De-Naturalizing Difference:
Challenging the Production of Global Social Inequality

Application to the Research Council of Norway (ISP-ANTRO)
Submitted by the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen

Project director: Professor Edvard Hviding, University of Bergen

Additional project partners:
- University of Oslo, Department of Social Anthropology
- Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI)

1. Aims and Objectives

As an institutional response to the report *Social and Cultural Anthropological Research in Norway: An Evaluation* and following key recommendations of the follow-up committee appointed by the Research Council of Norway (RCN), this application proposes a strategic collaborative research project involving the formation of a strong scholarly network, the organization of a series of workshops and several major international dissemination events, and a high-profile publishing agenda. In line with the challenges identified for Norwegian anthropological research by the evaluation, the project aims to expand the institutional and individual participants' international networks, to produce influential international publications, and to build for Norwegian anthropology and anthropologists a more central position in current and future international, comparative theoretical debates.

From a basic objective of reanalysing global social inequality through the prism of "de-naturalization", our main proposal is one of bringing a massive catalogue of ethnographic materials held collectively by the project team and their wider networks to bear on a fresh theoretical agenda that seeks to challenge prevailing interpretations concerning social inequality worldwide. From this dynamics, new theoretical approaches will be developed for understanding the production of inequality under the rapidly evolving global social, economic and political circumstances of the present times. The new theoretical formations also have as a premise to influence the ways in which anthropology and anthropologists engage with the world, and to counter certain reductionist intellectual trends that have fostered a "retreat of the social" (Kapferer 2005). "De-Naturalizing Difference" will be based in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, with institutional partners being the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo and the Chr. Michelsen Institute in Bergen, as well as several individual participants mainly from other departments at the University of Bergen.

Some conceptual clarifications are in order for this initial setting-out of the project's objectives. "Naturalization" in the present context refers to processes by which categorizations and divisions of humankind and the characteristics associated with each category come to be seen as natural, inevitable, or even god-given. We do not here include the acquisition of citizenship, to which the concept may also refer. In so delineating naturalization we follow Yanagisako and Delaney's lines of thinking in *Naturalizing Power* (1995), which

was seminal in addressing the naturalization of gender inequalities seventeen years ago. Since then the concept has been in frequent use but hardly been given analytical attention. The time is now ripe to carry their thinking forward by widening the sphere of relevance from gender to ethnicity, nationhood, religious alterity, "race", class and caste, and by taking into account the new technological and biological forms of naturalization that have appeared since their book was published. Acknowledging the dominant trends of naturalization allows us to argue for the strong potential for critical analysis and theoretical development held in a proposal for *de*-naturalization. Simultaneously, by treating naturalization simultaneously as a phenomenon in the world and as a rudimentary analytical concept for further development and theoretical diversification, we aim to

> (1) use the concept as a fresh point of departure for the analysis of how social inequalities are produced, governed and reconfigured in a rapidly changing world
> (2) rethink, refine and promote the concept as one that has acquired a taken-for-granted status in anthropological writing but that is now in dire need of theoretical re-examination
> (3) identify a thematic axis that enables comparison across ethnographic regions and forms of differentiation, and
> (4) bring together Norwegian anthropologists working within several institutions and analytical paradigms.

2. Questioning Naturalization and Inequality

Naturalization is epitomized by myths of origin that present cosmic, axiomatic explanations for how social categories and units came into being and why they should be ranked the way they are. Such positions also include the evolutionary paradigm to which most anthropologists subscribe, as Yanagisako and Delaney (1995) have reminded us. Yet naturalization also occurs in numerous other ways. Examples are essentialized rhetoric (now also on the Internet), the use of idioms of the "natural", the production of scientific "facts" that claim to verify human differences of the kind that is infused with meaning (skull shapes, IQ levels, etc.) and forms the basis for unequal treatment, enumeration of collective identities in ways that make them seem in-born, registration of biometric data that serve to fuse individuality with social category, and so forth. How do such processes – which may occur and develop at very different levels – come together in enhancing the production of social inequalities throughout the world? Among the broader range of questions we intend to raise are the following:

- To what extent does it make sense to lump these processes into a single prism on the basis of the social inequalities they produce?
- How do we theorize this concept in a more consistent manner?
- To what extent is it helpful to envisage a dialectics of de- and re-naturalization in contexts historically characterized by profound egalitarian discourses and policies?

