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European winter festival masquerades possess several common elements – relating to character and content as well as structure – that are astonishingly similar across great geographical distances, from the Balkans to the British Isles, and from Eastern Europe to the Iberian Peninsula. This fact, already well known to Sir James Frazer a century ago, has recently been revisited by a new project of ethnographic research and visual anthropology entitled *The Carnival King of Europe* led by a museum in the Italian Alps, Museo degli Usi e Costumi della Gente Trentina. The underlying structure of European winter masked ritual involves several acts from fear (Act 1) to ceremony (Act 2: the marital cortege and ritual ploughing) to the burlesque (Act 3) and finally to a sobering Epilogue on the pyre. All winter masquerade in Europe – and there are hundreds all over the continent – seem to bear reference at some level to this single hidden script. Still from *The Great Epiphany of Wörth* (2017) dir. M Trentini. Photo © Antonella Mott, Museo degli Usi e Costumi della Gente Trentina/Trentino Folklife Museum, Archive Carnival King of Europe. This film series is available to buy from raifilm.org.uk.

The Royal Anthropological Institute at 147

GEMMA AELLAH
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
EDITOR

Welcome to the first edition of the Royal Anthropological Institute's new occasional newspaper, the RAI Review. We are lucky to have many levels and ways of communicating at the RAI, including our quarterly journal the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*; our bimonthly publication *Anthropology Today*, *Teaching Anthropology*, as well as our *Annual Report* which the new RAI Review aims to replace. With the RAI Review, we wanted to create something more akin to a community

newspaper. The Royal Anthropological Institute is the oldest anthropological organisation in the world, with a global membership. We are a learned society, largely funded by donations and the membership fees paid by our Fellows who come together around a shared interest in the study of humankind, past and present. We are, essentially, a co-operative owned by anthropologists. The RAI has continued for the last 147 years because of the voluntary efforts of hundreds, if not thousands, of people to keep on maintaining a sense of community across different universities, perspectives and schisms. However, we are also incredibly diverse, encompassing anthropology in its broadest,

most inclusive sense. The RAI Review is an attempt to share and celebrate this diversity. This first edition, for example, brings together articles on the social lives of diesel engines in Sudan's Nile settlements, myths about London's boaters and reflections on the ethnography of bureaucratic meetings, with a day in the life of a forensic anthropologist, an interview with an ethnographic filmmaker, and updates on continued efforts to get anthropology into the pre-university curriculum. This first edition is a pilot and we welcome your comments, letters to the editor, and suggestions for how we might take RAI Review forward to gaellah@therai.org.uk.

Social lives of diesel engines in northern Sudan's Nile settlements

ENRICO ILLE

LOST RESEARCH NETWORK,
URGENT ANTHROPOLOGY FELLOW

RESEARCH

When one crosses the Nile in Sudan's Northern State, different sounds overlap with acacia leaves rustling in the wind, singing hoopoes, and the ripples caused by the moving vessel: in a small wooden boat, rudders hitting the surface; in a launch, the portable outboard motor; on a pontoon ferry, the imposing noise of the uncovered marine propulsion. However, in rather silent vehicles, another sound can be made out in the background during the seasons of cultivation: the chugging of diesel engines pumping water from the Nile into irrigation channels. This sound has been part of farmers' soundscapes for the last 50–60 years, but could start now to disappear, as electrification leads towards a shift to electric engines, slightly humming devices.

This is among several changes I presently observe during my Urgent Anthropology Fellowship 2016–17 in the area around Kerma in northern Sudan. The Anthropologists' Fund for Urgent Anthropological Research (AFUAR), administrated by the RAI, was founded in 1995 and has been funded by anthropologists ever since; at the moment, it is hosted by the British Museum. Built around a concern for the ethnographic documentation of people confronted with radical change, the fellowship practices what could be called an anthropology of loss, asking: what exactly is about to be lost? Who deals how with this loss? Does resistance develop against it, and in which way? Urgency stems here not from the mere fact of change, but the threat to self-determination such change can entail. In the case of resident communities of the Nile Valley in northern Sudan, this happens both in form of successive, gradual developments in infrastructure, settlement and agriculture, and sudden, gashing events of landscape erasure, whether by flooding or fire.

What makes diesel engines relevant to such an urgency has to do with the social embeddedness of technologies. They both have and change social lives, and the infrastructures travelling with these technologies not only mark their inner workings, but also carry structural effects. A relevant example from the study area are irrigation systems: before diesel engines, there were wood-based water wheels (*sāqiyya*) that connected a mostly localized group of handicraftsmen and farmers; cultivation and harvest distribution organized them into face-to-face communities of practice. But those communities also experienced several food crises, especially in the form of famines during the first decades of the twentieth century. During that time, the British colonial administration introduced diesel engines for irrigation schemes. In 1943, a pump scheme was started next to Kerma, initially to support feeding the British army during the Second World War. However, adoption of this new technology was fast in that area, and already a few years later newly founded cooperatives invested in engines to irrigate fields through similar channel structures. But over the course of two to three decades, smaller Lister engines replaced the massive models by Ruston, and cooperatives gave way to individual enterprises. In the latest changes, an imported machine, fuel prices and spare-part availability became central to the relation between landowner, sharecroppers and the mechanic. When Chinese models started to appear after 2000, the old Lister models became more and



Acacia along the Nile. Photographer: Enrico Ille.

more difficult to maintain, as spare parts disappeared from the market. The life time shared between a specific engine and its users also grew shorter, as the new models did not survive more than a few years, giving stronger, but fleeting performance. However, several technological and social survivals can be found: since the 1980s, diesel engines have been gaining a second life by giving electricity to homes, moving, together with the settlements, successively further away from the Nile. Where cooperatives broke down, smaller forms of cooperation continued cultivation kinship through neighbourly assistance when an engine broke down. This was inscribed into irrigation structures as openings between individual channel systems.

But in this area of rising political tensions, energy and cooperation have an ambiguous co-existence. Unequal connections to the electricity grid have not just put farmers in strongly diverging competitive positions; whole stretches of small villages along the Nile have been expected to finance their own connections, prompting one of numerous waves of protest: against negligence by public services, against increasing pollution by gold-mining operations, against multiplying date palm fires. Even the longest-standing political contention against dam construction in the area concerns hydro-electric power, pervading the region at least since the building of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960s and setting off a whole social landscape of political resistance. As much as the new electric engines thus mark desired and undesired distributional effects, new forms of pivot irrigation also accompany the shift to large-scale projects and their

further commercialization of productive relations. But most of all these changes carry on old contradictions deriving from centralized planning of the Nile in ignorance of those who consider it their lifeline: the same authoritarian thinking underlies British colonial engineers' perception of the Nile, Aswan Dam building, recent Merowe Dam construction, and future plans for further dams.

Admittedly, whether the priorities of Nile Valley residents in northern Sudan should outweigh the energy needs of others is an issue of complex questions of valuation. In any case, it seems that the progression to electricity may bring more integration in commercial grids, while at the same time threatening to accentuate, rather than reduce, the loss of residents' control over their environment. At least one kind of dependency is being exchanged for another: during power cuts only those farmers who have not removed diesel engines from their lives can continue to irrigate, while the progressives have to wait and see when power will be brought back to them.

To find out more about Enrico's work and the work of past Urgent Anthropology Fellows visit: www.therai.org.uk/awards/fellowships/urgent-anthropology-fellowship. We are grateful to the numerous contributors to the Anthropologists Fund for Urgent Anthropological Research. For more information about donating to the fund, or leaving a legacy please contact the RAI Director on dshankland@therai.org.uk.

Director's Bulgarian research fieldtrip, 2017

RESEARCH

As well as being RAI Director, David Shankland is a specialist on the Alevi community of Anatolia, a heterodox Muslim minority culture, where he has conducted research for the past twenty-five years. Earlier this year he took a road trip around Bulgaria with Dr Florentina Badalanova Geller, the Slavonic Database Editor of the RAI's Anthropological Index Online, to prepare for a new research project exploring the comparative ethnography of the Alevi (Bektaş and Kizilbaş) communities in the Deliorman region. During this trip David and Florentina met with regional historian Yordan Kasabov, Professor Nedin, Petko Hristov and other Bulgarian scholars, visited a number of Alevi sacred sites and gave a public lecture at the University of Blagoevgrad.

'The Alevi community is extremely important,' David argues, 'because they illustrate a kind of Islam which is sharply opposed to the dominant forms of religiosity that are increasingly seen throughout the Islamic world. They are very moderate and flexible in their approach to their religious understanding.' David's earlier work indicates that there are some 8–10 million Alevi in Turkey. This represents 10–12 per cent of the national population who hold a completely contrasting view of the basis of religious life, yet most people – and much of the mainstream press – are unaware of their existence. As a micro-specialist in the Alevi, David is interested in how much these patterns are repeated in the Balkans, and whether there are differences in response to the specific social and economic pressures experienced by the Alevi living there.

