EthnoScripts

The Anthropology of Work and Labour

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The Anthropology of Work and Labour: Editorial Note

Christian Strümpell

There are few issues in contemporary society that are considered as important as "work". Work forms an essential part of our personal lives. We spend large amounts of time working (or learning how to work) and organise our lives around it (Spittler 2015: 1ff). Work also belongs to the most widely debated topics in politics, especially since the world of work has been subjected to massive technological and legal transformation over the last decades (Eckert 2015b: 3ff). However, as Gerd Spittler (2008: 11) complains, the centrality of "work" in social life is yet to provoke a sustained anthropological engagement with the topic. He points to the conceptual problem that in all societies work is an essential activity, in the sense that it secures livelihoods and that it keeps people engaged for large parts of their lives, but that – at the same time – the abstract notion of "work" does not necessarily form a domain of life distinguished from others, such as "non-work" or "leisure". Furthermore, even if there exists an abstract notion of "work" this does not mean that it subsumes similar kinds of activity (Wallmann 1979; Gamst 1995; Spittler 2015: 1ff). Historians face the same problems, but there exists a broad consensus – which anthropologists share (cf. Godelier and Ignatieff 1980) – that from the 16th century onwards reformation, mercantilism and commercialisation profoundly transformed the meaning of "work" in Europe.[1] Cumulatively, these processes helped to produce an abstract concept of "work", that came to connote an (usually tedious as well as obligatory) activity undertaken for a purpose outside itself, i.e. to produce or achieve something, for oneself or someone else, and an activity that was valorised (Kocka 2006: 5f). Furthermore, in the 17th and 18th century enlightenment philosophers celebrated "work" as the source of civility, self-realisation and as the core of human existence while national economists saw in it the source for wealth as such and consequently as the main concern for their theorising (ibid.: 7f). As Kocka (ibid.) elaborates, the celebration of work by philosophers and other intellectuals should not obfuscate the fact that for the large number of people who worked with their hands work remained toil and trouble. Moreover,

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1   As Kocka (2006: 5f) elaborates, these developments include Luther's equation of the work of kings, priests, rustic labourers and housewives as "vocation", the fight of absolutist states against poverty including their programmes of an "education for work", as well as the increasing commodification of labour effected by commercialisation.

the high value attributed to "work" did not necessarily entail high regard for manual workers, rather the opposite (Ehmer 2014: 102).

At the start of the 19ᵗʰ century, emerging industrial capitalism again thoroughly transformed the world of work. Capitalists employed large machinery, built large factories for them, and brought the workers operating them under direct control there (Carrier 1992: 544f; Parry 2005). With the factories the "workplace" was created as a place segregated from "home" and in its wake paid (men's) work outside the home came to be distinguished from unpaid (women's) work at home. The spatial divide also fostered a new sense of time. Working hours were distinguished from leisure and in accordance with the repetitive tasks of factory work they were governed by the repetitive rhythm of the clock, not as before by the varying rhythms of the tasks at hand (Thompson 1967). In more general terms, production came to be segregated from reproduction and "work" from "life" (Kocka 2006: 15f; Eckert 2015b: 6). James Carrier (1992) further argues from a Maussian perspective that the segregation of workplaces from homes effected the differentiation between two opposing sets of relationships. At the factory, workers were employed as wage labourers, who are – as Marx (2015 [1887]: 120) famously pointed out – free to dispose of their labour-power as their own commodity as well as free from any other means to make a living. At work, people produce and exchange commodities and experience their relationships to themselves, others and objects as alienated, impersonal, and temporary while at home they maintain unalienated, personal and permanent relationships through the exchange of gifts.

This narrative delineates larger tendencies that were of course accompanied by various exceptions and opposed developments.[2] Lis and Soly (2012: 13-97) e.g. point to the praise of "worthy efforts" and condemnation of idleness already in antiquity. Spittler (2015: 281ff) argues that the segregation of "work" from "life" can be observed among traditional peasants and pastoralists, too, not only in capitalist economies.[3] More importantly, research on work and labour in regions outside Europe, on the impact of colonialism, and on the global interlocking of labour regimes in the capitalist world system, has complicated the above narrative (cf. Wolf 1982; Komlosy 2014; Eckert 2015a). Marcel van der Linden (2008) makes the important point that capitalism doesn't necessarily require labour to be "free" in the double sense, but

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2   For an overview over academic debates surrounding industrial labour, see Mollona, De Neve and Parry (2009).

3   Spittler criticises many other assumptions about work, too, most importantly, the Western understanding that work as an instrumental action on inert material conceals its relational aspect, although in daily routine work is often primarily an interaction between the working subject and objects of work that also possess autonomy, be it the customers a cashier deals with, the animals a herder tends to or be it "stubborn" photocopiers office assistants and mechanics struggle to operate in vain (ibid. 2015: 287ff).

that it historically equally thrived on various forms of unfree labour including slavery.[4] Furthermore, historians, but also sociologists and anthropologists note that the trajectory of labour over the last decades has revealed the historic specificity of the standard narrative on work. In mid-20th century, the expectation was widespread that people would primarily work in large enterprises, earn a living wage (usually also a family wage), enjoy relatively good social benefits and working conditions governed by labour laws and protected by trade unions, and that they would have such employment until retirement (Ahuja 2004: 349ff; Eckert 2015b; Mayer-Ahuja 2017). This "formalisation" of work had taken place in the advanced industrialised countries and was to be exported into the Third World by modernisation and development. As is well known, these expectations were soon disappointed. James Ferguson (1999) has given a vivid account of the dismantling of the copper industry in Zambia since the 1980s that forced urbanised miners back to ancestral villages that they had abandoned decades ago and where they could now barely gain a foothold.[5] Similarly, in the wake of the structural adjustment of the Indian steel industry in the 1990s, its relatively securely and gainfully employed workforces were downsized to half their former strength forcing thousands of workers into casual employment (Parry 2013; Sanchez 2016; Strümpell 2014, 2018). Furthermore, from the 1980s onwards when neoliberal reforms began to bite, also an increasing number of jobs in the Global North undercut the norms established after the Second World War.[6] This process continues unabated and is described as precarisation (Standing 2014 [2011]). Hence, instead of the "Rest" following the allegedly inevitable trail the "West" had taken (Breman and van der Linden 2014: 920), the latter now faces a "Brazilianisation", i.e. the incursion of the precarious and the informal into the Western world of employment (Beck 1999: 7ff). Thus, Jan Breman and Marcel van der Linden (2014) argue that the "norm" of relatively stable, gainful employment during the mid-20th century was nothing but a historical exception that also remained – relatively speaking – geographically confined to the Global North. This reveals that despite liberal claims to the contrary the insecurity of labour remains the hallmark of capitalism.

In addition to this important general thesis Mayer-Ahuja (2017: 284f) emphasises the need for an attention to the historic specificities of current processes of precarisation. She underlines three specificities in particular: first, precarious labour nowadays goes against widely established expecta-

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4   For a discussion of "bonded labour" as a global phenomenon see Tappe and Lindner 2016, and for a recent case study on a prototypical case of "coolie labour" see Varma 2016.

5   For the somewhat different scenario in the Copperbelt mines the Chinese have taken over after the crisis, see Lee 2009.

6   As Mayer-Ahuja emphasises the "standard employment relationship" was in fact only "detected" in the mid-1980s when an increasing number of jobs started undercutting the norm (ibid.: 272).

tions of "good" regular, formal employment; second, because of a lack of other options people nowadays depend more heavily on wage labour for their livelihood than earlier (as also the examples of Zambian miners and Indian steel workers show), and, third, informal labour is nowadays an integral part of a formal sector of the economy (cf. Parry 2013; Mollona 2014). Furthermore, Mayer-Ahuja argues that even though on a general level all this applies to India as much as to Germany; the global moments of the formalisation of labour in mid-20th century and its informalisation since 1975 do not entail a global convergence of what she calls the "social substance" of labour. Labour is also regulated socially e.g. by notions regarding gender, age or status as well as economically e.g. by management strategies, and not only politically by state laws and policies. The interlocking of these different regulatory frames remains specific to particular states or regions and a transnational perspective on labour, and one that also contributes to the development of interventions and alternatives, can only thrive on the grounds of analyses that take these local specificities seriously (ibid. 2017: 295f).

In a similar vein, anthropologists Kasmir and Carbonella (2008) argue for grounding labour struggles in their specific historical and regional contexts in order to counter sweeping assumptions about the political behaviour of workers divided by regulatory frames or as they call it categorical fixes (cf. Sanchez and Strümpell 2014). A case in point are relatively securely employed Fordist workers who are often assumed to act like a "labour aristocracy", concerned about defending their privileges vis-à-vis marginalised workers and the urban poor, a divide that is often assumed to overlap with further distinctions regarding gender, ethnicity or the Global North and the Global South. Though workers' struggles in or against capitalist development indeed often exacerbate or produce intra-class hierarchies, they also regularly forge cross-cutting alliances (ibid.: 20). Historians and anthropologists have criticised since long static models of class that regard gender, race, nation etc. external to it (cf. Thompson 1963; Wolf 1982). In a programmatic article, Frederick Cooper (2000: 216) argues that such models often severely suffer from the notion that class, gender, race etc are distinct, but cross-cutting "identities". The problem with this conceptualisation is threefold: first, it suggests that they are alike and operate in the same way, secondly, it describes them as end products of contested constructions but usually without taking into account identities that were equally constructed, but discarded in the course of time, and, thirdly, it conflates historically contingent cultural notions of difference with political projects that aim to persuade people that one dimension of their lives defines them more than others (ibid.: 219).[7] Hence, Cooper (2000: 224) emphasises the need to focus on networks, and the connections and

7   In a similar way, Rajnarayan Chandavarkar (1997) has criticised the Subaltern Studies Collective for essentialising the "culture" of India's peasants, workers and "tribes" by presenting their consciousness as governed by a pre-capitalist village culture allegedly unaffected by colonial capitalism.

