time frames the theoretical foundation of the procedures are only mentioned but not described in detail. In contrast the aim of this session is to discuss the variety of epistemological and methodological foundations that have been used more or less explicit in biographical research approaches. We want to open up and to establish the theoretical discussion about the basis of research in order to engage efforts in the task of reviewing and discussing the epistemological foundations of biography as a way to approach social reality. This might be useful for the future development of biographical research, and for the attraction of new generations of sociologists worldwide for this subarea of the sociology.

Irini SIOUTI, University of Vienna, Austria

The Frankfurt School of Biography Research – Theoretical Reflections on Reconstructive Research Methodology

Grounded in phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology and hermeneutics, biographical research approach was developed as an alternative to a positivistic research tradition that was basically interested in measuring social phenomena and testing of hypothesis in a sense of logic of subsumption.

Biographical research approach instead, made it possible to get access to social life worlds and social phenomena through the narrative reconstruction of experiences. It opened up a new theoretical and methodological way to research social micro, meso and macro structures as embedded in biographies and in that way learn about the effects of societal structures on the lives of the individuals. Additionally, the biographical research methods need to be understood as a part of a larger research stream of reconstructive research tradition. The general assumption of the reconstructive tradition is that is possible to trace or reconstruct general statements or general traces of social phenomena already in a single case study. Methodologically, this means that a single case study has to be researched in its 'wholeness' in order to reconstruct the intermingling of agency and social structures.

The emergence of reconstructive research logics in the social sciences goes back to the Frankfurt School and to Adorno's critique of positivism as a social-scientific research approach. Instead, Adorno underlined the importance of analytical interpretation in order to see beneath the surface of phenomena. The reconstructive

research tradition was developed further in the faculty of social sciences in Frankfurt in the 1980s and 1990s by Ulrich Oevermann, who integrated central concepts from Adorno's thought into the method of objective hermeneutics, which has also influenced strongly the methodological debate about biography research. In my paper I will discuss and reflect on the theoretical influence of the Frankfurt School for the methodological debate in reconstructive biography research.

Gabriele ROSENTHAL, Center of Methods in Social Sciences, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany

Biographical Research in the Context of a Historical-Interpretative Sociology

In my paper I will first address the question whether the collection and analysis of narrated or written autobiographies is just one tool among others in sociological qualitative research – as was more or less the case at the beginning of biographical research. Often one gets the impression that claims regarding a diachronic or processual perspective and the interplay or mutual constitution of individuals and society as a specific theoretical foundation are neither recognized nor implemented on the methodological level in biographical research.

I will use this talk to show how combining social-constructivist biographical research with Elias's figurational sociology can help the researcher to overcome the strong tendency to focus on specific individuals, to look more closely at unequal power chances in different figurations within a particular social setting, and to consider the methodological implications of this approach.

Mihaela KELEMEN, Keele University, United Kingdom

Researching the City through Arts-Based Methodologies

This paper introduces a new arts-based methodology used to research a city in crisis, i.e., Cultural Animation (CA) through personal stories of loss and hope. Cultural Animation is a methodology of community engagement and knowledge co-production which relies on an array of visual, performative and experiential techniques (Barone and Eisner, 2007). Its aim is to create a 'safe' space, away from existing hierarchies, in which academics and community members dream, tell and enact their stories using their own bodies and everyday objects.

By giving equal status to academic expertise, practical skills, common-sense and day-to-day experiences, CA embraces the view that theories are plural, embodied, relational and impactful on the people who co-construct them. The methodology is inspired by American Pragmatism, in particular John Dewey's work on democratic experimentalism (Vo and Kelemen, 2017).

The project was funded the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK and was carried out in an economically and socially deprived city based in the Midlands. A one day long Cultural Animation workshop was held at a local award winning theatre to explore the past of the city, its present and to imagine/construct new worlds through the stories and biographies of diverse individuals living or working in the city: academics, policy makers, community members, NGOs and public sector

employees. Some of these individual stories and biographies are captured in a podcast commissioned by the AHRC: (<http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/research/readwatchlisten/filmsandpodcasts/weatheringthestorm/>).

Encouraging participants to express their emotions and thoughts about their cities via this embodied and visceral process ensured that the past came alive in individual biographies and opened up endless possibilities to collectively re-imagine the future of the city. In more general terms, the process enabled us to bridge the gap between thinking and doing, theory and practice, academics and communities.

Roswitha BRECKNER, Sociology, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria

The Visual Field of Biographies. Questions and Conceptual Suggestions

Through digitalization, communication via internet, and especially through Social Media, visual communication and self-presentation have not only become common, but in more and more generations to some extent dominant. Especially visual communication on Facebook can be assumed to have strong biographical references, since here a 'life' becomes visible over the years, even if it was not intended to depict it. How can we as biographical researchers approach these phenomena methodologically? In what way do we need to extend our concepts of biography when thinking of the visual dimensions in which biographies are constructed? How can we combine narrative and text analysis with visual analysis in biographical research?

My paper addresses these questions by presenting conceptual and methodological suggestions on how visual biographies can be approached, taking into account different ways of constructing biographies with images in the offline as well as online world in combination with spoken and written documents.

Biographical Research: Epistemological and Methodological Foundation, Balance and Perspectives II

Time and Place: Wednesday, 18 July 2018: 15:30 - 17:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 803A

Session Organizers: Michaela KOETTIG (koettig@fb4.fra-uas.de), Hermilio SANTOS (hermilio@pucri.br)

Chair: Michaela Köttig

Daniel BERTAUX, Dynamiques Européennes, Université de Strasbourg, France

Two Styles of Biographical Research

German-language scholars are numerous in biographical research. Many of them seem to believe hopeless to ascertain the degree of "truth-value" of life stories. They have developed complex *hermeneutic* procedures for making explicit the implicit levels of meaning that are entrenched in interviewee's mind. They see this psychological step as leading to another, sociological one, as society is *constructed* by individuals acting according to their mind's (diverse) semantic structures. The next step however is quite steep...

Another way to proceed is the reverse. The researcher will first choose to focus and study a small piece of the mosaic (it was done e.g. with the artisanal bakery in France – a *social world* in H.S. Becker's sense – or with the *category of situation* of poor lone mother in various European countries). Then s/he will, among other observation methods, collect life stories of differently-located actors (e.g. as bakery apprentice, bakery worker, baker, or bakers' wife) as *testimonies* about their lived experiences in the bakery's social world; or as lone mother in various European countries with diverse social rights systems, e.g. Sweden vs. Portugal). While interviewing, and later on analysing and comparing narratives, researcher will keep in mind the kind of socio-structural relations, recurrent configurations, generating mechanisms, logics of situations and logics of action, dynamics from conflicting interests, unwritten rules of games, recurring moves from given situations to resulting courses of actions, and other sociological features of the underlying fabric of the *societal piece* under study (social world or life situation). As such focused life stories get collected and analysed, recurrences will emerge from one to the other, leading testimonies to cross-check each other (thus solving the issue of their truth-value) and opening the door to first generalisations, to be critically examined and confirmed only after a search for "negative cases".

Hermilio SANTOS, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

On Relevance, Experience and Knowledge: A Schutzian Perspective to Biographical Research

This presentation aims to discuss the main contribution of the sociology of Alfred Schutz for the interpretative biographical research. Schutz handles with biography at least in two different ways: as a manner to investigate the "because" motives for one's action and as a way to exemplify his theoretical considerations. The first step will be to discuss the biographical experience as a key aspect to understand

the motivation for action. It will be argued that for Schutz, biography is not exclusively an individual life' trajectory, but results of both individual and social experiences, synthesized on the individual relevance systems, which are embedded by the relevance systems of the community in which one has been socialized. In the second step the paper verifies how Schutz deals with his own biographical experiences to discuss theoretical and empirical aspects of his sociology. Examples of the first kind of use of biography by Schutz are, for instance, "The Stranger" and "The Homecomer", which will be considered in this paper. The third step will be dedicated to establish a dialogue with some of the most influential approaches in the biographical research field, as those proposed by Daniel Bertaux, by Bernard Lahire and by Gabriele Rosenthal, pointing out their advantages and limitations from a Schutzian analytical perspective.

Gwendolyn GILLIERON, PhD Candidate at Goethe-University Frankfurt, Germany

The Place of Argumentations in Biographical Narrations of Young Adults

In the narration analysis as developed by Fritz Schütze the genre of argumentation has a minor stand in reconstructing biographical experiences. Schütze (1983) himself argues that narrations mainly reflect experiences while argumentations have to be contrasted with narrations to understand their sense for the life story. Further, Riemann (1986) sees argumentations as a result of painful experiences or as a sign that the person has not yet gained some distance of the narrated experience. On the other hand, Bartman and Kunze (2008) show that argumentations can also be a form to express a particular kind of experience.

In my presentation, I will look at biographical narrations of young adults of mixed origin and reflect on the importance of argumentations and their relation to biographical experience. I take up the stance that the use of argumentations by my interlocutors is due to their phase of adolescence (King 2004). In this phase, the young adults experience processes of collectivization (*Vergemeinschaftung*) and individualization. They are interviewed at a moment when reflections on the self and the positioning in society are most pertinent; this is why, I would argue, they narrate their experiences in the argumentative modus. Arguing from a symbolic interactionist perspective, we could say the interview reflects a discursive positioning where the young adults look at themselves from different perspectives. In this sense, argumentations are not a sign for painful experiences but the most natural form to express themselves at that moment. Here, the interview is used as a space of reflection. It may be the first time that the young adults reflect about themselves and their becoming, and that they try to give a sense to their lives. Thus, the interview itself is part of their 'biographical work' (Inowlocki/Lutz 2000). Hence, argumentations can reflect the experiences of being an adolescent.

Pamela ARONSON and Matthew FLEMING, University of Michigan-Dearborn, USA

The Methodological Foundations of Studying Negative Emotions in Biographical Research

Researchers face a dilemma when negative emotions emerge in biographical research. When they ask participants directly to reflect on difficult experiences, they risk provoking negative reactions or the mobilization of protective barriers. Alternatively, when researchers avoid direct questioning, they risk missing important information for understanding biographical decisions. Both of these approaches can create obstacles to meaningful disclosure and reflection. This paper will examine the methodological foundations of studying negative emotions and experiences in biographical research.

This research focuses on one particular emotion, regret, which is a negative assessment of an action committed or a path not taken. Biographical regret can be painful, as the actions (or inactions) have typically altered one's life path in a negative or detrimental way. While experienced in many life spheres, we focus on education, a life domain that is one of the most common areas of regret. Our insights are based on an analysis of 204 in-depth interviews at a four-year public commuter university in Metropolitan Detroit, U.S.

We propose three methodological approaches when examining negative emotions in general, and the concept of biographical regret in particular. First, we argue that a comprehensive, highly structured, yet flexible interview guide is ideal in this circumstance. Second, we examine an interview question that assesses what respondents would change about their biographies. Finally, we examine an interview question that asks respondents what advice they would provide to someone in a situation similar to their own. These questions ask respondents to think about biographical regret from a positive, rather than a negative, standpoint. They encourage disclosure because they do not dwell on problems but instead focus on alternatives and solutions. These methodological foundations are effective at eliciting information in a meaningful and respectful way and can be incorporated into a variety of biographical studies where negative emotions emerge.

Henning SALLING OLESEN, Roskilde University, Denmark

Psycho-Societal Interpretations in Life History Research

The paper will present a development of life history research in education and learning research, in which psycho-societal interpretations play a key role. The horizon of the approach is the lifelong subjective engagement in intended as well as unintended learning, in formal education as well as in everyday life. The paper will describe the reasons for adopting and developing life history approaches by summarizing how a political and practical engagement in adult education and learning led to a critique of the horizon of academic pedagogy. In order to understand learning and education from the perspective of learners the need for empirical studies in the situation and life experiences emerged, and the tradition of

(auto)biographical research offered a proven experience for a societal understanding of learning processes.

Life histories represent lived lives past, present and anticipated future. As such they are interpretations of individuals' experiences of the way in which societal dynamics take place in the individual body and mind, either told by the individual him/herself or by another biographer. The Life History approach at Roskilde University was developing from interpreting autobiographical and later certain other forms of language interactive material as moments of life history, i.e. it is basically a hermeneutic approach. The paper will present two different ways of handling biographies and life histories, and then go deeper into the epistemological and methodological aspects of psycho-societal interpretation. The psycho-societal interpretation of biographical accounts aims at breaking the theoretical and empirical dichotomy of the social and the psychic, both in the interpretation of learning processes and more generally in the theoretical understandings of language, body and mind. Finally, it presents examples how such interpretations organized by the concept of (life) experience can illuminate professional and vocational identity building as well as adult learning in general.

Reflecting on the Silences in Biographical Research

INVITED SESSION

Time and Place: Wednesday, 18 July 2018: 17:30 - 19:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 803A

Session Organizers: Kathy DAVIS (k.e.davis@vu.nl), Roswitha BRECKNER (roswitha.breckner@univie.ac.at)

Chair: Roswitha Breckner

In biographical research, we are used to approaching life histories comprehensively in order to understand how they develop in specific social and historical circumstances. However, in every research endeavor, certain thoughts, intuitions, feelings or sensations may be left aside as we attempt to come to terms with the complexities of our material and as we figure out what the 'main issue' is. At best, we put aside the bits and pieces that we left out for later. At worst, we forget about them altogether. In addition, we are all susceptible to blind spots, biases, and myopias, so that we may not even be aware of what we are omitting or avoiding in our research. However, reflection about precisely these gaps or silences in our research may prove essential for developing new and interesting questions as well as comprehensive, responsive, and responsible biographical research. In this session, we have asked biographical researchers to think critically about the gaps and silences and blind spots in their own work. These are some of the questions they will be asked to address:

- What areas of experience do you leave out of your research or even avoid when they crop up in interviews with your informants?
- Which topics do you find difficult to approach and why?
- Where do you see gaps and blind spots in the theories and methodologies which are used for biographical research?
- What kinds of suggestions can you offer for developing a productive approach to the issue of silences in biographical research?

Phil C. LANGER, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, Germany and Phil LANGER, International Psychoanalytic University Berlin, Germany

Dealing with the Unspeakable – Some Challenges of Biographical Research in War Contexts

Doing biographical research in war contexts often confronts the researcher with embodied traumatic experiences of extreme violence and suffering that cannot be expressed in interviews narratively. Traumatic experiences damage or destroy the very ability of an individual to symbolize, i.e. to meaningfully represent his or her experiences in biographical narratives. Additionally, cultural – always gendered – limitations to articulate these experiences may be at play. Only traces of these experiences sometimes remain, giving witness of the underlying social trauma: stumbling, narrative gaps, or even pure silence. Participatory biographical research aims at creating spaces for articulating what otherwise would remain silent and unheard, at being partner in a process of re-gaining biographical agency – an ambivalent task. Referring to biographically informed interviews with adolescents in Afghanistan, the following challenges will be addressed in the presentation: How do you deal with silent accounts in the interview encounter –

without either risking re-traumatization or fueling the silencing dynamics? How do you make sense of it in the analysis – without over-interpreting these accounts in terms of a “deep story” of what has not been told. And how do you represent the silence in your writing – without colonizing it?

Kathy DAVIS, Sociology, VU University, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Neglected Feelings. Analyzing Researcher Emotions in Biographical Research

Most biographical researchers attend to the body language of their interview partners in order to facilitate the interview and help them tell their stories. Researchers may also pay attention to their own emotional responses during the interview, but usually this occurs only in their field notes. Rarely do their feelings of shock, irritation, boredom or, for that matter, amusement, excitement and delight find their way into the analysis itself. In this presentation, I will discuss some of the reasons for this neglect as well as the negative consequences it may have for biographical analysis. I will argue that biographical researchers should draw more explicitly and more reflexively on their own emotions as an analytic resource which is necessary for making sense of their informants' stories.

Julia VAJDA, ELTE University Budapest, Hungary

„It Wasn't like I Pull Off a Dead Man's Shoes, I Pull Them Off as I Give Him the Piece of Bread" – the Analyser's Struggle Against His/Her Own Positive Prejudices

Can hermeneutical analysis protect us from our own prejudices? Do not we develop blind spots when we want to avoid seeing our interviewees morally reproachable? In dealing with Shoah and other traumatic historical events, it is easy to slip into the fault to see the world in the dichotomy of victims and perpetrators, i.e. goods and evils, just like in fairy tales; hence we inevitably categorize the individuals as belonging to one or the other side.

It can be similarly hard to analyse the interviews unbiased: it does not feel right to think of the persecuted, the Shoah survivor, as „bad”, who sinned against his/her fellow sufferers. It may easily happen that we repress any hypothesis concerning the narration that would make the interviewee look blameworthy.

In the interviews, survivors of camps tell many times that the piece of bread they had hidden under their head for the night disappeared by the morning; their shoes, which were their most precious asset of which they took the best care under those circumstances were stolen; their carefully guarded blanket was nicked. These objects serve and symbolize their chance of survival: nourishment and protection from environmental conditions.

It is impossible that we only come upon respectable survivors who were victims of these atrocities. It is similarly improbable that, out of remorse, all perpetrators of petty crimes would refuse to be interviewed.

However hard it is to accept at a theoretical level and recognize in specific

interviews, in many cases the thieves reported in the narratives are the interviewees themselves.

My paper aims to illustrate our struggles when working with such interviews against our also existent, however positive, prejudices.

Gabriele ROSENTHAL, Center of Methods in Social Sciences, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany

Creating a Good Balance between Detachment and Involvement in Biographical Research

How can we succeed in creating the necessary balance in biographical research between detachment and involvement (necessary not only for good *research*)? When conducting biographical interviews and during their subsequent analysis, we are constantly confronted with the problem of how to show sympathy and understanding in our interaction with the interviewees on the one hand, while at the same time maintaining the critical distance that is needed when reflecting on their individual and collective self-presentations, and formulating questions in the interview (or in the observation situation). We are faced with the same dilemma when analysing the interviews and when making a contrastive comparison with interviews conducted with a different grouping. Thus, in the case of returned child soldiers in northern Uganda, I was aware of a tendency to identify with them and their fate, and consequently failed to understand the attitude of their relatives, who often refused to let them live in their compounds or tried to exclude them from their local and social community of origin.