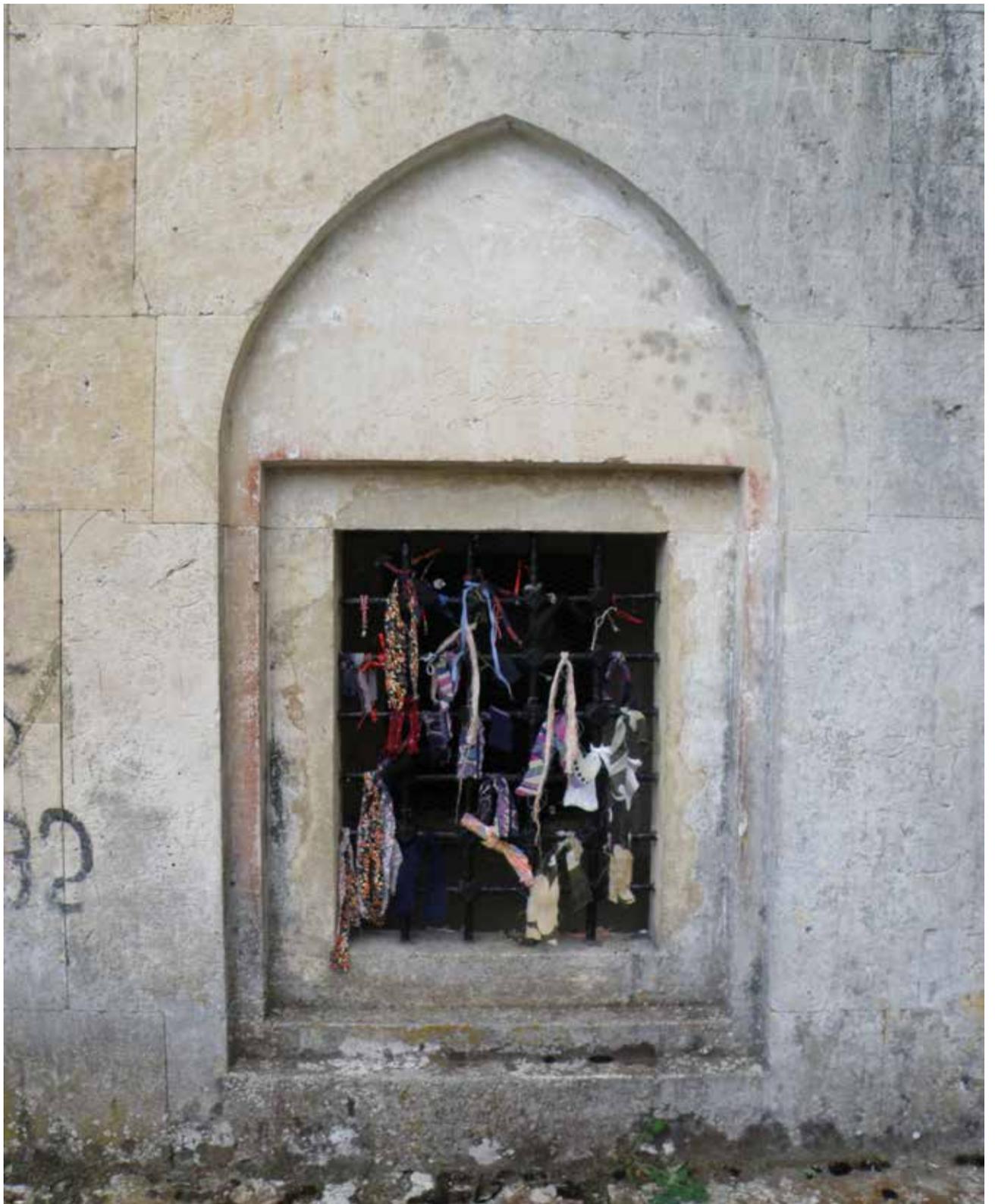
David's book, *The Alevi in Modern Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* (2003), is available to borrow from the Anthropology Library and Research Centre at the British Museum where RAI Fellows can borrow up to 10 books.

The Ruggles-Gate Fund for Biological Anthropology

RESEARCH

The RAI administers a dedicated research grant to assist biological anthropology PhD and Masters students with their field research. The fund was set up by the late Professor R. Ruggles-Gates and augmented by his widow Mrs L. Ruggles-Gates. Preference will be given to those applications which lie within human population biology, human genetics, human ethology and palaeoanthropology. The annual deadline for this award is 31 March 2018.

The RAI also administers two research grants for students of social anthropology: the Emslie Horniman Fund and The Radcliffe-Brown and Firth Trust Funds for Social Anthropological (jointly funded by the Association of Social Anthropologists). The deadline for both awards is 30 November 2018. Further details about the application process for all three awards can be found on the RAI website.



Rags from the clothes of the sick placed near the scared tomb of Demir Baba, Sboryanovo village, Bulgaria. Photographer: Florentina Badalanova Geller.

Focus on Forensic Anthropology

COMMITTEES

The RAI currently has seventeen committees, through which various special interests within anthropology are represented. Each issue of *RAI Review* will profile the activities of a different committee. This issue focuses on the Forensic Anthropology Committee, chaired by Professor Dame Sue Black.

Forensic anthropology serves the investigative and judicial communities by analysing human remains for medico-legal purposes. It has adopted a pivotal role in both UK and international investigations, being core to issues of suspicious deaths, repatriation, mass disasters and war crimes. The Forensic Anthropology Committee was established in 2011 in response to

the need to provide a robust system of certification for practising forensic anthropologists in the UK. In 2011 the RAI partnered with the British Association of Forensic Anthropology to develop a validated formal system of certification, with the RAI providing the role of overarching professional body. To date, thirty-one forensic anthropologists have been certified through the RAI system, and their details are maintained on our website as a resource for those working in the criminal justice system. Overleaf, Niamh Nic Daéid, one of the UK's leading researchers in forensic science and advisor to the RAI Examinations Board, explains the importance of certification, and Julie Roberts and Linda Ainscough give a glimpse into the working life of a professional forensic anthropologist.



Eddie Gerald / Alamy Stock Photo.

Developing a professional certification framework for Forensic Anthropology

NIAMH NIC DAEID

UNIVERSITY OF DUNDEE

COMMITTEES

For scientists, a structured pathway and framework against which the development of both knowledge and skills can be assessed is an essential component to developing a professional culture. This is particularly true for practitioners who have regulatory responsibilities, as well as for those who work within professional disciplines that provide services to society. One such set of professionals are those who provide expert opinion to the courts within the framework of the criminal justice system.

Experts who appear as witnesses in criminal cases have very specific duties to perform in terms of their responsibilities to the criminal justice system. Specifically, they must demonstrate that the evidence they provide to the courts is scientifically valid and that they themselves have the knowledge and skill required to do the job in hand. It would also be fair to say that the professional body to which an expert belongs has a responsibility to provide a structure for assessing and certifying practitioners as mastering an agreed curriculum as well as demonstrating practical implementation of the desired skills.

In 2013 the RAI launched its certification programme for forensic anthropologists. This was a groundbreaking initiative that facilitated the development of a framework across three levels. Level III is the entry level, focusing on new graduates, postgraduate researchers and those who are beginning their careers. Application is through a portfolio that is assessed by

an experienced certified practitioner. Level II Forensic Anthropologists are expected to have an in-depth knowledge of their professional practice from both a theoretical and a practical perspective. Certification is by examination, both written and practical. Level I Forensic Anthropologists are the most experienced and are recognized leaders in the field in the UK and overseas. Their application process is by submission of evidence of qualification and expertise, together with a case list demonstrating their practical experience across a range of complex cases. Assessment is by peer review of at least three cases followed by an oral examination. The latter incorporates all aspects of professional practice, including the expert's understanding of the law, their responsibilities as an expert witness and their duties to the courts. One of the fundamental expectations of Level I and Level II practitioners is that they provide mentorship and leadership to other certified practitioners, and this delivers a fundamental scaffold upon which to develop the professional skills of practitioners at all levels.

The core requirements for practitioners across these three levels were devised by the forensic anthropology community themselves following much discussion and national consultation. As such, they are fit for the purpose for which they were devised and are truly a set of criteria developed by the profession for the profession.

The benefits that the RAI forensic anthropology certification system have delivered include:

1) provision of confidence to the Courts and the investigating authorities that the forensic practitioner working with them or appearing in the witness box has

been tested against the skills and knowledge that are required for them to be able to do the job asked of them.

2) provision of a solid mentorship, professional development structure and culture for emerging practitioners.

(3) provision of opportunities for the most experienced practitioners to involve those with less experience in casework in a controlled and measured way, ensuring correct mentorship and guidance is provided.

The Forensic Anthropology certification scheme delivered by the RAI is unique. It was developed by a small group of practitioners who saw that there was a need across their profession to deliver confidence in their professional practice to their colleagues in the investigating authorities and the courts. Equally important, they saw the possibility of developing a nurturing professional framework in which they could help and mentor the next generation of forensic practitioners within their discipline. These first few forensic anthropologists led by example, persuading the RAI to be their professional body, establishing an independent structure for certification and then bravely subjecting themselves to the process first. They have begun the journey of leading their profession into a new era of its development and it has been my honour to be able to play a very small part in this.

There is currently an ongoing public consultation by the Forensic Science Regulator on the RAI Code of Practice for Forensic Anthropologists. Documents can be viewed and comments submitted through this link: www.gov.uk/government/consultations/code-of-practice-for-forensic-anthropology



Shoreham air crash: Julie Roberts was the anthropologist at the scene and in the mortuary for the duration of the examinations. Photograph: D. Russell, Creative Commons.

A day in the life of a forensic anthropologist

JULIE ROBERTS & LINDA AINSCOUGH
CELLMARK FORENSIC SERVICES

COMMITTEES

One of the most exciting and challenging aspects of being a full-time practising Forensic Anthropologist is that there is no such thing as a typical day.

We work for Cellmark Forensic Services, which is one of the UK's largest forensic-science companies. Established in 1987, it provides analytical services relating to a wide range of forensic evidence types and areas of expertise, including blood and body fluids, tool-marks analysis, anthropology, archaeology, trace evidence (such as hairs and fibres), analytical chemistry, specialist DNA and toxicology.

Our typical non-typical day in the laboratory involves being surrounded by scientists undertaking examinations and reporting on forensic evidence for cases ranging from burglary to murder. We can be engaged in cases which are solely related to anthropology and archaeology, or be called upon by a colleague to offer opinion on a case where scientific disciplines overlap, for example interpreting cut marks to bone in a murder case or examining human remains from a fatal fire dealt with by one of our fire-scenes investigators.

Our day can vary greatly depending on what types of request come into the laboratory. We may be involved in a planned search for a missing person believed to have been murdered and disposed of, or we may be called out to a possible crime scene where human remains have been discovered. In these cases, we would be asked to assist with their recovery, ensuring that this is complete and that an accurate record is made of the remains *in situ*. We might also be asked to comment on how long remains have been at a scene and who the deceased might be.

Quite often, where the identity of the deceased is unknown, for example, if they are decomposed, burnt or incomplete, we will be asked to go to a post-mortem examination in a hospital mortuary to undertake an anthropological examination. Using a range of techniques we can assist by estimating age at death, sex, stature and ancestry, and by identifying

any individuating features. We can comment on the processes surrounding the disposal of the body, including interpretation of any injuries to the skeleton. We might also be required to take samples from the deceased for DNA, isotope analysis or radiocarbon dating.