disconnections forged here, rather than on identities of groups, because that is more promising for opening up analyses to the possibilities that existed for people at specific historic junctures, and how they made or not made use of them under the constraints of capitalism (ibid.: 219f).[8]

For the topic of this issue, it is particularly relevant to relate the above discussion to "work" itself, to the ways how people actually work, how they connect with others at work, and how relations of inequality and solidarity, or notions of difference and commonality are produced, contested and rejected there. Influential in this regard has been the distinction Michael Burawoy (1979) made between "relations of production", i.e. the larger structural relations between capital and labour, and "relations in production", i.e. the social relations that develop between and among workers and managers on specific factory floors. Though both dimensions are obviously related, Burawoy argues for a separate analysis of the latter, because social relationships at work do not directly spring from the wider relations of production. Social life at the Chicago machine shop where he undertook ethnographic research in the 1970s illustrates the point. Workers there were obsessed with the game of "making out" (ibid.: 51-73). The aim of this game was to produce beyond the daily piecework targets set by management, but to keep one's overproduction within certain limits to avoid the setting of new targets. Workers were motivated to engage in this game by bonuses on overproduction, but also by a desire to overcome boredom and fatigue at work. An obstacle for successfully making out derived from the fact that to save costs management employed far too few auxiliary workers. However, operators depended on auxiliaries for tool supplies etc. and competed among each other for their support. This triggered conflicts between auxiliaries and operators as well as among the latter. The result of "making out" was hence not only that workers were eager to meet production targets, but also that the antagonism between management and labour translated into a lateral antagonism among workers and, moreover, that workers implicitly accepted the rules of the game while engaging in it (ibid.: 81). Therefore, Burawoy argues, it is "at the point of production" where consent to the capitalist system is produced (ibid: xii).

Burawoy makes clear that the game of "making out" occurs under specific relations of production, under monopoly capitalism in which large integrated, bureaucratically organised firms control markets and allow labour some leverage for self-organisation.[9] Under different conditions also differ-

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8   As Patrick Neveling (2015) powerfully argues such a focus on connections must entail an attention to places were "local" class formations are shaped, too, but that are beyond the usually localist scope of anthropology, like e.g. World Bank working groups or conferences of investors.

9   As Mayer-Ahuja (2017: 289ff) points out, this was also the typical context in which the "standard employment contract" prevailed, while the outsourcing of production to smaller firms or a whole series of subcontractors go together with the precarisation or informalisation of labour.

ent social relationships are produced at work. Massimiliano Mollona (2005) e.g. shows that the obsolete workers producing drills on second-hand machinery in a small, run down workshop in the British steel town Sheffield follow two different games and set of rules at work, and that only through one of them consent to capital is produced.[10] Furthermore, anthropologists (and sociologists) working on industrial labour also highlight how the relations in production prevailing on specific factory floors also manufacture notions of gender, ethnicity and class (de Neve 2001: 134ff; Salzinger 2003; Cross 2012).

That through work people produce specific social relationships, not only goods, applies of course more generally (cf. Harris 2007). As the above discussion has shown, *how* relationships are produced depends on the ways political, economic and social regulatory frames are interlocked in specific workplaces at specific historical junctures; and an analytic focus on how they are interlocked, how this is contested or consented to, what connections are sought or severed at work, and what categorical fixes are reconfirmed or rejected in this context, requires an approach that is attentive to local details. The contributions brought together in this volume share such an approach to work and the relationships produced there. **Tiana Bakić Hayden** deals with street vendors in Mexico City whose struggle to survive economically entails a struggle against the legally ambiguous status in which state agencies keep them. The symbolic and affective labour of disambiguating their status requires them to re-interpret and shift legal boundaries, but by doing so they also partake in reinforcing them. **Katharina Schneider** analyses conflicting perspectives on fishermen's work in a Malayan fishing community that evaluate them either by the amount of cash it reaps or by the satisfaction the actual work process provides. She shows that the different modes of evaluating fishing are highly gendered, how this derives from the different rhythms men's and women's work are geared to respectively, but also how they are realigned in everyday household life. **Karla Dümmler** analyses controversial debates about and practices of work prevailing in an intentional community in an Eastern German village. The controversy revolves around the question what makes "work" communal, when does it turn into a self-interested activity and what role money plays in distinguishing between both forms of work. **Hasan Ashraf** criticises the local versus global dichotomy to which global garment brands resort whenever fatal accidents in Bangladeshi factories expose the working conditions there. By contrast, he describes the global connections that shape these factories as well as the local notions of morality with which Bangladeshi management aims to control the workforce, and emphasises that garment workers reject both management's bigoted moral-

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10   As Mollona (2005: 179f) works out in detail, workers at the lathes in the "cold department" perceive their labour as a commodity that they exchange anonymously while workers at the ovens in the cold department (*pace* Carrier 1992, see above) consider their labour as a gift that circulates among related individuals.

ity as well as the brands' strategies to hold Bangladesh's culture responsible for their plight. **Frauke Mörike** takes on another binary, the contrast the philosophers Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri draw between what they call "immaterial" and "industrial" labour. Based on her ethnographic research in an exemplary site of the former kind of work, a professional services firm in India, she shows how at the office employees are indeed primarily engaged in immaterial labour, but that their performance is evaluated by ascertainable deliverables akin to industrial products. Thus, the contributions to this volume all share a commitment to an ethnographic approach to the ways people actually go about working and they reveal how they engage with different binary categories regulating their working lives.

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Christian Strümpell received his PhD in anthropology from Free University Berlin und is currently working at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at Hamburg University. He conducted long-term ethnographic research among industrial workers in eastern India as well as in Bangladesh.

Disambiguating Legalities:
Street vending, law, and boundary-work in Mexico City

Tiana Bakić Hayden

Introduction

In Mexico City, over 500,000 people are estimated to earn a living working as street vendors. *Ambulantes*, as they are popularly known, sell a wide variety of products – ranging from cell phones, watches, clothing, and batteries to industrial snacks and prepared street foods – and represent an important source of affordable consumer goods for the city's hyper-mobile, working populations. In spite of their symbolic and material importance in Mexico City, street vendors are controversial figures who are frequently described through the trope of illegality. In recent years, like elsewhere in the world, Mexican street commerce has been increasingly criminalized in the context of "revanchist" neoliberal urban politics which have aimed to "reclaim" and gentrify urban spaces (Leal Martinez 2016, Swanson 2007, Janoschka et al. 2013). Much contemporary scholarship has focused on these waves of criminalization and repression, drawing attention to the strategies of legal and political resistance and negotiation to which vendors turn in such contexts (Cross 1998, Crossa 2009, 2015, Meneses-Reyes 2013, Stamm 2007).

Yet most street vending in Mexico lies outside of the reach of such large-scale removal projects, which are largely limited to the Centro Histórico and a few upper-middle class enclaves. For the most part, *ambulantaje* is characterized by more subtle and quotidian forms of legal, political, and social negotiation and routine. My goal in this paper, accordingly, is to make sense of the role of legality in shaping the forms of symbolic and affective labor in which street vendors engage beyond those areas which are explicitly targeted by neoliberal urban development schemes. In doing so, my goal is not to diminish the significance of repression and criminalization in the context of neoliberal urbanism, but to expand the analysis of law's symbolic and material effects in contemporary Mexico City more broadly, and to consider the forms of invisible labor and inequalities which they produce.

To that end, I propose analyzing street vending in Mexico as a form of what I call "ambiguous legality." Ambiguous legality is a term that can be used to describe fields of social practice – in this case, street vending – for which uncertainty and disagreement over legality are among its constitutive characteristics. Ambiguous legalities have four basic qualities: 1) There is a lack of consensus about the source and legitimacy of authorities who could

define their formal legal status; 2) They are subject to frequent, significant changes to formal legal regulation governing their practice; 3) They are a heterogeneous legal field grounded in a homogeneous social imaginary; 4) They compel actors to engage in "disambiguation," that is, forms of symbolic and affective boundary-work.

The concept of ambiguous legality – especially its first and second characteristics – draws on recent theories of informality, most notably Ananya Roy's (2009) account of "deregulation" as a condition of what she calls the "informalized state." Deregulation refers to the partial, incomplete forms of state regulation of particular spaces and activities, which produces legal ambiguity and confusion, with the law appearing "open-ended and subject to multiple interpretations and interests." While deregulation refers to a process, however, ambiguous legalities are social fields of practice within which people work on doing particular things, such as selling tacos or sex on the streets, or washing dishes in a restaurant. Paying attention to ambiguous legalities means looking at the ways not only that legal uncertainties are created and maintained, but on the way in which they influence forms of everyday comportment and the invisible labor of symbolic boundary-work (Lamont 1992).

In this paper, I draw on fieldwork conducted among street vendors and wholesale food merchants in Mexico City in 2012, and 2014-2015. I focus, in particular, on a series of debates over a permitting program in the wholesale market area of Mexico City, and which produced cleavages and social disagreements rather than legal clarity or legibility. My paper is structured as follows: in the first section, I briefly outline the way in which the relationship between legality and street vending has been theorized and popularly imagined in Mexico, arguing that insufficient attention has been paid to the heterogeneous types of formal legality and interpretations which comprise the field of street vending. In the second section, I turn to an extended ethnographic example to illustrate the ways in which ambiguous legality is produced through the legal technology of the vending permit, situated in the context of existing understandings of street vending as criminality, and corruption. In the third section, I describe how street vendors and other social actors attempt to make moral-legal claims through a process I refer to as "disambiguation." In the final section, I discuss how popular discourses about state illegitimacy and corruption contribute to legal ambiguities, and the challenges that they pose to street vendors in their efforts to combat popular perceptions of criminality and illegality.