In very general terms, we can say that while empathy is important in our relationship with interviewees, this always involves the risk of accepting their presentations too quickly, and perhaps too naively, and of failing to ask important questions. By contrast, maintaining a critical distance makes it difficult to conduct a good interview and to establish a relationship of trust with the interviewee. This dilemma is particularly acute when conducting research on armed collective conflicts or intrafamilial violence.

Lena INOWLOCKI, Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, Germany

Whose Privacy Is at Stake? Confusing Empathy and Consideration with Remaining Silent

It could be that there are different styles of research and that the non-directive stance recommended in biographical research and in ethnography is a good enough explanation for not asking my interview partners about anything that they have not already brought up as a topic. But the methodological cues fit my own disposition only too well. How can I know that I am not mainly responding to my own need of privacy, even in research situations? That I am not shrinking away from what my interview partners would want to tell me about? And what would the bodily dimensions be to recognize whether I am respecting my interview partner's privacy or guarding my own?

RC38 Business Meeting

Time and Place: Wednesday, 18 July 2018: 19:30 - 20:50, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 803A

Session Organizers: Roswitha BRECKNER, Lena INOWLOCKI, Hermilio SANTOS, Maria POHN-LAUGGAS

1. Report on RC activities of the last four years
2. Development of memberships
3. Financial report; discharge of the financial responsibilities of the Treasurer
4. Elections of the President and Board
5. Presentation and voting for Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer
6. Adaption of Statutes concerning voting procedures
7. News from the ISA
8. Future Activities
9. Miscellaneous

Candidates for Presidency and Board 2018-2022**President:**

- Hermilio Santos, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil

Board:

- Ursula Apitzsch, J.W. Goethe University, FB Gesellschaftswissenschaften, Germany
- Susan E. Bell, Bowdoin College Department of Sociology and Anthropology, USA
- Daniel Bertaux, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), France
- Johannes Becker, University of Göttingen, Center for Methods in Social Science, Germany
- Roswitha Breckner, University of Vienna, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Sociology, Austria
- Kathy Davis, VU University, Faculty of Social Sciences, The Netherlands
- Catherine Delcroix, Strasbourg University, France
- Lena Inowlocki, Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, Germany
- Kaja Kazmierska, University of Lodz, Institute of Sociology, Poland
- Tazuko Kobayashi, Hitotsubashi University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Japan

- Michaela Köttig, University of Applied Sciences, Department Health and Social Work, Germany
- Maria Pohn-Lauggas, University of Göttingen, Center of Methods in Social Science, Germany
- Henning Salling Olesen, Graduate School of Life Long, Learning, University of Roskilde, Danmark
- Gabriele Rosenthal, University of Göttingen, Center of Methods in Social Science, Germany
- Victoria Semenova, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia
- Irimi Siouti, Institut für Bildungswissenschaft, University of Vienna, Austria
- Giorgos Tsiolis, University of Crete, Greenceland
- Julia Vajda, ELTE University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Sociology, Poland.

THURSDAY, 19 July**Research Ethics in Biographical Research**

Time and Place: Thursday, 19 July 2018: 08:30 - 10:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 205A

Session Organizers: Lena INOWLOCKI (inowlocki@soz.uni-frankfurt.de), Irini SIOUTI (irini.siouti@univie.ac.at)

Chairs: Lena INOWLOCKI, Irini SIOUTI

Doing research and data analysis on the basis of biographical narrative interviews has been very productive in different sociological areas, such as migration studies, psychosocial and medical contexts, and other research areas that relate to transitory or liminal life situations and experience. However, doing biographical research in transitional, transnational and transcultural research settings involves various ethical challenges, for example in the research field of migration and refugee studies and also in psychosocial research. Here, researchers have to reflect and adequately deal with a number of ethical questions and challenges in the field research process, especially in doing field research and biographical-narrative interviews among – potentially – vulnerable groups, such as refugees or (ex-) psychiatric patients. The different challenges concern the research relationship or research alliance, with regard to questions of trust, power hierarchies, and mutual as well as differing interests concerning research questions, aims, and procedures; furthermore, questions regarding “informed consent” as an ongoing process and a dialogue; the notion of authenticity and truth of the narrated life stories; issues of confidentiality and anonymization of the data, and last but not least questions concerning the archiving of biographical data and the (political) consequences for secondary analysis.

For this panel we invite social scientists who are working with biographical methods to present and discuss the ethical challenges they have encountered in their research practice.

Hella VON UNGER, LMU University of Munich, Germany

Narratives of Young Refugees in Germany: Chances and Challenges for Ethical Conduct

Given the increase of migration to Germany in recent years, more research is needed on the situation of refugees. Research with refugees encompasses many ethical challenges given the vulnerability of the group including the possibility of re-/traumatization when narrating experiences and life histories. Yet refugees may wish to tell their story in order to bear witness, have a “voice” and change both the situation as well as the perception of their group in the host society. This paper describes a qualitative interview study conducted with 31 young refugees (age 17-24) in collaboration with the city of Munich in 2016-2017. Ethical challenges included procedures of written informed consent, questions of voluntary participation, dealing with emotions and precarious life circumstances (such as participants’ fear of detention), careful handling of sensitive information, strategies of anonymizing the data and issues of interpretation. Furthermore, a more general aim was to meet the “dual imperative” of refugee research, an ethical standard

which implies that research with refugees should meet both highest scientific standards and produce useful results to benefit the group itself and/or policies directed at the situation. The paper discusses how the ethical challenges were met in the current study and draws conclusions for research with refugees, in particular qualitative, biographical research with young refugees.

Baiba BELA, University of Latvia, Latvia

Ethical Considerations in Biographical Research on Vulnerable People

Paper addresses the ethical challenges during the research on subjective experience of poverty and social exclusion, focusing on respect to dignity of research participants during fieldwork and during final stage of research - writing. Analysis focuses on research under the programme SUSTINNO 2014-2017. The project's goals are in-depth analysis of Latvia's post-crisis social problems, the options to overcome these problems and their impact on sustainable social and regional development. Data for this study is collected using quantitative and qualitative research methods. The biographical research is used in order to elucidate the lived experience of vulnerable persons. Twenty-five life story interviews with persons representing various experiences of adversity were recorded.

The problem is that the terms 'poor' and 'socially excluded' is perceived as humiliating and stigmatizing by people in temporary or prolonged difficulties (Walker 2014) and research participants are reluctant to identify themselves as 'poor' (Fahmy, Pemberton, 2012). In the same time, social scientists are using poverty objectification language in all quantitative research and also in many qualitative research.

At first, ethical issues addressed by students involved in interviewing will be analyzed (for instance, how to explain research aim and interview purpose without injuring dignity of potential research participants) and at second, the challenge to write about personal experiences of vulnerable narrators avoiding poverty objectification language and further discursive marginalization of research participants (for instance, how to relate to body of texts exploring poverty and social exclusion and in the same time not reproducing dominant discourse of poverty objectification). There is few excellent examples of ethical writing on subjective experiences of poverty in English, but not in Latvian - it was very difficult to find a different discourse in Latvian in the discussion about the experiences of living with limited resources and long-term accumulation of difficulties.

Gillian LOVE, University of Sussex, United Kingdom

"That Makes Me Feel a Bit Better:" the Ethical Limits and Opportunities of the Biographical Interview as a Therapeutic Encounter

In this paper, I reflect on my experiences of conducting biographical interviews with women who have had abortions. In particular, I explore the idea of the

biographical interview as a 'therapeutic encounter,' and the ethical dilemmas and opportunities this presents to social researchers and participants.

Maxine Birch and Tina Miller define a 'therapeutic encounter' as 'a process by which an individual reflects on, and comes to understand previous experiences in different—sometimes more positive—ways that promote a changed sense of self,' noting that qualitative interviews often involve processes similar to those employed by professionals in therapeutic work (2000, p. 190). In this paper I analyse examples of moments like these from my interviews, reflecting on the fact that biographical research often features sensitive and intimate disclosures. Opportunities to disclose an experience like abortion to 'someone who understands' can be scarce, and take on great importance. At the same time, social researchers are rarely also trained therapists, meaning these types of interactions with participants require careful boundaries.

I argue that the ethical responsibility in biographical research is to acknowledge how far one can offer a therapeutic encounter, and to take seriously the weight and importance of the intimate, emotional moments that occur during sensitive interviewing rather than to avoid therapeutic moments entirely. There were many moments, in discussing their abortions as well as other aspects of their life stories, when my participants talked through something difficult with me, or told me their interview had helped them see something in a new way. These moments are valuable to both researcher and interviewee, and, if guided with an appropriate ethical sensibility, can result in positive experiences for both parties.

Birch, M., Miller, T., 2000. Inviting intimacy: The interview as therapeutic opportunity. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 3, 189–202

Tazuko KOBAYASHI, Hitotsubashi University, Japan

Dilemmas behind Life Stories: Naming and Research Ethics in Autobiographical Writing Movement Research

I will discuss a problem of research ethics that I have confronted in my research on the autobiographical writing movement in Japan. I have conducted life story interview research through an analysis of autobiographical works from the autobiographical writing movement that emerged in the 1980s and continues today. I recognized that it is remarkable that people writing their own lives displayed the authors' independence and their identity. The writers intend to describe their experiences by publishing a book. I have pointed out that it is important that they express themselves under their own name by providing their name as the author expressing the subjective within the contents of the text. Following the definition of P. Lejeune, I have regarded it as a prerequisite of autobiography that the author corresponds to the subject of the experience described in the book. The name of the author is therefore pivotal in autobiographical writing. However, I encountered an ethical research issue over the naming problem when I wrote sociological papers about whether or not to use anonymous names. If I respected the authors as individuals with their proper names

who wrote their own life stories on their own initiative, using some kind of pseudonym, for instance, may violate research ethics. There arose another contradiction when I aimed to understand the idiosyncratic individual through their autobiographical writings at the same time as I had to orientate my analysis so as to generalize from that writer's specific experiences. These dilemmas can be studied as the results of an ambivalent perspective in research practice. I will explore this kind of sociological contradiction from the point of view of dilemmas in life story research.

Ina SCHAUM, Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany

When I Disliked My Choice of Topic

During the research for my M.A. thesis entitled "Being Jewish (and) in Love" for which I interviewed young Jewish adults about their "dating stories", I suddenly found myself seriously disliking my choice of topic. I had set out to analyse dating as an embodied gendered and racialized process of orientation, guided by the question "[w]hat difference [it makes] "what" or "who" we are oriented towards in the very direction of our desire" (Ahmed 2006:1). Through a reconstructive and sequential analysis of the dating narratives I thus retraced the course of action during the search for a partner to have sex with and/or live, dwell, and share your body and life with, towards understanding how an embodied 'being Jewish' is constructed in the process. However, I had turned a blind eye on my 'being German' and a non-Jewish researcher. Did I continue a legacy of a dubious 'scientific interest' in 'Jewish bodies' as unequal 'other' in German society – exercising the "conquering gaze" (Haraway 1991: 188) of a German who studies Jews to know what and who they are, what they do and with whom they do it? I remembered Elie Wiesel's (1979:241) observation on the violence inherent in modes of knowing in relation to Shoah survivors: "What do they feel when you tell *them* their story? When you claim to know more about it than they?" How could I bridge the chasm between "this woman who is writing about others, making them vulnerable" and those who are "more likely to be the ethnographized"? And "[w]hat, as she blithely goes about her privilege of doing research, is the story she isn't willing to tell" (Behar 1996:27; 20)? In my contribution, I will try to tell this story.

Doing Biographical Research – Ethical Dilemmas in Changing Social Contexts

Kaja KAZMIERSKA, University of Lodz, Poland

When biographical research started rapidly developing in last decades of the 20th cent. ethical problems of biographical interviewing were focused more on the very relationship between a narrator and interviewer, the promise of anonymity and methodological responsibility and mutual trust. Recently, the dynamic changes in different spheres of social life (especially commercialisation of science, digitalisation of data, explosion of social media) have influenced definitions of research situation and approach to results in social sciences. Some new standards have been implemented from hard sciences, the research situation has been shaped by circumstances related to wider cultural changes which can be

recognized as a sort of cultural shift especially in the sphere of new media communication. In my presentation I would like to comment on these phenomena. I try to discuss such problems as e.g.: consequences of digital archiving, changes in social definitions of public vs. private spheres, the expected style of doing research with the strong expectation to disseminate results or, last but not least, possible consequences of implementing informed consent with illusory expectation that it removes the danger of ethical dilemmas.

DISTRIBUTED PAPER

Gül OZYEGIN, College of William and Mary, USA

Breaching Internal Confidentiality in Biographical Research

The violation of internal confidentiality is a pervasive and troubling ethical and epistemological problem. Confidentiality is a key ethical principle in the American Sociological Association Code of Ethics. However, it fails to address the potential harm from internal confidentiality. How do we expand the principle of confidentiality to avoid risks to insiders from other insiders? How do researchers protect privacy without harming integrity of research and writing? I highlight theoretical and practical aspects of internal confidentiality in relation to my biographical research on different generations of Turks in Germany. I seek to engender discussion of particular strengths and weaknesses of potential institutional and individual solutions at different stages of doing biographical research: conceptualization, consent, interview, analysis and writing.

Body – Image – Affect

Time and Place: Thursday, 19 July 2018: 10:30 - 12:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 205A

Session Organizers: Roswitha BRECKNER (roswitha.breckner@univie.ac.at), Kathy DAVIS (k.e.davis@vu.nl)

Chair: Kathy Davis

Bodies, images, and affect are closely interrelated. Bodies are performed as images. Body surfaces are painted (make-up, tattoos, body art), clothes and jewelry are arranged to express a mood, attract attention, or indicate group membership or identity attention. Through gestures, glances, and movements, bodies are presented in ways that shape specific interactions and situations (Goffman). They express a person's bodily relation to the world (Merleau-Ponty), and can be seen as symbolization of gender, racial, ethnic, sexed, and other relations involving power. Being situated in images and pictures affects us emotionally and in an embodied way, often occurring outside our conscious awareness. This provides a welcome opportunity for biographical research to show how our "ways of seeing" (Berger) are biographically informed and, at the same time, ongoingly construct individuals' biographies, giving meaning and 'color' to the different social contexts in which they find themselves.

We invite papers which deal with the relation between the visual as well as imaginative relation between body, image and affect from a biographical perspective, following questions such as:

- In what way photographs and other images of bodies in different life stages are used and negotiated?
- In what way a 'life' becomes visible when looking at the face or body of a person?
- How do bodily images generate affective reactions which shape how we experience ourselves and our circumstances?
- What specific opportunities and challenges does a visual approach to biography offer?

Georgios TSIOLIS, University of Crete, Greece

Body Modification as Biographical Work: Different Types of Identity Construction through Tattooing

The presentation refers to the findings of a research project aimed at detecting the meanings assigned to tattooing by those who practice such body modifications. From the analysis of eight narrative interviews with tattooed men and women, a latent function of tattooing emerged: in societies of late modernity, in which individuals are charged with the task of building a coherent identity of themselves within varied and changing social circumstances, tattoos function as "identity pegs" (Goffman), as sources for securing consistency and coherence of the self. Interpretative reconstruction of our material (biographical narratives) has highlighted two different versions (types) that this process can take, which correspond to two different discourses of identity:

In the first version, tattooing as one type of identity work functions as an enhancer of a process of introspection. In order to take the risk of making an indelible and permanent inscription on his/her body, the individual searches (through an inner

dialog) for elements of a (supposed) inner authentic self. Once these elements have been discovered, their public manifestation seeks to express and consolidate a consistent identity, within the changing context of late modern societies. In this version, the narrators seem to adopt elements of an essentialist discourse of identity.

In the second version, identity construction does not take place through the search for "an authentic internal essence" but through inscriptions that refer to important biographical stations or experiences: In this case, the body functions as a canvas, as an inscribed personal calendar, which includes significant life events in a sequential order. The inscriptions provide "reference points" for constructing a coherent biographical identity. Thus, identity of self acquires consistency without appearing static but rather as an open project of personal development. In this version, identity appears as a fluid narrative construction.

Gaku OSHIMA, Hitotsubashi University, Japan

Incorporating AIDS Activism into Erotic Bodies and Images of Gay Men: The Hidden History of Resilience of People Living with HIV (PLWH) in Sexual Minority Communities in Japan

Epistemological and social research studies reveal that PLWH (people living with HIV) face tremendous challenges such as stigma based on one's HIV status and/or sexuality and mental health issues. Although many studies have focused on vulnerability, few have highlighted resilience in such situations.

Based on the transcripts from the peer-to-peer life story interviews with 21 long-term HIV survivors, this report illuminates how PLWH have created hope against the homo-/AIDS-phobic era of the 1990s and 2000s. The research collaborators were recruited via an advertisement in the newsletters of the Japanese Network of PLWH (JaNP+).

As stated by two research collaborators, AIDS activism has been incorporated into the erotic bodies and images of gay men, especially in the culture of sexual adventurism. For example, In the gay magazine 'G-MEN', the editor-in-chief and HIV-positive activist, along with gay erotic artists, health experts, and bartenders in Tokyo's gay district, produced and published various sexual stories and images that they believed were erotic in nature. Furthermore, they provided the latest information in regard to sexual health. As a result, the readers aspired to "fit in" with these stories and images, and many even shared their erotic desires with the magazine.

Through the ongoing construction of individual biography as a series of dialogues and joint action, the distinction between consuming sexual fantasy and practicing actual safer sex in everyday life has been constructed and directed towards a less stigmatized understanding of the actual lives of PLWH.

Overall, the findings in regard to the aforementioned processes are in direct contrast to the generally passive image of PLWH. This paper seeks to bring these

experiences to the fore through focusing on the significance of visual materials in individual biography and overcoming social stigma, and highlighting the active resilience of PLWH.

Monica MASSARI, University of Naples Federico II, Italy

The Body of the Others and the Politics of Refusal in Europe

The body in its insuppressible materiality and, at the same time, profound symbolic value represents the *place* where the wounds of History's violence inflicted by present time may be mostly visible. The dead body carried out by the waves during the umpteenth Mediterranean shipwreck. The besieged, kept at distance and rejected body across the European frontiers. The exotic body sold and bought within the sex market in the streets of our cities. The body dreaded and, therefore, denigrated, vilified, because perceived as a symbol of an otherness which is considered incompatible with the West. And, still, the subjugated, subaltern, racialized body. The silent, voiceless body of those who have been confronted with the horror and the unspeakable and that appears stripped, besides of its rights, of any human value. Bodies apparently relegated in the most hidden interstices of our modernity which actually ask for and induce at looking at the historical, political and social matrixes of the suffering that they are emblem of. But, at the same time, bodies which bring carved in the flesh uncomfortable memories which scatter moral and cultural horizons which we considered acquired. On the basis of the outcomes of various pieces of research in the field of migration carried out by the Author through the adoption of a biographical approach, this paper aims at reflecting on the role played by bodily images and widespread bodily social representations in shaping the perception and public reactions on refugees in contemporary Europe, by focusing in particular on the debate aroused since the emergence of the so-called *refugee's crisis*. The aim is to provide a reflection on the processes of social construction of otherness in contemporary society through an approach which combines analysis of case-studies with theoretical social reflection.