Whilst some of these scene and mortuary examinations can be completed in a day, often, especially with searches or mass-fatality incidents, the deployment can last for a number of days or weeks. This can sometimes include travelling abroad, so our day might include packing at short notice for what can be a significant time away from home.

Back at the laboratory, anthropology casework might include the examination of skeletal remains that have been submitted by police forces prior to them being sent for radiocarbon dating or DNA analysis, or we may be using microscopy to characterize damage to bones. We might also be asked to examine CT scans of living or deceased children and adults to confirm their living age or age at death, to assess skeletal growth and development and/or to identify any skeletal pathology present.

A typical complex case often requires us to engage the services of (and manage) specialist subcontractors, e.g. soil scientists, botanists, palynologists, entomologists and diatoms experts. Coordination and supervision of their work could include arranging transport to crime scenes and mortuaries, ensuring that they have completed their work and produced statements within the agreed timescales and budgets, organizing the return of exhibits and managing the financial aspects of their engagement.

A lot of documentation needs to be completed during and following our work, and quite a lot of our time is spent writing witness statements for the police and peer reviewing the statements of our colleagues. Sometimes we may be asked to present our findings in court as an expert witness. Occasionally we will be asked to write a specialist report for a non-police related investigation, or respond to a prosecution witness statement on behalf of a defence solicitor.

Working within a large laboratory, it is inevitable that we will be involved in some aspect of quality

management, which could range from the creation of new anthropology standard operating procedures and related documents for the computerized Quality Management System, through to regular review and amendment of existing documents. In addition to this, we are required to facilitate internal and external audits, demonstrate our competencies in relation to our discipline, ensure that all equipment we use has been calibrated, and review case assessments, strategies, statements and casefiles (the list is not exhaustive!). It is not the most exciting aspect of our work, but is necessary in order to comply with the strict requirements of the Forensic Regulator and of working within a UKAS accredited forensic laboratory.

When not at a crime scene, mortuary or undertaking examinations in the lab, we run regular training courses for police officers, military personnel and forensic professionals. Our aim is that they leave our courses with a good understanding of the applications of forensic archaeology, anthropology and environmental sciences to police investigation! The courses are a lot of hard work, but are really enjoyable and we get to meet lots of different people.

Forensic casework generates a lot of questions and we try and make time to translate these into research projects in collaboration with the company's research and development team. Current projects include DNA survival rates in mass-fatality incidents, innovative ways of detecting and recording buried and surface remains, and refining DNA extraction techniques on different tissue types.

On a personal level, we both feel that working as a Forensic Anthropology practitioner can be stressful, emotionally demanding and exhausting. However, it is also immensely satisfying to know that you have played a part in giving a name to a previously unidentified person and provided some insight into the circumstances surrounding their death. Above all, we feel privileged to be in a position where we can provide families with answers, particularly when they have been waiting for a long time to find out what happened to their loved one.

www.cellmarkforensics.co.uk



Student volunteers at London Anthropology Day 2017.

The London Anthropology Day

EDUCATION

The RAI's London Anthropology Day (LAD) is a FREE annual university taster day for Year 12, 13, FE students, careers advisers and teachers. It has been held at the British Museum since 2004. #LAD2018 will take place on Monday 9 July 2018. Booking for the event will open on 16 May 2018 via www.londonanthropologyday.co.uk. Last year we had over 500 students and 22 universities in attendance. Students were able to take part in workshops including 'A walk on the dark side: human nature, heritage and the attraction to death, disaster and catastrophe', 'Honour, conflict and

coercion: the anthropology of violence', Working at the British Museum: a true story', The anthropology of protest', 'Brains, bones and behaviour: what makes us human?' and 'Why economists are almost always wrong: the case for studying anthropology'. The day also included a careers session featuring anthropology graduates, including 'Humans in 5' YouTube channel host and creator, a research officer in the civil service, an anthropologist devoted to developing people-centred and environmentally responsible it solutions, and a museum curator.

RAI awards

The Royal Anthropological Institute has honours, medals and prizes at its disposal, which are awarded in recognition of achievement of the highest order in anthropology. Recipients of this year's awards are as follows:

- 2017 Rivers Medal – Dr Dan Hicks
- 2017 Lucy Mair Medal & Marsh Prize – Professor Richard Leakey
- 2017 Marsh Award for Anthropology in the World – Dr Julienne Anoko
- 2018 Henry Myers Lecturer – Professor Simon Coleman
- 2018 Huxley Memorial Lecturer – Professor Anna Tsing

Anthropology in the pre-university curriculum

EDUCATION

Over the last few years, the major news within anthropology and education has been the demise of the A-Level Anthropology, which, despite a hard fought #saveanthropologyalevel campaign by students, parents, teachers and university departments, will see its final students complete by 2019. The 2016 special issue of *Teaching Anthropology* offers a retrospective on the end of the A-Level, with articles by A-Level students, teachers, the Chief Examiner and Education Committee members: www.teachinganthropology.org. As frustrating as the experience has been, all is far from lost. As RAI Education Officer, Ms Emma Ford, argues in her article in the special issue, 'the Anthropology A-level was just one component of a much wider movement to engage new audiences with anthropology...[it] brought biological and social

anthropology into schools and colleges that had never offered the subject before. The A-level diversified the community of anthropology educators and increased links between local schools, colleges and university anthropology departments'. One such diversification is the new inclusion of anthropology within the Scottish education system. There are now three Higher National Units available in Social Anthropology ('Who does it and how to do it', 'The body and its life course' and 'Ethnographies of Scottish peoples') that can be offered in secondary schools, FE colleges and other institutions (e.g. prisons) across Scotland. In June this year teachers and colleagues involved in A-level Anthropology teaching in England were able to meet and share ideas with their new counterparts in Scotland. Further information, and a presentation from that workshop, is available here: www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/79675.html.

This year, the RAI also mourns the death of Professor Brian Street, the much-loved first Chair of the RAI's revived Education Committee, whose optimism and kind determination steered us through the creation of the A-Level and the beginning of the 'Discover Anthropology' pre-university education programme that continues to grow despite the setbacks. A full obituary by his daughter, Dr Alice Street, is available in the RAI online obituaries collection: therai.org.uk/archives-and-manuscripts/obituaries/brian-street. Alice writes of Brian's 'convivial approach to life' and his 'deep commitment to equalitarianism', both qualities that proved essential in his RAI work developing anthropology in pre-university education. On the next page, one of the first Education Committee members, and a former sixth-form teacher, reflects on Brian's legacy.

Brian Street, anthropology and education

The case of the anthropology A-level

DAVID BENNETT

RAI EDUCATION COMMITTEE

EDUCATION

The appointment of Professor Brian Street as chair of the RAI's revived Education Committee between 2004 and 2014 acknowledged his earlier contributions to educational initiatives in support of multiculturalism and anti-racism, and more generally his advocacy of a symbiotic relationship between anthropology and education. His leadership oversaw the development and successful implementation of an anthropology A-level.

Critical to this success was the collective support gathered from academic anthropologists concerned by the discipline's vulnerability amidst the changes affecting higher education, and keen to promote undergraduate recruitment by raising the profile of anthropology in schools. For his part, Brian acknowledged this imperative, but his own motivation derived from his assertion of anthropology's 'significance in the understanding of global issues in the wider world, to which, we hope, the new A-level will make a significant contribution' (2010:3).

The RAI's tradition of inclusive membership is reflected in the composition of the current Education Committee. The contribution of academic anthropologists has given credibility to its work, but when the A-level project required these to leave their comfort zone – to acquire a real sense of 'Advanced level' – other members with current sixth-form teaching experience were vital. This author recalls Brian's first attempt to construct a specimen examination paper, part of the cache of materials required to support the case for accreditation of the new award: a paper to challenge any undergraduate! But before long, Brian would be reciting with confidence and some enthusiasm the learned 'language' of A-level curriculum development. The committee's work ethic and methodology were established early on, encouraged by its chair. An active core would labour intensively to prepare key documents. The wider committee provided front-line discussion, but was able to call upon its networks of academics, teachers and educationalists for further guidance or comment. However, the extensive documentation of this activity – minutes, position papers and the like – is unable to

capture an important element, fostered by Brian and former RAI Director Hilary Callan, that contributed to the committee's coherence. The committee acquired an enviable reputation within the RAI for its conviviality, stemming from the social evenings that typically followed its afternoon sessions. At dinner or over drinks, Brian would informally 'preside' over a pleasurable mix of reflection on the committee's latest progress, current affairs and anthropological anecdotes.

However, Brian believed that 'practical aims will only make sense if rooted in a clear and broader framework for conceptualizing the relationship between anthropology and education' (2004:2). Referencing a favoured distinction, he called for 'an anthropology of and in education... There are both pragmatic and intellectual gains to be made from such an approach' (2004:1, italics added). In a 2004 guest editorial for *Anthropology Today*, Brian's disappointments were evident: British anthropology stood accused of having failed to engage with education both intellectually and in the applied sense of influencing educational practice and policy. A later guest editorial (2010), written to coincide with the A-level launch, offered a change of mood; this successful development could now be set in a context that embraced earlier efforts: 'This process can be seen both as part of a wider public engagement and as evidence that colleagues in this country have indeed been concerned for a long time with anthropology both in and of education.' At last the efforts of the discipline's 'missionaries' could be lauded!

The decision of its awarding body to withdraw the anthropology A-level qualification by 2019 – a consequence of commercial imperatives and narrowed government priorities for the curriculum – came as a blow, but does not obviate the preceding work of the committee achieved under Brian's leadership. The documentary record of this pioneering work represents a legacy available to a new generation of 'missionaries' when national educational priorities change. In the meantime, there remains scope for new initiatives. Professor Joy Hendry has drawn on the committee's experience to develop units and resources for pre-university students in Scotland, where educational policy appears currently more receptive to innovation. Brian Street had argued (2010) that the experience from all attempts to promote the discipline in wider settings provided a rich seam of



Brian (c. 2000) on the Brighton seafront. Copyright Alice Street.

data from which to identify the social and institutional factors that determine given outcomes. And recent experience confirms the importance of his belief that the promotion of anthropology in education must utilize the understanding drawn from an anthropology of education.