Visualizing Legal Heterogeneity

Street vending has been associated with illegality and disorder in Mexico City to varying degrees since at least the nineteenth century, when modern-

izing regimes introduced municipal regulations aimed at eliminating what elites saw as its unsightly and unhygienic presence from the street (Agostoni 2003, Barbosa Cruz 2010). Concerns about diseases, miasmas, and unruly crowds animated the efforts of early modernizers in Mexico to restrict street commerce in the nation's capital. After the revolution in 1910-20 and throughout much of the twentieth century, street vendors grew in number and political power, fueled by waves of rural migration to the city as well as clientelistic arrangements with the ruling PRI party (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*) through which vendors' associations were able to secure large swaths of land for their members to work (Cross 1998; Monnet 2005). Even in the midst of these successful forms of political appropriation on the part of vendors' associations, however, city leaders periodically attempted to remove vendors from specific parts of the city, pointing out that they were there illegally and smearing them in state-controlled media. With the onset of neoliberalism and democratization in Mexico in the 1980s and 1990s, the number of street vendors increased markedly, but so too did heightened fears of criminal disorder and globally circulating discourses of corruption and transparency (Becker and Müller 2013; Leal Martinez 2016).

Vendors, consequently, came to be associated with illegality in Mexico both as a result of violating specific municipal laws, and because of their clientelistic arrangements with the state that got glossed as "corruption" by middle-class critics (who themselves conveniently elided their own forms of state appropriation in the process). Newspaper headlines accusing street vendors of being "mafias," trafficking in illegal goods, engaging in corruption, and being disorderly are now daily features in Mexico (Aguiar 2013; Leal Martinez 2016; Hayden 2014). Alejandra Leal Martinez (2016) has argued that in a context of "actually existing neoliberalism" in Mexico, elites and middle classes view street vendors as representing irredeemable forms of illegality and criminality, as well as outmoded and illegitimate forms of politics. One of her interviewees, a man named Armando, pithily articulates the widespread elitist sentiment that street vendors are pathological: "They are also a cancer for the center, because they make noise and they don't respect the law." He goes on to explain to her the compromised moral and political status of vendors:

> *"It is disrespectful to those trying to do things right, those who pay taxes, those who want to contribute to society, to the historical center, to build a better society. And it is a bit like Mexican crookedness, you know, like, 'not me', right? 'I take my own path and I do whatever I want'. To me it is like dishonest competition, it is opportunistic." (Armando, Interview with Leal Martinez, September 27, 2006)*

On the one hand, this popular association of street vending with illegality appears not to be unfounded: There are indeed multiple laws prohibiting the use of public thoroughfares in Mexico City for commercial purposes, including the *Reglamento de comercio semifijo y ambulante* (1930), *Reglamento de Mercados* (1951), and *Ley de Cultura Cívica* (2004), among others. Beyond overt legislative attempts to limit street vending, moreover, the current Mexico City government, led by mayor Miguel Angel Mancera, is in the process of attempting to "reorganize" street vendors, with the idea of limiting their numbers, by using "smart city" technologies, like geolocated vending permits. Such "soft" technologies act as forms of biopolitical regulation, in tandem with "hard" forms of repression and violence against newly criminalized vendors.[1]

Yet street vending is hardly an undifferentiated realm of illegality. There are tens of thousands of permitted *ambulantes* in Mexico City, ranging from specially recognized groups of disabled and blind vendors organized into unions, to individual applicants (Meneses-Reyes 2013; Serna Luna 2013). Vending permitting systems, moreover, are the consequence not only of negotiations, protests and mobilizations by what Chatterjee (2004) calls "political society," but also of actions in the realm of "civil society," in court battles fought by associations of *ambulantes* over the years (Azuela and Meneses 2012). Indeed, in numerous cases over the years, the courts have ruled that street vendors have a constitutionally guaranteed right to work, enshrined in Article 5 of the Mexican constitution[2], even as they have permitted cities to restrict vending in certain areas (*ibid*). In 2016, reforms of the Mexico City constitution included, in article 15, recognition of street vendors as "non-salaried workers," and guaranteeing certain rights as a result. For as long as there have been prohibitions placed on street vending, in other words, there have also been categories of legality built in the form of permitting systems and legal recognition at various levels of the state.

Yet these differences and implications of formal legal status have gone largely unnoticed by scholars interested in street vending, who have largely replicated homogenizing discourses about street vendors as "informal" and "illegal", even as they have provided critical insights into the dynamics of urban exclusion and resistance. In a recent article, Crossa (2016) notes that street vendors are too often approached as an undifferentiated collectivity, and argues for the need to de-homogenize them in order to better understand the nature of urban informality. Her analysis, however, largely focuses on organizational, class, and discursive modes of differentiation, and is less

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1   See Goldstein and Alonso-Bejarano 2017 for a similar argument in relation to undocumented migrants and "smart" technologies in the United States.

2   Mexico's 1917 Constitution, drafted after the Revolution, is famous for being progressive, restricting the power of the Catholic church, and enshrining a number of social rights, including the right to work in any occupation so long as it does not infringe on the rights of others.

attentive to the role of formal legality in contributing to the heterogeneity of street vendors. In notable exception, Meneses-Reyes (2013) has drawn attention to the existence of permitted and unpermitted vendors in Mexico City, arguing that their shared presence in the downtown represents a "dual-legal geography," in which vendors may work from the same area, but experience space and movement in different ways. Important though this insight is, however, it leaves little sense of how the more broadly circulating popular discourses of *illegality* intersect with more complex, heterogeneous forms of *legality* within street vending, and how people negotiate the space between these two. As I will later argue, "disambiguation," a form of boundary work, becomes central to the everyday labor of street vending in this context. To illustrate how legal ambiguity is *produced* through deregulation, I turn to an ethnographic account of debates over a street vending program in Mexico City's wholesale market area, La Central de Abasto (CEDA).

Permitting Ambiguous Legality

Lupe is a street vendor, a *cafetera,* who sells hot coffee, sweetbreads, and *atole* out of a shopping cart in the wee hours of the morning in the CEDA. To get there in time for the morning rush, Lupe gets up before 3 o'clock am every day to start brewing coffee and boiling sugary water which she thickens with cornmeal to make the hot morning beverage, *atole.* By 3:30, she loads her grocery cart with the beverages, styrofoam cups, napkins, and thin plastic bags. With her oldest son, who helps her in the mornings before going to the university, she walks for 45 minutes down darkened streets to get to the market, stopping at a bakery along the way to pick up several bags of rolls and *pan dulce.*

Once there, Lupe goes to the same corner she has worked on for the last seven years. Leaving her son in charge of the cart, she goes around her sector, taking orders for coffee, flashing a broad smile here and there, greeting everyone in sight. Although most people only know her by her first name, Lupe is intimately acquainted with her neighbors, and on excellent terms with the local police, inspectors, and merchants alike. These good relations, Lupe is quick to make clear, are a consequence of, rather than a substitute for, legality. She always has prominently displayed a crisp, laminated vending permit, which demonstrates that she is an *ambulante legal*, a legal street vendor. There are others, she explains, who are there illegally, who don't have permits. Those ones are a problem, and the authorities need to remove them in order to prevent the market from getting too crowded.

Wholesale merchants are quick to point out that street commerce is prohibited by the municipal and market codes. Leopold, an aging wholesaler and member of the merchant's association UNCOFYL, is emphatic in his disagreement with Lupe on the subject of *ambulantes*: "There's no such thing

as a legal *informal* (informal vendor). The only thing that permit tells us is that the authorities are colluded, and that [the vendors] are here thanks to the cancer of corruption from which we suffer in this country." Even as he buys his morning coffee and newspapers from *ambulantes*, Leopold rejects Lupe's attempt to differentiate between legal and illegal street vendors, instead lumping all of them into the latter category, which he sees as a signifier of a rotten political system.

In spite of Leopold's assertions to the contrary, the wholesale market allows for some legal street vending. Through its Office of Regulatory Compliance (*Normatividad*), the market's administration issues 2,881 permits to members of thirty vendors' associations, under an agreement reached between vendors' unions and the former administration in 2005. The demand for permits far exceeds these numbers, however, since there are estimated to be well over 5,000 vendors in the market itself, leading to the situation described by Lupe, where some vendors are licensed and other are not. Instead of resolving disputes over street vending, therefore, permits themselves generally become the source of new "fields of illegal practice", in the form of unregulated vendors whose numbers always exceed the changing limits of permitting regimes (Foucault 1995: 280). More problematically, still, from the perspective of those, like Lupe, who hope to be exempted from the stigma of illegality, the legitimacy of licensing programs is itself frequently called into question by formal merchants and opponents of street vending. Yet it is not only the lack of information about the "truth" of Lupe's legality, or a case of differing perspectives which account for her disagreement with Leopold. The permit itself, as a legal technology, contains within it multiple forms of ambiguity and contingency, both temporal and spatial.

The permit which Lupe displays is a busy, color-printed document embossed with all of the trappings of officialdom. It has the logo of the CEDA, the market director's signature, a barcode, a ten digit identification number, expiration date, and various identifying details about Lupe, including her photo, full name, product she sells, and hours during which she is permitted to work. Conspicuously absent from the permit, however, is any specific information about *where* Lupe is permitted to hawk her wares. Instead, in the lower righthand side of the document, it says Ambulatory Vendor ("comerciante en andadores"), despite the fact that Lupe stations herself in the same place every day.

Permits, however, never specify the *place* from which street vending can occur, since such specification would go against regulations prohibiting the use of public space for commerce. Instead, the workspace is constructed through regulating the bodily comportment of vendors, and by placing limits on the times during which they can work (Meneses-Reyes 2013). This does not mean, however, that access to specific places is random or unstable, but rather that allocation and access is delegated to the vendors' unions, who ap-

ply non-standardized and unwritten criteria. These criteria are often based on seniority, and on the individual leaders' personal relationships with vendors in their base. In practice, then, vendors tend to have a significant amount of spatial stability granted through the union.

