Workshop 39
Hegemony – Regulation – Governmentality – Governance. What's in a Term?

Convenors:
Susana Narotzky, University of Barcelona
narotzky@jamillan.com

Davide Peró, University of Oxford
Davide.pero@compas.ox.ac.uk

Discussants:
Sue Wright, Danish University of Education
suwr@dpu.dk

Gavin Smith, University of Toronto
Gav.smith@sympatico.ca

In this session we want to examine the usefulness and the implications of a series of terms which have been used to refer to the control of social life, as well as the play of resistance and praxis. Each of the above terms seeks to understand the relationship between the possibilities of power and the realities of control. One assumes that each arose out of dissatisfaction with its predecessor. And yet what was the nature of that dissatisfaction with its predecessor? And yet what was the nature of that dissatisfaction? And anyway we come to this history a posteriori? What are the tensions, attractions and enablements that encourage us to prioritise the one over the other? What is the methodological work that each imaging of power invokes? Aware of the stakes involved in terms of the latest academic fashion urged on by the realpolitik of policy (where "governance" for example has become de rigueur, while other terms have had less success), we ask contributors to use ethnographic material to test the usefulness of these concepts as intellectuals interact with the people they study the better to enable their historical praxis.

"The Free Town". Normalisation, Governance and Disciplining of the Unruly
Christa Simone Amouroux, Stanford University
camouro@hotmail.com

How is 'governance,' or the notion of 'governmentality' part of people's every day experiences? Using findings for my research in Christiania, a social movement community whose citizenactivists are contesting the 'normalisation' of their community, I will explore how Christiania's struggle for survival raises central issues underlying state power logics as they are actively contested requiring the Danish government to respond to assumptions driving 'normalisation', privatisation and the transition of the welfare state into a 'minimal state'.

Since 1971 activists have sustained an alternative community largely autonomous of the government. Also known as "The Free Town," Christiania began as a squatter community located in a closed military compound just minutes walk from the Danish Parliament and now attracts thousands of visitors to "Pusher Street" where cannabis products are openly sold. What began as an embattled squat has managed to survive the numerous assaults on its existence by various government administrations, and in 1986 won the quasi-legal status of "social experiment." The 1,000 citizen-activists have transformed the physical and political space they seized in 1971, and Christiania is now considered some of the most valuable real-estate in Copenhagen, as well as a monument to Danish progressive values and a symbol of the abuses social tolerance can engender.

I argue that Christiania's engagement in alternative practices, such as the operating Europe's largest open air market for illegal cannabis products and squatting a former military barracks, fundamentally challenges accepted notions of citizenship, democratic process, legality, social inclusion and the uses of public goods such as land. And it is these alternative practices and contestations that the 'normalisation' movement seeks to curb.

Implications of Governance for Studies of International Immigration in the U.K.

Joshua P. Hatton, University of Oxford
Joshua.hatton@sant.ox.ac.uk

This presentation uses ethnographic material collected in the U.K. to explore two conceptions of the term governance. First, I address the prevailing notion of governance and its correlate in the context of international immigration to the U.K., the management of migration. The ascendancy of this first notion of governance was accompanied by a rhetorical shift in migration studies from a discourse of 'control' to one of 'management.' Then I examine a coercive conception of governance and its expression in the treatment of international migrants in the U.K. I use the metaphor of radar (actually 'codar'—coercion detecting and ranging) to visualise the complex network of individuals and institutions around the migrant body that the state strives to control. Next, I utilise the notion of a system of punishment, as developed by Foucault, to account for the dominance of the former over the latter conception of governance. The productive activities of immigration studies researchers that I describe in my presentation are thus shown as constituting a field of knowledge that is inexorably linked to the power to punish.

Immigration and the Politics of Governance in Southern Europe

Davide Peró, University of Oxford
Davide.pero@compas.ox.ac.uk

Governance is commonly described as the governmental form
typical of late-modernity resulting from the collaboration between
government and civil society in co-managing society. Governance
– we are told – is to be preferred to previous governmental patterns
for not only is it more cost-effective but also participatory and
empowering. The paper examines governance ethnographically
in relation to a specific sector of the population – immigrants
– to see how this governmental pattern is being translated
in practice, paying particular attention to the meaning that
participation and empowerment take up in this specific instance.
The context in which this examination has been carried out is
that of two southern European cities – Barcelona and Bologna
– that have a reputation of being 'progressive', 'inclusionary' and
'efficient'. The aim of the paper is to draw attention to some of
the problematic aspects that characterise governance in relation
to multiculturalism and neo-liberalism.