- Does the naturalization of egalitarianism in the Nordic countries present us with a counterpoint to the naturalization of difference/inequality, or does it instead mask unequal power relations in a more profound way?

It is through such inquiries that we aim for this project to provide for the development of new theoretical platforms, and we aim to do so by the constant confrontation of the theoretical quest with diverse, intensely detailed ethnographic materials from a diversity of places and times. Engaging explicitly with naturalization also enables us to ask questions such as:

- To what extent is racialization paralleled by a conceptual relapse from gender to sex, from malleable to primordial ethnic identities, from chosen to inborn religious affiliations, from circumstantial to ability-based class positions, from acquired to autochtonous nationhood, and from castes of mind to castes of matter?
- If such parallels are found, how do we theorize them beyond the naturalization concept? Is it, for instance, possible to think in terms of a concept pair that generalizes the sex-gender distinction?

Whatever the answers may be to our range of questions and problems posed, our dedication to the usefulness of "naturalization" as prism for reanalyzing global social inequality is intended to shed light on a dynamics that has received limited scholarly attention, but that appears to have immense political and economic implications.

Whereas the common ground for the project is to explore the intersections between inequality and difference through a focus on processes of naturalization in changing world circumstances, a basic premise is that naturalization processes are related to new types of globalized power dynamics, and that this presents deep analytical challenges not least for anthropology. Contemporary global dynamics of economy and power not only reach into and cut across state sovereignty and local economic systems more forcefully than before, but those new configurations also produce new means for naturalizing global and local social orderings of difference. These developments have the power also to reconfigure local "natural" orders of things, hence fundamentally re-ordering sociality and subjectivities alike. Such forces are found in the new forms of decentralized political and economic power, as well as in social and political "technologies" of control like law, natural science, statistics and forms of monitoring and surveillance. In line with this, we also wish to critically assess the emergence of an influential "ontological turn" within the discipline of anthropology itself, and to examine that turn in conjunction with the broader empirical processes of naturalization.

Norwegian anthropology has a long tradition for producing thorough and holistic ethnography based on long, often repeated periods of fieldwork, and the Norwegian anthropological research record in this sense covers most parts of the world. This tradition of anthropological practice, often developing long-term familiarity with societies through multiple periods of fieldwork, provides a privileged ground, of great comparative potential, for engaging in the rethinking and theorizing of global social inequality, which has indeed been an enduring focus of research and teaching in the discipline on a national level. It is on this record, represented by the combined research experiences and ethnographic materials

made available by the project team as a collectivity, that "De-Naturalizing Difference" builds its ambitions of theoretical innovation.

3. Conceptualizing naturalization, difference and inequality

In the present global situation, difference appears to be a paradoxical category. On the one hand, it is celebrated in multiculturalist policies and cultural rights discourse and seen as a positive tool for development strategies and governance (Rose 1996, Kapferer 2010). On the other hand, the neo-liberal era is full of strong universalistic discourses and super- and inter-national legal frameworks and organizations such as development agencies and NGOs, which operate on the basis of assumed human universals and within a discourse of human liberation, while effectively supporting increasing social inequality. Difference has also come under attack in debates in the West about gender, immigrants' cultures, etc. Such disparate developments may perhaps be summed up by saying that individualised and structurally homogenized difference is celebrated, while at the same time radical social difference is attacked.

Difference is often said to be both the origin and at the heart of social anthropology. Notions of radical alterity, otherness, indigeneity and (for early anthropology) nativeness constituted a *raison d'être* for the anthropological enterprise of engaging the (largely) non-Western and colonial world. Both difference and inequality can be said to have worked as trans-empirical and analytical trans-regional meta-concepts in much analytical and theoretical anthropological work. Further, the notions have been integral to anthropological reasoning and research concerning, such as the elaboration of emic classificatory schemes and the concern with gender and sex in feminist anthropology, and have arguably informed a range of themes such as ethnicity, cosmology and cosmogenesis, myth, totemism, sacrifice, violence, the sacred, colonialism, authority, etc.