Fig. 1: Lupe's vending permit. Photo: Tiana Bakić Hayden

The lack of specific spatial guidelines in the vendors' permits leads to these becoming objects which produce spatial uncertainty in two ways. First, by creating a disemplaced "workplace," it allows for the abstract right to work enshrined in article 4 of the Mexican Constitution to be protected, without explicitly violating local restrictions on street commerce (Meneses-Reyes 2013). As permits offer no right to work in a *particular* place, however, they are useless as legal claims when spatialized conflicts do emerge, as vendors learned the hard way when their permits are summarily rescinded once certain desirable areas of the city are suddenly proclaimed off-limits to them (Crossa 2016; Stamm 2007; Azuela and Meneses 2012).

Secondly and relatedly, the vending license does not place explicit limits on the distribution or density of street vending in a given area, leaving these sorts of determinations to the discretion of local inspectors, police, and

vendors' leaders. What this means is that when there are territorial disputes between street vendors and merchants, or among vendors, even where all parties are fully licensed, there is no legal ground for staking a claim to a particular location.

Although working hours are clearly stated on the vending permit, these documents nevertheless become objects of temporal uncertainty and disaccord. Permits are the result of political agreements between authorities and vendors' unions, and wholesale attempts to remove vendors or cancel permitting agreements are likely to be met with violence and overt resistance. One of the strategies that the current administration has been using, accordingly, is to change the temporality of licensing itself, requiring permits to be more frequently renewed and less durable. In a 2015 meeting with members of UNCOFYL, the merchants' association, a representative detailed the administration's strategy to move forward with the "reorganization" of *ambulantes*, a city-wide initiative that aims to reduce their numbers. Previously, the permits issued to the 2,881 vendors covered in the 2005 agreement had an indefinite duration, but *Normatividad* has reduced their period of validity first to one year, then to six months. The idea, he explained, is to make it more difficult for merchants to renew these permits, and to ensure that those who don't comply with hygienic and spatial regulations cannot renew. Not only will no new vendors be permitted, but some of those already grandfathered in will be stripped of their documentation.

The rapidly shifting, partially documented, and incomplete forms of legal regulation of street vending in the CEDA are productive of a field of ambiguous legality. Within this field, where legal status and the very legitimacy and meaning of the law itself are questionable, the work of disambiguation becomes an important daily event.

Disambiguation

Disambiguation refers to the process by which subjects who are interpellated by ambiguous legality work to clarify legal categories in order to assert the morality of their own position. It is a form of boundary-work that entails drawing symbolic boundaries between oneself and others, and interpreting difference as a means of defining identity. In her seminal study of boundary-work, Michele Lamont (1992) looks at the construction of working class male identities, and how they use religion, work ethic, and emotion as means of constructing racialized moral boundaries against "immoral" men. In separate studies of Latin migrants in the United States, Susan Coutin (2000) and Nicholas DeGenova (2005) find migrants engaged in a constant struggle to demonstrate their "deservingness," often in moral terms, and against other "less deserving" migrants and US citizens, especially Blacks. In the context of street vendors' legal ambiguity in Mexico, disambiguation serves to both

bolster the moral identity of those who are associated with illegality, either by recourse to claims of legality, or by questioning the legitimacy of existing boundaries of legality.

In the case of the debate over vending permits in the CEDA, discussed above, disambiguation takes on a particular, temporally defined form. Vending permits are products of particular moments in time, of agreements reached and conditions negotiated. To accept a permit as legitimate means accepting the legitimacy of the authority emitting the permit, who in turn respects the legitimacy of the agreement reached in the past. One of the ways that vendors and others attempt to render themselves moral subjects, accordingly, is by situating their own claim to legality in a particular historical moment which they interpret as moral, and interpreting agreements reached in other moments as illegal, immoral, or corrupt.

Wholesale merchants, for their part, often cite 1981 and the issuance of the *Reglamento* (internal statutes which prohibit street vending) as a date which precedes and obviates permits, as a time when the market was brand new and the administration had just promised to fortify it against informal commerce "like the Great Wall of China" (Berthier 1994). As Jaime Liniers, a lime merchant who had studied law and was one of the proponents of the move to the CEDA told me in an interview, "In the Merced (the old wholesale market in central Mexico City, which preceded the CEDA), there was a huge problem with *ambulantes*, but that is why we came here, to modernize commerce. Unfortunately, that opportunity was lost by our administration, which, as you know, is corrupt." Ironically, even though many merchants come from families in which their parents or grandparents may have gotten their start selling fruit and vegetables on the street, today they see *ambulantes* and the permitting system as signs of disorder, which many hope to eliminate by turning back to the legal guarantee of a different time, rolling back the multiple agreements between administration and permitted vendors which have allowed for the former to persist in the market.

Street vendors, on the other hand, tend to invoke the law as a guarantor of *rights* rather than a way to enforce rule-based order located in a distant past, although the extent to which they embrace this depends in part on their own legal status. Crispin Valencia is the leader of one of the CEDA' recognized informal vendors' unions. A short, dark skinned man from southern Mexico near the Guatemalan border, he has been in the CEDA for over twenty years and is responsible for mediating between the hundred and fifty or so people he has in his association, and the market administration. Each month, he collects 135 pesos (slightly over ten dollars) from each of his constituents, in exchange for which he makes sure that their permits are in order and that they are protected in the case of conflicts with local inspectors or other merchants. Of this money, he deposits 103 pesos to the market administration's

Department of Regulatory Compliance (*Normatividad*) bank account as a land use fee, keeping the remaining 32 pesos for himself.[3]

Like other street vendors I encountered, Crispin is well-versed in the language of law. All Mexican citizens, he explained to me, are guaranteed the right to work in the constitution, and this right cannot be prohibited in public spaces. "The sidewalks and parks are not theirs to privatize," he explains, referring to the city government, "and it is illegal for them to try to push us out." Permitted and unpermitted street vendors alike tend to recur to this logic of rights (to work, to the city) when articulating their claim to the streets, while they see the state's attempts to enforce anti-vending bylaws as illegal and illegitimate.

As a way to strengthen their claim of rights, Crispin and other street vendors work on demonstrating their deservingness, contrasting themselves with other, less worthy subjects. Speaking of his union membership, Crispin explained that eighty percent of the CEDA's street vendors are women, and were it not for the possibility of selling food or trinkets on the street they would need to turn to prostitution or crime. Lupe and Norma, too, quickly allude the specter of prostitution when discussing the paucity of options available to poor, single women. "I am doing honest work," Norma said, "every day I'm here, giving it my everything, not degrading myself or others." Street vendors emphasize their poverty, humility, and legality, contrasting themselves with criminals. "We are poor people, humble people, without the resources to pay thousands of pesos a month in rent," Crispin told me, "but we work hard." In meetings with market authorities and merchants, Crispin is careful to perform this deserving role, always wearing a battered plaid shirt and baseball hat no matter the occasion, and referring to himself in the third person as "su servidor" ("at your service").

It is not only vendors, however, who portray themselves as deserving, hard-workers. Police officers, despite being responsible for many of the most violent and repressive encounters with street vendors, are often quick to express their discomfort with characterizations of *ambulantes* as criminals, and defend their character. One officer, a young migrant from the state of Chiapas who joined the police force in order to have access to its football facilities and teams, used to work as a street vendor selling car accessories at a busy crosswalk during rush hour. Today, working in the police, he is frustrated by the periodic directive to "remove" vendors or confiscate their goods.

> *"I don't like to do that because I know they are breaking the law but I know − I see, that they are here doing honest work. If they weren't here selling gum, they could be selling something*

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3   In 2015, the administration of the CEDA removed itself from the list of public agencies required to have public financial disclosure. Some merchants speculate that it is because of shady deals, such as the street vendors' unions *cuotas*, that the administration chose to do this.

else. And sometimes they [the government] tell us to leave them alone, sometimes they tell us to remove them, and in the end it's us, the police, who end up getting into trouble."

The police officer here, like Crispin and Norma, engages in a form of boundary-work that serves to differentiate between criminals who "sell something else," and the "honest work" pointing to the problem of incoherent regulation that conflates the two.

Nevertheless, the expansive notion of law-as-rights held by Crispin and other permitted vendors contracts when they are confronted with the question of what to do with *ambulantes* who are not covered by the 2005 agreement with the administration. "Deservingness" also means differentiating themselves from unlicensed vendors, through comparing themselves in terms of their hygienic standards, legality, or work ethic (Hayden 2014). Recall, for example, Lupe's claim that the administration needs to remove unpermitted vendors in order to prevent overcrowding in the CEDA. Permitted vendors like Lupe are often in favor of increasing regulation and codifying the unwritten agreements which give them a right to work on the streets as a way to restrict further access to those same streets. In 2015, Crispin and a group of other vendor's union leaders proposed to join forces with UNCO-FYL in support of a "reorganization" of the market's street commerce laws, which would remove a large number of unpermitted vendors from the market. Explaining the logic behind this move, one of Crispin's allies, Valentín, explained:

"It is true that many of those people are hard-working, but the fact is that this market does not have room for all of us, and it is of no use to anybody if nobody can make a living. That is why I support the reorganization efforts, since we need to have rules (normas) which are clear so that people can't take advantage of them. Without rules everything gets resolved through shady deals (acuerdos oscuros), and it gets harder to make sure that there are no criminals getting involved."

Permitted vendors thus represent the law, on the one hand, as a flexible technology which may be morally appropriated and modified in the interest of social justice. Yet this understanding of law as a guarantor or rights quickly shifts to the logic of law-and-order, as Valentín picks up on the discourse of street vendors as linked to criminality in his reference to *acuerdos oscuros*. For undocumented vendors, on the other hand, permits exist in the realm of future aspirations and negotiations still to come, and get expressed in the language of still unrecognized rights. Rights, in the form of permits still ungranted, reside in a promised future, whereas order, signified by their absence in a system where *ambulantes* would be altogether eliminated, belongs

to an unfulfilled past promise. Permits thus act as a legal technology through which the classic tension between rights and order gets articulated through recourse to different temporal imaginaries, the past and present both representing a promise of stability which the present moment forecloses.