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——— 2010, 'Advancing anthropology in schools: the accreditation of the Anthropology A-level', *Anthropology Today* 26(2):1–3.

Join the IUAES Commission on Anthropology and Education

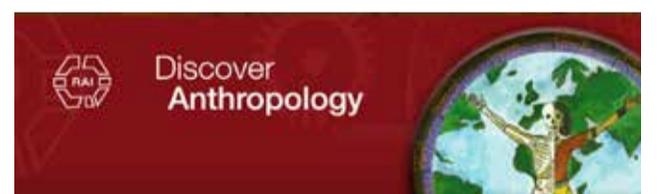
EDUCATION

Emma Ford, RAI Education and Communications Officer, is Secretary to the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Science's Commission on Anthropology and Education.

This international commission brings together researchers, educators and students involved in the fields of anthropology and education. Interests of the commission include the complimentary roles of anthropology of education and anthropology in education. It facilitates the exchange of experiences of setting up anthropology education at pre-university

level and the exploration of similarities and differences between the teaching and learning of anthropology in schools, colleges, universities, adult education centres and extra-curricular events and activities.

The commission is currently looking for new members, drawn from people teaching, working or researching in the field of anthropology and education. To join the commission please contact Emma on education@therai.org.uk. More information about the commission can be found at iuaes.org/comm/education.html



Discover Anthropology

EDUCATION

The RAI maintains a website for pre-university students and those new to anthropology. Visit www.discoveranthropology.co.uk for introductory info on anthropology, resources and careers in anthropology case studies.

DISCOVERANTHROPOLOGY.CO.UK

Meet the RAI Staff

The RAI has sixteen staff members, who work across various departments. RAI Review editor, Gemma Aellah, interviewed Ted Goodliffe, RAI Library Officer, to find out more about his role and what he can do for RAI Fellows

Ted Talks

MEET THE STAFF

One of the most special and valuable assets of the RAI is its library, which is incorporated into the [Anthropology Library and Research Centre \(ALRC\)](#) at the British Museum. With more than 120,000 volumes, 1,500+ periodical subscriptions and a rare-books collection dating back to the sixteenth century, it is one of the world's most extensive dedicated anthropology libraries. And RAI Fellows – now including Student Fellows – have exclusive borrowing rights. RAI Fellows also have access to Ted, the RAI Library Officer, who acts as liaison between the RAI and the Anthropology Library. You may know him as the face of 'Reviewer Meets Reviewed', a series of open meetings across the year held in the ALRC, in which an author meets and debates with the person who reviewed their book for the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. As Ted's belief is 'being a librarian is about providing a personal service' the *RAI Review* spoke to him in order to help Fellows get to know their librarian.

What is the Anthropology Library and Research Centre?

'The RAI library has been amassed since the very beginning of the original Anthropological and Ethnological Societies in the 1840s, with a dedicated librarian in position since 1871, including renowned archaeologist Vere Gordon Childe for a two year stint from 1925–7. In 1976 the collection was too large to keep in-house, and so was gifted to the British Museum, where today it forms a significant part of the Anthropology Library and Research Centre, tucked downstairs by the North Entrance.'

Ted encourages RAI Fellows to make use of their library. RAI Fellowship comes with free online access to the ALRC's full-text electronic collections and the right to borrow books. Previously RAI Fellows could only borrow books donated by the RAI. Now, thanks to close cooperation with the British Museum library staff, they have access and borrowing rights to the entire collection. The library space itself also, according to Ted, provides a 'wonderful, quiet place to study in the heart of London, where you can take your breaks in the galleries of the museum.'

A surprising fact about the library

In addition to its textual resources, many Fellows are not aware that users can request to view the Museum's objects, which can be called up from storage and viewed with an expert curator.

Library events

Ted is always on the lookout for 'Reviewed and Reviewer' pairs who are willing to go head to head at one of the events held in the Anthropology Library. His favourite ever 'Reviewer Meets Reviewed' was the 2013 Christmas Special, in which [Dr Kaori O'Connor](#) talked about her book *The English Breakfast* (available to borrow in the library) and paper on 'Christmas pudding' and brought along some samples; 'we had record attendances.'



Ted Goodliffe, RAI Library Officer: +44 (0)20 7323 8067, tgoodliffe@britishmuseum.org.

Favourite books in the library?

As a non-anthropologist, Ted still sometimes delves into the books that come across his desk. He is constantly surprised by the breadth of anthropology and has read books ranging from ethnographies of football hooliganism to party membership in Hungary (as his late wife was Hungarian). He particularly enjoyed *Educational failure and Working Class White Children in Britain* by Gillian Evans and *The British on Holiday: Charter Tourism and Consumption* by Hazel Andrews. Ted encourages RAI Fellows with particular book requests to get in touch: 'we always try our best to buy anything for the library that a Fellow asks for.'

Ted's view on the importance of libraries

'Everyone needs information. Whether that is in a book, or online. And you don't want to reinvent the wheel. We have a saying pinned up on the wall in the Welding Institute where I also work part time in their library: 'A couple of months research in the laboratory can often save you a couple of hours in the library.'

Ted's ideal library user

'Someone who appreciates what you do for them – and comes back and asks you again.'

How can Fellows best support the library?

'By using it!' As well, Ted asks all RAI Fellows who publish books to remember the Library when considering recipients for copies of their work donated by the publisher. Books can be mailed directly to the library at the British Museum. He also welcomes enquires from RAI Fellows interested in donating their book collections.

Forthcoming Reviewer meets Reviewed event at the ALRC, British Museum

Thursday 17 May at 2.00 pm

The Politics of Distinction: African Elites from Colonialism to Liberation in a Namibian Frontier Town, Dr Matt Fumanti and reviewer Peter Lockwood: www.therai.org.uk/events-calendar/eventdetail/526/-/reviewer-meets-reviewed-the-politics-of-distinction

Other RAI Events

Wednesday 23 May at 6.00 pm

'The politicization of consumption: *The World of Goods* revisited', *Mary Douglas Memorial Lecture 2018* by Professor Dame Caroline Humphrey, Archaeology Lecture Theatre, UCL Anthropology, 14 Taviton Street, London WC1H 0BW.

Tuesday 12 June at 6.00 pm

RAI Photographic Salon – 'Archival affordances'. The RAI, 50 Fitzroy Street, London, W1T 5BT

Thursday 6 September – Saturday 8 September

Photography+(Con)Text, 2nd International Conference. 'Photography in academic research: images in the post-truth era'. Birkbeck College, University of London, Malet Street, Bloomsbury, London WC1E 7HX

Thursday 4 October at 3:30 pm

RAI AGM 2018, followed by the *Henry Myers Lecture* given by Prof Simon Coleman on 'Laterality: a sideways look at ritual'. Stevenson Lecture Theatre, The British Museum.

JRAI Special Issue

Meetings: ethnographies of organizational process, bureaucracy and assembly

The *JRAI* is pleased to announce its 2017 Special Issue, guest edited by Hannah Brown, Adam Reed, Thomas Yarrow, which explores meetings, their internal relations and dynamics, as well as their wider effects and implications. Articles engage with issues ranging from the production of knowledge, to ethics, aesthetics and politics. They analyse meetings that form in government, the health sector, a charity, the World Trade Organisation and IT projects – meetings that take place on streets and within a wide range of institutional settings in Norway, Kenya, Britain, Turkey, Spain and Mozambique.

On the 6th September 2017, the RAI held an event to celebrate the launch of the special issue. Dr Hannah Knox from UCL gave the introductory remarks, an edited version of which is reproduced below.



Photograph: Richard Rutter, Creative Commons: www.flickr.com/photos/clagnut/252185030

HANNAH KNOX

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

PUBLICATIONS

From time to time I have reflected on the meeting as a social form but I never got that far in thinking it through seriously. This special issue prompted me to think afresh about what meetings are as forms of social organisation and how this can shape our thinking about their place in contemporary bureaucratic and organizational life.

The first time I really thought that there might be something interesting about meetings was during my doctoral research. I was following the work of a European Regional Development Funded project to create a new media industry in Manchester. As a public sector organisation who were advising small businesses, the problem of how to look legitimate in the eyes of their clients permeated their work. Doing meetings properly – that is, with a chair, an agenda, a minute taker, action points and AOB helped them imitate, and establish themselves as legitimate in terms of ‘proper’ business practice. This performativity of organisation hinged then on the meeting form. The meeting was a crucial device for enacting and working out issues that are addressed in this special issue about the relationship between the inside/outside of organisations and the formality/informality of relations.

In a subsequent project I looked at the process of building a road in Peru. Here meetings took a very different form; what really stood out was the ritualistic quality of many of the meetings. The daily meetings between foremen and the labourers had an almost catechistic quality to them, the health and safety manual read out like a sermon to workers. This special issue moves on from thinking about organisation processes as rituals to open up other fascinating issues including the role of context, sacrifice and revolution, ethics, failure, and future making in meetings.

My current research has been looking at how people are tackling climate change within the context of governmental practice. Meetings are crucial to this work. One of the constantly articulated challenges of climate change is problems with scale. As one person I worked with put it, the good thing about being in a city is that you can reach down to the people and also up to the global. Meetings were central to this shifting of scale. In the course of fieldwork I ended up going to meetings with residents, sitting in on council meetings, participating in strategy discussions and travelling

to different European locations to discuss European transformations in energy infrastructure. But at the same time as enabling movements across scale, the meeting did something strange to the experience of scale. In European meetings, Europe, conceived in some respects as ‘big’ was, as Strathern points out in the afterword to this collection, amenable to being ‘miniaturised’ in these gatherings. I was certainly struck how ‘Europe’ – when confronted ethnographically in meetings, – seemed strangely smaller than Manchester with its proliferating publics, practices, and projects. In contrast to the systems thinking that dominated the content of discussions within the meeting the kinds of scaling that I experienced in meetings themselves offered a very different story of how things and people gather momentum and things gets done.