Roswitha BRECKNER, Sociology, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria

Bodies on the Edge. Approaching a Facebook Photo Album with Images of an "Extreme Weekend"

When looking at images in Social Media, the depiction of bodies plays a major role. They are part of almost every thinkable social context: professional and public up to private and even intimate, even if these distinctions have become blurry. Among these contexts, so-called party-images are an interesting phenomenon. They show situations of joy and happiness, but also bodies and faces that do not appear nice at all, indicating drug use of different kinds and showing gestures and interactions 'on the edge'. It is not clear where these situations, which can be seen as a moment of group crisis (Turner), are leading and who is or is not in control of the situation. Dealing with a concrete Facebook Photo Album which was titled by the album producer as 'extreme weekend', I will explore a) what it meant for the

situation that these images were made, and b) what it meant to the album producer to show these images to her Facebook friends. A combination of Visual Segment Analysis (Breckner), Figurative Hermeneutics (Müller), and Biographical Case Reconstruction based on a narrative biographical interview (Rosenthal) will be drawn upon in order to answer these questions.

Digital Experiences and Narratives of Networked Activism

JOINT SESSION RC47 Social Classes and Social Movements (host), RC38

Time and Place: Thursday, 19 July 2018: 15:30 - 17:20, MTCC SOUTH BUILDING, 602

Session Organizer: Tin-yuet TING (tyting@polyu.edu.hk)

Chair: Tin-yuet TING

The popularity of social media and mobile technologies bears witness to thriving networked activism among connected individuals in different regions. The advent of information and communication technologies provides accessible multimedia platforms that allow self-joining and self-organized individual activists to create and share alternative discourses in advocating for diverse social agendas. Moreover, digital experiences and narrations as political performance in turn transform individuals' identities and values. They influence the individuals' civic-political activities and awareness both during and after social movements. While networked individuals and their connective efforts have been considered at the forefront of recent movement protests, less has been known about how they construct movement experiences and narratives with social media and mobile technologies, and the impacts of digitally-enabled experiences and narrations on their life histories in the long run. In order to address these issues, this session solicits submissions that analyze how individual activists express movement experiences with mobile social media; the role of images and videos, likes and tweets, and other forms of representations in digital narrating; how digital experiences and narrating shape the individuals' civic-political agency and biographical outcomes. Contributions are welcome from different methodological approaches and socio-cultural contexts.

Ryann MANNING, University of Toronto Rotman School of Management, Canada

This Smile Brightens up Our Hearts: Emotional Modulation and Social Mobilization during the West African Ebola Outbreak

In this paper, I explore the emotional dynamics of networked activism by Sierra Leonean diaspora communities in response to the 2014-2015 Ebola outbreak. Emotions infused this transnational social movement and helped connect people around the world to the tragedy unfolding in West Africa. I focus especially on how diaspora activists used social media to orchestrate action-oriented *emotional chords*, combinations of emotions akin to musical chords, which they believed would help enlist and sustain participation in the fight against Ebola. Analyzing real-time and retrospective data from a variety of online and offline sources, I find that diaspora organizations and individuals produced and deployed digital cultural objects in order to collaboratively shape the emotional tone and rhythm of interactions among members of the Sierra Leonean diaspora. Activists repurposed familiar cultural material in creative ways to help their community make sense of the novel challenges posed by Ebola. For example, they adapted symbols and practices from traditional mourning rituals into virtual memorials to the victims of Ebola—especially Sierra Leonean doctors who died from the disease—which circulated widely on social media. Often, diaspora activists created emotionally polyvalent objects that expressed and elicited multiple emotions, such as images and stories of Sierra Leoneans at home and in the diaspora who were taking

action to stop Ebola. Incorporating rich, in-depth qualitative data from social networking sites and other online forums, I explore the dynamic interplay between emotion and action as members of the diaspora interacted with these cultural objects while discussing the emerging crisis in Sierra Leone and mobilizing to respond. Based on these findings, I develop a theory of *emotional modulation* by social movement activists, and I suggest implications for our understanding of networked activism, transnational organizing, and the complex role of emotion in social movements.

Wei Lit YEW, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Relatively “Free Spaces” in China: Narrating and Mobilising the Law through Digital Spaces

Recent legal reforms in China, particularly amendments in 2014 to the Environmental Protection Law, have encouraged environmental nongovernmental organisations (ENGOS) to embrace legal strategies in their advocacy. Such legal mobilisation marks a novel form of collective action that links environmentalists, cause lawyers, journalists, and other concerned individuals. However, the role of social media and mobile technologies in the formulation of these new collective strategies remain understudied. To that end, this paper demonstrates how WeChat, a popular Chinese social media mobile application, has been refashioned as a grassroots platform for cause-based experience-sharing and networking between self-joining individuals and activist groups from different regions. Through the technology, environmental activists seek to construct and disseminate their legal experiences to reach out to the wider public. The paper examines one such example in Xiamen, Fujian Province, where an ENGO, incensed by the conversion of walkways into parking spaces, led the first administrative lawsuit in the name of “pedestrians’ rights” in China in early 2015. Based on an experience-near approach, through participant observation and digital ethnography conducted between May 2015 and May 2016, the paper illustrates, on the one hand, the salience of digitally-networked spaces as “[relatively] free spaces” in collective action (Polletta 1999). On the other hand, it also reveals the complementarity, if not the necessity, of “conventional” free spaces, in the form of public meetings and gatherings, for identity construction that is critical to legal mobilisation. By elucidating the activists’ discourses and experiences both during and after the legal struggle, this exploratory research offers a snapshot of how popular critical consciousness develop under authoritarian rule, as well as the broader possibilities and challenges accompanying “the turn to law” in China.

Pralay NAGRALE, Shri Narayan Guru College, India

Imagining Vidarbha : Analysis of Discourse on Social Networking Sites of Vidarbha As a Region

Vidarbha is a region in Eastern part of the Indian state of Maharashtra which comprises of Nagpur and Amravati Division. The region includes 11 districts of the

state. This region is home to 31% of area and 21 % of population of Maharashtra (Census 2011). From many years people of Vidarbha had been demanding for a separate state. This is conspicuous among other things on the Social networking sites. Significantly the region also has seen a major inflow of capital and infrastructural transformation. This paper will analyze the discourses circulating on the social networking sites in relation with socio-political developments since January 2014.

This paper is located in the era when the demand for newer and smaller states is gaining ground with mixed successes. This paper will identify the role of the sites in producing the stakes for those professing both the region and leadership of the issue. Using a framework set by Amit Rai's idea of digitality as well as Gopal Guru's idea of photosynthesis and the location of social movement and ideology within the new grounds of digital spaces, I look at the paper from a discursive point of view.

Data for this paper is drawn from a purposive selection of pages and accounts which profess a clear bias for the region and its issues. The sample is vetted also on the basis of its popularity and the trends it exhibited since their creation during the chosen period. A second sample with the discussion of the issue of Vidarbha on accounts and pages not overtly siding with the issue will be used to contrast the first sample to highlight the socio cultural contestations, discourses and resistances.

The paper would also entail the usage of social networking sites as an alternative space for mobilisation and organisation of the movement.

Dorismilda FLORES-MÁRQUEZ, Universidad De La Salle Bajío, Mexico

I am Mexican, what is your superpower? Migration, political subjectivity and digital activism

In this paper I discuss the link between political subjectivity and digital activism among Mexican migrants. According to previous studies, digital media itself does not determine the participation, but provides to the engaged citizens spaces for that.

The study approached the cases of Mexican citizens living abroad (United States, Canada, Guatemala, Argentina, Spain, France, Germany and the UK), who have digital activism practices. The methodological framework was based on digital ethnography, ethnographies of participation and the biographical approach. Data collection included posts in Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, and semi-structured interviews with Mexican migrants, to explore their experiences.

The findings confirm the relevance of digital media in the migrant experience, as it expands the access to the information and public expresion, enables the formation of social and activist networks, and contributes to the emergence of new kinds of political actors. Migrants experience a renewal interest in Mexican public issues as a product of different factors, such as the oportunity to rethink Mexico by comparing it with other countries, the concerns about their family and

friends that still live there, and the work of nostalgia. In this way, the changes in their political subjectivity motivates them to do online activism about their country. Online activism of Mexican migrants is strongly linked to the sociopolitical context; their agendas change according to political events. The study of political subjectivity and digital activism among Mexican migrants contributes to the understanding of the public space and its reconfigurations in the global age.

Language Realms and Desires: Biographies, Multilinguality and Power in Society

Time and Place: Thursday, 19 July 2018: 17:30 - 19:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 205A

Session Organizers: Lena INOWLOCKI (inowlocki@soz.uni-frankfurt.de), Anna SCHNITZER (aschnitzer@ife.uzh.ch)

Chairs: Lena INOWKOCKI, Anna SCHNITZER

Due to global migration and its regulation through policies in societies, questions of language empowerment and language legitimacy have become increasingly important. While more and more people are socialized as multilingual speakers, nation states and especially their educational systems remain mostly monolingually organized. Therefore multiple processes of exclusion as well as of attempts at integration and belonging result from speaking languages “of others” and “of one’s own”.

Literary writers have found ways to describe what it means for them to write in another language, making it their own. This can occur under conditions of exile (Vladimir Nabokov, Eva Hoffman) or in the course of purposeful migration (Jhumpa Lahiri, Tomer Gardi, Yiyun Li). The new language certainly presents challenges and restrictions but also a realm of transformation and creativity.

By conceptualizing language as a social practice, we would like to explore situations and interactions of biographical relevance. The focus could be on questions such as: In which ways does multilinguality or learning to speak the new language as a migrant present speakers with processes of exclusion? Does the new language possibly also represent what speakers desire, or who they desire to become? How do speakers reflect “their own” and “others’” languages biographically? How can we reconstruct the power relations they experienced in their language biographies?

Vanessa RAU, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Home, Burden or Desire? the Multiple Meanings of Hebrew in Individual Biographies

“My house is in the language” says Inbal in reference to Hebrew. Despite five years as an Israeli migrant in Berlin, the German language cannot provide what Hebrew signifies for her. Inbal is a member of a Hebrew Choir in Berlin, where Israelis, Jews and non-Jewish Germans sing Hebrew Choral music. The group is part of my on-going PhD research, which seeks to unravel the interwoven relations and dynamics of belonging, religion, secularity, conversion and community building in a new Jewish scene in Berlin. While Inbal exemplifies a case of unease with the German language, other Israelis are diligently seeking to obtain fluency in German eager to lose their “Hebrew accent”. Indicating the place of origin, the accent is seen as a marker of difference. At the same time, the Hebrew language and represents something exotic and very much desired for non-Jewish Germans. Their biographies reveal that it was through Hebrew, that they developed an interest in Judaism. In my paper, I will take the example of the diversity of the Hebrew choir and show the differing significations, which a language (Hebrew) can take. Relating it to the biographies of Jewish Israelis and non-Jews with a desire for things Jewish, I will show how Hebrew can attain multiple significations within a single group. As a bonding tie of a multi-national and multi-ethnic group, Hebrew equally

becomes “home”, marker of difference and object of desire and representation of ‘the exotic’. Contrasting collected biographies, I will demonstrate how language (Hebrew) has influenced biography and trajectories on a personal and political level. Hereby, I will argue that language should not only be understood in its interpersonal function, but also as symbol with context-specific significations. By means of Hebrew, my paper discusses biographic trajectories (Routes and Roots) of individual and collective belonging.

Nadja THOMA, University of Vienna, Austria

“I Dream to be a Teacher in a Completely Normal School”. Language and Othering of Minoritised University Students from a Biographical Perspective.

Within discourses on migration, much importance is given to language, especially to the respective national language(s), both for educational success of migrants and for their transition into certain fields of the labour market. At the same time, inequalities between individuals and groups perceived as ‘native speakers’ and others labeled as ‘non-natives’ are persistent regardless of the effective linguistic command of individual speakers (Davies 2003; Bonfiglio 2010).

The drafted discourses are of special interest for educational institutions in general, as well as for teacher education. Thus, the planned paper will focus on the experiences of young minoritised adults who are enrolled in German Studies programmes in Austria. It is based on biographical narrative interviews conducted in a research project on language biographies. Theoretically, it links biographical (Schütze 1983; Dausien 2000) with sociolinguistic (Blackledge/Creese 2014; Piller 2016) and educational (Flores/Rosa 2015; Mecheril 2015) theories.

The following questions will be addressed:

- How do linguistically minoritised subjects on their way to be language teachers reconstruct the meaning of language(s) in their biographies?
- What power relations do they experience in institutions of education, especially in the German Studies programme?
- Which desires are connected with their decision to become German teachers, how are these desires endangered by ‘native speaker’ ideologies and how do the students position themselves vis-à-vis the researcher in the interview setting?

Minna-Kristiina RUOKONEN-ENGLER, Institute for Social Research at Goethe University, Germany

“Speaking like a Native”? Biographical Perspective on Language Performance of Migrant Students between Othering, Mimicry and Desire for Passing

By drawing on my research on educational biographies of migrant students enrolled in higher education in Germany, I discuss in my paper how the notion of “speaking like a native” is imbued with different societal, normative, hegemonic expectations that are encountered by migrant students not only with cognitive response of language performance, but with emotional ambivalences and

negotiations of belonging. I focus on the clarification of these societal expectations and individual emotional responses by analyzing biographical, narrative interview sequences that indicate how the process of language performance consists of experiences of othering as well as of a desire of belonging to the hegemonic speaking culture. I use here the analytical concepts of mimicry and passing as concepts that help explaining the desire for a transformed language subjectivity as a contested performance in multilingual migration contexts.

Edmond EKOLLO¹, Janina GLAESER¹, Abdoulaye NGOM² and Elise PAPE², (1) Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany, (2)University of Strasbourg, France

Language Learning as a Social Encounter with the “Other” – a Comparison between Families of Cameroonian Origin in France and Germany

This presentation will explore language practices departing from the case study of two different Cameroonian families who live in France and Germany among whom biographical interviews have been collected within the French-German research project “Migreval”. It will reflect on the impact of colonial experience and power on language practices as well as on migration and language learning. While the family who migrated to France already spoke the language of the country of arrival – French being one of the official languages of Cameroon, this was not the case of the family who migrated to Germany. This contribution will reflect on differences and similarities between these case studies concerning multilingual practices in their country of origin and of arrival. Departing from interviews with members from different family generations, we will analyze the way the interviewees learned different languages in different contexts of life through time: in school, through Erasmus programs, work, or their neighborhood. We will pay special attention to biographical turning points (Hareven and Masaoka 1988) that have led to a change of perception and practice of multilingualism in the life course of our interviewees and the way these practices have been accompanied by processes of exclusion or inclusion. Thereby, the impact of language policies will be taken into consideration.

We will also reflect on the meaning the interviewees attribute to the learning of different languages, and the way this process becomes a social practice of encounters with the “Other”. This presentation will address the way different languages become their “own” and how learning the mother tongue of the “Other” becomes a powerful means of creating rapprochements and blurring the frontier between the “Self” and the “Other”.

Youssef ABID, Goethe University, Germany

Multilingualism Among Young Adults of Moroccan Descent in Germany and France

With policy emphasis on the acquisition and competence of the national language in Germany and France, multilingualism among the descendants of

immigrants has been discouraged in educational settings and neglected in research. In my ongoing PhD research, I study the biographical and social meaning and importance of growing up with a variety of languages in one's own family and the consequences of monolingual educational settings for young adults.

So far, there has not been much research on language use and its meaning for the younger generation in immigrant families or on multilingualism as a social practice. Also, little is known about the perception of the devaluation of the family language(s) and about social processes of exclusion related to speaking "immigrant languages".

My research interest focuses on biographical narratives of young adults in Moroccan immigrant families in Germany and France about their experiences of multilingualism. My objective is to understand more about their experiences and the challenges they are confronted with, in their families, in educational settings and in the public sphere, as well as about the discrimination and exclusion experiences they are confronted with.

Based on comparing cases in Germany and France, I would like to present a first analysis to illustrate the concept of multilingualism among descendants of immigrants as a "normal" social practice, with all spoken languages as part of their biography and identity. Then, I would discuss the challenge of dealing with multilingualism in monolingual societies. The immigrants' descendants are aware of the necessity to learn their family languages, relating them to their historical and political contexts. Moreover, they consider the languages as competences that open up international possibilities and transnational options. But at the same time, the social devaluation of the family languages is painful and confusing, which leads to question the actual language policies.

Catherine DELCROIX, University of Strasbourg, France and Dieudonne KOBANDA, University of Strasbourg, research center Dynamiques Europeennes, France

Access of Immigrant Roma Families to Strasbourg's Integration Policies, in Particular French-Language-Teaching Policy. an Example of Biographical Policy Evaluation

We have been working on the comparative "biographical policy evaluation" of social policies concerning migrants in Strasbourg and Frankfurt, e.g. local programs for teaching to new migrants the language of the host country, hence French in Strasbourg. The method of "biographically evaluating" social policies takes note of the fact that social policies relevant to different domains (such as housing, healthcare, vocational (re)training and access to local labour markets, childhood, language programs for migrants...) are most of the times developed and implemented by different public agencies (or private subcontractors), mostly separately ; while the combination of their decisions on the conditions of life of given individuals or families necessarily interact and may engender unforeseen and unwanted effects. Hence the idea of evaluating policies "from below", through in-depth case studies and case histories of small samples of recipients. This

is an approach to evaluation that also has the advantage of allowing to observe how recipients receive, perceive, and react (or even proact) tactically and strategically to make the best possible use of policies oriented towards them. In doing so - and without necessarily being aware of it - they "join the game", which if they are for instance migrants, does contribute powerfully to their integration. We will present here the case of Roma families coming from Eastern European countries to settle in Strasbourg, and of their reactions to municipal policies aiming at teaching them French to foster their access labour markets.