Disambiguation, then, takes multiple forms: it can take the form of performing "deservingness" by dressing, speaking, and acting as behooves as "humble, honest worker." It can take the form of symbolically distancing oneself from other, more criminal figures, such as the common criminal (*rata*) or the prostitute or the undocumented vendor. Or, it can take the form of explaining the basis of certain legal claims using the language of rights or of law-and-order, and of dismissing others on the basis of corruption or illegitimacy.

In spite of the widespread discourse which associates street vendors with disorder and criminality, therefore, attention to the forms of disambiguation which different actors engage in reveals the potency of the counter-narrative in which vendors are held up as particularly honest, humble, hard-workers, and representative of the best side of Mexican society. The term *trabajador* – which in Spanish refers to both the noun form of "worker" as well as somebody who is a "hard-worker" – is invoked by vendors, merchants, and even police to describe street vendors in positive terms, and to contrast them with two categories of Mexicans which are also popularly seen as sources of disorder: the *rata*, and the corrupt government. The difficulty of disambiguation, then, lies precisely in this slippage between categories and the question of legitimacy.

Contested Legitimacy

Vending permits in Mexico are a legal concession rather than a guarantee or pathway to substantive rights. This situates them firmly in a grey area of legality, and makes them prime sites for the production of ambiguous legality. As the anthropologists Susan Coutin and Sally Merry have suggested, in reference to a very different type of permitting – the selective issuing of "deferred action" status to undocumented youth under the Obama administration – such permits substitute "administrative solutions to social problems and conflicts" (Coutin and Merry 2013: 4). In spite of this, permitting continues to be one of the primary legal pathways through which street vendors, in their daily lives, attempt to regularize their relationship with the state, and make a claim to legality. The form of citizenship permits confer is partial and incomplete, but it provides a "terrain of political possibility" (Zeiderman et al. 2015), both for street vendors who hope to claim their right to the city, and to those who oppose them and would eliminate the program.

Waiting, deferral, and "lawful presence without lawful status" (Coutin and Merry 2013) are spatio-temporal conditions to which the street vending

permit contributes, and which compel subjects to engage in a process of disambiguation in an effort to clarify the moral boundaries and their uncertain legal terrains. Yet it is not only the affective sensation of timelessness, out-of-placeness, and insecurity on the part of street vendors that we can learn about through paying attention to the legal technology of the permit. The way in which these technologies are understood by those administering them and those opposed to them are instructive, as well, and reveal the way in which popular political imaginaries of corruption and legitimacy shape street vending and other forms of ambiguous legality.

Back in the CEDA, during a meeting between wholesale merchants and representatives from market's Office of Regulatory Compliance *(Normatividad)* in 2014, the subject of street vendors came up, as it does in nearly every meeting between the two groups. Why, asked the merchants, were the *ambulantes* still there, in clear violation of the market's *normas* (by-laws)? Why was the office going around issuing permits instead of implementing the rule of law and removing the street vendors? In an attempt to explain the legal grey zone through which vendors are permitted – an act of disambiguation on the part of an authority enmeshed in the fraught terrain of *ambulantaje* – a *Normatividad* officer responded, "The thing is, there are two kinds of *normas:* written ones, and customs which become law." His explanation was met with disbelief and anger on the part of the wholesalers.

"Very convenient," one merchant grimly joked. "I guess now they're going to tell us that drug trafficking isn't really illegal because it's a custom which became law."

The joke is telling of the way in which many merchants view street vending permits: as documents illegitimately issued by authorities which, furthermore, serve as *evidence* of the authorities' illegitimacy. Instead of communicating something about the street vendors' legality, many merchants see permits as instead revealing the state's illegality. Further, when the authorities try to modify the terms of permitting, either by curtailing or expanding them, street vendors themselves are wont to assume this same stance, accusing the authorities of acting illegitimately and corruptly. As forms of legalizing documentation, then, permits are contingent and incomplete, productive of social cleavages and disagreements as much as resolution to the persistent disputes over street vending in Mexico City. Even as some vendors and authorities cleave to permits and other forms of legal recognition as tools of disambiguation, as ways of establishing their rights and legitimate claims in contested terrains, these tools often serve to perpetuate conditions of legal ambiguity.

This situation is compounded in a context where the source of legal authority itself is suspect, and the state is widely mistrusted and seen as corrupt, as is the case in Mexico today (Durand Ponte 2002). Yet here I am not simply giving an account of the break between law and society, where the

former acquires the status of moral community in Durkheimian fashion, as Greenhouse (2012) has noted is the case in many contemporary legal anthropologies. Some street vendors, to be sure, may disambiguate by pointing to the immorality of the law, as was the case with one itinerant vendor in Mexico City's Centro Histórico who told Rodrigo Meneses-Reyes that he "never wanted to apply for a license because, according to him, the current authorities are the same crooks that have always benefitted from the less privileged" (2013: 3). Most vendors, nevertheless, seek some form of recognition, or engage in a process of disambiguation by depicting themselves as ethical subjects sometimes against and sometimes through the state, sometimes in solidarity with other vendors, and other times at odds with them.

The legal ambiguity of street vending is a product of a long history of negotiations through political and civil society, of illegal occupation and legal regulation, of the social and symbolic construction of the meaning of street commerce. The key to its persistence lies in this very ambiguity, which compels vendors to engage in the everyday work of maintaining and erecting boundaries and of strategically reinterpreting the law, which in turn is constantly reinterpreting their legality. It is this work, of moral policing and finding clarity in the midst of uncertainty, that comprises an important, but often unseen, form of everyday labor for street vendors in contemporary Mexico City.

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Tiana Bakić Hayden is a doctoral candidate in the anthropology department at New York University whose research interests include political and legal anthropology, language and social interaction, and the anthropology of food. Her dissertation investigates the role of insecurity and illegality on the material and social infrastructures of Mexico's wholesale fruit and vegetable market. Her research has been funded by a the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the National Science Foundation, the American Council for Learned Societies/Mellon Foundation, the Tinker Foundation, and NYU's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

Gendered Modes of Evaluating Work in a Javanese Fishery

Katharina Schneider

Introduction: Two modes of evaluating work

One night in 2014 at around 2a.m. at the fishing port of Kali Sambong, Central Java, short and stout crewmember Pak Maskom stood motionless in the center of the fish auction hall, unmoved by the flurry around him. 2000 baskets, or 45 tons of fish had been unloaded from six *cantrangan* (Danish Seiners) anchored in front of the auction hall already. Those baskets were now being pushed, pulled, swung and swirled about on hooked iron rods by the crew and helpers, from each boat to its assigned area in the auction hall, in preparation for sale. At 25 degrees air temperature, the fish was thawing rapidly. Maskom's jaw, however, appeared to freeze as time passed. In the hall's neon tube lighting, he looked like a ghost, a ghost in a fisher's track suit. Maskom's eyes moved along his boat's rows of baskets, stacked hip-high, and his fingers were curling and uncurling. He was multiplying baskets by the price of fish that looked rotten even at a distance. His captain had miscalculated the amount of ice for the trip of 19 days, and the fish had spoilt at sea. Maskom knew that his boat would write losses. He and the other fourteen crewmembers would receive a perfunctory 500.000 rupiah each, barely enough for their wives to cover the vegetable debts incurred while the men were at sea. Around Pak Maskom, the buzz of moving baskets and of men shouting directions and slapping each other's shoulders continued. *Dangdut,* the *cantrangan* fishers' favorite musical genre was streaming from the boats' sound systems, several songs at a time. "Lively, eh", a boat owner greeted me, nodding along with the music. When I turned around, Pak Maskom had joined his fellow crewmembers in the hurling and swirling of baskets, shouting and pointing directions while clasping a plastic bag of hot tea with a straw inside.

The scene above may stand in for many that I observed during fieldwork, in which people switched back and forth between what Dobler (2016) has called the two faces of work, and what I call two modes of evaluating work. In the first mode, exemplified here by stone-face Pak Maskom counting baskets in the auction hall, work is evaluated by its outcomes. These outcomes are things and sometimes persons (Leach 2002) that the worker anticipates will be put to use in another sphere of action, often the sphere of exchange

(e.g. Strathern 1988), but here in the domestic sphere (see also Carsten 1989). Maskom explained later that he was thinking of his wife and daughter as he was counting baskets at the TPI. The two of them were still sleeping between the bare walls of the house that he had started to build several months earlier. He had hoped to continue the building process. However, his income from that trip's catch would be just enough to cover his wife's vegetable debts and perhaps some extra snacks for his daughter. His house-building ambitions would have to wait. Maskom was also thinking of Bu Ones, his older sister. She had paid for the cement for the house and had provided other financial and practical assistance. Now she was hoping for him to repay the cement, so that she would be able to sponsor her firstborn son's wedding. Maskom knew that on this score, too, his work had failed to yield the expected outcome.

Evaluations of work by an outcome that would be put to use in a different sphere of activity have been prominently discussed, in texts that are ostensibly about value and exchange, but that make an important contribution to understanding work, as well. Many of them come from the anthropology of Melanesia, among them two influential texts that I use to briefly demonstrate this point. One is Marilyn Strathern's (1988:145-167) argument with Josephides (esp. 1982) on alienation in the New Guinea highlands, the other, Nancy Munn's (1986) analysis of value transformation by Gawa Islanders in the *kula* area. In both ethnographic settings and arguments, the material outcomes of women's and men's work in the gardens provides the necessary material conditions for their husbands to engage in ceremonial exchange and "make a name for themselves", a wording that is quite close to local renditions of prestige or fame in Mount Hagen (Strathern) and on Gawa Island (Munn). Fame or prestige is acquired through participation in the exchange systems of the *moka* (Strathern) and the *kula* (Munn). Women rarely participate, but men depend upon women's work in the gardens for realizing their aspirations. In Mount Hagen, women and men jointly raise the pigs that men exchange. On Gawa, acts of hospitality that are important in *kula* exchanges likewise depend on the provision of garden produce, generated jointly by men and women in the household.