A tension has long persisted within anthropology between studying difference as **inequality** as a product of social and economic power (such as Marxist approaches, British social anthropology and feminist anthropology) and studying difference more holistically as a fundamental element of human social existence (as seen in the Durkheimian and Maussian legacies, through Dumont, to certain strains of modern anthropology). Inequality evokes verticality and differences in status, role, identity and gender that are afforded on the individual level, and through notions of hierarchy, caste, race, class and other forms of vertical ordering at the collective and classificatory level. Difference, in the holistic sense, has carried with it notions of comparison that in relativist fashion may be compared but not hierarchically valorized. Despite their divergent emphases, both these broadly conceived traditions recognize naturalization of the social order as a crucial social process in which cultural meaning and power/socio-economic order are interrelated in complex ways. The Manchester school's emphasis on the impact of the colonial and urban setting on cultural forms can be seen as an early example of transcending the boundary between these traditions (e.g., Mitchell 1956). The present project does not aim to dissolve the intra-disciplinary tensions outlined here as far as inequality is concerned, but simply takes the tension as a productive starting point.

The concept of **naturalization** refers to something that is made to appear as the logical outgrowths of other "facts of life" in any given context: to a situation where ideas have

become powerful because they "appear as natural" – in the understanding that if something is natural humans cannot, or only laboriously, alter it but must go with it. "Nature" is thus given – as a ground which constitutes the base from which humans can make culture and society. To some extent, the naturalization of the social world can be said to be a basic feature of society *per se*, although this is hotly debated in relation to gender, caste and class, and modernity. In their seminal volume *Naturalizing Power,* Yanagisako and Delaney (1995: 1) explain naturalization as the presentation of unequal power relations as "natural, inevitable, even god-given". Whether naturalization is brought about by myths of origin, key symbols, rituals, master narratives, taken-for-granted ideologies, doxic truths or in other ways, it is observable throughout the world, which is why it has interested anthropologists from the time of Frazer (1996) to the present proponents of the so-called "ontological turn" (see below).

We may use the term **de-naturalization** to refer to the ways in which naturalized social orders are resisted, questioned, challenged and counter-worked. Particularly within Marxist, feminist and political anthropology, a concern with denaturalizing processes has generated important theoretical and analytical insights. For Yanagisako and Delaney (1995) analysing gender relations was a step towards a de-naturalizing of power – exemplifying the crucial role of anthropologists and other scholars in contributing to denaturalizing social orders of difference and inequality. If it is true that all social anthropology entails a form of social constructivism, as Eriksen (2003) argues, the overall anthropological project may be seen as one of de-naturalization by way of de-familiarization. In the empirical world, we might view religious movements such as Christianity as a denaturalizing movement in its break with Judaism and Roman social reality, and in the modern world the socialist movement, the feminist movement and various anti-caste and anti-race movements have all striven to de-naturalize their surrounding social orders in order to reveal an underlying true natural state. Like naturalized social orders, such de-naturalizing discourses, movements and policies are also resisted, challenged and counter-worked. In some societies it may suffice to restore "the primal state of innocence of doxa" (Bourdieu 1977: 169) by re-actualizing the original cosmic order or finding new ways of exemplifying its truth value, such as when using biological arguments to reconfigure or re-naturalize caste differences.

Issues of difference and inequality in the modern world of colonialism and Western dominated capitalism also raises the question of change and resistance. Anthropology has a long history of studies of capitalist transformation of society, from Polanyi via structural Marxism, perspectives developed by Sahlins, world system theory and peasant studies, to the present. Related to this, resistance has also figured prominently in anthropological debates (Scott 1985, 1990, 1998; Okely 1991). Since early anthropological studies considered societies and cultures as bounded wholes, externally derived objects and influences were seen as misunderstood (fetishes), disruptive or destructive of the traditional naturalized whole. Newer studies of trade-related, missionary and colonial encounters (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993, 2001; Thomas 1991, 2010; Arce and Long 2000) have emphasized how externally imposed orders can be internalized, resisted and produce counter-point reactions against new naturalizations while simultaneously being structured by these in a double-bind relation.

In contrast to earlier forms of domination which were more territorialized and identifiable, and thus perhaps easier to resist, at least potentially, we suggest that the current global power dynamics along with new technologies for regulating, reproducing and

apparently determining human nature have a new decentralised organization and massive force that enable them to reconfigure both socialities and subjectivities in a way that can disguises the force of the social in the production of inequality (see Kapferer 2010). This ability to disguise itself is also related to the frequent use of a discourse of empowerment, liberation and participation in many forms of indirect governance.