DISTRIBUTED PAPER

Justyna KIJONKA, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland

The Question of Language, Identity and Biography on the Example of Upper Silesians in Germany

The main aim of this paper is to present the problem of the language of (*Spät-*)*Aussiedler* migrants from Upper Silesia in the context of their identity and biography. The paper is based on research that I carried out between October 2014 and July 2015 on migrants who had come to West Germany from Upper Silesia between 1970 and 2000 and received (*Spät-*)*Aussiedler* status. The research was carried out among different generations of migrants.

Although (*Spät-*)*Aussiedler* from Upper Silesia migrated to Germany without any acquaintance with the German language in most cases – German was the mother tongue only for the older generations, they wanted to assimilate as quickly as possible so they learned the new language, speaking only German and avoiding speaking Polish. Parents did not teach children their mother tongue, because at that time Polish was considered to be unnecessary. Hence, the second generation of migrants quite often did not speak Polish or possessed only passive knowledge of the language. This situation has changed, because after EU enlargement Polish became another language on one's CV.

Today, the choice of language is the choice of identity, and therefore Upper Silesians in Germany live in different social worlds depending on whether they speak German, Polish or the Upper Silesian dialect. Sometimes, they live in all three worlds at the same time, which can be seen briefly during the interviews especially when they are using different languages to describe different aspects of their own biographies.

In my paper, I examine how these life strategies – assimilation, speaking only the new language and avoiding speaking their mother tongue and speaking Polish/Upper Silesian dialect once again influenced the professional and private lives of the migrants, their communication with family members who remained in Upper Silesia and with their descendants in Germany.

FRIDAY, 20 July**Biography, Migration and Belonging I**

Time and Place: Friday, 20 July 2018: 08:30 - 10:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 205A

Session Organizers: Arne WORM (aworm@uni-goettingen.de), Gabriele ROSENTHAL (g.rosenthal@gmx.de)

Chairs: Eva BAHL, Hendrik HINRICHSEN

Processes of migration are often accompanied by changing images of oneself, of we-group belongings, and of other groupings on different levels (such as gender, religion, ethnicity, or class). Established images of one's own belonging to a certain grouping, as well as corresponding stocks of knowledge, everyday-life perspectives, and patterns of action are challenged and re-interpreted in the varying social figurations and biographical constellations encountered during a process of migration. Research on these dynamics of belonging is an important and well-established part of the sociology of migration.

When we are analyzing these transformation processes regarding the individual's belonging in the context of migration, it is also important to consider the social processes and constellations that lead to interpreting oneself more as an individual or more as a member of certain groups, or in other words: to investigate the role of changes in the "We-I balance" (Elias).

In this session, we invite papers that deal with questions of migration, belonging and changes in "we" and "I" from the perspective of biographical research, which means reconstructing these dynamics in the light of migrants' complex life trajectories and in their interrelations with family and collective histories and the changing power balances, inequalities and figurations that shape migration processes.

Rosa BRANDHORST, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA PERTH, Australia

Changing Belongings in the Life Cycle. Collective Shifts in the Life Trajectories of Older Migrants in Australia

As stated in migration research, we-group belongings can transform in the migration process. Different social discourses, knowledge bases and values in the sending and the receiving societies lead to a reinterpretation of the sense of belonging. In this paper I will discuss the change of belonging in the life cycle and especially in older age. I will present first results of my biographical and ethnographical study on transnational aging of older migrants of different migration groupings in Australia, which indicate an intensified sense of belonging linked to the country of origin. The case studies also reveal a shift in the "we-I-balance", towards the interpretation of the own life in the more collective context of the family and the social support networks linked to the country of origin. Elderly migrants thus seem to experience another re-interpretation of the life history and a shift in the sense of belonging in the process of aging and in the increased dependence on care provided by the family. This paper will shed light on a so far little researched topic of the sense of belonging of elderly migrants, as migration

and transnationalism research tended to focus on labour migration and the belonging of younger adults and middle-aged migrants.

Zeila DEMARTINI, Centro de Estudos Rurais e Urbanos / USP, Brazil

Narratives of Immigrants: A Comparative Analysis of Generations

A comparative analysis of successive generations of families is relevant to the understanding of international migration processes and the experiences of the subjects. This paper analyses oral narratives obtained under the form of histories of life in a study carried out on dislocations occurred between Africa and Brazil in the 1970's decades 2000. We focus the memories who came for Sao Paulo when powders-independence are escaping of the colonial war and of the difficult situations in Angola and Mozambique. We interview Portuguese, Luso-Africans and Africans whose trajectories were very varied, having in common the fact that they all went out from Africa at the same moment – from political questions and the war. When interviewing different generations of each family, we could get different representations of the same facts and experiences, as well as from one generation over another. The family histories may also be considered. The nature of the questions to research had led us on a historical incursion, taking into account the fact that talk of second and third generation involved, in the case of these migration processes, in talking about children and young people. This aspect is usually not considered in most studies: that large proportion of children and young people carry on their life experiences in different socio-economic and cultural realities. Tried to verify that implications displacements during this period of their lives and experiences established during the checkout process and entry into new contexts can lead to the experiences, cultures and identities of children and young people and that the analysis of these elements could highlight issues. Urges us to question how each generation represents its history, the history of its family, and the history of the nation of origin of the first generation.

Me-Linh RIEMANN, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Migration as an Answer to What? Findings from a Biographical Study on the (recent) Spanish Migration to Germany and the UK

In this article, I present some of the preliminary results of an ongoing qualitative study (on the basis of autobiographical narrative interviews) on the lives of (recent) Spanish migrants to Germany and the UK. Instead of focusing exclusively on the migration experience, I am interested in the long-term processes in people's lives and how macro-phenomena like the economic crisis in Spain (and other developments such as "Brexit") and the life-course of individuals are interrelated. This paper focuses on a specific phase in interviewees lives: the time in which migrating to another country became a topic and appeared as a solution to serious problems. It was possible to identify different biographical action schemes (Schütze 2007) that shed light on how people arrived at the decision to migrate.

While all my interviewees recalled how the recession had an impact on their lives in Spain (and was one important factor underlying their decision to migrate), it is important to note that the “aftermath” of the economic crisis on their lives took on different shapes depending on their “generational locations” (cf. Mannheim 1928), academic and occupational training, (lack of) work experience, personal support structures and biographical circumstances in general. Especially in the context of contemporary Europe, which is experiencing different (yet overlapping) crises at the moment, I argue that biographical research offers unique advantages as it is a way to overcome what has been referred to as “methodological nationalism” (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002) and a tool to close the gap between macro and micro-sociological concerns.

Masaya NEMOTO, Ritsumeikan University, Japan

Balancing Two Cultures: Lives of Atomic Bomb Survivors in the US

This paper examines the relationship between migration, belonging, and changes in “we” and “I” through the case of atomic bomb survivors living in the US. In 1945 atomic bombs dropped by the US destroyed the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. The survivors have suffered from scar, trauma, and radiation caused by the nuclear bombs until today. However, there are atomic bomb survivors who migrated to the US from Japan after the WWII. Some moved to the US for their career or marriage. Others were originally born in the US as the second generation of Japanese-American but went to Japan before the war, and came back to the US after the war. Those atomic bomb survivors in the US built an organization to ask for medical support from the US government first and then Japanese national government because the US rejected the support for its “enemy” in the past.

In this paper, I will explore the biographies of atomic bomb survivors living in the US to consider their sense of belonging. First, I will briefly explain the background of atomic survivors living in the US as well as the effects of atomic bomb. Second, I will describe survivors’ life stories while answering questions such as why they migrated from Japan to the US and how they have lived in that country against which they “fought” in the past. Lastly, by drawing on the survivors’ life-stories and narratives, I will examine how they have changed their sense of belonging such as being a Japanese, an American, and/or a survivor from the atomic bombing by the US.

Johannes BECKER, University of Gottingen, Germany and **Dolly ABDUL KARIM**, Center of Methods in Social Sciences. Qualitative Research, Germany

Understanding Dynamics of Belonging through Complex Migration Processes and Intertwined Experiences of Violence

Our presentation builds upon research in Amman, Jordan, a city in which a majority of inhabitants or their families have migrated to the city, mostly as refugees from violent conflicts. On the basis of narrative-biographical interviews with members of several groupings and generations of refugees, we will reconstruct (multiple) processes of migration and how they are intertwined with

differing and multi-layered experiences of violence. Central to our presentation is an analysis of how experiences of 'individual' and 'collective' migration, and 'individual' or 'collective' violence in the context of life-histories are interrelated with shifting we-I balances and feelings of belonging to various groupings in different places at different times.

We will introduce case reconstructions of interviews with two women who came to Jordan from Kuwait (in 1990/1991) and from Syria (in 2009). The analysis highlights the ways processes of migration and experiences of violence – for example in the context of wars or state persecution and/or within the family – can be interpreted not only as changing the conceptions of national or ethnic belonging, but also, for instance, as altering conceptions of family, education and liberal or less liberal 'lifestyles', and therefore also the interviewees' social positioning in Amman.

Our discussion is based on first results from our research in the context of the project 'Dynamic figurations of refugees, migrants, and long-time residents in Jordan since 1946: between peaceable and tension-ridden co-existence?' (located at the University of Göttingen and funded by the German Research Organisation, DFG).

DISTRIBUTED PAPER

Ana MIJIC, University of Vienna, Austria

Lost in Migration? Narratives of (non-)Belonging of Diasporic Identities

At the very beginning of Olja Alvir's debut-novel "Kein Meer", her protagonist Lara Voljić, a young Viennese of Bosnian descent remarks: "I am too young to be entitled to be traumatized by the war. However, I am too old to know nothing about it – too old not to be concerned." (Olja Alvir 2016, *Kein Meer*, 8). Broadly speaking Lara is inquiring the boundaries of her lifeworld which is substantially characterised by war and migration. She is trying to understand what lies within and what lies beyond these boundaries; and what she is allowed or able to disconnect from her individual biography. Within an ongoing sociological research project at the University of Vienna I am focusing on the identity-formation and transformation of the Bosnian diaspora(s)—i.e. Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Serbs—living in Vienna. According to the initial presupposition of this project, wartime, post-war, and migration constitute a very particular and tense context within which people from Bosnia-Herzegovina have to (re-)construct their self-images—their individual identities as well as their collective belonging(s). These diasporic post-war identities will be analyzed by the means of a hermeneutical analysis of narrative interviews. In my contribution I would like to focus on a hermeneutical reconstruction of the life stories of Bosnian Viennese, who came to Austria as child refugees during the war in the 1990ies. I am aiming to decipher the dynamics of identity-construction and re-construction in the light of the experienced war as well as their socialization in different "objective realities" (Peter L. Berger & Thomas Luckmann) and to work out their sense of belonging and identification.

Biography, Migration and Belonging II

Time and Place: Friday, 20 July 2018: 10:30 - 12:20, MTCC NORTH BUILDING, 205A

Session Organizers: Arne WORM (aworm@uni-goettingen.de), Gabriele ROSENTHAL (g.rosenthal@gmx.de)

Chairs: Gabriele ROSENTHAL and Arne WORM

Hendrik HINRICHSEN, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Germany

How Is Jordan Dealing with All the Different Groupings of Refugees? Shifting Figurations of Migrants and Longtime Residents in Amman

Since the 1940s, Jordan has coped with the immigration of vast numbers of refugees during different phases of regional history. As a result of the war in Syria, Jordan is currently again having to manage the entry of a large number of refugees. Jordan is often considered as an example of relatively successful 'integration' or management of large-scale immigration. Taking this notion as a starting point for my argumentation, I will ask – from the perspective of biographical research and figurational sociology – in what ways the relations between different groupings of refugees and longtime residents are changing due to recent dynamics of immigration in Jordan. Focusing on the urban setting of Amman, I will show how images of belonging, patterns of interpretation and experienced life histories of the city's residents are shaped by processes of migration and shifting power balances between different groupings of migrants and longtime residents. In my presentation, I analyse how biographical trajectories are embedded in family and collective histories, in order to be able to shed light on the intertwinement of people's we-images and senses of belonging and their figurational positioning. The preliminary findings discussed in the presentation are based on biographical-narrative interviews and participant observations conducted in Amman within the framework of an on-going DFG-funded research project at the University of Goettingen (Germany).

Lucas SANGALLI, PUCRS, Brazil

The Disappearance of Alain: The Social Construction of Belonging in the Life of a Migrant

This work presents the results of an empirical case reconstruction of a Haitian migrant that crossed various social figurations in his dislocation process from the Haitian countryside to Southern Brazil. This investigation of the construction of belonging in the life of a Haitian migrant is theoretically grounded in the Phenomenological Sociology (Alfred Schütz), the Sociology of Knowledge (Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann), and the Sociology of Processes and Figurations (Norbert Elias). The biographical narrative interview method of the German tradition (Fritz Schütze, Gabriele Rosenthal) was used to reconstruct an empirical case, which encompasses the analysis of a Haitian migrant's life and its family in different social figurations, such as in Haiti, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, and the United States. Therewith, empirically grounded knowledge on the constitution of feelings

of belonging in the life trajectory of a Haitian migrant was possible. Based on the analysis of the empirical case, a type of return migrant was determined; one that has a strong attachment to the religious and ethno-national feelings of belonging. These feelings seem to play an important role in determining his recurrent attempts to return to Haiti in order to fulfill a religious prophecy about his life.

Chrysanthi ZACHOU, AMERICAN COLLEGE OF GREECE -DEREE, Greece and Evaggelia KALERANTE, University of W. Macedonia, Greece

Young Refugees in the Economically Stricken Greece: Narratives of Dislocation, Changing Self-Perceptions and Life Trajectories

This paper focuses on the narratives of young refugees currently settled in the debt-stricken Greek society. This special category of forcibly displaced individuals is studied in relation to its identification with or differentiation from origin and host society taking into account the distinctive characteristics of young people and youth culture. Greece, as the host/ transit country, provides the context for varied (re)interpretations, perceptions and expectations which are also informed by the consequences of the economic crisis. Our study on the interpretations and expectations of young refugees is based on 5 life stories of individuals who, despite differences in terms of their social characteristics (i.e. ethnicity, gender, family's former socio-economic status), they share in common their high(er) educational capital. Through their personal narratives, we analyze: the (dis)continuities of their transition from home to host country, the ways in which they manage dislocation and loss, the disruption of their former social/communal networks, the current challenges they face and their assessment of the present conditions of living; the frustrations resulting of their temporary status as asylum seekers, their changing self-perceptions, as well as their aspirations and future prospects.

The study, which is currently conducted (2017), takes place at a moment in time when the prospect of young refugees' relocation remains ambivalent and when most natives seem to have 'compromised' with the idea of refugees' (permanent) settlement into the country.

Maria Sarah TELLES, Pontifical Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Brazil

Indigenous People Migrate to the City: Visibility Versus Vulnerability

The text addresses the issue of indigenous migration to urban space, based on the biographical reconstruction of two natives who arrived and settled in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in a successful process of constructing visibility of their identity in an urban context. Today, in Brazil, there are more than 315,000 indigenous people in the country's cities, representing 49% of the indigenous population. For the majority that migrates, the condition of vulnerability is aggravated by the precarious conditions marginalized groups encounter upon arriving or living in Brazil's big cities. Most of the natives living in the cities remain invisible to society as a whole, which rejects their identity outside the village. Some of the terms used accuse the

non-recognition of their indigenous identity: *desalted, acculturated, assimilated* (Albuquerque, 2015). Prejudice and discrimination complete the framework of urban vulnerability. I will use the biographical research method (Rosenthal, 2014) to provide understanding of the challenges and achievements of some indigenous people who migrate to the city and fight for the preservation of traditions and their identities. Migration of indigenous people to the cities has occurred since the 1950s, but they have usually sought to hide that identity. The city constituted a forbidden space, since the trip to the city implied in denying or hiding the indigenous identity and their cultural references. The Indigenous arrive in Rio either because they were expelled from their place of origin or because they could not find opportunity to study, to take care of health, to meet their claims. They were doomed to oblivion and invisibility. Though reluctantly, in Rio society has been made to see the struggles of indigenous people. That is the huge challenge under discussion in this text.

Faime ALPAGU, University of Vienna, Austria

Visual and Verbal Strategies of Belonging and Distance in Migration

This presentation deals with the ambivalence of building belonging to a “we-group” and distancing oneself from the group at the same time. The paper aims to juxtapose the way how this ambivalence is handled in visual and verbal narratives. How do “guest workers” build a “we-group” and how do they distance themselves from the group? What kind of relationship do the so called guest workers have to the family, other workers, “host country” and country of origin?

The proposed abstract is part of a PhD project, which deals with “guest worker” photographs and letters that were sent back to family members in Turkey from the 1960s to the late 1980s. These photos and letters are to be complemented with official documents (e.g., working certificates) and recently conducted biographic-narrative interviews. Consequently, this ensures that the complexity of the interaction between the following dimensions is given: *verbal or written/visual, now/then, private/official and here/there*.

The project follows a reconstructive approach by triangulating interpretative methods such as biographical case reconstruction (Rosenthal, 2005) and visual segment analysis (Breckner, 2010). Of particular interest are interacting narratives created by biographical interviews, photos, letters and documents that provide information about migration experiences.