In this collection there is much to help us think about what meetings do to scale – what they do to comparison, contexts, expertise and power. We learn much in these papers about what happens in meetings, what they are for, and what kinds of social worlds they bring into being. The focus of the collection on public sector and face to face meetings also hints towards other kinds of meetings that might be brought into this kind of conversation – corporate board-rooms, Skype meetings, and other digital forms of interaction. But even with just the cases we have presented here these descriptions, collectively, do seem to do something more than just describe a proliferation of different kinds of meetings. The final question I am left with is what the editors see for themselves as the real analytical purchase, for anthropology, of a focus on meetings. This special issue opens up the prospect of a longer and more extensive conversation about meetings, perhaps helping us to get a new grasp on complex and often difficult to study phenomena like management, organisation, power, globalisation and neoliberalism.

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- [Contradiction in contemporary political life: meeting bureaucracy in Norwegian municipal government \(pp. 27–44\)](#) – Simone Abram

- [Demonstrating development: meetings as management in Kenya’s health sector \(pp. 45–62\)](#) – Hannah Brown and Maia Green
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Early career

The RAI is keen to provide a supportive environment for its early career researchers. It is involved with annual conferences for both post-graduates and undergraduates and offers prizes for post-graduate and undergraduate essays. The annual deadline for the Arthur Maurice Hocart Prize (postgraduate), established in 1948 under the will of the Mrs E.G. Hocart in memory of her husband, and the RAI Student Essay Prize (undergraduate) is the 30th November. More information about the application process can be found here: www.therai.org.uk/awards/prizes/arthur-maurice-hocart-prize-and-rai-student-essay-prize

The RAI also runs a special research in progress seminar series, coordinated by Gemma Aellah, for early-career researchers to present their work and obtain feedback. Ben Bowles, from SOAS, is one of the co-organizers and was one of the first to present his work in the series. Here he shares some insights from his PhD thesis, 'Water ways: becoming an itinerant boat-dweller on the canals and rivers of south-east England'



Canal boats in London on the weekend. Photograph: Sripriya Sudhakar.

The boaters – myths and legends

BEN BOWLES

SOAS

EARLY CAREER

For the *RAI Review* I was asked to write a short 'public interest' piece arising from my PhD research. There has been a recent upsurge in reportage around live-aboard (permanently water-dwelling) boaters, particularly those living in and around London. News and magazine articles have begun to pitch the phenomenon of boat-dwelling either as a novel solution to the housing crisis (Meikle and Maynard 2014; Palmer 2015; Rucki 2014) or otherwise as smart, trendy urban living (Duell 2015). Television programmes such as *How to Live Mortgage Free* (Channel 4, 2017) and *Great Canal Journeys* (Channel 4, 2014–17) have begun to make boat-dwellers more superficially visible to the wider media-consuming public.

When I moved aboard my boat in July of 2012, my choice was met by fascination and incomprehension by friends, family, and strangers at parties. The whole phenomenon was lacking visibility and a 'figure' (in the rhetoric culture sense of 'figuration', see Salazar, 2009) in the public imagination. Now, only five years on, it seems that when I say 'I live on a boat' to a new acquaintance, they will be rather less interested than they perhaps would once have been, and they are far more likely to have an opinion of their own on London's floating population, rooted in media that they have seen or read. With so much of this information being only a single fractal perspective on the complexity of life afloat, I thought it would be timely to attempt some necessary 'myth-busting'. In this vein, I present a repudiation of a key misunderstanding that I think it is most important to challenge in the light of increased scrutiny into the lives of boaters.

Boat dwelling is not simply a financial choice in response to a housing crisis

It may go against the narrative presented in a growing number of news articles and 'lifestyle' media features, but my fieldwork data reveals that, even in what Ian Sinclair would call the 'stretched city' of London (Sinclair 2017), there is significantly more to the phenomenon of boat-dwelling than economic necessity. Sinclair means that the city is even more polarized than other parts of the contemporary UK, in terms of rent and mortgage prices

and living costs compared to the comparative lows of average pay. Further, he is referencing a geographic stretching, into suburbs and former industrial spaces, as the centre of the city becomes affordable to dwell in only for the super-rich.

It is of course clear that this stretching to the margins correlates with an increase in those taking to living in many different forms of 'alternative housing', including boat-dwelling, squatting, co-operative projects, 'guardianships' and the like. However, to end or even to start an analysis of boat-living here is to go against ethnographic reality. This is not to deny that boaters may move aboard due to a plethora of (often discursively linked) motivations, one of which may be the comparative cheapness of a boat, especially if the owner does not buy a mooring and rather 'continuously cruises' from location to location. In this event, the boat owner needs only pay a license at the start of the year (a few hundred to a couple of thousand pounds) and cheap insurance, and can then complete a circuit of the capitals' waterways, incurring no expenses other than living costs such as coal, gas, food and materials and labour for boat maintenance and upkeep.

This is not done lightly, however; boats must be purchased at significant cost (several months' rent or a small mortgage deposit) before this lifestyle can be entered into. It is frequently stated within the boating community that those who move aboard purely for economic reasons are not 'the right sort' and 'will not last a winter', when the privations of boat dwelling hit and boaters must cope with channel freezes, long dark nights without much power generated from solar panels, and the need to keep a fire constantly blazing in the stove. Additionally, boaters are quick to point out that boat maintenance can be expensive, particularly when infrequent and unpredictable expenses are incurred, such as engine faults. As such, moving aboard for economic reasons is considered naive. Boat, the saying goes, is an acronym for 'Bring out another thousand [pounds]', and it is a foolish boater who expects to live without regular expenses for upkeep.

Boaters often state that it is important to 'love the lifestyle' and to engage with boat-dwelling as a way of experiencing a different way of living in the city. I summarized in my thesis that, more than deriving from a financial *Homo economicus* type of logic, becoming a boater is about wishing to learn the skills

of the boater, and about one's boat, and beginning to dwell skilfully on the waterways. This learning process functions similarly to that which Pálsson described for the Icelandic fishermen with whom he worked (Pálsson 1994), or as Ingold (2000) described when he spoke of learning to dwell bodily in an environment. One participant, Vale, said that she wanted to live in 'a different kind of home', one that was 'more personal', 'a project', and that inside her boat she felt like she was cocooned 'in the belly of a whale.' Her choice, and the choices of many other boaters I met, are certainly not aimed simply at avoiding rent payments.

For the majority of those to whom I spoke, being on a boat and having the freedom to travel and to design a truly personal living space is a utopian act, based around a desire to live in the city or its environs in a way that allows freedom from particular constraints (see Bowles in press), including constraints on movement and personal expression, as well as, of course, financial constraints. For the boaters in my thesis, however, this was not just a negative economic freedom of 'avoiding' particular housing costs, but rather a positive economic freedom, where living on a boat could allow them to leave jobs they hated, to indulge hobbies or projects that they love, or to create a relationship with the world of capitalist wage work (through self-employment, irregular or casualized labour) that they found more desirable. In short, to craft their futures from a greater range of possibilities. This is, of course, not the case for all boaters, some of whom do feel trapped in employment that they find undesirable, but all with whom I have spoken have made the point that to reduce boating to a choice made simply about money is short-sighted.

It is important to further nuance this discussion by noting that it can be said that there are two 'types' of boaters – 'lifestyle' boaters who feel that their choice is about dwelling in an 'alternative' fashion on the waterways and 'economic' boaters – and that these 'types' are related to socio-economic class. I have met many in the boating community who have sought to make value judgements about others in the boating community by suggesting exactly this kind of typology. For me, however, such a rigid designation of 'types' does not accurately describe the ethnographic reality. While it is true that younger and more middle-class boaters tend to join the waterways in London, and that economic

considerations can form a large component of their choice to dwell aboard, whether or not one is counted as a 'proper' boater or not has more to do with how one comes to learn the skills of boating and of dwelling competently as part of a 'community of practice' (Lave and Wenger 1991) on the waterways over a period of development. Examples of those from various class backgrounds either becoming 'successful' members of the community or failing to do so abound, and, as such, this kind of 'apprenticeship' and learning model is more accurate than speaking about class and broad types of boaters, other than when they are used as part of boaters' own rhetorical claims and counter-claims.

To find out more about the boaters or my other work, contact me at: brunel.academia.edu/BenBowles

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RAIFILM.ORG

New film website

FILM

The Royal Anthropological Institute acts as contact point in the UK for information, networking and advice in visual anthropology and ethnographic film. It runs the biennial RAI Film Festival based in Bristol. In addition it supplies a service based on the distribution and sale of ethnographic films on DVD and online for educational and academic purposes. A new dedicated website raifilm.org.uk has recently been launched with detailed info about all the RAI film related activities.



Still from *Journey to the Maggot Feeder* (2015), by Drs. Liivo Niglas and Priit Tender, winner of the Basil Wright Film Prize 2017.

The 15th RAI Film Festival

CATERINA SARTORI

RAI FILM OFFICER AND RAI FILM FESTIVAL MANAGER

FILM

The RAI FILM FESTIVAL anthropology/ethnography/archaeology (raifilm.org.uk) returned to Watershed cinema in Bristol last spring. The 15th edition of this biennial festival – which celebrates the relationship between documentary film-making, anthropology, visual culture and the advocacy of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue through film – saw a large and lively audience attending a vast array of workshops, seminars and masterclasses, and of course watching a selection of the best in ethnographic film-making from around the globe.

The film festival aims to speak to both professionals in the fields of anthropology and film-making, and to a wider public. We live in tumultuous times, characterized by increasing levels of complexity, conflict and interconnectedness, and anthropology and ethnographic film can help provide a deep and meaningful insight into the rapidly changing world we inhabit, beyond the sensationalism of news headlines. The RAI Film Festival has the potential to make anthropological concerns and insights available to an increasingly curious and inquisitive public.