On this background, the three thematic fields we single out for empirically exploring what we term naturalization processes are:

1) Changing configurations of economy and governance
2) Technologies of control
3) Ontologizing difference: De- and re-naturalizing boundaries

These three empirical fields (which we elaborate in some detail immediately below) are seen as interrelated, which implies relating power (at the root of inequality) to "empowerment" (as more fundamental human, social processes crucially involving difference in a wider sense). We seek to investigate how new global dynamics of economy and dominance, often together with new technologies, enter in complex ways into the shaping of social formations and persons, and to explore how such processes in the most diverse corners of the world are supporting or reconfiguring existing naturalizations of inequality and difference. The reconfiguring effects on socialities and subjectivities of various globalised processes are to be investigated across all three fields, by establishing close comparative dialogues between empirical materials covering dispersed localities and diverse topics. Across this comparatively oriented drive towards theory development we stress the centrality of historical contexts and of the social in examining processes of difference and inequality. The comparative engagement with these three fields constitutes the basis for a rich repertoire of project activities geared to developing the tools of the discipline, as reflected in a programme of four project workshops, several formal debates on anthropological theory, two major international events of dialogue with and dissemination from the project team, a diverse, high-profile publication programme, visiting scholars, and close links between the project and national doctoral training programmes. This "event" repertoire is set up in order to develop the broadest and deepest possible dialogue from departures in the on-going but in large measure unresolved discussions we outline below, built partly on readings of the literature and partly on questions posed by the research records of the project team members.

3.1. New Global Configurations of Economy and Governance

The novel dynamic and observable force of these globalising processes of reconfiguration challenge important aspects of anthropology's analytical frameworks, as is reflected in several recent contributions on social assemblages and neo-liberal and post-colonial forms of sovereignty (Kapferer 2010; Rose 1996; Stepputat and Blom-Hansen 2005). It is far from novel to focus on the transformative forces of capitalism and colonialism. This is indeed at the core of Marxist thought and has been elaborated by a diversity of scholars including Polanyi (1957), Sahlins (2004), and Comaroff and Comaroff (1993, 2001). What does appear to be new, however, is the ability of decentralized power assemblages to break down nation-state sovereignty and to penetrate the social in a variety of new ways, through law, explicit

ideological discourse, and interventions that activate local actors in practices that potentially incorporate new naturalizations of subjectivities and socialities. One can say that neo-liberalist forms of governance embed the social in the economic (Kapferer 2010), and through this also naturalize the market (Hann and Hart 2009). Naturalization of the market can also naturalize social categories like "the poor" and simultaneously reconfigure sociality and subjectivity. Processes like racialization and feminization of labour (Sassen 1998) are naturalizing inequality and difference almost into a bio-political otherness (Ong 2006). To what extent reconfiguration occurs and what form it takes is an empirical question, and so is the issue of possible resistance to it. These questions also pertain to non-Western immigrants to the West.

Development projects, since the 1990s increasingly carried out through NGOs, can be considered as another type of power assemblage. Duffield (2007) has critically analyzed the systemic effects of agents of aid and development and their intimate relations to the potentials for war, conflict and ultimately the sustained production of poverty and inequality. Aid agents operate influential discourses and implement policies of "empowerment" and "participation', especially directed towards women and aimed at building institutions of civil society. In its celebration of universal human rights, aid discourse can be seen as an appropriation and reorientation of agency away from questions of stark social inequality and the enduring structural production of poverty (Green 2000; Englund 2006). What social implications do such interventions of "governing at a distance" through "communities" (Rose 1996) have, and how are existing naturalized differences and socialities affected?

Various social groups and categories actively seek to reconfigure the social ordering of difference in order to advocate their own position and to empower themselves. Indigenous peoples exemplify this when recasting themselves as part of "nature" in global discourses of difference that give entitlement to political rights. Cases of affirmative action and multiculturalist policies are other examples of the potential to reify groups and cultural differences. Through such processes, social categories may emerge as political entities. Recasting themselves through a language of autochthony or of universal humanism are two aspects of reconfiguration of differences.

