

Editorial Foreword

ANTHROPOLOGY OBSERVED Rejection of the idea of scientific objectivity and deep engagement with the ethics of anthropology are threads of commonality that run through much anthropological writing today, and give anthropology a distinctive place among the social sciences. The first two articles address the tension between objectivity and ethics.

Webb Keane examines the state of contemporary anthropology and the problems arising from making people's self-interpretations the object of study. The pull toward an "epistemology of intimacy" is very strong and ethically appealing, while an "epistemology of estrangement" is resisted; but in truth even to understand personal experience requires a capacity to shift between the two. This back-and-forth movement is contained within a "situated cosmopolitanism." The article continues a *CSSH* tradition of keeping an eye on anthropology. See the two essays by Sherry B. Ortner, "Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties," 1984:126–66 and "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," 1995:73–193, and the three essays under the title "Theory in Anthropology," by Arjun Appadurai, Ulf Hannerz, and Aram A. Yengoyan, 1986:356–74.

H. Glenn Penny considers the case of anthropologist Alberto Voytěch Frič, who caused a ruckus at the International Congress of Americanists (Vienna, 1908) by denouncing the murder and enslavement of Brazilian tribes by German colonists there. His protests were considered offensive to scientific objectivity and the political neutrality of the Congress, and Frič was attacked in the press. The author finds reasons for the ethical failure of the anthropological profession on this matter in the structural relationship between anthropology and European society. Frič was a marginal figure to the profession, collecting ethnographic objects at piece-work rates for the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, mediating the orderly world of scientific evaluation and the "Conradian universe of brutal ambition and extraction" from which its objects came. The piece calls to mind Michael Taussig's somber study of Casement, "Culture of Terror—Space of Death; Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture," *CSSH* 1984:467–97.

LOGICS OF DIFFERENCE Three essays examine the logics of difference that operate within states, in folklore studies, state discourses of nomadism, and ethnic discourses of denied resemblance.

Michael Herzfeld confronts the treacherous paradox of folklore studies: promoting national unity through the celebration of localisms. Crete offers an especially striking case of regional peculiarity reinforcing Greek patriotism, quite differently from Italy, in which localism feeds separatism. The reasons have to do with the situation of the Greeks, feeling threatened from the north and east, allied to the West of which they are “cruelly held to be at once the primeval ancestors and the inept modern imitators,” and so unable to tolerate local separatism or acknowledge Turkish, Albanian, or Slav cultural contributions. National insecurity underwrites “the rhetoric of infrangible unity.”

Selim Derengil proposes the concept of “borrowed colonialism” to elucidate the late Ottoman state in its relations with peripheral parts of empire, perceived through European ideas of the connection of nomadism with savagery. As in the previous essay we have a state that is almost, but not quite, European. The Ottoman civilizing mission directed toward nomadism within the empire—in Libya for example—was a project of modernity. Borrowed colonialism was a way to *escape* becoming a colony of Europe. (Also by Selim Derengil: “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908,” 1993:3–29.)

The representations of difference that are so central to ethnicity and nationalism, according to **Simon Harrison**, arise within contexts of likeness. Ethnicity and nationalism are best understood, he argues, as relations, not of mere difference, but of resemblance denied or disguised among people who are close, in which constructs of shared identity and similarity are disavowed, censored, or systematically forgotten. The logic of difference plays out on a ground of sameness.

MIGRANTS AND STATES The next two essays address aspects of migration and the ways in which migration interacts with states, grown increasingly porous and anxious to maintain control.

Gregory Mann surveys the contested ground over which West African immigrants in France, who have become undocumented (*sans papiers*) as a result of recent tightening of the law, defend themselves—not by appeal to universal human rights, but through the rights of service adhering to veterans of the colonial army (*tirailleurs Sénégalais*) and those today who claim descent from them. Tracing the development of these rights, in which service promised escape from the status of colonial subject toward that of citizen, often granted grudgingly and under duress by the colonial ruler, proves to be a fruitful way of revealing internal contradictions in the Republican tradition. But, inevitably perhaps, while the power of these historical claims remains profound in the ex-colony, in the ex-metropole the legal and bureaucratic way of looking at the situation prevails.

The rapid growth of migrant domestic labor, performed largely by women, is the topic of five books examined by **Annelies Moors**, groundbreaking works

in a new and understudied field. “Transnationalism from below” produces novel domestic spaces in the receiving countries, novel, transnational family relations in households supplying them, and novel problems of state control and interstate relations.

UTOPIA AND FAMILY Families sometimes supply images for utopian visions, but often utopias reconfigure the family or jettison it altogether, as the last article describes.

Christoph Brumann undertakes a social science assessment of forty-three utopian communities in the last two centuries, most of them in the United States, and comes to the conclusion that those which follow monogamy and recognize ties of kinship are more successful in terms of longevity than those observing celibacy (e.g., Shakers) or “free love” (Oneida Community), perhaps because of their comparative closeness to the conventions of the ambient society. This controverts the work of Kanter, who argued that the family was a potential competitor for the members’ loyalties and so decreased longevity of the group.