So far, Munn's and Strathern's respective arguments run in parallel. They differ, however, in their implicit response to the question of what makes women work as hard as they do, if they cannot gain fame themselves by transforming the outcomes of their work.[1] Strathern argues that a woman's contribution to her husband's exchange activities is never denied, and that it is eventually acknowledged when she receives either a live pig or pork from the exchange cycle in return for the pig that her husband took from them. Thus, women share in and appreciate the outcome that their work has had in the domain of ceremonial exchange, in a form that is different from but no

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1   The difference is linked to a difference between their respective notions of value (Graeber 2001: 35-47; see also Strathern 1992).

less valued than men's fame. In Munn's analysis, there is no such return. For Gawans, moreover, gardening and exchange are not only different but also differently valued types of action. Gardening, with its slow and downward oriented movements in the relatively dark, soft and heavy soil and yield of fast-rotting comestibles, is far less "spatiotemporally" expansive (or fame-yielding) than the light-weight, buoyant movements of *kula* travel in brightly decorated canoes that bear polished, hard, durable shells, whose exchange brings the owner fame. At the same time, however, from the perspective of expert gardeners, the very qualities that set *kula* trade apart from gardening – lightness, mobility, brightness, upward-outward orientation – are already bound up in gardening, and in the rooting and sprouting of the garden itself. Munn demonstrates this beautifully with reference to a particular kind of crop magic, in which a heavy stone wrapped with leaves that are bespelled with ginger is buried in the garden. The stone is charged with the creation of tubers and leaves that will sprout and multiply aggressively (induced by the ginger) and produce the moving, glistening foliage of a healthy garden (symbolized by the leaves wrapped around the stone). Gardening experts, then, perceive in magical implements as well as in the garden as it develops the set of contrasting qualities that, from another perspective, differentiates gardening and *kula* trading. Who could say, then, that gardening is less valuable than *kula*, work less valuable than exchange?

Munn's analysis effectively combines attention to the evaluation of work by its outcomes with attention to practitioners' evaluation of its "intrinsic" value as a process, often an energetic one (Harris 2007). This is the second mode of evaluating work that was in evidence at the scene at the auction place sketched out above. Unlike the Laymi peasants with whom Harris works, fishermen at Kali Sambong do not dress up, neither at sea nor when they go to sea.[2] Nevertheless, their work at the fish auction place has the qualities of a party, beginning with the *dangdut* songs that are otherwise played on public holidays, when live bands draw large crowds of people. Perhaps spurred by the rhythm, Maskom and his peers invested far more energy in this process than would have been necessary to get the job done. They worked in bouts, high-energy periods alternating with rest. They drank tea and ate together several times during the night, up in the prow of their boat and peering across the auction hall. Their sharing of meals, tea and cigarettes, but also their gesturing, joking, slapping of shoulders and vigorous pushing and pulling of

2   Young boys who do not go to sea yet, aged ten to fourteen, sometimes dress up and ride their parents' motorbikes to the auction place to gather there with friends. They watch the unloading from the sidelines while chatting, smoking and enjoying the *dangdut*. Dressing up for work can, of course, have other reasons than a celebration of an energetic process. Semedi (2010) suggests that for women tea pickers in the plantations of Central Java, who do lowly valued manual labor and are vulnerable to abuse by male foremen, careful make-up is a part of their struggle for dignity.

baskets created high levels of energy and exuberance, apparently regardless, or perhaps in defiance of their expectations of an insufficient income.

This mode of evaluating work "intrinsically", as an energetic and aesthetic process, has been discussed in anthropology, as well. Researchers have drawn attention, among other things, to the sensuous qualities of work, and to the importance of skill (Ingold 2000; 2013) and bodily processes of enskilment (Marchand 2010) that generate satisfaction. According to one genealogy (Dobler 2016), an important early contribution was that of national economist Karl Bücher (1899). With reference to African work songs and dances, Bücher argued that work rhythms make strenuous work bearable, including under conditions of alienation. Dobler (2016) argues that Bücher's contribution deserves attention in its own right, apart from his influence on both Firth (1935) and Malinowski (1935). Firth' economic formalism and Malinowski's functionalism, argues Dobler, have unfortunately had the joint effect of diverting anthropological interests from the quality of work processes that Bücher uncovered. Harris (2007), however, adds a critical note. She argues that analyses of the "intrinsic" value of work must be extended toward (working) people's evaluations of the social relations that their work sustains, lest the work processes be romanticized. Munn's analysis, to my mind, achieves just that. She draws attention to different possibilities of viewing the relation between gardeners and *kula* traders, one emphasizing hierarchy, the other subverting it.

Among the many comparative questions that Munn's account of the relational and intrinsic value of gardening on Gawa opens up for studying crewmembers' fishing activities at Kali Sambong, I address here only one small but significant point. This is that the relative attention that people give to the outcomes and processes of work, respectively, depends on their experience and expertise acquired in particular activities. For instance, where newcomers to gardening experience a backache, an expert gardener perceives the entire Gawan value spectrum in the spell that he speaks over a magical implement. Moreover, access to domains of activity and to expertise are gendered. This is more obviously and rigidly the case for fishing at Kali Sambong than for gardening on Gawa. The relative attention given to one or the other mode of appreciating work, then, is gender-specific.

As I will show below, crewmembers' wives, who have to make ends meet while their husband is at sea, evaluate his work by its outcome, that is, the monetary share of the catch that he brings home. Crewmembers themselves, by contrast, appreciate, first of all, the process of fishing. However, their perspectives are not fixed, isolated from each other or mutually incompatible. Within the household, men and women share their points of view and learn to appreciate one another's perspectives. Examining both these gendered perspectives and the process of mutual learning promises a better understanding, both of crewmembers' work and its value to different people, and

of the gendered relations that work sustains.[3] The ethnographic part of the paper aims to chart a course for such an effort, beginning with a discussion of moments when the outcome of work is displayed, and gradually shifting focus to a perspective that privileges processes. Fishers appreciate these processes, as I show, for their rhythmic qualities.

My argument about the benefits of a gendered analysis of evaluations of work draws upon, and aims to contribute to two larger debates, one anthropological, the other from fisheries research. Within anthropology, it often appears that the relative attention that researchers give to one or the other mode of evaluating work and the relation stipulated between them depend primarily on a researcher's theoretical preference, familiarity or association with a particular tradition of scholarship. However, if the relative attention that people at Kali Sambong – and, I suppose, elsewhere – give to outcomes and processes of work is gendered, then these theoretical decisions are not ethnographically (gender)neutral. They should include an attempt to clarify how the ethnography draws upon or extends differently gendered perspectives, as well as the ethnographically particular strategies that people employ for learning about one from the perspective of the other.

Second, I take inspiration from debates about job satisfaction in fisheries. High levels of job satisfaction have commonly been reported in fisheries research, including for Southeast Asia. Job satisfaction is a serious concern, especially to researchers who argue that pressure on resources can only be relieved if the number of people working in fisheries is reduced. Job satisfaction has been attributed to both economic and non-economic factors (Pollnac, Pomeroy and Harkes 2001), among them the high-risk nature of the work (Pollnac and Poggie 2008) and high levels of autonomy, especially in small-scale fisheries (Smith and Clay 2010). However, Pollnac, Bavinck and Monnereau (2012) end a comparative analysis with a set of questions that powerfully demonstrates the need for further research. On the background of my ethnographic observations at Kali Sambong and in the context of more recent calls for greater attention to women and their role in fisheries (e.g. FAO 2017), it seems useful to bring gender into these debates on job satisfaction. This paper aims to take a step in this direction. Of course, the discus-

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3   The crewmembers and their wives I refer to are not generic women or men, and not even generic husbands and wives in fisheries, even if the ethnographic focus is limited to Southeast Asian fisheries. They are men and women within nuclear families that occupy particular economic positions at Kali Sambong, and whose experiences and outlooks are correspondingly specific (see also Niehof 2007). They are poor, and they are not fish traders but fishers. Although there is an overlap in personnel between crewmembers' wives and (small-scale) fish traders, the richer ones among these traders, though predominantly female (see also Niehof 1985) perceive and evaluate work processes within the fishery from yet a different perspective.

sion of a single case, Kali Sambong, would be considered methodologically more than modest by fisheries researchers.

Before I begin, the setting should be introduced at least briefly. Kali Sambong (pseudonym) is a fishing port and village of the same name on the north coast of Central Java, where I have conducted ethnographic fieldwork in brief stints since 2013. According to oral histories, the ancestors of the inhabitants fled from interior Java some time in the 18th or 19th century. They took up fishing as an occupation of last resort. At present, roughly 2000 people out of a working population of 3000 are registered as fishers.[4] The number and size of the boats at Kali Sambong has grown rapidly, first after the motorization of the local fleet in the 1970s, and again since the early 2000s. The growth seems to be due to a combination of technological changes, market expansion, easier access to credit, and a growing international labor market for fishers that has opened up an additional path for crewmembers to become boat owners themselves.[5] Currently, about 130 active Danish Seiners are based in the port, owned and manned mostly by locals.[6] The Danish Seiners range between 10 and 80 gross tons in volume and spend 10 to 30 days at sea, with a crew of 12 to 22 men. In a good night, 80 tons of fish are landed in the port, for local consumption and processing as well as for sale to factories, urban whole sale markets and exports. With productivity, living standards have improved significantly, but the benefits have been distributed unevenly between boat owners and crewmembers.