Politicization of differences also develop through spatial segregation of social groups, the establishment of spaces of exception (prisons, camps, migrant detention centres, gated communities, exclusion through walls), the reordering of physical spaces (walls, fences, bridges etc.), the biologization of individual identities at borders (biometric passports, body scanning at airports etc.), graduated citizenship and biopolitical administration of specific populations. This all contributes to a naturalization of social inequalities by seemingly transferring them to a domain outside the social. Without social proximity, poverty can easily be configured as caused by inherent individual or racial qualities (Agamben 1998; Wacquant 2007; Wacquant 2009;Agier 2009; Agier 2011).

Currently we see such naturalization effected by debates over the "crisis of multiculturalism", in the affirmation of neo-assimilationist agendas, and in the growth of anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric across Europe and beyond. Norwegian anthropologists Gullestad (2004) and Jacobsen (2011) have shown how such debates are to some extent shaped by particular local configurations of sameness and differences, such as those identified for the Nordic countries by Lien, Lidén and Vike (2001) in the seminal volume *Likhetens*

paradokser (*The Paradoxes of Equality*) Such concerns are not confined to the Northern hemisphere; in African contexts similar issues have been raised relating to recurring conflicts over citizenship, xenophobia and belonging, often understood in terms of allochthony and autochthony. As Geschiere (2009) recently asserted, there are a number of reasons why one should compare European and non-European dynamics relating to the naturalization of race and culture.

While the national order of things is often violently imposed, new concepts and practices simultaneously reconfigure naturalized ideas about "peoples", "identities", "territories" and "boundaries" through less violent notions such as mobility, flexibility, post-nationalism and cosmopolitanism. These again seem to implicate new forms of power and to produce particular forms of inequality. Reconfiguring difference into the domain of natural science arguably has depoliticizing effects. Empirically, however, popular, societal and political efforts to de-naturalize often occurs through "hidden transcripts" of the kind described by James Scott (1985; 1990), although the potential of such infrapolitics to bring about change is perhaps limited. In terms of politics and legislation, attempts at de-naturalization is also driven by the increasingly global emphasis on human rights (Wilson 1996; Wilson and Mitchell 2003), not to mention anti-discriminatory legislation and unplanned-for developments such as long-distance migration that unsettle the "national geographic" complex described by Malkki (1992).

3.2. Technologies of Control

Phenomena like law, natural science, identity and border control, statistics and surveillance can be considered as technologies in a wide sense of the word. The question we want to raise under this heading is how naturalized orders of difference are affected, supported or reconfigured by new technologies that appear to present neutral and natural representations of objects or relations. Inspired by Foucault's seminal works on governance and bio-power, Scott (1998), Mitchell (1998, 2002) and others have studied how technologies like statistics, enumeration and standardization are state techniques that attempts to restructure society and the social in order to enable more efficient governance. Another, less studied question is what concrete consequences such practices have for social life and for sociality, as pointed out by Spyer (1996). They can enter into the production of identities and citizenship in unforeseen ways, for instance presenting religious affiliations as imperative, as when religious denominations are counted in national censuses and changes in proportions are projected into the future (as in Sarrazin 2010). Technologies can thus be considered to possess a dynamics of their own. This certainly holds for law when considered as a technology; it is not only passively upholding naturalized social order, but also produces it and generates inequality (Agamben 1998). Another interesting example is micro-finance, which can be seen as not only a tool for poverty-reduction, but clearly has important ideological and social implications (Elyachar 2005).

Statistics and "scientific facts" may be socially imaginative entities that are reproduced and given truth in closed social spaces and used to support political agendas. In this way, statistics may constitute a "scientific" form filled with socially negotiated meaning by various groups in society, for different purposes. Arguments from the natural sciences are increasingly being reproduced by social actors to reconfigure existing naturalized differences,

such as gender, caste, ethnicity and race (see Hacking 1990). Frøystad (2005) observes in the case of Hindu nationalist rhetoric India that biological "nature" is used as a local idiom for a host of negative characteristics about the essentialized Muslim Other in a way that virtually make these characteristics transcendent. The positive public reception in the Norwegian public of evolutionary psychology – Pinker's *The Clean Slate* (2002) in particular – is another instance of a trend whereby natural or "positivist" sciences of life and humans are used to reconfigure social differences into the domains of a nature perceived in an atomistic and individualist logic. Research in the 1990s showed how a language of culture and value to a large extent had supplanted one of race, but also that the effects of such a language still produced a naturalization of forms of inequality – captured in concepts such as "differential racism" and "cultural racism" (e.g., Stolcke 1995).