The film that won the festival's main award, the RAI Film Prize, *Lampedusa in Winter* (overleaf), is an example of how current matters are treated by visual anthropologists and documentary film-makers who work with an ethnographic sensibility. A documentary shot in an observational style, it tackles the issue of migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe, from the perspective of the inhabitants of the small Italian island of Lampedusa. As set out in the title, the film develops during the off-season, in the quiet winter when the attention of the international media is focused elsewhere. The islanders struggle with limited resources and with a failing infrastructure, as the ferry that links them to Sicily breaks and is not replaced for lack of funds; meanwhile, a group of migrants protest their failed relocation to the mainland. As the director Jakob Brossmann told Samantha Dunn in an interview for the RAI (raifilm.org.uk/memory-and-migration-lampedusa-in-winter), he was driven to make this film by the need to understand a situation that concerns all Europeans, directly or indirectly: 'Being a witness of the deadly European border policy and how to live with that, and how it influences people

that are confronted with it all the time – that was kind of the question.' The film offers the audience a wide-angled view onto the microcosm of the island, one that encompasses the plight and struggles of islanders and migrants alike, and that emphasizes complexity rather than eschewing it.

The Basil Wright Prize was also awarded to a film that embraces layering and complexity, although with an altogether different theme and approach: *Journey to the Maggot Feeder* (raifilm.org.uk/films/journey-to-the-maggot-feeder) delves into the world of myths and fairy tales, and does so in an innovative and creative way. It tells the story of animator Priit Tender's quest to get to the bottom of a fairy tale belonging to the heritage of the Chukchi people of north-eastern Siberia. Priit uses a variety of methods and techniques to unravel the meaning of the story, ranging from making an animated film, speaking to psychoanalysts, creative writers and artists, to looking into archives and museums, to travelling to Siberia seeking out Chukchi people to speak with. The film strives to analyse the multiple layers that make up the story of the maggot feeder: the director Liivo Niglas wanted the audience to 'leave the cinema with an idea that this Chukchi fairy-tale is almost as complex as a Shakespearean play' (raifilm.org.uk/chukchi-or-not-chukchi-that-is-the-question). The film also asks questions about how stories travel across cultures and through time, and about how their meanings are created and remade in their retelling. The film-makers explore this through the act of artistic creation: Priit's animation of the fairy tale is one investigative method used alongside more traditional ethnographic tools, and one that can be of inspiration to ethnographic film-makers and visual anthropologists that wish to develop practice-based research.

The standard, creativity and acumen of the student films in competition impressed the judges and the audience. All highly individual in form and content, they included an accomplished film essay on Pakistani film and video collections, a first-hand exploration of the world of online-sex work, and a sensory and immersive film on deer farming. The film awarded with the Wiley Blackwell Student Film Prize, *Fighting for Nothing to Happen* (raifilm.org.uk/films/fighting-for-nothing-to-happen), looks at disaster relief. Director Nora Wildenauer follows with dedication and determination the daily life of Father Cyrillus as he battles with corruption and a complicated situation on the ground, in his efforts to relocate people displaced by a volcanic eruption in

Indonesia. The difficulties involved in the work of NGOs administering aid projects is here poignantly revealed as we accompany the priest on long journeys and interminable waits as he attempts to make the relocation happen. If Nora Wildenauer's accomplishment rests in filming a crisis situation unfolding in real time, Ravi Hart Lloyd's *Treasured Moments* (commended by the judges) (raifilm.org.uk/films/treasured-moments) works instead with memory and still images, to deliver an insightful and controlled auto-ethnography. Using family photo albums, an evocative and skilfully crafted ambient soundtrack and interviews with his father, mother and brother, Ravi Hart Lloyd tells the story of a man growing up between two worlds: 'I was born in a British colony to a white American mother and a black Anguillan father. I was born mixed race in 1991,' states the opening first-person voiceover. By piecing together his history, the film becomes a family's analysis of how perceptions of colour and race in the Caribbean and in the United States have shaped their lives and their relationships. Whilst being firmly autobiographical, the film transcends the individual experiences of the director and contributes to reflections on themes of identity, racism and belonging that are central to anthropology as a discipline and of interest well beyond its confines.

Film offers anthropologists the gift of approaching our research with techniques that go beyond participant observation. Whether this is through the



Still from *The Cinema Travellers* (2016), drs. Shirley Abraham and Amit Madheshiya, winner of the Audience Prize 2017.

wonderful craft of observational cinema or through the use of animation and/or techniques derived from contemporary art practice, knowledge, insight and further questions that would otherwise eschew us are produced. The successful combination of skilful film-

making and ethnographic sensibility is rare, and the RAI Film Festival strives to find and make available the most accomplished films in the genre. See you in Bristol in 2019 (28–30 March 2019), with another equally exciting and thought-provoking programme.

Interview with Jakob Brossman

Director of Lampedusa in Winter, winner of the RAI Film prize

SAMANTHA DUNN

RAI FILM FESTIVAL REPORTER

FILM

'Being a witness of the deadly European border policy and how to live with that, and how it influences people that are confronted with it all the time – that was kind of the question.'

Situated between Italy and North Africa, the image of Lampedusa in the media is predominantly as a no-man's land, in which immigrants and citizens are forced to co-exist in a fragile equilibrium, competing for space and resources. Austrian film-maker Jakob Brossmann focuses his lens upon the island of Lampedusa over the winter months in his film *Lampedusa in Winter*, observing both citizens and refugees and the issues they face on the periphery.

Brossmann's thoughts on refuge and migration, and in particular Austrian history, led him to casting his gaze upon the tiny island of Lampedusa. The director recalls how it was the story of Jewish Austrians trying to flee Austria or the so-called Third Reich in the 1940s, who had been pushed back despite already reaching Switzerland, which influenced a previous project – a screenplay about people being rejected on the Swiss border. This influenced his filmic concern with Lampedusa:

'I realized the question I was dealing with before was very much current today. It was 2011, many people in Austria hadn't seen refugees in years. Lampedusa made me realize that those questions are very much up to date, questions in our present.'

The events of 3rd October – where 365 migrants drowned off the island of Lampedusa – are present in the film's narrative, but are not the focus. The film-maker is quick to mention that this tragedy was not the first, or the biggest, but rather 'just one terrible tragedy in a long row of terrible tragedies.' These events, he adds, brought a very intense media coverage, with an inordinate amount of attention being given to the same image, 'the overcrowded migrant boat coming towards the camera.' This led the film-maker to wonder what lay



Still from *Lampedusa in Winter* (2016) dr Jakob Brossmann, winner of the RAI Film Prize 2017.

behind the camera, raising his interest in examining the 'not so spectacular things.'

Visually and thematically, *Lampedusa in Winter* conveys a sense of stagnation, of listlessness, of people in a state of stasis. However, it is also a portrayal of compassion, strength and resilience, and gives refugees and the people of Lampedusa a voice. The director tells me he wanted to show the refugees and the citizens of Lampedusa as 'speaking, questioning and political subjects,' not simply as victims, which he adds, is not always an easy task. Nonetheless, this is the image that film-maker Brossman conveys in his film, choosing to focus upon the intense encounter between migrants and citizens of Lampedusa, as a witness to the genuine solidarity between the subjects of his film.

Lampedusa's citizen's own realities and struggles are observed, with a radio station, a youth football team, and crucially the ferry that connects the island with the mainland providing a narrative and backdrop of daily existence. I questioned Brossman about the role of the ferry in the film and its function, which seemed so strikingly symbolic:

'We got lucky it was such a strong symbol, because I knew before shooting that Lampedusa has a lot of structural problems- the schools, the water, the garbage, transportation ... a lot of things. I was quite sure that something would happen that would show us

this relation and struggle of Lampedusa as an island, as a marginalised, forgotten outpost somewhere.'

These sequences are juxtaposed against the refugees' struggles to move on from the island, and secure basic human conditions whilst they are there. The intention of Brossmann, in examining the plight of refugees alongside the pressures placed upon the citizens of Lampedusa, does not detract from what he says to be the real focus of his film: 'the main victims of the crisis are of course the refugees, but at the same time, in my opinion, it is very important, to look at the lives of the European people and what they suffer from... Sometimes I feel like Lampedusan people and refugees are like very unequal siblings. The tension is very unequally distributed, and the picture of both in the Italian media is not very precise.'

Lampedusa in Winter is an important film, which deals with a subject matter that has arguably never been more pertinent. Transcending the borders of the island, this film is situated within a wider narrative of immigration, with issues that are more than simply European, issues of marginalization, borders and solidarity. The story of Lampedusa is a drop in the oceanic pool of immigrant stories that are crying out to be heard, with concerns that mirror the situation of countless undocumented migrants all around the world who live in a state of uncertainty.

Art, materiality and representation, 2018

EVENTS

Over the last few years, the RAI has responded to increased interest in the relationship between art and anthropology by reviving its art and anthropology committee, chaired by Deborah Swallow, hosting research seminars, and a conference on William Fagg at the Courtauld Institute. The RAI is currently preparing for its fourth major conference, 'Art, materiality and representation', to be held at the British Museum and SOAS on 1–3 June 2018. We have had an amazing response to the call for panels, with 101 panels accepted for the conference. These provide wide-ranging interpretations of the theme, from archaeology, to political cartoons, to birds of prey. The relationship between anthropology and museums is the focus of several panels, looking at issues including the way the colonial past of many collections affects the way we view them today, and whether or not architecture can be brought inside the museum to be interrogated. There are panels on notions of failure in art and anthropology, art and health, how making art can effect recovery, and colour as a concept and practice.

Dr Max Carocci, the managing editor of the RAI Anthropological Index Online, whose own work focuses on historical and modern Native American art, spoke to the *RAI Review* about the contemporary relevance of the conference theme.

The last major RAI conference in 2016 was on 'Climate change and the weather'. The conference theme attracted a lot of interest, and opening remarks were given by Lord Deben, the Chair of the UK Committee on Climate Change. Do you expect a conference on art to garner as much interest?