DISTRIBUTED PAPER

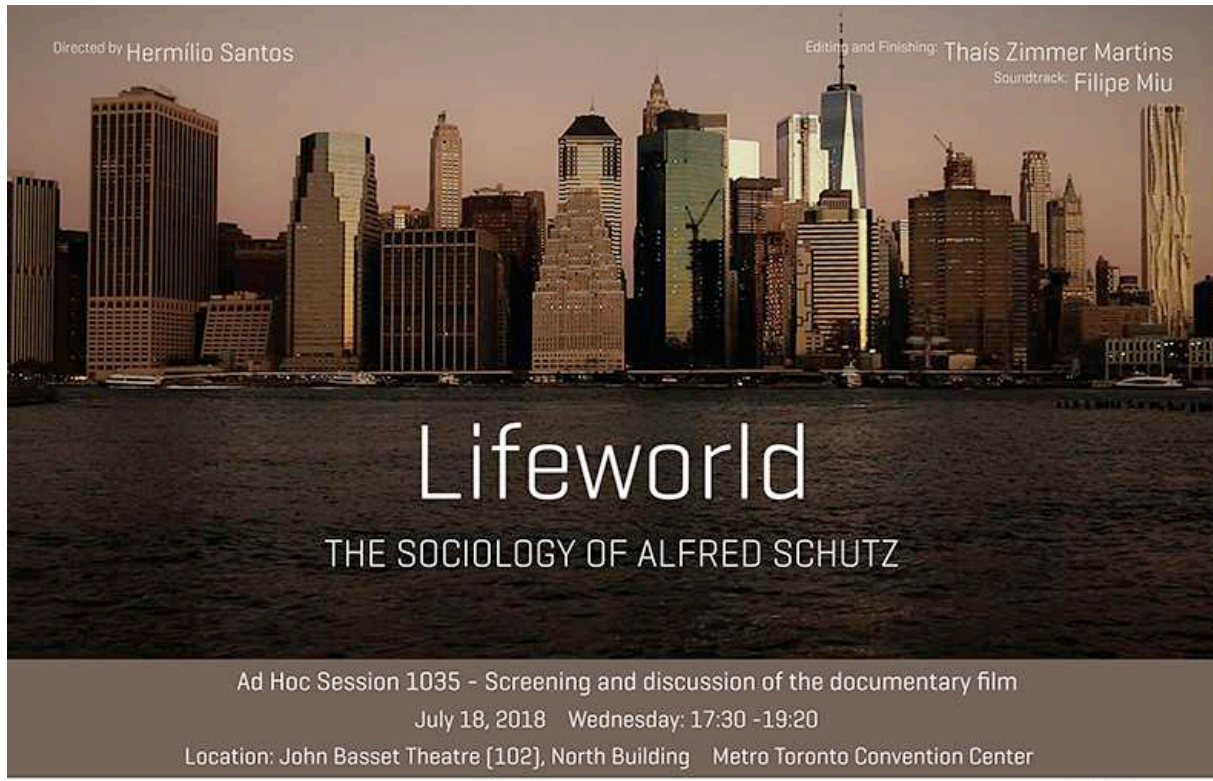
Piotr CICHOCKI, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland and **Michał NOWOSIELSKI**, Institute for Western Affairs, Poland

Making Sense of Unexpected Life-Courses – Autobiographical Narratives of Polish Post-World War II Resettlements

In the aftermath of the World War II, Poland's boundary-changes resulted in one of

the greatest state-sponsored resettlement programs in the history of Europe. Following the expulsion of Germans from the newly annexed Western and Northern Territories (the pre-1939 population comprised over 8 million predominantly German inhabitants), more than 4 million Polish settlers arrived from: 1) Eastern Territories annexed by the USSR, 2) regions of central Poland, 3) foreign displacements. Thus, accidental communities were formed by uprooted individuals, who had to manage the social and economic upheavals of newly imposed communist rule on top of their unforeseen relocation to emptied places they had few prior ideas about. While contemporaneous sociological research on those newly forming communities was limited due to practical and political constraints, one notable exception came in the form of open competitions for authors of personal journals organized by the researchers of the Institute for Western Affairs in the period 1945 – 1970. The available 1141 journals were composed in periods of profound political change, such as the post-Stalinist thaw, which seemed to have enticed the authors to exercise more freedom of expression, divulging information hitherto kept secret as well as of memories from the early moments of settlement. However, political sensitivity of the material ensured that only perfunctory analyses could be attempted at the time, and only recently the material came to be fully digitized, which opened the corpus of personal journals to exhaustive inquiry. The proposed paper would focus on the findings of a research project “New society on the Polish Western Territories. Personal journals of settlers from an autobiographical perspective”, which combines textual analysis with qualitative research with selected descendants of the journal-authors. Our focus would be on the narrative strategies of dealing with the trauma of life-course disruption through war, resettlement and regime change.

ISA Ad Hoc Session 1035








Directed by Hermílio Santos

Editing and Finishing: Thaís Zimmer Martins
Soundtrack: Filipe Miu

Lifeworld

THE SOCIOLOGY OF ALFRED SCHUTZ

Ad Hoc Session 1035 - Screening and discussion of the documentary film
July 18, 2018 Wednesday: 17:30 -19:20
Location: John Basset Theatre [102], North Building Metro Toronto Convention Center

SUPPORTED BY:   PRODUCTION:   

The documentary film “Lifeworld: The Sociology of Alfred Schutz” (directed by Hermílio Santos, 55’, Brazil, 2018) presents interviews on different aspects of the work of Alfred Schutz, divided in four parts: in the first one it presents some aspects of his biography; in the second part the interviewees explain the main theoretical influences on his work; the third part is dedicated to present the main concepts of his sociological theory and in the last part of the film sociologists present how the Alfred Schutz’ sociology have been used currently in theoretical and empirical researches. Among the interviewees are Michael Barber (USA), Hisashi Nasu (Japan), Ilia Srubar, Martin Endress, Jochen Dreher and Joachim Renn (Germany), Thomas Eberle (Switzerland) and others from Argentina, Brazil, France and Italy. The interviews were conducted in English, German, Spanish, Japanese, Italian, French and Portuguese with English subtitles. After the screening the director will discuss with the audience some topics explored in the film. The proposal of this ad hoc film session is based on the success of an additional session of the RC 38 during the 3rd ISA Forum in Vienna, in which I showed my previous documentary film entitled “Infância Falada” (53’, Brazil, 2016), and the increasing worldwide interest on the sociology of Alfred Schutz, showed by the publication of his complete work in twelve volumes in German, by the creation of the *Journal Schutzian Research*, initiated in 2009, by the establishment of *The Alfred Schutz International Circle for Phenomenology and Interpretive Social Science* (created in 2012). Original in English, German, Japanese, Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese **with English subtitles.**

ESA RN 35 Midterm Conference – Belongings and Borders – Biographies, Mobilities, and the Politics of Migration

24-25 January 2019 – University of Strasbourg, France

Keynote speakers:

David Bartram (University of Leicester)

Monica Massari (University of Naples Federico II)

Monika Salzbrunn (University of Lausanne)

ESA's Research Network 35 "Sociology of Migration" will hold its next midterm conference at the University of Strasbourg January 24-25, 2019. The conference is organized in close cooperation with the Institute DynamE, the Institute of Advanced Studies (USIAS) of the University of Strasbourg, and the French-German University (UFA/DFH) and is thematically linked to the international research project MIGREVAL (<http://migreval.hypotheses.org/>).

We want to provide a platform for those who have already met at earlier conferences to continue our discussions, and at the same time invite other scholars to join us in this endeavour. For our midterm conferences, we aim for lively and focused debates.

Conference theme: Biographies, belongings, borders

Current political and media discourses on the questions of "integration", "belonging" and "borders" are dominated by the perspectives of Western nation states. The objective of our midterm conference is to shift the focus to the perspectives of those who are labeled and talked about in these debates and who become the target of ever-more complex and differentiated border and mobility regimes. Our conference will, in other words, interrogate the way belongings and borders are presently challenged and reshaped on different levels (local, national, international) and how biographical perspectives in migration research can shed new light on these processes. This general topic will be discussed along three overarching axes:

1. **Biographical evaluations, migration and citizenship policies, and orders of belonging:** The methodology of "biographical evaluation" (Apitzsch et al. 2008; Delcroix 2013) serves as inspiration and conceptual focal point for the first thematic axis. The aim is to analyze the way public measures in different sectors in society are embedded in individuals' trajectories and courses of action, how they affect biographies and are mediated by them in a longitudinal and dynamic perspective. This axis will welcome papers on the way migrants have experienced

different policies related to education, employment, language learning, marriage, borders, and rights of entry, of residence and others (on the communal, regional, national and international level) and on the way these experiences shed light on the concrete effects of public measures. These accounts may also include experiences of resistance of migrants and their families to the encountered policies. Apart from this general change of perspective, biographical accounts enable a reconstructive approach that allows going back in time. For example, interviews with family members of several generations make it possible to take into account long term processes and intergenerational dynamics. This approach gives insights into how families relate to memory on a public and private scale. It also includes the experience of migrants in their regions of origin before their migration and, especially, the interplay of these experiences with different orders of belongings and borders.

2. **Belongings and borders and the current dynamics of migration regimes:** The second thematic axis will concentrate on current migration regimes and their dynamics on the communal, regional, national, and international level. Among others, the perspectives, responsibilities, and roles of various actors (including professionals, “experts” or volunteers) who are related in one way or another to the politics of migration will be taken into account. How did different (individual as well as institutional) actors develop, implement or resist to measures and policies in different contexts and on different levels? How did these measures and policies evolve over time? How do different levels (local, national or international) converge or contradict each other? What do these developments tell us about the current transformational dynamics of global migration regimes? Contributions taking into account the biographical development of actors and “turning points” in their practices will be particularly welcome.
3. **Theorizing belongings, borders and mobilities – reconfiguring migration research?** The interplay of biographies, belongings, and borders also leads to important conceptual and methodological questions. How can belongings, mobilities, and borders be meaningfully integrated into current frameworks and debates? What epistemological and methodological challenges are linked to researching social structures, institutional configurations, and biographies/subjectivities in their interplay? These questions need to be discussed in relation to two more general issues. First, migration has lately been discovered as a topic by mainstream human and social sciences. How do changing orders of belongings and borders challenge dominant perspectives in various research fields? And how is migration research challenged and/or inspired by

problematizations from these research areas? Second, the links between migration research and general social theory need to be reconsidered. What implications do established perspectives – be it the theoretical frameworks of grand sociologists or current debates in (critical) political economy – have for our understanding of the links between biographies, borders, and broader social formations?

Format: As in our past conferences, we aim for an interdisciplinary and multi-methodological dialogue that brings younger and well-established scholars from across Europe and beyond together. Paper proposals on these topics including a transnational and/or comparative perspective are particularly welcome.

Apart from single papers, we invite proposals for thematic sessions. A session proposal should include three to maximum four papers (titles and abstracts) and a brief indication of the session's overarching theme. Please be aware that there is no guarantee that sessions can be integrated in the suggested form into the final programme.

Fees and accommodation: No conference fees will be charged, but conference participants will need to pay their own travel and accommodation. Information on hotels and hostels close to the conference venue will be communicated in due course.

Organizing team

Local Organizing Committee:

- Ursula Apitzsch (Goethe-University Frankfurt)
- Daniel Bertaux (CNRS, Research Center DynamE, "Dynamiques Européennes")
- Catherine Delcroix, (University of Strasbourg, Research Center DynamE, "Dynamiques Européennes")
- Lena Inowlocki (Goethe-University Frankfurt)
- Elise Pape (University of Strasbourg, Research Center DynamE, "Dynamiques Européennes")

RN 35 board members:

- Dilek Cindoglu (Abdullah Gül University)
- Catherine Delcroix (University of Strasbourg)
- Kenneth Horvath (University of Lucerne)
- Elise Pape (University of Strasbourg)
- Maria Xenitidou (University of Surrey)

CONFERENCE REPORT



Biography and Violence

Violent dynamics and agency in collective processes and individual life histories

University of Göttingen, on 9-10 February 2018

Sevil Çakır KILINÇOĞLU and Lucas Cé SANGALLI

University of Göttingen

The conference was organized by a team consisting of Eva Bahl, Isabella Enzler, Hendrik Hinrichsen, Kristina Meier, Miriam Schäfer, Katharina Teutenberg, and Arne Worm. The words of welcome of the organizing team summarized their objective as to contribute to the “plea for a more empirical, micro-sociological and interactional research approach to study dynamics of violence in different societal contexts”. It brought more than 60 scholars from 14 countries and across disciplines together in the convention center by the historical observatory for two days, during which the participants could listen to 3 keynote speakers, 7 parallel sessions, visit an exhibition entitled “Changing Vistas of Europe. Refugees’ Concepts of Europe Before and After Arrival”, and also watch documentary-film *Infância Falada – Histories of Transformation Based on Dialogue* directed by Hermílio Santos.

In her opening words, Gabriele Rosenthal (Göttingen) addressed the lack of sociological studies regarding “armed conflicts, collective violence, war, crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide, colonial rule, and domestic violence”. She argued that the silence over these societal phenomena began in Germany after the WWII and continued until the 1980s, and it had a lot to do with the reluctance to confront the Nazi crimes and Holocaust. What eventually turned sociology into an ahistorical field of study, according to her, was not specific to Germany but endemic to social sciences in general. This is what allowed many social scientists disengage their discipline from that of history; and thereby focus on the present independently from the past, which was weaved with collective violence, slavery, racism, genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. On a more optimistic note, Rosenthal concluded that there is a gradual progress especially since the establishment of sociological biographical research in Germany in the beginning of the 1980s because it is the biographies of people that connect traumatic experiences of the past with the present.

The conference began with the two keynote speakers, Katharina Inhetveen (Siegen) and Hermílio Santos (Brazil). Inhetveen pleaded for a more elaborate understanding of borders in their relevance to the refugees. Drawing on ethnographic and biographical data she collected in refugee camps in Zambia, she stressed the ambivalence of border crossing for refugees – not only as an obstacle to overcome but also as a protection from the violent national actors if crossed successfully. Her talk was followed by Santos' presentation on women as actors of violent actions. Pointing at the contradiction between the recurrent victimization of women in the current sociological literature and the findings of his ethnographic and biographical research with women in Brazilian Favelas, Santos argued that women can be perpetrators of violence more often and in more pragmatic ways than what has been assumed and represented in the sociological discourse.

The conference continued with 7 parallel sessions that are organized thematically. In *Changing Discourses – (Re-)Appraisal of Societal Processes*, first, Vekar Mir (India) presented about a resistance movement against 'enforced disappearances' in Kashmir through the biography of its most prominent figure, Parveena Ahangar. Second, Kawthar El-Qasem (Dusseldorf), argued that targeted communities, such as Palestinians, produce and circulate a specific knowledge, and emphasized the significance of oral transmission. Third, Stefanie Rauch (UK) spoke about the influence of shifting discourses of justice, legality, and legitimacy on meanings of violence and agency for those who were somehow involved in 'Nazi crimes'. Finally, Rasa Balockaite (Kaunas, Lithuania) talked about the narrative of the war time sexual violence, and the ways it is remembered and represented through monuments.

In the session on *Changing Perspectives – (Re-)Interpretations of Violence*, first, Martín Hernán Di Marco (Argentina) discussed the effect of 'dispositifs' (judicial and psychological discourses) in memory and interpretation of the past through a comparison the life stories of two men who had committed homicide. Then, Oksana Danylenko (Ukraine) compared two Ukrainian soldiers returning from the war in Eastern Ukraine and trying to adopt civilian life. Third, Ute Zillig (Frankfurt) talked about transgenerational consequences and dynamics of violent experiences through the examples of mothers experiencing sexual abuse and violence. Finally, Arne Worm (Göttingen) drew attention to the significance of the figurations of Syrian refugees in order to understand 'the dynamics of (forced) migration'.

In the session *Domestic Violence and Police Interventions*, while Susanne Nef (Switzerland), talked about the ways in which people who were subjected to domestic violence interpret their experience; Miriam Schäfer (Göttingen) focused on the interpretations of police officers of the cases of domestic violence. She argued that their interpretations depend mostly on their stereotypical assumptions about the people involved.

In *Everyday Violence and Othering*, first, Vimal Kumar (Mumbai, India) presented his first-hand experiences during an ethnographic study on the everyday violence of caste system in an Indian village. Then, Gertraud Kreamsner (Austria) and Denisa

Butnaru (Konstanz) presented the results of their biographical research with people with disabilities particularly focusing on the ways in which they experience violence in institutional settings. Finally, Eva Bahl (Göttingen) discussed the social and discursive practices of marginalization of Moroccan juveniles in the Moroccan-Spanish Border Zone.

Violence-Borders-Migration began with Arnab Roy Chowdhury's (Russia) presentation on the results of his ethnographic fieldwork with refugee 'boat people' in Bangladesh and Thailand. Lucas Cé Sangalli (Porto Alegre, Brazil) discussed the results of a biographical case reconstruction of a migrant from Haiti that crossed several borders. Efrat Ben-Ze'ev and Nir Gazit (Emek Hefer, Israel) presented an approach of the Egyptian-Israeli border as a contact zone between the global south and the global north as well as a passageway for Asylum seekers. Then, Dolly Abdul Karim and Johannes Becker (Göttingen) presented their first results of reconstructions of (multiple) processes of migration and their relation to multi-layered experiences of violence in Amman, Jordan.

In *Women in Violent Action*, first Michaela Köttig (Frankfurt) presented on the problems of and alternatives for the ways in which female violence has been conventionally studied. Second, Sevil Çakır Kılınçoğlu (The Netherlands) discussed the differences and similarities in the everyday life experiences of Turkish and Iranian women who were involved in revolutionary activism in the 1970s. Later, Johanna Masse (Canada) compared political agency of women in the violent settings of Northern Ireland and Palestine; while Karina Schuh Reif (Brazil) talked about the 'experience of freedom' by women after a period of incarceration.

Genocide-Ethnicized conflicts-Political Persecution began with Artur Bogner's (Bayreuth) discussion of the role of discourses as constitutive parts of various figurations including the one between researcher and subjects, which was based on his narrative interviews with 'laypeople' in Ghana, Togo and Uganda. Then, Daniel Bultmann (Berlin) presented on the ways in which "civil war commanders make their soldiers fight and risk their lives in combat". Third, Sandra Gruner Domić (USA) talked about the personal experiences of violence of survivors of the Guatemalan Genocide.

In the final keynote of the Conference, Teresa Koloma-Beck (Munich) questioned the concept of 'trauma' and its widespread use to describe everything related to the negative influence of armed conflicts on people not only in the mainstream discourses but also in sociology. Based on her fieldwork experience in Mozambique, Angola, and Afghanistan, she made a case for when and why people living in conflict zones are actually traumatized. Both the final and previous presentations have triggered fruitful discussions among the participants and led many to conclude that the Biography and Violence Conference already sowed the seeds for further discussion and prospective studies in the fields of both biographical research and violence.