Debates about race/ethnicity mirror debates about sex/gender (Stolcke 1993), and with regard to both, the dynamics of de- and renaturalization cannot easily be mapped onto a division between nature/culture. In a post-racial socio-scape it is particularly urgent to theorize how the contemporary specification of the problem of differences, as it is articulated for instance in "the crisis of multiculturalism", increasingly depends on the language of rights, freedom, and equality – in Europe (Lentin and Titley 2011) as well as in Africa (Englund 2006). Arguably, this language is instrumental to re-naturalizing cultural and civilizational difference and inequality. Theorizing ethnographic materials from a wide range of Western and non-Western locations on how racial/cultural/civilizational difference is currently specified and naturalized, we aim to throw a new light on crucial links between biologized and culturalized differences and those forms of "social inequality" that are produced in contemporary global social and political formations.

3.3. Ontologizing Difference

The broader development of re-naturalizing difference can be seen in conjunction with disciplinary developments in anthropological theory where the concepts used by anthropologists to theorize difference, such as society and culture, have been critically scrutinized and oftentimes largely abandoned, being seen as contributing to the essentialization of difference and inequality – between colonizers and colonized, minorities and majorities, and so forth. The relatively recent so-called "ontological turn" in anthropology (e.g., Carrithers et al. 2012; Viveiros de Castro 1992 [1986], 1998; Scott 2007) reintroduces a form of anthropology in which difference is accentuated to the point at which it may be seen as bounded and insular. These recent analyses on the one hand accentuate how human agency is related to basic ontological assumptions and expectations of how the world and life are constituted and operate, and therefore in a sense decentre human beings. On the other hand, such analyses may be seen as an interiorization and compartmentalization of difference – arguably constituting an analytical cordoning-off, and making of boundaries around, singular worlds. This recent turn in anthropology re-emphasises the discipline's somewhat long-term claim of radical alterity (Keesing 1994, in Borofsky). The question is whether the ontological turn does not also naturalize difference through temporal and spatial bounding. We may also probe whether the ontological turn contains an analytical and theoretical danger of eclipsing a focus on inequality as the integrity of the otherness construed, given that ontology remains outside the realms of power, differentiation and hierarchization.

4. Milestone Events and Dissemination

The project structure allows for a diversity of activities on local, national and international levels. Seeing that the annual project team workshops/conferences in Bergen will be open for attendance for participants from partner institutions and beyond, these events will serve as arenas for discussion and development of the discipline on a local as well as national scale. The opening conference in 2013 will take up discussions on the first of the three mentioned thematic fields of the project, "Configurations of economy and governance". The workshop will be a stepping stone to one or more special issues of peer-reviewed journals. Addressing the importance of consistency and scholarly production throughout the project period, there will be annual project team gatherings, each leading to publications as described below. The second project workshop will focus on "Technologies of control" whereas the third workshop will focus on "Ontologizing difference: De- and renaturalizing boundaries". The fourth annual event will the closing conference for project, connecting the three different themes in wider discussions, and bringing these discussions into a more general debate of the discipline on a national level.

The project will the elevated to a high-profile international level in year two, when 15 project participants will convene for a special panel at the AAA (American Anthropological Association) Annual Conference in Washington, DC. In the third year another symposium for international disemination will be held at the Royal Anthropological Institute in London.

In 2013 and 2015 the project will host two of four annual Debates on Anthropological Theory, after the genre of long-running formal debates in British anthropology, and to be held in conjunction with the annual conference of Norsk antropologisk forening (NAF, the Norwegian Anthropological Association). Proceedings will be published in special issues of the association's peer-reviewed journal *Norsk Antropologisk Tidsskrift*, as an effort to further build the discipline's discourse in the Norwegian language.