Nemak Story: "Jan Rajter. From Collectivisation to Globalisation" A Case Study of an NGO Campaign and Social Struggle in the Czech Republic

Jan Drahokoupil, Central European University, Budapest
drahokoupil@email.cz

This contribution presents a case study of the investment
of a Mexican corporation Nemak in the Czech Republic. The
investment was accompanied by a social struggle. The case
offers an opportunity to consider on both discursive and nondiscursive
constitution of contemporary capitalism and its mode
of social governance in the Czech Republic. Drawing on the case
study, I want to discuss the utility of some of the "big", "macro"
concepts of political-economic sociology in anthropologicallyoriented
research and, vice versa, the role of these kind of case
studies in macro-theorising.
In the case study, first, I argue that some of the practices of post-
Fordist governance are recontextualised in the articulation with
postsocialist reality into a practice of public-private patronship.
Then, I attempt to explain the success of an NGO that opposed the
investment to challenge the hegemonic discursive constitution of
capitalism. NGO's campaign is theorised in a critical-realist way as
an articulation of discursive and non-discursive elements of social
practice. Two factors are employed in the explanation. First, the
NGO designed a campaign suitable to the given spatio-temporal
context, i.e. discursive situation of late modernity. Second, the
campaign exploited the story of Jan Rajter, a farmer who bears
externalities of the investment, to articulate the practice of
public-private patronship and other postsocialist experience. In
this articulation, a narrative of continuity between communism
and neoliberalism is constructed. Thus, the campaign attaches
the negative connotations associated with communism to the
neoliberal project.

Tsimshian Ayaawk and Adaawk: Indigenous Challenges to Euro-

American Theory and Practice

Charles R. Menzies, University of British Columbia
menzies@interchange.ubc.ca

Indigenous struggles in Western Canada have challenged the state's authority to govern through legal and extra legal means. Social scientists have typically analysed the nature of these struggles as examples of internal colonialism, (new) social movements, class struggle or national liberation. Underpinning these examinations have been a parallel deployment of Euro-American concepts such as hegemony, governmentality and governance. Drawing upon the author's long term ethnographic research among the Tsimshian First Nation of British Columbia this paper tests the usefulness of these externally generated concepts in an engaged indigenous political practice. In so doing indigenous Tsimshian conceptualisations of Ayaawk (law) and Adaawk (history) are foregrounded. While containing similar notions of control and authority as are imbedded in the Euro-American terms, the indigenous conceptualisations carry with them fundamentally different understandings of the processes of social control and authority. It is to the points of difference that we shall concentrate in our interrogation of the concepts of hegemony, governmentality, and governance. Ultimately I argue that to advance the realpolitik of indigenous struggles the theoretical frame needs readjustment and our disciplinary perspective requires realignment by the incorporation of Tsimshian concepts of power, control, and leadership as revealed through the Ayaawk and Adaawk.

Analysis, Policy and Politics: On the Interaction Between Genres

Gudrun Dahl, University of Stockholm
Gudrun.dahl@socant.su.se

The paper aims to throw light on certain basic differences between analytical, political and policy oriented language, particularly in how they relate to moral and instrumental values. I will discuss how each genre loads concepts from a common terminology with different shades of meaning and value, but also how terms spill over from genre to genre, looking at the mechanisms for such influence. Developmentalist language, as represented by the discourse of Swedish SIDA, will be used as illustration of how bureaucratic language acts as a bridge between political rhetoric and the analytical language of social science. The span of developmentalist language from popular information to policy documents and evaluation instruments is noted, as is its mediatory place between the (ideally) distinct analytical language of social science (which is used as a basis for bureaucratic legitimation) and the simultaneously ambiguous, universalising and naturalising political language. Far from just expressing neutral, instrumental values as popular stereotypes would have it, bureaucratic language mobilises morally charged values such

as e.g. authenticity, coherence, rationality, reciprocity, futureoriented
prudence, holism, consensus, populism and respect for
agency but does so in temporally contingent terms, which offer
an idiom in which both timeliness and moral value can be claimed.
The paper problematises the processes whereby such words
spread internationally, become contested linguistic resources
and subsequently simultaneously lose their precision and
increasingly become morally charged. Traditional anthropological
ideals may offer a resonance to such language affecting the
capacity for critical analysis. An attempt will be made to spell
out the methodological implications of this, as anthropologists
increasingly study social contexts where analytical terms and
"emic" terms coincide in form but not necessarily in conceptual
connotations.

Democracy and Solidarity: The Vigilance of Civil Society in Argentina

Victoria Goddard, Goldsmiths College, London
VictoriaGoddard@aol.com

Foucault's concept of governmentality envisages a blurring of
boundaries between civil society and the state. Indeed, the
capillary deployments of power render any analytical distinction
between them redundant. For Gramsci on the other hand, civil
society, as a historically contingent sphere, is the space where
democratising forces are articulated. Reconstructing a history of
some of the actors within Argentine civil society, and, drawing
on an ethnography of protest, this paper will evaluate the
debates regarding governmentality and civil society, in particular
Hardt's concept of 'postcivil society'. The paper focuses on the
economic and political collapse of December 2001, to consider
how ethnography might inform the urgent task of developing
a conceptual approach that can recognise the multiple forms
of power – and resistance – that are weaved into a globalised
capitalism. It will argue that Gramsci's concepts of hegemony
and civil society are powerful tools for such a purpose.