RESEARCH REPORT

Child Soldiers in Context. Biographies, familial and collective trajectories in northern Uganda

Artur Bogner and Gabriele Rosenthal

Principal investigators: [Prof. Dr. Dieter Neubert](#) (University of Bayreuth); [Prof. Dr. Gabriele Rosenthal](#) (University of Goettingen)

Researcher: [Dr. Artur Bogner](#) (University of Bayreuth)

Research assistants: Josephine Schmiereck, M.A. (University of Goettingen); [Katharina Teutenberg, M.A.](#) (University of Goettingen)

Funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG)

Duration of the project: March 2014 - August 2017

The main focus of this research project, the final results of which have been published (see Bogner/Rosenthal, 2017; Bogner et al., 2017; Bogner et al., in press), was on reconstructing the “reintegration” courses of former rebel soldiers who were underage at the time of their often violent “recruitment” into the chiliastic rebel movement in northern Uganda known as the “Lord’s Resistance Army” (LRA). We set out to investigate their experiences after leaving the rebel group and returning to civilian life, both in public and private contexts, within the local society and in their families. An important first result provided a focus for further field studies: it became clear early on, especially in individual interviews, that the biographical self-presentations and stories told by the ex-rebels were not compatible with the dominant public discourse. International and national commentators often speak, in idealizing terms, of what is described as a deep-rooted and strong local culture of reconciliation and constructive conflict management among the Acholi (referred to as “traditional justice” or “*mato oput*”). This is contradicted by the accounts of former rebel fighters and child soldiers, who speak of discrimination experienced in everyday situations, especially in their families of origin and in the town or village where they live after leaving the rebel group. In order to be able to understand and explain this finding, in addition to conducting biographical-narrative interviews with individuals, we decided to hold group discussions with different groups of people, and to make extensive case studies of ex-rebels and their families (both their families of origin and the families they founded), in which several family members were interviewed and family interviews were conducted. We observed a marked ambivalence in the attitude of family members towards the ex-rebels or former child soldiers, which oscillated between respect and pathologization (often it would be right to say demonization). The weak position of the ex-rebels in their families of origin, and often an emotionally unbridgeable divide, was also observed. Finding a solution

to these difficulties is made difficult not least by the above-mentioned dominant discourse, which plays down these problems. This correlates closely with the apologetic attitude of many Acholi towards their collective history, including their strong sympathy for the LRA leadership which is based on a local discourse of victimhood and, to a large extent, indeed on a shared history of suffering under different regimes.

Publications:

Bogner, Artur / Rosenthal, Gabriele / Teutenberg, Katharina (in press): Prozesse der Annäherung und Distanzierung: ZivilistInnen und Ex-RebellInnen der Lord's Resistance Army. In: Bogner, A. / Rosenthal, G. (eds.): Kindersoldat(inn)en im Kontext. Goettingen: Göttingen University Press.

Bogner, Artur / Rosenthal, Gabriele / Schmiereck, Josephine (2017): Familial and life (hi)stories of former child-soldiers of the LRA in northern Uganda. In: Rosenthal, G. / Bogner, A. (eds.): Biographies in the Global South: Life Stories Embedded in Figurations and Discourses. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 50-102.

Bogner, Artur / Rosenthal, Gabriele (2017): Rebels in northern Uganda after their return to civilian life: between a strong we-image and experiences of isolation and discrimination. In: Canadian Journal of African Studies. Vol. 51 (2): 175-197. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2017.1306451>

Project: “The social construction of border zones: A comparison of two geopolitical cases”

Research reports on our final field trips to Spain, Morocco, Uganda and Ethiopia

Principal investigator: Prof. Dr. Gabriele Rosenthal (Georg-August University Göttingen)

Cooperation partners: Prof. Dr. Efrat Ben-Ze’ev and Dr. Nir Gazit (Ruppin Academic Center, Emek Hefer)

Researchers in Germany: Eva Bahl, M.A., Lucas Cé Sangalli, M.A., Lukas Hofmann, B.A., Arne Worm, M.A.

Funded by: German Research Foundation (DFG)

Duration of the project: 1.3.2014 - 30.11.2018

After four years of intensive field research in the border zones between Morocco and Spain (in the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla) and between Egypt and Israel, the team in Germany undertook two final field trips at the beginning of 2018 in order to collect additional empirical data that would enable us to further elaborate our conclusions. In spring 2018, Eva Bahl and Lucas Cé Sangalli worked in Melilla and Ceuta with the aim of supplementing our findings with regard to changing figurations in the Spanish enclaves between different groupings in the local population (especially Muslims and Christians, or people of Iberian and people of Moroccan origin). Also in spring 2018, Gabriele Rosenthal and Lukas Hofmann traveled to Kampala (Uganda) in order to interview Eritrean refugees there who had been deported from Israel. In September 2017, our colleague Efrat Ben-Ze’ev did a field study of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia with the same aim of extending our research on the migration courses and experiences of Eritreans who had migrated to Israel via the “Sinai route”.

We will begin with a few remarks on the project as a whole, before proceeding to a detailed discussion of these field trips. Our empirical research project is concerned with the social construction of border zones and border activities in the context of their short-term and long-term transformation processes. Based on participant observations, ethnographic interviews, group discussions and (biographical-) narrative interviews, we focused on the experiences of members of different groupings involved in border practices and daily interactions at the border, the genesis of their perspectives, and the figurations formed by the different groupings with their unequal power chances. In the course of our fieldwork between 2014 and 2018, we not only worked on (transit) migrants, but also on the people who live in these border regions, people who regularly cross the borders, members of police units (in Spain the Guardia Civil, i.e. the Spanish paramilitary police who are responsible, among other things, for “border controls”; in Israel soldiers from the Israeli Defense Forces¹), and other authorities or NGOs who are regularly involved with

¹ On the IDF security forces and the Guardia Civil, see Ben-Ze’ev/Gazit 2017, 2018; Bahl/Worm (forthcoming).

illegalized migrants. In our specific research contexts, the power balances between different groupings in respect of the power of definition and control over the national borders, or opportunities to profit from them, were and still are obviously very unequal. Using a combination of perspectives from biographical research and figural sociology, we wanted to find out how these power balances are specifically experienced, enacted (and thereby created) and practiced, through a study of the (changing) figurations between different groupings.

Our reconstructions of the (changing) border practices, the different patterns of action and interpretation, and the power balances between the different groupings in these two geopolitical contexts clearly show that the social reality of and at borders is not (only) constituted by a set of more or less fixed administrative and legal procedures. Rather, the processes of maintaining, enforcing, negotiating or contesting borders on an everyday level is a complex interplay of social interactions and relations between different groupings that fundamentally operates within and through constructions of belonging to “we” and “they” groups. Understanding the social realities in these border zones in the past and present is not possible without taking into account the dynamics of we- and they-images as a way of presenting, interpreting and experiencing one’s own belonging to a certain group (and the belonging of others to different groupings).

In the local population in Melilla and Ceuta, the figurations between people of Iberian origin and people of Moroccan origin are a permanent topic of negotiation. References to (local) history are often used to legitimize one’s own presence in the disputed cities (officially, Morocco wants to re-Moroccanize them) and to underline one’s belonging to a certain we- or they-group. Power balances are shifting slowly because the Muslim population (of Moroccan descent) is becoming the majority (in Ceuta), or has already become the majority (in Melilla). The fear of “Moroccanization” was frequently expressed by our interviewees of Iberian origin who are unsettled by the slow loss of their dominant position in the city society. In this context of shifting power balances, unaccompanied minor migrants from Morocco who live in care institutions or on the streets (while trying to get to the Spanish mainland as stowaways) are constructed by members of different groupings as “the paradigmatic Other” in Ceuta and Melilla (Bahl 2017).

Our study of border guards in both cities shows that they tend to deny their own powerful position in respect of the way they enforce “border security”, use (massive) violence, or carry out illegal immediate deportations (“hot returns”), and that they have highly stereotyped they-images of the people who constitute their “clientele” at the border. They consistently present their own work as a careful balancing of “securitization” and “humanitarian support”. But their concrete everyday practice and interactions with members of other groupings is much more contradictory and ambivalent (Ben-Ze’ev/Gazit 2017, 2018; Bahl/Worm forthcoming). In the case of the Guardia Civil, our reconstruction shows that their presentation of themselves as “humanitarian helpers” at the border is part of a firmly established organizational we-

image and fulfills important biographical functions for the integration of its members in the organization (Bahl/Worm forthcoming).

(Illegalized) migrants who enter the European Union through Ceuta or Melilla usually consider these cities as transit points and are not interested in staying there. In our biographical-narrative interviews, we always asked for the person's whole life story and didn't just focus on the recent border crossing. In this way, we could see that self-presentations and constructions of belonging had (necessarily) changed constantly during the journey. In some cases, we managed to stay in touch with our interviewees, and were able to carry out several follow-up interviews which helped us to extend our long-term perspective on processes of illegalized migration, how they are experienced, and how they are correlated with (changing) constructions of belonging (Rosenthal/Bahl/Worm 2017; Worm 2017²).

At each national or regional border on a migration route, the chances of being able to cross the border differ, depending on one's collective belonging. This gives rise to questions such as who, with which national or other collective belonging, finds it easier to cross the different borders on the migration route, what knowledge is required and is accessible concerning ways of crossing the border "illegally", what economic, social and cultural capital, in the sense proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) – and we might add physical capital – is necessary in order to be able to cross, and which groupings are met on the way with which one is in a favorable or unfavorable power balance. In our reconstruction of the different migration routes, we thus try to show which figurations the migrants have been part of in the past in their country of origin, in the different regions along their migration route, and in the present, after crossing the border to the European Union, or to Israel, or to a sub-Saharan African country (for instance en route from Israel to Rwanda or Uganda).

The migrants we interviewed in Israel formed a fairly homogeneous grouping of women and men who had fled to Israel via Sudan and the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt because they feared indefinite national service in Eritrea; most of them had been living in Israel for several years. By contrast, our interviewees in North Africa formed a heterogeneous grouping of migrants who differed in respect of their collective pasts and their present individual situations, as well as in respect of the situation of their families in their countries of origin. They had decided to flee or migrate for different reasons, which also affected their choice of route. Moreover, we quickly became aware of the conflicts that existed between different groupings of migrants (Rosenthal/Bahl/Worm 2017). These considerable differences in personal situation, migration constellations and experiences during migration, including in the different contexts of origin, as we were able to reconstruct for instance in the case of refugees from Syria, were not the only important finding (Worm 2017). We also found that the migrants' ("strategic") self-positioning and presentation of themselves in terms of their migration, including their present situation in the refugee camp, tended to prevent

² See also our brochure with seven portraits of refugees from Asia and Africa presented at the exhibition "Changing Vistas of Europe" (2017). The portraits reveal seven very different life courses and experiences before, during and after migration, and different concepts of Europe. Available online: <https://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/new+exhibition+brochure+%22changing+vistas+of+europe%22/567344.html>

them from thematizing and attempting to make sense of these (often conflict-charged) differences and divergent biographical realities, which, especially in the case of the Syrian refugees, disappeared behind a generalized “we-image”.

We were able to observe considerable differences between the two regions, not only in respect of the “successful” closing of the borders between Egypt and Israel in 2014 and the (highly selective) permeability of the Spanish-Moroccan border. More importantly, our empirical findings show that the border zones around Melilla and Ceuta, in contrast to the Israeli-Egyptian border zones, are characterized by social intercourse between people on different sides of the border, as has been described in the literature (Driessen 1992; McMurray 2001; Ferrer-Gallardo 2008; Castan Pinos 2009). In this regard, it is clear that the status of the area as a border region, and the processes of change affecting it, which have speeded up in recent years, have very different meanings for the different people living there.

At the **Spanish-Moroccan border**, the close contacts between people on both sides of the border means there is heavy local border traffic. As a result, migrants from Syria, Algeria and other Arab countries regularly succeed in crossing the border because they are perceived by the border guards as Moroccans. In this, they differ substantially from black migrants from south of the Sahara, for whom crossing the border is made impossible by racializing ascriptions. But despite all attempts by Spain and the European Union to seal the border efficiently, it repeatedly happens that large groups of migrants succeed in getting over the high fences, or single individuals manage to cross the border “illegally” using different methods. The refugee groupings, their migration courses, and the way they present their collective belongings, changed considerably over the period in which we conducted our research, due in part to changes in Europe’s asylum policy.

Here it is especially residents on the Moroccan side who try to profit financially from the situation in which illegalized migrants are faced with stricter border controls. The residents of Melilla and Ceuta have remained relatively indifferent to the changing groupings of refugees, but the changing demographic relationship between Christians and Muslims is a constant source of conflict, even if this is often denied. A last field trip in April 2018 (see below) helped us to deepen our understanding of the changing power figurations in the local population of Ceuta and Melilla (Bahl 2017).

At the **Israeli-Egyptian border**, by contrast, it is scarcely possible to cross “illegally”, and the number of migrants who manage to cross the border has dropped dramatically since 2013. (Although the fence along the Egyptian border was only completed in 2014, most of it was already in existence by late 2012, which led to a dramatic decrease in arrivals.) The Israeli government has imposed more measures to “encourage” asylum seekers to leave, first and foremost by defining them as infiltrators. In addition to their incarceration at Holot³ detention center, a new law

³ Holot Detention Center has closed down since 14 March, 2018. In December 2017, one month after the declaration that all Eritreans and Sudanese would be deported, the Israeli government had decided that Holot would be closed (Surkes 2017).

says that roughly 20% of their income must be deposited, and released only upon their departure. The practice of forcing people to sign that they consent to being deported to an allegedly “safe” African country has the result that those who have escaped from Eritrea and Sudan now increasingly choose to cross the Mediterranean in order to get to Europe.

Among those who are still living in Israel, clear changes can be observed in their perspectives on migration routes and on Israel, as well as changes in their daily practices that are intended to increase their chances of staying in Israel. In order to study this phenomenon more closely, we not only conducted more interviews with refugees in Israel, but also interviewed Eritreans who have been deported from Israel to Rwanda or Uganda (Jan. 2015, Jan. 2016 and Feb.-March 2018). In these interviews, we observed that the deported migrants speak about Israel in more negative terms, that they regret having chosen the route they did, that they are seeking information about routes to Europe or Canada, and that they have actually started following these routes (see below). In order to learn more about changing migration routes, and in order to investigate the first leg of Eritrean escape routes, we also conducted fieldwork in northern Ethiopia in September 2017 (see below).

The tensions that evolved in the Israeli-Egyptian border zone, where the State tried to stop irregular migration by deploying more forces and building a fence, led to a further deterioration in relations between two local groupings: Jewish Israelis and Bedouin Israelis. This process is connected to a renewed focus on the Bedouins' age-old “smuggling” activities; as the border heated up, there were more crackdowns on the smugglers, often of a violent nature.

Research Report on the field trip to the Moroccan-Spanish border zone around Ceuta and Melilla (North Africa)

Eva Bahl and Lucas Cé Sangalli

Between March 23rd and April 24th, 2018, we went on our fifth and last field trip⁴ for this research project. We visited the cities of Málaga (Spain), Ceuta (Spain), Fnideq (Morocco), Tanger (Morocco), Fès (Morocco), Nador (Morocco), and Melilla (Spain).

The main focus was to meet people Eva Bahl had interviewed or accompanied during former field trips to Ceuta and Melilla and to gain more empirical proof for our findings regarding the way different groupings live together, namely people with Moroccan or Spanish citizenship (and the latter of either Moroccan or Iberian origin), their constructions of belonging, and the figurations of different groupings in the border zone.

Málaga. We started in Málaga (Spain) where we had a glimpse of local collective practices during Holy Week (*Semana Santa*), an important celebration for the Christian part of the Spanish population. Daily life is very much affected by this holiday week: families come together and participate in the processions; most public institutions are closed, and many people are on holiday. In this region, it is also the starting point for the tourist season.

From Málaga, we went to Algeciras (Spain) and crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to reach Ceuta, a Spanish enclave in North Africa. We spent one week in Ceuta, then went on to spend one week in each of the Moroccan cities Tanger and Fès, before proceeding to the last stop of our trip, Melilla, where we spent around two weeks. Here we will present some impressions from each place we visited.

Ceuta. During the week we spent in Ceuta, the city was filled with tourists – as in Málaga – mainly due to the Holy Week celebrations. This Catholic celebration pays homage to the Passion of Jesus Christ (the final days of his life) and is organized by different religious brotherhoods (*Cofradías*) that took to the streets of the city of Ceuta alongside groups of soldiers from the Spanish Legion (*Legión Española*) and the Regulars (*Regulares*), two units that were created in the colonial context to defend Spanish interests in North Africa. The Spanish Legion was formed in 1920 as an elite unit of the Spanish Army, and the Regulars were created in 1911 as an indigenous unit (following protests against Spanish soldiers being sent to fight in the protectorate). The military presence is strongly felt in both cities to this day. Thus, the celebration of Holy Week in Ceuta has many characteristics of a conservative

⁴ Our other field work trips were in April/May 2014, September-November 2014, October/November 2015, and March 2017. The first empirical observations at the border between Morocco and Melilla were presented by Eva Bahl, Gabriele Rosenthal, and Arne Worm in the Newsletter of the Research Committee in June 2014.

celebration that brings together religious, military, and civil interests, and creates a joint “we-image” of the more established⁵, Spanish part of the city's population.

Regarding the construction of belonging and the collective memory, the Holy Week period gave us very interesting insights. Thus, during this period, we observed many established Spanish families on the streets of the city. The festivities usually took place in the late hours of the day and only a few Muslim Spanish citizens were seen on the streets during the celebrations. We argue that this strong presentation of “We Christians” in the public space needs to be seen and analyzed in the context of changing power figurations and contested power balances between people of Iberian and Moroccan (Arab or Imazighen) origin in the enclaves.

Security seemed to be a high priority at the event; the anti-terrorism warning was set at level 4 (out of 5), and we saw heavily armed police on the streets during the days of Holy Week. Although it was not explicitly expressed, a Christian event (with military participation) in a city in North Africa that is officially being claimed by the Moroccan government as part of Morocco and has been considered a “hotbed of radicalization” (Kenney 2011) is very sensitive from a security point of view. During this period, cross-border trade was suspended. Because of this very exceptional situation, the border seemed to be very calm and orderly. We were assured by local residents that the border would be crowded and chaotic again immediately after the end of Holy Week.



Soldiers of the Spanish Legion in a Holy Week procession in Ceuta

⁵ Here, we refer to Norbert Elias' theory of changing power balances that he presented as introduction to the book “The Established and the Outsiders” (Elias/Scotson 1994).