Throughout the project period, starting in year two, participants will publish smaller collections of explorative and provocative texts in series *Critical Interventions*, edited by Bruce Kapferer for Berghahn Books. This may be in conjunction with the project's support of the Bergen Lectures in Critical Social and Political Inquiry, initiated in 2010 and proposed for continuation for 2013-16 as part of the project. Finally, the project will result in three to four anthologies during the last two years of its duration. The project thus has a broad, ambitious and internationally oriented dissemination agenda, focused on the high-profile international publication of a series of edited volumes, special issues of journals, and separate journal articles. The dissemination agenda includes a dedicated national effort to further build Norwegian as a scholarly language of debate in the discipline, and two international scholarly events of high visibility. A well-organized totality of eight scholarly gatherings over the four-year duration of the project will provide for the continuous presentation of research results in the form of completed papers that can be processed for subsequent peer review. The agenda for dissemination of project results is further detailed in the application.

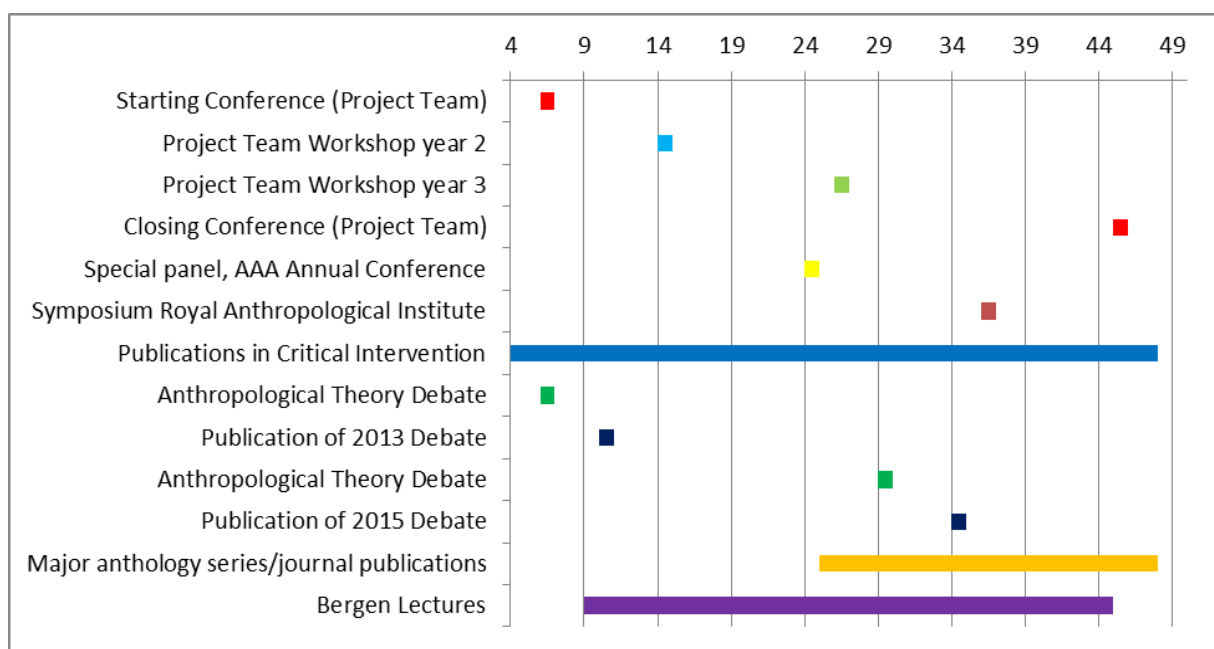FIGURE 1: Gantt chart showing project activities over 48 months

FIGURE 2: Project Budget

BUDGET FOR UiB ISP APPLICATION (ANTHROPOLOGY) 2012: DE-NATURALIZING DIFFERENCE					
	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Research assistant for project management (25%)	166000	173000	180000	187000	706000
Starting, Interim and Closing Events in Bergen	95000	45000	44000	135000	319000
Mobility Programme	70000	80000	80000	70000	300000
Special Panel at AAA, Washington, DC		210000			210000
Workshop at Royal Anthropological Institute			130000		130000
Bergen Lectures	15000	30000	30000	30000	105000
Debate and special issue NAT	35000	0	35000	0	70000
Researcher CMI 6 months	131000	272400	283300	147300	834000
Publications in Critical Interventions		35000	35000	35000	105000
Publications, Anthologies			110000	110000	220000
SUM	512000	845400	927300	714300	2999000
			SUM TOTAL		2999000

5. The project team

"De-naturalizing difference" shall be the enduring collective focus over a four-year period of a team of about twenty-five experienced anthropologists based at the universities of Bergen and Oslo and at Bergen-based Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Norway's leading independent development research institution. Together the project team members cover an unparalleled thematic and regional expertise of relevance to this project, both in terms of the geographical coverage and in terms of the forms of difference and inequality included in the collective research experience. The project will be headed by an appointed Steering Group consisting of the Project Director (Hviding), two members from the host institution (Frøystad and Bringslid) and one each from the two institutional partners UiO (Melhuus) and CMI (Telle).