'Of course! I believe a conference on art is equally as important, and equally as political. Art is essential to life. It is a way of expressing what is not expressible otherwise, and this often has a strong political dimension. For example, I am currently working with contemporary indigenous artists, because an anthropological study of their practices highlights the politicized meanings associated with art production. Most significantly, indigenous peoples around the world who do not have much to invest in, are investing in their culture. This means not only investing in their language, but also in their cultural products – this is what really spells identity for them. The vocal claims about repatriation of objects, for example, are part of a process of reconstructing their heritage, and the objects sitting in museums, exhibited as examples of far-away cultures, are a crucial part of this. The artists I work with are rather clear about what counts as their cultural heritage and who can use it, and in what way. But in the present political climate, indigenous voices are being trampled. One of President Trump's first acts was to cut all funding to the National Association of the Arts, completely undermining that area of human experience. The cultural policy of a nation dramatically affects peoples' ability to produce and have a means of expression. Indigenous tribes have to invest every revenue within the tribal nations, and art is the thing that suffers when funding is cut, as people also need healthcare, education and housing. Some richer tribes can afford to have proper cultural policies, but without access to this national funding, poorer ones cannot. It is vital that we discuss the implications.

I am delighted that our next conference is on this subject because the RAI has a special relationship with the study of art in anthropology, especially given the legacy of our former trustee William Fagg, a central figure in the study of West African art. The RAI archives hold important ethnographic sketches and drawings that highlight the rarely acknowledged



Max Carocci installing works of Sarah Sense for the exhibition *The Common Thread*, Weltkulturen Museum. Photo Weltkulturen Museum, 2016.

history of mutual entanglements between ethnographic illustration and art history, and between drawing and text in ethnographic fieldwork. This is the topic of a panel I am co-chairing at the conference.

The Institute's Anthropology Library at the British Museum also has a whole section dedicated to art and anthropology, which complements the collection of objects stored there. The Anthropological Index Online (AIO), of which I am the managing editor, takes 33 journals dedicated to art and anthropology and over the last 20 years AIO has indexed more than 3,000 articles on art and anthropology.'

What can conference attendees expect from the conference?

'We have been able to accept over 100 panels this time due to our expanded venue, and they certainly cover a wide range of themes. We will also have a range of ancillary events, including a film programme and hope to find some innovative ways to integrate artists and their art into the conference. In my experience the artists themselves are seeking these encounters and chances to engage, so the involvement of artists within this conference will be central.

My other hope for the conference is that it might offer a way to bring together anthropology of art and art history. The work I do sits at the convergence of two disciplines. In my mediatory function, I try to bridge the methodological and theoretical concerns of these two disciplines, which can seem diametrically opposed. Art history is, in a sense, quite formalist. It is interested in the life of the artist and how certain forms and styles develop, but it addresses the art piece in its own right as a complete object. Whereas of course anthropologists try to put it in a much broader social and cultural context. We need a new theoretical language to bridge these differences, particularly with regard to the kind of indigenous art that I'm interested

in. The work of Indigenous artists today has often been considered too "ethnic" to be studied by art history, and conversely, perhaps, too contemporary to be studied by anthropologists. These artists come from traditions where there is no recorded art history, traditions that have been historically studied by anthropology – from Boas to Levi-Strauss – and seen as outside the domain of art history. The history of art – notwithstanding some work on Chinese art – is a Western history of art. I hope that we can use this conference to start some new conversations between the two disciplines and reframe the history of art.'

Max has recently published an article on depictions of the human face among North American Plains Indians: Carocci, M. 2017. 'Facing new flows: subjectivity and the colonial encounter in Plains Indian art', *World Art* 7(1): doi.org/10.1080/21500894.2017.1288654

CONFERENCE INFO

www.therai.org.uk/conferences/art-materiality-and-representation

Conference dates: 1–3 June 2018

Venue: Clore Centre, British Museum and Paul Webley Wing, Senate House, London.

Conference Fees:

Non Fellows: £190

RAI Member: £170

RAI Fellows: £95

RAI Student Fellows (now including undergraduates): £60

Obituaries

The RAI runs an online obituaries project comprising biographical essays covering the life and work of deceased and distinguished anthropologists – usually, though not necessarily, RAI Fellows. The project is supervised by the Manuscripts and Archives Committee. RAI obituaries are solicited by the Obituaries Editor and published on the Institute's website. This page is the Institute's major portal for information about deaths of our colleagues. As a service to the Institute, please notify the RAI Obituaries Editor Nichola Khan at N.Khan@brighton.ac.uk as soon as you learn of a death. Suggestions for possible obituarists are welcome.

In 2016–17 we are saddened to announce the deaths of the following Fellows: Geoffrey Ainsworth Harrison, Reginald Byron, Elizabeth Colson, Harold Conklin, John (Horsley Russell) Davis, Tod Hartman and Brian Street. Please see www.therai.org.uk/archives-and-manuscripts/obituaries for their obituaries.

The Elizabeth Colson day

On the 12th October the RAI hosted a one day seminar on the life and works of Elizabeth Colson, who was for many years a Fellow of the RAI and who remembered the RAI in her will with a legacy of £10,000. Speakers on the day recalled her great contribution in several fields, including the anthropology of Africa, the anthropology of migration and displaced peoples, applied anthropology and gender.

Legacies and donations

The RAI is an entirely independent charity which has been in existence for nearly 150 years, thanks to the generosity of its benefactors. Donations and legacies allow us to sponsor cutting-edge anthropological research that is hard to finance by other means. Our benefactors also enable us to give much needed funds to help final-year research students complete their PhDs, give out prizes for outstanding scholarship and conserve our invaluable archival, photo and film collections for future generations. We welcome any contributions, large or small, towards these endeavours. We also welcome contributions to our fundraising for our future flagship project, the creation of an RAI Research Centre. If you are interested in giving us a donation, or leaving us a gift in your will, we would love to hear from you. Enquiries can be made in confidence to the Director, Dr David Shankland on david.shankland@therai.org.uk, +44 (0)20 7387 0455, 50 Fitzroy Street, London, W1T 5BT.



Elizabeth Colson. © RAI

Elizabeth Colson, 1917–2016

RAYMOND APTHORPE

RAI HON. SECRETARY

OBITUARY

Elizabeth Colson, the social anthropologist and social activist, died aged 99 last year, after a long and truly remarkable career, 'on the verandah of the house she had built watching the birds' in Monze, Zambia. It was here that she finally retired, the place where in the 40s she had begun her Plateau Tonga and Gwembe Valley studies.

Anthropology, as we all know, comes in various guises, sometimes disguises; anthropologists too. Personalities and lifestyles vary, sometimes widely and in ways one might not expect or realize from their professional writings (though there may be telling hints). Utterly and completely unracialistic, defiantly so

when necessary, completely and creatively committed to anti-colonialism and the political and humanitarian cause of independence in Central Africa, where she worked over many long years, Elizabeth Colson was probably very different in almost every way from most of her senior colleagues and their successors in the 40s and early 50s at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (long since absorbed into the University of Zambia) in Lusaka. That is where, when I worked there, she would drop by on her way to or back from 'the Plateau Tonga'.

As ever on those visits, in her light, long, oatmeal-coloured Boston-type raincoat, with a selection of the latest new 'whodunits' under her arm, and with usually little conversation – the Institute had changed very much since her time there in ways almost certainly not to her liking – the figure she cut was modest, private, polite. She was already a famous and leading

anthropologist; but who, from appearances, could have guessed that?

It was on one such visit that she chanced to meet John Argyle, then starting to gear up for his Soli field research, and as often as not, perhaps for inspiration, preoccupied with a whole set of Charles Dickens' novels. Immediately, she took the initiative, inviting him to come with her for a few days to her 'field' first, thinking to offer some induction into that which, John said then, 'Oxford had made no effort whatsoever to prepare me for' – fieldwork. (Was E-P's advice to his graduate students, 'to wear tennis shoes whenever possible because they dry out quicker', the sum total of 'approaches and methods' taught then?) John recalls her taking him in a dugout canoe on a stretch of, or tributary to, the Zambezi, to see something of her scene

and taking pains to attend to people's health needs by distributing medical supplies brought for that purpose.

In 1957, one of my first tasks as RLI's first Research Secretary was to forage in what was left of a row of files on a high shelf on the institute's open balcony, to save what the elements had kindly left to be rescued and preserved. One of the less damaged file boxes turned out to be stuffed with carbon copies of her 1940s Plateau Tonga field notes, all neatly typed out, in careful narrative prose not just jerky jottings, classified by topic and even, if I remember correctly, colour coded: the raw data of her startling 1958 monograph, *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*. In its style of presentation and analysis, and the detail, nuance, social knowledge and insight it displayed, particularly of interpersonal relations, this was a monograph of a vividly different character (while similar in other regards) to the other major ethnographies of the region.

In writing (in the 1989 *Annual Review of Anthropology*) on her work 'overall', Elizabeth held that ethnography, to be anthropologically true (also anthropology that would be ethnographically true), should carefully recognize and credit 'the transiency (...and the contingency ...) of social forms and a higher degree of freedom of action than many anthropologists appear to grant to whoever it is they define as other', because 'whatever we observe is not an integrated culture or ... social system ... behaviour is situational'. She called, therefore, for 'a more eclectic tool kit' reflecting, she thought, 'a characteristic feminine attitude'. It was a long, gentle, and revealing essay.

An old typed letter tumbled out of a book from Mary Douglas's library (donated to the RAI) that I was reading just before writing this note, and turned out to be one to Mary, dated 24 March 1973, 'yours ever', from Lucy, that is Lucy Mair. Why I must now cite from this possibly otherwise unrecorded bit of British anthropology's history you will soon see – and approve, I hope. While it is about someone else 'altogether' (though it is unlikely that there were no relations at all between the three parties), Mair's argument about how comparative social anthropology should proceed could not be in closer harmony with Colson's, contra – in Mair's words:

taking a holistic view ... that for structuralists consists in seeing how a certain limited set of elements – whose chooses them? – are related in different societies. I don't see that you could make much comparison out of that. Of course Malinowski said societies must be taken as wholes, though his was a very different kind of whole; but it was through finding that one couldn't

compare these wholes that we thought we must compare elements; and if instead of saying that we compare systems we said we compared the ways in which different societies tackle different universal problems, I should say that is the most important problem for [comparative] study of society. But of course it wouldn't be structuralist.

Mair then goes on to mention migration specifically. As is widely known, including beyond anthropology (at Oxford's Refugee Studies Centre for example), forced migration was one of Elizabeth Colson's longest pursued interests.