While in Ceuta, we had the opportunity to visit the neighborhood of *El Príncipe* (*Barrio del Príncipe Alfonso*) with one of our former interviewees who was born in that area. The Spanish newspaper *El País* once described *El Príncipe* as “the most dangerous neighborhood of Spain”⁶. The population of the neighborhood nowadays consists mainly of Muslim Spaniards (of Moroccan origin).⁷ The city’s policy during the 1980s was to help the Christian population to move out of the (formerly multi-cultural) neighborhood and into public housing projects, while the Muslim population stayed in the (increasingly neglected) neighborhood. Thereby, *El Príncipe*, which traditionally was inhabited by working class people, became increasingly stigmatized and marginalized as a “Muslim neighborhood”.

This process was described to us by our interviewee’s family whom we had the opportunity to visit in their home in the *Príncipe* neighborhood – a Spanish Muslim family that has lived in the city for several generations. Their overall impression is that the neighborhood is not as dangerous as it used to be, even though one of the older interviewees thinks that the people who live in the neighborhood look sadder than before. She says that “a lot of blood” had been shed because of drug-related crime and the radicalization that had led many young men to go and fight with the terrorist organization “Islamic State” in Syria in the past decade.

Furthermore, they talk about their situation “falling between two stools”: They say that they are treated differently by both Moroccans and (Christian) Spaniards. Moroccan Muslims consider them as “renegades” and envy them for their Spanish citizenship, while Spanish Christians consider them “less” Spanish and discriminate against them for being Muslim.

The overall impression we had was that the city authorities – both in Ceuta and Melilla – are reluctant to acknowledge the economic dependency of the two cities on the Moroccan economy. On weekdays many people cross the border to buy goods (that easily can be shipped to Ceuta’s and Melilla’s freeports) on the Spanish side. Goods are bought for personal use and for resale in Morocco. The whole economic activity of Ceuta and Melilla is strongly related to trade with Morocco. But this is not reflected in the treatment of the Moroccan clients and the situation of the border infrastructure. This can be seen, for example, in the very precarious conditions in which Moroccan porters (most of them elderly women) have to cross the border. These women and men face a very precarious daily crossing of the border to earn between 5 and 10 euros a day. They usually cross the border with packages weighing more than 80 kg on their backs. This crossing takes hours as we observed in the city of Melilla.

⁶ Bárbulo, Tomás (2003) El barrio más peligroso de España. EL PAÍS, 28. April http://elpais.com/diario/2003/04/28/ultima/1051480801_850215.html [01.06.2018]

⁷ The neighborhood has been widely discussed in Spanish and international media. See, for example: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/6/28/in-tough-el-principe-joblessness-leaves-youth-vulnerable-to-radicalization.html>

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/10/muslims-spain-151004085759468.html>

https://elpais.com/diario/2003/04/28/ultima/1051480801_850215.html

https://elpais.com/elpais/2014/10/23/eps/1414089026_035725.html

Tanger. After Ceuta, we went to Tanger (Morocco), where we got in touch with several members of the Senegalese community. Senegalese migrants benefit from diplomatic treaties between the governments of Morocco and Senegal and are allowed to enter the country without visas. Many of them work as street vendors or run small restaurants. For many it seems to be just a transit point (where a stay can extend over a period of several years) on their way to Europe, while others travel back and forth between Senegal and Morocco and profit from the tourist season in Moroccan cities.

Fès. After Tanger, we went to Fès, where we observed the results of the repression that *Black*⁸ migrants experience in Morocco (and which has intensified since the beginning of our project in 2014 (Bahl 2015a,b)). We visited the settlement known as “La Gare de Fès”⁹ (Fès Train Station). Here, several thousand migrants from West Africa and central Africa live in very precarious conditions in huts made of plastic and corrugated metal. Most of them had been living in similar camps in the border regions near Ceuta and Melilla, trying to get over the fences to enter the European Union. The men we talked to (from Mali and Cameroon) told us that they had come to Fès to “recover” because the repression by Moroccan security personnel was so brutal in the direct proximity of the border, where they had lived for a long time. They are still waiting for a chance to get cross the border fences at Ceuta or Melilla.

Morocco receives money and cooperates in many ways with the European Union to prevent illegalized migration from their territory to Ceuta and Melilla and Andalucía (see Carrera et al. 2016).

Melilla. Our last and longest stay was in Melilla (Spain). In Melilla, we observed the trans-border commerce that had restarted with full intensity after the Holy Week break. Some things have changed during our research process (since 2014): now there is a bus service that takes the porters from the Beni Enzar border point (international border) to the *Barrio Chino* border point (only for local inhabitants and mainly for porters) in order to “organize” the crossing of the border. Porters have to wait in long queues, often for hours in the midday sun. The Spanish authorities hire Moroccan assistants to help them control these groups. The official justification is the difficulty of communicating with the porters in their own language (Tamazight or – in the case of people from other parts of Morocco – Arabic). More than once, we saw Spanish officers from the National Police or the Civil Guard (Guardia Civil) using their police batons to menace and “control” this population. One of the elderly ladies stumbled and fell to the ground in the middle of the road because of the heavy weight she was carrying, something that did not seem to be unusual for the people working at the border.

⁸ We write the word in italics to underline the social constructedness of the category blackness and to recognize that it has also become a political self-denomination.

⁹ <http://www.rfi.fr/hebdo/20160520-maroc-melilla-camp-migrants-africains-fes-gare>



Porters at the Barrio Chino border crossing in Melilla

Our overall impression is that the use of violence and threats seems to be widespread in enforcing control of the porters, who are highly dependent on their ability to cross the border. For many families, this precarious work is the only source of income.

Also, the use of violence against migrants who want to cross the border remains an issue.¹⁰ Since the beginning of the project in 2014, it has been striking to us that the border controls are strictly racialized (Rosenthal/Bahl/Worm 2017).¹¹ In general, the populations most affected by the border violence (exercised by police and military forces on both sides of the border) come from regions in West Africa and Central Africa and are *Black*. While migrants from Syria or Algeria can make themselves pass as Moroccans and have other advantages, such as a knowledge of Arabic, *Black* people suffer from racism by security forces and the local population (see Norman 2013). And they do not have the opportunity to even come close to the border crossing – let alone to approach the asylum offices that were opened in Ceuta and Melilla in 2014, but never really useable for illegalized migrants.¹² The only alternative that remains for them is to cross the 6-metres-high border fence, to use boats, or to hide in trucks and cars. All of these options involve danger to their lives, and physical

¹⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/may/10/melilla-refugees-spain-africa-gateway-europe>

¹¹ <http://www.dw.com/en/melilla-no-asylum-for-black-men/a-41404179>

¹² <https://elfarodeceuta.es/la-oficina-de-asilo-del-tarajal-no-ha-recibido-solicitudes-desde-su-creacion/>

violence by border security personnel (police and military forces on both sides of the border) is common (Amnesty 2015b).

Those migrants who are successful in crossing the border are sent to the Center for Temporary Stay of Immigrants (*Centro de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes*) in Melilla. Once again, we visited the Center to find it had been expanded to accommodate more migrants (up to 1,000 but it is still overcrowded). According to press reports, migrants from Syria, Algeria, Guinea-Conakry and Morocco are the biggest groupings in the Center nowadays¹³.

The (transit) migrants in and around the CETI find themselves in very precarious and heteronomous situations. Because of their unequal treatment in administrative and asylum law practice, their future perspectives are very different. It was a result of our research that this contributes to tensions among the different migrant groupings and (partly) explains a lot of stigmatization¹⁴. The frustration and hopelessness of young men from Morocco and Algeria (whose chances of being accepted in the asylum procedure are very limited) are channeled into racism and blame-gossip against *Black* migrants, and against Moroccans who apply for asylum because of their sexual orientation or self-definition.

We can give an example of the homogenizing bullying we observed towards *Black* African migrants. One young Moroccan man shouted at two *Black* migrants walking by: "Mama Africa! Didier Drogba¹⁵". The two men tried to ignore the bully and obviously felt uncomfortable with the situation.

Another example of stigmatization and power inequalities between different groupings inside the CETI was the interaction between a group of young cis-men¹⁶ and a group of transgender women – labelled as "homosexuals" by the cis-men. When the transgender women walked by, the cis-men shouted sexualized comments in their direction and whistled. After they had passed, they cursed them (one, who had been deported from Germany, used the German word for "Asshole") and explained to us that "they were not real homosexuals". These cis-men argued that the transgender persons just used this as an argument for their asylum application. When we asked them how they knew that "they were not homosexuals", they told us that it was "visible".

These strong stigmatizations can also be observed in other reception countries. They are interdependent with the (possible) advantages of people who ask for asylum because of their sexual orientation or gender self-definition. This phenomenon and, in general, the performance and construction of masculinity in the very heterogeneous and multi-lingual communities of refugees (who are often forced to live together in

¹³ <https://www.elindependiente.com/politica/2018/03/07/ceti-melilla-abarrotado-por-llegada-inmigrantes/>

¹⁴ In the case of Syrian refugees, it is mainly the stigmatization of one Syrian grouping as "Nawar" by other Syrians (see Worm 2017).

¹⁵ Didier Drogba is a professional football player from Ivory Coast who played for many years in the London club Chelsea.

¹⁶ Cisgender (often simply abbreviated to cis) is a term for people whose gender self-definition matches the sex that they were assigned at birth. It is the opposite of the term transgender.

very limited spaces) should be an object of further empirical study. We are planning to address these issues in our further research.

Resumé. After 4 years doing research in the regions of Ceuta and Melilla, the main issues for the study of these borders can be identified as:

- the interaction between members of different groupings,
- the changing groupings of migrants who live there for a (relatively) short period of time, or who remain there (usually, of necessity, because of the lack of alternatives) for a long time,
- the changing figurations in the local population, and
- the changing methods of border "security".

No simple explanation can adequately address the complexity of the ongoing social construction of the border (that is negotiated interactively and is changing permanently) and of the dynamics between groupings in these regions. It could be seen over the years that relations and figurations between different groupings change constantly, whether between Muslims and Christians, Spaniards and Moroccans or between the different migrant and refugee groupings. As border "security" becomes more repressive and the situation of the migrants becomes more precarious, their group relations become more conflict-laden.

Report on the field trip to Uganda (Kampala) and our interviews with Eritreans

Gabriele Rosenthal and Lukas Hofmann

In spring 2015 and spring 2016, in the context of a research project on former child soldiers in northern Uganda (Bogner/Rosenthal 2017; and in this newsletter), Gabriele Rosenthal had an opportunity to interview four Eritreans in Uganda who had been 'voluntarily deported' from Israel to Rwanda, were then forced to leave Rwanda, and had become stranded in Uganda. A few months after the interview, three of them succeeded in reaching Europe via Libya and the Mediterranean Sea. Here, we will discuss in detail the case of the high-ranking Eritrean officer (formerly a member of the Eritrean secret service) who is still stranded in Kampala to this day.

These interviews turned out to be extremely useful for understanding and explaining the interviews conducted in Israel, not least because the interviewees had changed their mind with regard to their first choice of migration route. Consequently, G. Rosenthal and Lukas Hofmann traveled to Kampala (Uganda) to carry out further interviews in spring 2018. This field trip thus took place against the backdrop of developments in Israel at the end of 2017 that made life increasingly precarious for African migrants (especially those from Sudan and Eritrea), developments which reached a dramatic climax in spring 2018. In November 2017 the Israeli government had decided that all single men out of a current total of around 40,000 Sudanese and Eritreans in the country should be forcefully deported to an allegedly "safe" African country by March 2018, and this decision was now being increasingly enforced. Such deportations have been taking place since 2013, and have involved 4,000 Eritrean and Sudanese refugees to date (Weiss 2018).

The Eritreans and Sudanese in Israel were pressurized into signing declarations saying they would leave "voluntarily" and in return they were promised 3500 dollars and an air ticket (Muhumuza 2018). In November 2017 the Israeli government and authorities issued a clear ultimatum: if the migrants did not agree to be flown out by March 2018, they would go to jail¹⁷. Those who were flown out knew which country they had arrived in only after the plane had landed. In most cases it was Kigali (Rwanda) or Entebbe (Uganda); we also heard of deportations to Khartoum (Republic of Sudan). To this day, both Uganda and Rwanda deny having signed an agreement to this effect with Israel. In Rwanda, the migrants are given tourist visas for a very short period (about three weeks), and are very quickly informed by smugglers about "illegal" ways to reach Uganda, which will cost them several thousand dollars. The money they are given in Israel is soon gone.

¹⁷ Instead of extending the visas of Eritreans and Sudanese, the authorities issued deportation notes (Alon 2018).

In spring 2018, unlike in previous years, access to the field in Kampala was difficult due to the migrants' great fear of Israeli, Ugandan, and Eritrean secret service agents, as well as a negative attitude towards 'white' journalists. We were repeatedly told that they felt exploited by people from NGOs and by journalists who constantly came asking Eritreans and Sudanese in Israel and in Kampala to talk about their plight: they all wanted to use the migrants for their own purposes and had no intention of helping them. We had to admit that we could not help them either, except by giving them a small amount for granting us an interview (and paying for a meal in the restaurant¹⁸ which they had chosen as the setting for the interview). During the three weeks we spent in Kampala, besides a number of ethnographic interviews and group interviews, and participant observation in cafés and bars that were frequented by Eritreans, we succeeded in conducting and recording only three biographical interviews with Eritreans who had been deported from Israel. The fear of talking and of the interview being recorded is materially connected with asylum practices and the secret service in Uganda. The fact that the Ugandan government officially denies having agreed with Israel to accept the deportees forces the latter to keep quiet about their time in Israel and their deportation. Furthermore, people told us that Eritrean passengers arriving by air from Israel had all papers which would prove they had lived in Israel taken away from them immediately after arrival. Anyone wanting to apply for asylum is expected by the authorities to say that they traveled to Uganda via Sudan. This means that the "deportees" are required to invent a new life history, and to deny the time (often over six years) they spent in Israel, their experiences in Sinai which often involved torture and were extremely traumatizing (Mitchell 2014), their acquisition of Hebrew, their experiences with different kinds of paid work, the friends they have left behind in Israel, and in some cases their wives and children who were born in Israel. To this day the Ugandan government denies being party to any agreement to take in Eritrean refugees from Israel.

In order to gain a better understanding of the extremely precarious situation of this grouping in Uganda, we conducted – contrary to our plan – not only several ethnographic interviews and three group discussions, but also interviews with Eritreans (one woman and one man) who had traveled via Sudan and Ethiopia to Uganda. In contrast to those Eritreans who have been forced to leave Israel, they have better access to documents which allow them to establish themselves in Uganda. This "legality" is possible because in Kenya, the Republic of Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda – but not Ethiopia – the necessary papers can be obtained from the Eritrean embassy. Moreover, after arriving in another country, all Eritreans must go to the embassy and pay a certain amount for their departure (otherwise relatives in Eritrea will be arrested and detained). They – like all Eritreans in the Diaspora – are also required to pay a tax amounting to 2% of their income, the so-called "Recovery

¹⁸ We usually stayed for at least an hour after the interview, which was usually ended rather abruptly by the interviewee, because they were either too tired or too hungry to continue. This gave us a chance to engage in small talk and thus bring them back into the here and now, instead of remaining sunk in painful memories of the past. We were also able to talk about their hopes and possible options for the future.

Tax".¹⁹ The important difference is that refugee status in Uganda is granted only to those deportees from Israel whose life history fits the Ugandan discourse, meaning they must have come to Uganda via Sudan (Lidman 2018).

We will now present the cases of two Eritreans who were deported from Israel, and a group discussion between Eritreans living in Kampala with different statuses.

1. Abraham Girmay

In 2015/2016 in Kampala, Gabriele Rosenthal interviewed four Eritreans who had been deported from Israel (besides Eritreans who had migrated legally from Eritrea to Uganda). Among them was a man (we will call him Abraham Girmay) whose history, position in the Eritrean community, and present situation made him stand out from all our other interviewees, whether in Israel or Uganda. In contrast to most of the Eritreans we interviewed, he had not fled from conditions in the Eritrean army, but was a high-ranking officer who identified himself with the president and the government system, and had for some time been an active member of the secret service. Even after his migration, he was well networked with Eritreans established in Uganda and enjoyed their support. As we learned after five interviews with him²⁰, he had been condemned to death because he and other officers had requested a pay rise during a discussion with the Eritrean president, Isayas Afewerki. Unlike other Eritreans, he cannot leave Uganda, because this would be too dangerous for him since he is known as a secret service officer, especially in South Sudan.

Abraham's reasons for leaving Eritrea are thus very different from those given in the other interviews we conducted with Eritrean men and women. They mentioned conscription for compulsory national service between the ages of 18 and 47, in some cases even up to 59²¹ (Bartolucci 2017), or the extremely difficult and dangerous conditions of life in the army and during its various operations. Contrasting the cases of Eritreans who escaped from national service with the case of a man who was a high-ranking officer, whose self-image was characterized by 'military pride' and the knowledge of having been a successful 'freedom fighter' for many years,²² and who identified himself with the government and the social system of Eritrea, enables us to show to what extent a person's political positioning before leaving Eritrea constitutes their present self-thematization. In particular, his case reveals the extent to which the

¹⁹ For further information see the Human Rights Concern Eritrea, available at <http://hrc-eritrea.org/eritrean-government-demands-ransoms-from-refugees-for-detained-family-members>.

²⁰ His high position in the army and his political persecution – not due to desertion from the army – began to become clear after the first two interviews in which he did not reveal much about himself. This led to the decision to conduct more interviews with him at intervals of several months up to a year. Two of the later interviews were conducted by G. Rosenthal's field assistant, "Tom", whose real name we cannot give for reasons of data protection. All interviews were conducted in Tigrinya and translated by Tom.

²¹ National service was introduced in 1995. All men and women between the age of 18 and 50 had to complete 18 months of service. In 2002 the period of service was extended to "indefinite" (Amnesty 2015a).

²² He begins the interview by stating his name (as recorded in his Israeli documents), followed by: "I fought for the liberation of Eritrea for twenty-five years". To borrow the terms of Erving Goffman, this sounds like an "identity peg" and this reading is confirmed in the subsequent course of the interview.

prestige a person had in Eritrea still affects the way other Eritreans treat them today. Moreover, the interviews with Abraham Girmay tell us something about the effective 'operating range' of the Eritrean secret service which extends beyond the national borders, and how this influences the way migrants speak about their own life. For instance, Abraham Girmay was at first reluctant to tell us the name of the prison where he was held, because this would show that he was a high-ranking political prisoner. In the first three interviews he also avoided saying that it was President Afewerki personally who ordered him to be detained, together with the other officers present at the meeting, because they had requested a pay increase. Abraham Girmay succeeded in escaping with the aid of the prison director.