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN (HOST INSTITUTION)

- **Edvard Hviding (project director),** professor and chair, Department of Social Anthropology (Pacific/Melanesia; kinship, social movements, ecology, colonialism)
- **Anne Karen Bjelland**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Nordic countries; welfare, illness and health, alternative therapies, aging)
- **Astrid Blystad**, professor of medical anthropology, Department of Public Health (East Africa; medicine and health, aid and intervention, epidemics)
- **Tone Bringa**, associate professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Bosnia, Balkand, Central Asia; war, violence, states and intervention)
- **Mary Bente Bringslid**, associate professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Norway and Nordic countries; rural identity, egalitarianism, community politics)
- **Vigdis Broch-Due**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (East Africa, India; povert, pastoralism, aid and intervention, gender)
- **Eldar Bråten**, associate professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Indonesia, Norway; Islam, mysticism, migration, hierarchy and egalitarianism)
- **Annelin Eriksen**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Pacific/Melanesia; gender, kinship, Christianity, social movements)
- **Kathinka Frøystad**, associate professor, Department of Social Anthropology (India; urban life, cosmopolitanism, Hinduism, violence, nationalism, caste and class)
- **Haldis Haukanes**, associate professor, Department of Health Promotion and Development (Eastern Europe; gender and family, food, childhood and youth)
- **Bruce Kapferer**, distinguished professor emeritus, Department of Social Anthropology (Sri Lanka, India, Australia, Zambia; ritual, violence, ethnicity, sovereignty, the state)
- **Anh Nga Longva**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Middle East, Southeast Asia, Norway; identity, language, migration, ethnicity)
- **Knut M. Rio**, professor, Bergen University Museum (Pacific/Melanesia; exchange, hierarchy, witchcraft and sorcery, the anthropology of objects, colonialism)

POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWS AND RESEARCHERS, UIB:

- **Bjørn Enge Bertelsen**, Department of Social Anthropology (southern Africa; sovereignty, war, poverty, law)

- **Anette Fagertun**, Department of Social Anthropology (Indonesia; gender, work, migration, religion)
- **Kjetil Fosshagen**, Department of Social Anthropology (Turkey, Cyprus; sovereignty, Islam, secularism, ethnicity, sacrifice)
- **Christine Jacobsen**, Department of Social Anthropology (Europe; Islam, gender, migration, prostitution)
- **Cecilie Ødegaard**, Department of Health Promotion and Development (Latin America; gender, ethnicity, racism, markets and the state, witchcraft)

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO (INSTITUTIONAL PARTNER):
- **Ingjerd Hoëm**, professor and head of department, Department of Social Anthropology (Pacific/Polynesia; transnationalism, performance, language, ritual, ethnicity, diaspora)
- **Christian Krohn-Hansen**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Caribbean, Latin America; power, violence, hierarchy, migration, nationalism, race)
- **Marit Melhuus**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Latin America, Nordic countries; gender, morality, inequality, reproductive technologies, biopolitics)
- **Halvard Vike**, professor, Department of Social Anthropology (Norway and Nordic countries; politics and the state, bureaucracy and organizations)

CHR. MICHELSENS INSTITUTE (INSTITUTIONAL PARTNER):
- **Are John Knudsen**, senior researcher (South Asia and the Middle East, peace, conflict and forced migration)
- **Kari Telle**, senior researcher and coordinator of anthropology (Indonesia, religion, ritual, popular Islam and Hinduism, religious minorities, violence, security politics, local justice, reconciliation)
- **Karin Ask**, researcher (South Asia, gender relations and migration patterns)
- **Siri Lange**, senior researcher (East Africa, Tanzania, health, gender and political processes at the local level)

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