Evaluating work by its outcomes

For crewmembers, the primary outcome of their work is not the fish that travels up long and complex value chains and whose price is set by traders, but the money that crewmembers receive for this fish and that they hand over to a female family member, usually their wife. Women are in charge of household expenditures, at Kali Sambong as elsewhere in Java.[7] Men effectively lose control, both over their income and over the assessment of their

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4   Followed by roughly 170 industrial (including fish) workers and just under 100 traders. Only about 30 people work in agriculture, according to the 2013 village statistics.

5   I have no reliable quantitative data on the prevalence of labor migration. Anecdotal evidence suggests that it is very common for younger men to work on Taiwanese, and sometimes on Japanese or European boats for three years to gain experiences (*merantau*) and save money for establishing a family. If they then work abroad for another three to six years, they can save enough to buy a boat.

6   There are about 20 bottom long-liners, as well, and a changing number of purse seiners owned by fishers in East Java, who use Kali Sambong as a seasonal base for pursuing pelagic stocks on their migration along the Java north coast.

7   For example, Stoler 1977; Brenner 1998.

work, when women judge the money they bring home against the needs of the household. Moreover, when income is gradually transformed into more enduring forms that mark a household's economic standing, crewmembers' wives take the credit, while men's contributions drop from view. This gradual transformation, with its apparently disappointing outcome for crewmembers, will be charted below, through a discussion of three moments in which the outcome of work is revealed, or put on display.[8]

Unloading: Recombinant Displays

The display of the catch at the auction hall is a dynamic assemblage of baskets of fish on a stop-over between boats and trucks or pick-ups to markets or processing sites. Witnesses are the captains, crew, owners and managers of the six or so boats that unload in a particular night, each in a different part of the auction hall; the poorly paid helpers who drag baskets (male) or slice plastic bags and sort fish (male and female); the fish traders, and finally, Bu Saroh, the owner of the largest and liveliest food stalls across the road, and her helpers, who cater to the fishers and take a keen interest in their affairs.

The smallest and cheapest species are unloaded first. They are sold through a single middle woman to a cartel of specialist traders and processors. The latter distribute the fish between themselves, each labels their baskets and then has them dragged to the edge of the hall and loaded onto trucks or pick-ups as quickly as possible. While the cheap species disappear toward local processing plants or foreign-run factories along the coast, larger, more expensive species, such as rays and snappers, take their place in the auction hall. Again, parts of this catch disappear rapidly to the pick-ups of traders who have special relations with particular boat owners, some involving the "tying" of boats through credits. The larger part of expensive fish, however, remains sitting in rows in the auction hall until five a.m., when the official auction begins. The auction is attended by sixty or so traders every morning and lasts for an hour or two, followed by another three to four hours in which individual traders load pick-ups for nearby processing businesses, or trucks bound for the urban markets of Bandung and Jakarta.

Outside the auction hall, beginning at around 4:30 every morning, approximately thirty small traders cater to bike or motorcycle peddlers who ply the coastal villages. They buy and re-sell the *lawuhan*, the fish angled by crewmembers during evenings and nights at sea that is kept separate from the boat's catch.[9] The *lawuhan* is unloaded last, is weighed individually on

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8   "Revelation completes work", Leach (2003: 99) has argued in his account of aesthetically elaborate moments lodged between work and exchange on the Rai Coast in Papua New Guinea.

9   *Lawuhan* has different meanings on the Java north coast. It can also refer to a small share of the catch that is not sold but divided up among the crew for home consumption.

mobile scales on the edge of the hall and then usually handed over to the trader who provided the angling hooks and lines, as well as personal supplies such as cigarettes and snacks. These small traders also sell any fish that they can buy or beg from friendly boat owners, who are often distant relatives. Finally, a small volume of catch composed of cheap species, snatched by child workers between midnight and three a.m. and then sorted and re-sold by a middle woman behind the auction hall makes an unexpected reappearance in the small traders' buckets.

This dynamic display of the catch inside and outside the hall would lend itself to a structuralist analysis of the differently ranked and gendered trading niches.[10] With regard to crewmembers' evaluation of their work, however, it is most interesting for the option it forecloses. This is the option of evaluating one's work by comparing one's boat's catch – the outcome of anything between ten and thirty days of work at sea – to that of other boats that are being unloaded at the same time. While unloading, crewmembers take breaks to view and comment on the catch of other boats, but they do not attempt a systematic comparison. Interactions between crews unloading side by side at the auction hall, if they take place, are characterized by a hands-on egalitarianism, easy-going sociability and a sort of aloofness or disinterest, rather than by competitiveness.[11]

Pak Maskom's explanation of his concerns in the particular night mentioned above suggests why this may be. He was grumpy, not because another boat had caught more or better fish, but because he knew that the outcome of his past twenty days of work at sea would not be sufficient for him to enhance his house, and because he feared that he might not even be able to buy extra snacks for his daughter. Those were the relations that he pondered while

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10   These have undergone considerable change since the *cantrangan* fishery took off in the late 1990s. Fish traders, whose businesses hinge on their understanding of current configurations and their ability to predict future trends, are intensely interested in discussing these niches. Boat owners and managers, too, must have at least a working knowledge of them in order to sell their fish well. Captains may know a little, as the crew expect them to keep an eye on the selling practices of the boat owner. Crewmembers themselves, however, take little interest in these matters.

11   The same holds for the fish traders at Kali Sambong. Alexander (1987) observed the same quality of interaction among traders at markets in an agricultural area in the south-west of Central Java, though her interpretation is framed by theoretical interests that differ from mine.

counting baskets of fish; relations with those closest to him in space and time were relatively insignificant.[12]

Handing over the share

The moment that Maskom was anticipating at the auction place, and that several crewmembers told me they anticipate at sea, as they watch the boat's storage spaces fill up during a trip, is the hand-over of a crewmember's monetary share to a female member of the family. This moment occurs about four days after their return from the sea, and just after another moment of display of the outcome of work that I do not discuss here for reasons of space, the division of the catch between owner and crewmembers at the boat owner's house. Only the crewmember and his wife will be present at this crucial moment, when he returns from the meeting at the boat owner's house and hands over the money he has received. My observations in this section therefore come primarily from the family I stayed with, Maskom's aunt Bu Ones (45), her husband Pak Arif (54), who had been working on the local fleet for more than thirty years, and their two sons. Toni (21) was away for most of the time as a migrant worker on a Taiwanese tuna boat. Faudi (14) was living at home while training to become a cargo captain at a private vocational school with a maritime focus nearby.

One hot afternoon, Bu Ones, Faudi and I were resting inside, while Pak Arif was making a net on the porch. Pak Arif spoke about the hardships of being a fisher twenty years ago, when boat owners had limited access to credit and would send the crew home empty-handed if the boat made losses. Suddenly he dropped the strings he was tying, unwound the toe that held the net tight, and jumped up to mime his younger self, coming home with close to nothing after ten days at sea and dreading the encounter with Bu Ones. Striding up the path toward the house, he mimed pasting a single (small) bill that he had earned to his sweaty forehead. Then he crouched down a little as he passed through the door, his imaginary bill up front, eyes cast down, hands open and empty. Bu Ones had rolled onto her stomach for watching him. Arif approached her to hand over his imaginary bill with an apologetic "just that, mother".[13] Bu Ones' response was surprisingly deft. She grabbed the

12   This point must be qualified in two respects. First, unlike crewmembers, captains and to a lesser extent boat owners do compete directly with each other. They compete for reputation, fiercely and in various ways that include the direct comparison of their catch to those of their peers after a trip. Second, crewmembers, too, keep track of the relative incomes of crew on different boats. However, the fish auction place would be the least convenient moment for doing so. I will say more later on about displays that facilitate such comparisons, and at what point exactly they enter into crewmembers' evaluation of their work.

13   When a child has been born, husband and wife in Java address each other as mother and father (Koentjaraningrat 1957: 67).

broom and hit him, jokingly but hard, crying and laughing at the same time. Arif made another round through the living room, back bent, eyes down and arms raised in despair, then dropped onto an armchair and broke into laughter. "Our work on the boats back then… a single banknote…", he said and then joined Bu Ones, who had fallen silent. Eventually, she dispelled the moment by stretching her arm out and poking Faudi in the belly, who shrieked. "You were not born then", she said gently, releasing us all from the spell of a past that Faudi and I had not been part of.

On other occasions, Bu Ones provided insights into what was at stake on such occasions. "If Pak Arif's catch was good, all was well. But if the boat made losses, we would be crying. Once we had hardly any rice left, and Pak Arif's share was insufficient for buying more. We boiled the remaining rice for Toni. He was three years old, poor thing. Pak Arif and I went hungry for two days. I made noise in the kitchen at mealtimes, so that the neighbors would not notice." This story helps to understand her tearful laughter at Pak Arif's re-enactment of very difficult moments, as well as the deep sorrow, indignation and perhaps shame that Arif hid behind drama and hilarity, both in the moment itself and when he recalled it almost twenty years later. By that time, the situation had much improved. Access to capital allowed boat owners to pay crewmembers at least the standard sum of 500.000 rupiah, enough for covering a household's small debts for food during the trip, even if the boat had made losses on the operating costs. Moreover, as many young men chose to work on international fleets, where they earned salaries rather than shares, labor was scarce in the fishery, and boat owners made a great effort at paying more or otherwise supporting crew at times of poor catches. Those who didn't could be sure that the crew would leave, jointly or singly (depending on different crewmembers' loyalty to the captain), immediately or the latest after the yearly bonus distributed at Id-ul-Fitri. Nevertheless, although poor catches no longer immediately exposed a household to hunger, they still meant that women would have to default on repaying larger loans that most of them had and would not be able to meet social obligations. Pak Arif used the same strategy of drama and humor, though to somewhat less dramatic effects, in 2014 when he came back with disappointingly small sums of money.