It is indeed interesting that both EP and Monica Wilson who have argued most conspicuously against anthropology's supposed disregard of history (misquoting Radcliffe-Brown for the purpose), have degrees in history. It leads one to wonder whether their attitude springs from 'deformation professionnelle' rather than from theoretical considerations such as those of the American Marxists ... EP appears to mean by history the record of a unique configuration; in those terms every fieldwork monograph is a historical record. Monica's history ... sometimes offers an explanation in migration terms of the peculiar combination of institutions found among the Nyakusa (I wonder whether structuralists have envisaged that set of elements? Or do they stick to societies where there is nothing to see but kinship, marriage and residence?).

Lucy's tone may typically be tarter, Elizabeth's characteristically cooler, but, boiled down, the two approaches are practically identical. Mair's epistolary 'The ways in which different societies tackle different universal problems' could perhaps be edited into 'the ways in which in different and similar societies particular and universal problems of social and political organisation and public policy customarily are tackled'. It was to what was called 'applied anthropology', nobly by some but abusively by others, that Mair and Colson each made one major contribution after another.

Of the hundreds of Colson's publications and papers listed in the surely definitive 2016 bibliography of her life's work by Norman Buchignani¹ (building on the labours of others and finally compiled with her own help), there are very many to choose and prefer. One of her very earliest, her 1950 paper in the then *Journal of African Administration* on 'Possible repercussions of the right to make wills in a matrilineal society', remains in my view one of her best (and in *The Hague*

and Bath served often to open my anthropology and development classes). It is a perfect illustration of what a scholar-consultant-advocate seeking very carefully and precisely to avoid playing the role of (would-be) ruler can – and must – do: not come up with only a supposedly single best bottom-line judgement offered as the solution, but stick to the task of advising. One should deliver, rather, a range, a menu, of possible scenarios, spelling out what, anthropologically at least, ex ante would appear to be the most likely consequences of going down one road rather than another, and ranking options perhaps, but essentially always leaving it to the ruler to rule on what 'is best'. This is exactly the way, years later, a London School of Economics interdisciplinary consultancy study on Somalia peace options (Ioan Lewis was the chief anthropologist member of the team) chose to set out a menu of action options, with the likely implications of each modelled ex ante. Thus can we recognise the 'wickedness' of public policy solutions, as well as the challenges.

As to her personal social lifestyle, that too was exceptional, and very far from the *grande dame* register which so engages, amongst others, Andrew Bank² in his 'great woman anthropologists of Africa' quest, or and far also from that of most of her alpha-male anthropologist contemporaries in the region in the 40s, 50s and 60s (whose social lives tended to be more shuttered, shall we say, or even blinkered). Rather the comparison I would offer is with the life – and letters, his work also spanned a multifarious array of interests and accomplishments – of quite another brilliant and dedicated figure (who also once, or twice, in his career was RLI Acting Director): the scholar-administrator C.M.N. White (soon nicknamed 'off-white' by his fellow administrators on account of the social company he preferred to keep and the friends he lived and worked with).

Jean la Fontaine concludes the obituary of Elizabeth Colson she wrote for the October 2016 issue of *Anthropology Today* by remarking that 'all anthropologists could benefit from a careful reading of the work that is her rich legacy to us'. A RAI contribution to such an undertaking could start from where Jack Glazier and his fellow editors and contributors left the story in 1984 in their encomium volume, *Opportunity, Constraint and Change*, and proceed from there.

My grateful thanks to John Argyle for help towards writing this note.

Notes

¹ escholarship.org/uc/item/9j45p150.

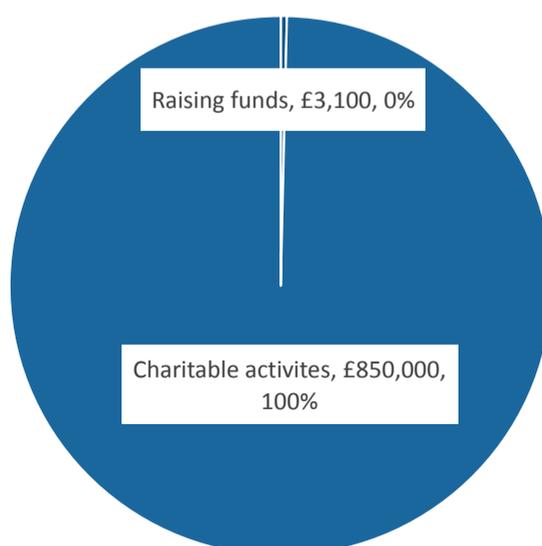
² Bank, A. 2016. *Pioneers of the Field: South Africa's Women Anthropologists*. Wits University Press.

Financials

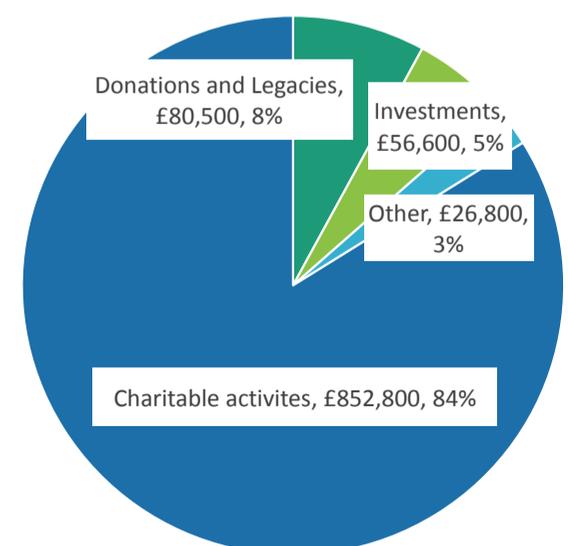
FINANCE

The Institute is funded from subscriptions, from the income on endowments, and other earned income. It has its own freehold building in central London. Council and committee members and the editorial team of the Institute's principal journal, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, give their services without remuneration. The Institute is a non-profit-making registered charity and is entirely independent. Our Charity Commission number is 246269. The Institute has 34 Trustees and a Financial Director, Ms Christine Patel. Summarised accounts and annual reports for past years are available here : www.therai.org.uk/about-the-rai/annual-report. Full statutory accounts can be obtained from the RAI offices, 50 Fitzroy Street, London, W1T 5BT.

Expenditure: £853,100 (31.12.2016)



Income: 1 million (31.12.2016)



About the RAI

The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (RAI) is the world's longest-established scholarly association dedicated to the furtherance of anthropology (the study of humankind) in its broadest and most inclusive sense. The Institute is a non-profit-making registered charity and is entirely independent, with a Director and a small staff accountable to the Council, which in turn is elected annually from the Fellowship. It has a Royal Patron in the person of HRH The Duke of Gloucester KG, GCVO.

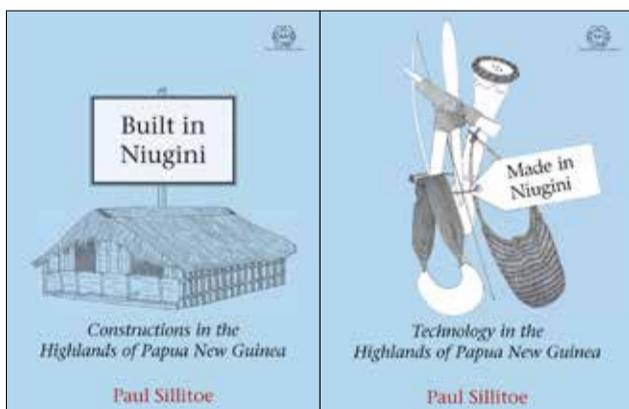
The RAI seeks to combine a distinguished tradition of scholarship stretching back more than 150 years with the active provision of services to contemporary anthropology and anthropologists (including students of anthropology). It has a particular commitment to promoting the public understanding of anthropology, and the contribution of anthropology to public affairs. It publishes journals, has a privileged link with the Anthropology Library (British Museum), has a film and video library and an extensive photographic collection, gives awards for outstanding scholarship, organizes lectures and meetings, and manages a number of trust funds for research. The journals circulate throughout the world, and about 70 per cent of subscriptions revenue comes from outside the UK. Other specialist interests are represented through Committees.

RAI Book Series

'*Built in Niugini* deals with built structures in the New Guinea Highlands. The focus is on the tacit aspects of knowing and behaviour that feature prominently in contemporary phenomenological approaches to social life, such as 'practice theory' and agency. A material perspective, such as features in an enquiry into construction activity, affords an opportunity firstly, to investigate tangible 'know-how' skill and secondly, to extend investigation into intangible social 'know-that' tacit intelligence.' (Professor Paul Sillitoe).

Built in Niugini has been published in the RAI book series by Sean Kingston Publishing (www.seankingston.co.uk/publishing.html) alongside a second edition of Professor Sillitoe's earlier work *Made in Niugini*.

Expressions of interest for the RAI Book series should be made to publications@therai.org.uk. More information is available on the RAI website.



MALINOWSKI B.		12. Linguistic knowledge	For office use
11. Surname	Initials	Polish French German Italian Spanish English Trobian all these I speak & know well	
13. Regions of which you have expert knowledge, especially from personal experience (give full particulars on separate sheet)		1. Russian 2. Serbian 3. Dutch 4. Portuguese These I know 1 & 2 enough to speak 3 to read	
14. Methods and techniques in which you are expert			
Field-work Functional approach to prim ^{ive} (really savage, such as couleay, Germany of 1840s) cultures			
15. Any other information			

Malinowski's entry in the RAI census collated to survey anthropophony's potential contribution to the war effort, the Second World War. From the RAI Archives.

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Joining the RAI as a Fellow or Member means becoming part of an anthropological community with a long history. We welcome anyone with an interest in the subject, whether working in an academic institution or not. Our affiliates include academic specialists, students, those working in fields where anthropology has practical applications, and those whose interest is captured by the subject matter of anthropology. There are several levels of membership and associated benefits. For current prices and joining instructions please visit the RAI website.

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Letters to the editor

'Battles of fact don't as a rule win wars of styles of analysis, neither in anthropology nor other disciplines of inquiry and learning. What might?'

Professor Raymond Apthorpe

Replies and letters to the editor: gaellah@therai.org.uk

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