The case of Abraham Girmay also allows us to make assumptions with regard to figurations within the grouping of Eritrean migrants in Uganda and in Israel. Abraham Girmay comes from an established social and political position, and, as we were able to observe during the time we spent with him and other Eritreans in Uganda, he can rely on being treated with respect within the grouping of Eritrean migrants, and on receiving help from them even in Uganda (for example in the form of a free hotel room)²³. He can rely on this even though the other migrants are deserters from the Eritrean army, the organization of which he is proud, and in former times he probably approved, or even ordered, the incarceration of deserters in Eritrea. Abraham Girmay is still in touch with members of the political elite in Eritrea, and knows how to use secret service interrogation methods (as shown in his interaction with Tom, our Eritrean field assistant).

The case of Abraham Girmay thus allows us insights into the powerful effect of two components, a career in the secret service and the army, and status in Eritrea, on a person's established position within the grouping of Eritreans, which maintains even after migration.

2. Robel

Following an ethnographic interview²⁴ with both of us, in which Robel (born around 1980) described his tireless struggle in Kampala to be given a chance to prove in court that he had been deported from Israel, he was interviewed by L. Hofmann on two further occasions in February 2018, and was asked to narrate his whole life story. Robel deserted national service in Eritrea in 2005 and was condemned to spend

²³ G. Rosenthal met Abraham together with other Eritreans on various occasions when she was invited to take part in an Eritrean coffee ritual, and through participant observation she was able to confirm the assumption based on the interviews.

²⁴ In 2018, in contrast to 2015/2016, at least one preliminary meeting, first talks and repeated requests were necessary in all cases before the Eritreans agreed to take part in life-history interviews. They needed to meet us face-to-face before they could decide how far we could be trusted.

many years in prison. He managed to escape from the prison and reached Khartoum, in the Republic of Sudan. There he met a woman who had also run away from national service in Eritrea. She later became his wife. In Sudan, they heard about the possibility of migrating to Israel. When Robel's wife became pregnant, they decided to travel to Israel via the Sinai Peninsula in order to ensure a better future for their child. Robel's wife left in the fifth month of pregnancy in 2007 and Robel followed some month later. His wife arrived in Israel at the end of 2007 and Robel in 2008²⁵. The baby was born there, followed by a second child two years later. At the end of 2015, Robel decided to agree – at least that is how he puts it – to leave the country, because he hoped that in another country he would find a legal way to migrate to America for himself and his wife and children, who stayed behind in Israel. He refers to the situation when he decided to leave Israel in the following terms:

"... now also me with two kids when I go there what can I do, so better you go somewhere and you arrange a place, you call us this is better than I mean if to go with two kids, so: we agree (...) when I come here I got be legal and then //mhm// this is what I was send here I come but when I come here things becomes broken".

Before he made the decision to leave his family in Israel, they made several failed attempts to migrate from Israel to the US or Canada. He decided to take the "chance" and got deported to an unknown African country in the hope of laying legal foundations for his family there. Taking about his experiences in Israel in the interview, he shows annoyance at the conditions in which Eritreans live in Israel in terms of legal acceptance and racism. Underlining his critique, he speaks harshly about the Jews and Israel as a state, and uses clear anti-Semitic stereotypes.

In Uganda "things becomes broken", he says. He sees two possibilities: he can either apply for asylum, and accept the need to rewrite his life history by claiming that he came from Sudan and not from Israel (which was recommended to him by a Ugandan official), or open a legal case in court and apply for asylum as an Eritrean deported from Israel. He says he knew that Eritreans and Sudanese had to submit their papers to the authorities when they entered Uganda at the airport. But he had already photographed his documents and sent them by WhatsApp to his wife and friends in Israel; and by a lucky chance he was able to keep his Israeli ID. He can thus take his case to court because, unlike the other Eritreans and Sudanese who were deported with him, he succeeded in securing his documents from Israel. With these documents, he can open a legal case, a course of action he is currently pursuing.

²⁵ Here we can see how those who arrived later in Israel faced life-threatening situations on their route. Robel told us that he realized that Eritreans and Sudanese who came after 2009 to Israel were "different", because they went through kidnapping, torture and rape.

Immediately after their arrival at the airport in Uganda, he and the six other deportees were told that they must not say anything about their deportation from Israel. Several of his friends, like many others in this situation, therefore see Uganda only as a transit point before continuing their migration. Many of them, like the Eritreans interviewed in Kampala by G. Rosenthal in 2015/2016, set out on the extremely dangerous route through South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan to Libya, and attempt to cross the Mediterranean to Europe. They do so even though the Eritrean community is aware of the risks, especially from the Islamic State (IS), a jihadi militia. It is known, and was posted by IS on Facebook, for instance, that several Eritreans were publicly executed by IS in Libya (Lidman 2018; Muhumuza 2018). Robel himself wants to avoid this dangerous route:

"... they see this country is not comfort they pass across Sudan again through Libya, they go Europe a lot of peoples also die, ah peoples I know like, three four, guys what I know coming from there, they are dying in the desert, I don't want to get in this kind of risk, because I know the risk (...) I have kids now at that time okay I am free at now I have kids (for me) to meet them, how can I try to go to through Libya it is dangerous for me, I don't need it also, to stay here also, on the same side, on the other side it is dangerous too, because I am not legal, just I can leave okay, I can walk, I can go freely but I can't work I can't survive my life here".

Therefore, he is currently fighting with immigration officials over documents confirming that he was deported from Israel, which will enable him to apply for political asylum.

A group discussion between Eritreans who followed different migration routes to Kampala

At the end of our stay, we invited Robel and three other Eritreans with whom we had also conducted biographical interviews to a group discussion in the garden of our hotel, and to a farewell dinner with us in the hotel afterwards. Two of the participants were our field assistant, Tom, and his friend, whom we will call Fred. Tom and Fred have been friends since their childhood and both come from very respected families in Eritrea. Tom was exempted from national service on health grounds and is living legally in Uganda. Fred went to Ethiopia to avoid being conscripted for national service, and studied at a Christian university there. After obtaining his first degree, he traveled to Kampala legally with the hope of being able to continue his route to a country in the West where he could pursue a master's degree. In Ethiopia, Fred was, and still is, in an established position; he therefore has the option to continue his studies there, and after his bachelor degree he had been offered a job at the

university. This is connected with the fact that he is related to a member of the so-called "Group of 15", a group of high-ranking officers who had struggled for a democratic opening of Eritrea after the war with Ethiopia in 2001. They had been arrested and the regime in Eritrea became increasingly repressive (Scheen 2015). The third participant in the group discussion was Ella who had to leave her country due to the political persecution of her husband (who had migrated to Germany), and who had traveled to Uganda through South Sudan. Her family had forbidden her to take the risk of crossing the Mediterranean Sea, as she told us in an individual interview. She has been stuck in Uganda for several years now and is hoping that her husband will be able to arrange for her to come to Germany. Even after conducting a biographical interview with her, we are unable to explain her apparently hopeless situation. The fourth participant was Robel, the only one of the four who had lived in Israel.

One particular finding from this group discussion helped us to understand why the Eritreans were willing to meet us for a cup of coffee, but not for an interview. On the one hand, they want to talk about their situation, which can be described as "stranded in Kampala with no secure future perspective", and they enjoy spending a pleasant time with us "Westerners". On the other hand, they cannot trust us, they cannot trust anybody, but they also need help to get out of their "stranded" situation. And so every meeting oscillates between feelings of trust and fear, and between great caution in speaking and the need to talk about their painful experiences and asking for support. All the participants in the group discussion confirmed very explicitly – in answer to a question by G. Rosenthal – that they didn't trust each other. Fred goes as far as to say that he doesn't even trust his friend Tom. Robel confirms this and says, with the clear non-verbal agreement of all the other participants, that one cannot even trust members of one's own family: not only is the Eritrean secret service extremely active all over the world, but no one knows who might be working for it, and this distrust was instilled deeply within them when they were still in Eritrea. They learned that nobody can be trusted. It is something they cannot give up, regardless of what country they are in, for they know that if they argue or organize anything critical in public about Eritrea, their relatives at home will suffer for it. Nevertheless, as Robel says, in Uganda – in a symbolic sense – they can breathe more freely and he would not want to spend another day in Eritrea.

At this point it is important to remember that contact with the Eritrean authorities, and in particular repeated visits to the Eritrean embassy in Kampala, are practically unavoidable for the Eritreans. It is the embassy that issues and renews the passports they need in order to apply for asylum in other countries. Thus, they are still dependent on the Eritrean authorities, and accompanied constantly by the fear not only that their relatives may be persecuted by the secret service in Eritrea, but even that they may be working for it themselves.

Preliminary Summary of Fieldwork in Northern Ethiopia, 8-22 September 2017**Efrat Ben-Ze'ev**

The goal of my visit to the north of Ethiopia was to meet refugees from Eritrea who have crossed this single border. I had wanted to focus on this first leg of the journey, and specifically, on the agency available to those escaping. My interviews clarified that most of the stories on escape were rather sparse on details. This crossing, from the south of Eritrea to the north of Ethiopia, entails a few hours of walking. Most people undertook the short journey through the mountains at night time, often under bad weather conditions, which they had hoped would protect them. While the initial focus on the single crossing expanded my understanding of the hospitable acceptance by the Ethiopian army, the operations of the Dabaguna reception center, and the distribution of those arriving to the camps, many other topics also surfaced during the interviews.

Prior to departure, I had tried to arrange a plan for interviews, with little success. The one important contact that I had was with a young man, in his late twenties, whom I shall call Amanuel. He was recommended by his university professor, whose article about the refugee camps in Ethiopia I had read, and whom I had contacted via email. Amanuel was completing his first degree at the University of Axum, and was himself a refugee from Eritrea. We met on the first day of my arrival and made some general plans for the days to follow. I then travelled to Gondar for meetings at the university. The land trip from Axum to Gondar and back, which crossed from the Tigray region to the Amhara Region of Ethiopia, was important since I could witness some of the refugee camps on the way – Adi Harush and Mai Aini (I had no official permit to enter them). Moreover, as I travelled by public transportation, I witnessed the application of the refugees' permit regime. On my way back from Gondar, I stopped at Mai Tsabri, located near Mai Aini, for an interview with a staff member working with one of the foreign NGOs.

During my trip, I conducted interviews with seven men. A key informant was Amanuel, who offered overviews on different topics such as history and politics, as well as a narrative of his own life story. He also drew some pictures for me, demonstrating through them how prisoners are transferred within Eritrea and showing torture methods used at Eritrean prisons. An exceptional interview was conducted with an Ethiopian psychologist who worked in the refugee camps. He described how the camps are organized and the division of responsibilities between different NGOs. He also dwelled on the worldview of his own NGO and its approach to treating trauma and victims of torture. The methods were developed in the USA, and

“exported” worldwide. There are, of course, some questions regarding cross cultural differences, which he was well aware of. The other five interviews were with young men who resided in Hitsats, a refugee camp located near the border with Eritrea.

The latter interviews were conducted in Axum, at my hotel lobby. The language of conversation was either English (some interviewees spoke good English) or Tigrinya, translated into English by my research assistant, with some use of Arabic. Since all these interviewees arrived from Afar to meet me, I gave each 400 Ethiopian birrs (ca. 16 US dollars), to cover travel costs and loss of time. I also brought along some clothes, soaps and children’s games, which I had given to them to distribute in the camp.

Before I move on to some of the themes that come up from the interviews, let me describe some of my general impressions. The refugees I met did not feel safe in Ethiopia. It seemed that when walking on the street, some of them tried to pass as invisible, avoiding eye contact, and not too enthusiastic to walk with me alongside them. They testified that they had fear due to their precarious position. They were also a little suspicious towards me. I had given them the option not to disclose their real names to me; some did and some did not. One of them, Meron, asked me to contact his brother who resides in Israel and is married to a Jewish woman of Ethiopian Tigray origin. (I did, and the brother’s wife called me some weeks later asking for legal assistance. The Tel Aviv Refugee Rights Law Clinic is now handling their matter). Despite the suspicion, all interviewees were willing to be recorded, as Amanuel had prepared them in advance. Amanuel was committed all along and ended one of our talks by making the following declaration: “Thank you for caring about the Eritrean story.” He is currently resettled in Canada and we keep in touch.

During my trip from Axum to Gonder, I heard a little about the internal tensions in Ethiopia between Amhara and Tigray. The Amhara people accused the Tigrays of maintaining their arms since the time of the border wars with Eritrea, and preserving political prominence. This is a sensitive topic and people were careful when they explained their opinions. I could also witness the tension when crossing with Tigrinya speaking people into the Amhara province. I also met a man who told me about a new political vision – to erase the border between Ethiopia and Eritrea again in order to create a joint Tigray entity. And so ethnic tensions pertaining to these areas of Ethiopia are evident, in addition to the unrest in the Oromo region.

Let me now outline in rough strokes some of the issues that emanated from the interviews. First was the level of persecution endured by youngsters in Eritrea. Interviewees described the difficult conditions when being on the National Service,

often verging on slavery, and its indefinite length. Abiel summarized the situation by noting that: "We can say that living in Eritrea is forbidden. We are not allowed to live." He noted that he left behind his entire family and keeps in touch through a relative in Sudan. He recently learnt that two of his brothers are imprisoned because they dared to leave their army posts to visit their home.

Tedros, an exceptionally eloquent interviewee, completed a first degree at a technical college in Eritrea, and landed a highly respectable job at one of the Ministries. He noted that even so, he could never earn enough money to be able to send some to his family. This method of keeping people so poor contributed to weakening family ties. This structural poverty, in addition to the effective network of informants (including within families), were major factors fostering suspicion, pervading Eritreans' most personal relationships, including in the Diaspora.

The topic of torture by the authorities was a recurrent one. Eritreans are placed in prison for any minor reason and torture is part and parcel of the prison experience. Amanuel completed his year in Sawa and was heading to a farm for summer work, when he was stopped at a roadblock, accused of trying to escape the country and sent to prison. When interrogated, he first insisted that he had no intention to escape, but when he could no longer bare the pain of torture, he "admitted to the crime." "When I said yes," he noted, "he punished me again for having said no before. We passed that. It was very hard and painful. When I returned back to the underground [cell] I was falling down. I was using four limbs to go there. Then I entered the underground and asked for water. The person on the way would not give me [any] and so did the prisoners – "If you drink water you may have a stroke. Stay a moment." The prisoners helped me by massaging me -- In the back, in the knee, in the neck. Even the fingernails, even in the leg, they were pealed. It was painful. For three days I was very sick. If I stood up I could lose myself."

Semir was caught twice when trying to escape the country. He mentioned the torture he had endured following his second failed attempt: "Interrogation on the second time lasted only a week. It was like a year for me. No night or day. They would just beat me all the time. They hit me so much." Semir had a long scar across his cheek; his past "spoke up" through his face and expression. This was so for many of the men I met – some had hidden scars, and would sometimes show them in relation to a story they were telling. Their sad histories were imprinted on their bodies.

Yet the most shocking story was told to me by Meron, who was captured by traffickers when trying to cross from Eritrea to Sudan, and was "delivered" like goods to a torture camp in the Sinai. These camps were run by criminals who raised ransom

in return for the release of their “prisoners”. Meron’s story was hardly discernable, a chaotic narrative with many missing pieces. He was tortured badly in an underground cell, including with pieces of plastic burnt and dripped on his back. Organ harvesting was also practiced on his cellmate, by a man he described as a “Turkish doctor.” Finally, his “prison” was bombed from the sky, he was released, spent some time in Al-Arish hospital recuperating, and then sent with UNHCR money to Ethiopia. His mental state did not seem stable at the time that we met.

Abiel, who managed to avoid being drafted into the army for four years, mainly through hiding in the mountains, was finally caught, and then managed to escape. He described how he entered Ethiopia: “Then we went towards Ethiopia and we were shot by border guards. But it was evening and we got an opportunity to escape. By night we could run. When we arrived in Ethiopia the government received us well. Even the soldiers took us in. Then they sent us to camp – Hitsats.” He then opened his pocket zipper, pulled out a plastic bag, and showed me his pass permit. We spoke about the document regime in Ethiopia and I learnt that refugees need a permit to leave camp. When they do, they leave behind their refugee status document and receive it upon their return.

On the way from Mai Tsabri to Shire, in a service taxi, we were stopped twice at roadblocks. Those do not stand out much – a single person often stands at the “checkpoint.” But drivers always stop and wait, well aware of the authorities’ presence. It was evident that these checkpoints were meant to monitor refugees’ movements (possibly in addition to other purposes). The two refugees who were with me in the service taxi were quick to present their documents. One of them had his laminated, and his shirt stood out as exceptionally white, as if to prove a point.

Although some of my interviewees were permitted to travel out of their camps for studying, they highlighted the fact that camp life was still very difficult: “It is crowded. It is hot. In the camp you need money. It is not enough to survive by donations from the UNHCR. If there is no one to help you, it can be a difficult life. It looks like that until now. Life in the camp is not good.” However, while the Eritrean secret police operates within refugee camps in the Sudan, they cannot do so in Ethiopia. Therefore, in comparison, camps in Ethiopia are considered safe.

Boredom is another problem in the camp. Many of those who arrive have a profession, they are young and eager to be active, but are not permitted to work in Ethiopia: “With all our power and profession, we are passing our time in the camp, without any way to do something. I would like to learn in college if I get the chance,”

said Banyam. He could not even get a driver's license since the Ethiopian government does not permit it.

Resumé. My interviews talked about life in Eritrea and the very difficult circumstances which its citizens must endure. Interviewing them at their first stop outside of their country teaches us much about the circumstances that lead them to escape, both in terms of long term conditions as well as immediate concerns. The internal permit regime imposed on movement within Eritrea was also prominent in the narratives. Finally, life in the refugee camps in Ethiopia was also described in detail. When I write up my findings, it would be worthwhile to dwell on the different foci in the interviews conducted in Israel and Eritrea.



A checkpoint near the Takeze River at dusk, Tigray. Another section of this river flows along the Ethiopian-Eritrean Border and refugees must cross it.



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