Other crewmembers had other ways for managing such moments. Many simply postponed them by avoiding entering their house when they return from the division of the catch at the boat owner's house. By remaining outside with children or neighbors, busying themselves cleaning the yard or finding some other reason not to cross the doorstep, they indirectly prepared their wife for bad news. Sometimes, a husband's initial refusal to enter the house turned into a tactful game of avoidance between husband and wife that could last until the husband set off to sea again. A woman once told me she played along in this game because she feared that, if she encountered her husband

directly, she would yell all her frustration, anger and anxiety about his poor income straight into his face.[14]

It is no coincidence that I have concentrated on displays of poor catches, because given the costs that women have to cover while their husbands are at sea, even catches that are deemed average are a disappointment. Especially in families in which women's income was less secure than Bu Ones' or in which there were several school-aged children, incomes tended to be lower than expenditures, and many of these households were heavily indebted. Thus, the hand-over of a crewmember's income, though anxiously awaited by the women, was rarely a moment of celebration. More commonly, it posed serious strains on relations within the household. It was certainly not a moment that could explain the vigor and cheerfulness with which crewmembers worked.

Houses

However, if one pursues the sequence of transformation of crewmembers' income further, something astonishing happens. Some crewmembers' households indeed seem relatively prosperous, compared to others. Bu Ones is one of those women who has a reputation for the determination and skill with which she has enabled her family to lead a lifestyle that she herself calls plain and simple (*sederhana*), despite her and Pak Arif's humble background and despite his low income. This lifestyle is significantly different from the situation of acute economic insecurity in the beginning of her marriage, and from whom neither Bu Ones' nor Arif's siblings had extracted themselves at the time of my fieldwork.

The icon of this achievement of a *sederhana* lifestyle, and Bu Ones' greatest source of comfort and pride was her house. In Janet Carsten's (1989) memorable phrase, the women in a Malay fishing village on Pulau Langkawi

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14   There is another dimension to this game of avoidance, to women's anger and men's shame. Crewmembers are categorically suspected of, and some of them admit to visiting the prostitutes working behind the auction place when they return to port, using the money "for food" that boat owners give them for unloading the boat. Some suggest that this money is a bonus and not part of their share, and that they are therefore free to spend it as they wish. However, most argue that this money should either be handed over directly, or kept back but then included with the share, or used as pocket money, so that the wife does not need to provide pocket money for coffee and cigarettes while the husband is on land. Women, too, are divided on the matter. Many state, defiantly and in a way that begs the question, that they do not care what their husband does, as long as he reliably gives his income to them and does not waste it on other women. In any case, Bu Ones' reaction to Arif's performance shows that even without this additional dimension, the handover of crewmembers' income is a tense moment in which financial and emotional concerns are densely entangled.

"cook money". At Kali Sambong, fishers' notoriously low and unreliable incomes are domesticated, and enduring, protective, nurturing and sociable domestic spaces are created as women transform their husband's income, not only into food but also into furniture and, finally and most importantly, into (contributions towards) houses, first their own, then those of extended family members, and finally, those of their children.[15] The material difference between food and houses marks another one, that between highly egalitarian Pulau Langkawi and far less egalitarian northern Java. Houses are icons, not just of a household's autonomy as a social unit (Jay 1969: 41), but also of its relative economic status in the village. Houses are typically financed partly by the owners and partly by their extended families. They are built by professionals, of which there are about 35 in the village, and often in a step-by-step manner, as money becomes available. Thus, the state of a house quite literally shows off the state of a household's finances. It would be difficult to over-emphasize the salience of this point. Besides the apparently year-round relentless gossip among women concerning other women's houses, lifecycle ceremonies and mutual visits at Id-ul-Fitri provided occasions for taking a good look at other people's interiors.[16]

The economic status of a household, made visible by its house, was typically attributed, not to crewmembers' work, but to their wives' budgeting skills.[17] Bu Ones' house looked better than the others in her neighborhood, others in the village informed me, because she was a good house-holder. Pak Arif's work at sea was never even mentioned. The elision only became apparent to me when in 2014, Bu Ones gave me a highly unusual tour of her living room. Moving her finger around the room during one of those lazy afternoons, she introduced each piece of furniture by the name of the boat

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15   Janet Carsten's (1989) analysis of the gendered transformation of money into the substance of kinship, and thus productive of a future, may be read as an ethnographic commentary on Hannah Arendt's (1956) distinction between labor and work.

16   During mutual visiting at Id-ul-Fitri in 2013, men tended to stay in the front room (*ruang tamu*), but many women wandered freely through the hosts' sleeping and other back rooms, as well, sometimes on the pretext of taking a plate to the kitchen in the back, but sometimes openly curious about the house and its contents. The hosts, of course, had previously removed or hidden whatever they did not want people to know about.

17   Budgeting is not linguistically marked as work, as is true for women's manifold income-generating activities at Kali Sambong. I suspect that this is at least partly due to the bureaucratization of village life in New Order Indonesia. Professions of male family heads were registered by village officials. Women were assumed to be, and typically described themselves to me as housewives, even if their work as peddlers of food or second hand clothing, as owners of street corner shops or snack stalls covered the consumption requirements of their households and contributed significantly toward school fees and contributions to ceremonies.

owner whom Pak Arif had worked for when she bought the piece. She went backward in time. "This is Pak Kamto's chair and table, from before his boat went bankrupt. Thank you, Pak Kamto. That closet over there comes from Pak Slamet – just one closet, that wasn't a good boat. From Pak Mainar, we only have the new window frames; we needed the rest for school fees. Before that, it was Pak Haji Yono, the TV and the shelf. Thank you, Pak Haji Yono." This tour occurred at the time when Bu Ones began to point out that my presence in the house came to feel more or less ordinary.[18] More generally speaking, insiders to a household were well aware of the contribution of crewmembers' work to the house, while outsiders foregrounded the budgeting skills of women.

This appears reasonable insofar as differences between the shares that crewmembers bring home are not an outcome of the vigor or skill with which a particular crewmember works. They depend on the catch on the boat, and catches are only partly predictable or controllable. Those factors that can be controlled are, by general agreement in the following order or importance, the gross tonnage of the boat, its age and state of repair, and the skills of its captain in finding fish and managing the crew. The final factor is the spiritedness of the crew, to which individual working habits obviously matter, but that is assumed to follow from their expectations of a good catch and their treatment by the captain. The choice of the right boat was a matter on which women were supposed to support and gently direct their husband, as part of their role as the manager of household finances. They were expected to nudge him toward monitoring the catch of his boat over time, to remind him to prioritize income over other considerations, and to make discrete inquiries at the village about the incomes of relatives and neighbors working on different boats. Women who failed to do so were criticized. Bu Ones, for instance, grumbled about Maskom's wife who, according to her, neither kept track of her own expenditures, nor actively sought out information about boats. No wonder Maskom had built no house yet, six years after getting married, said Bu Ones, and took it upon her to push him a little.

To sum up so far, then, if evaluated by its outcomes, crewmembers' work on the boats does not show for much. It generates uncertain, insufficient and transient material outcomes (fish and money). The task of transforming money, into food for the family but most prominently into houses, belongs to women, and theirs is the credit for the outcomes achieved. Unlike fish at the auction place, houses seem to lend themselves to comparative appreciation. With this transformation, then economic distinctions are made visible, and are credited to women. Crewmembers' contribution to them, by providing the money that flows into houses or their parts, is effectively eclipsed, though

18   Her broom, she remarked, was finally overcoming its surprise at being held by a white-skinned person and no longer zigzagged across the room in my hands. The soycake I fried no longer either burnt with excitement or remained pale with fright, but turned out alright.

– as Bu Ones' tour of her living room shows – it can be retrieved, including by women.

A brief reference to some classical ethnographic writing on Java seems in order here. Ethnographers of Java have vehemently rejected Geertz' (1956: 141) suggestion that in Javanese peasant communities, economic change has led to a "division of the economic pie into smaller and smaller pieces", which Geertz called "shared poverty" (ibid.; see also Geertz 1963). Analysts of a Marxian bent have emphasized class divisions and their salience (e.g. Alexander and Alexander 1982; White 1983). Symbolic analyses, meanwhile, have highlighted hierarchy as a central organizing principle of Javanese society (Anderson 1990).[19] Brenner's (1998) ethnographic material from a Solonese trading community suggests a possibility of combining both perspectives, through attention to gender. In Laweyan, economic distinctions are associated with women and their work in the house and the market place; differences in spiritual potency are the domain of men's efforts. Crewmembers at Kali Sambong, unlike the husbands of wealthy Solonese batik traders and unlike some of the boat owners in the village, lack the time and money for enhancing their spiritual potency through ascetic exercises. With their apparently egalitarian work relations and disinterest in direct competition, certainly at the auction place and with the qualifications noted above, they neither participate in "conventional" (Wagner 1981) male status-seeking, nor in "conventional" female economic competition. From the perspective of either of these gendered forms of conventional forms of behavior, crewmembers' work appears deficient. This may explain why, as fishers are painfully aware, their agricultural neighbors call them "stupid". If ethnographers have so vehemently rejected arguments about egalitarian relations in Javanese peasant villages, one may speculate that they did so out of an understanding that the non-engagement in either economic or status competition does indeed exist in Java, as in the case of crewmembers in Kali Sambong. However, it makes for an odd and not particularly respectable position.

Crewmembers' reputation among their agricultural neighbors is not unlike the one Bolivian highland peasants enjoy among Bolivian townspeople. As Harris vividly describes, the Laymi peasants are deemed hardworking, poor, and stupid (Harris 1993; 2007). In the following section, I take my cues from Harris' analysis of the question what makes Laymi people work and describe the "intrinsic" value of work as an activity in which people expend

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19   For a critique even before this highly influential formulation of an older idea, see Hatley 1984. For a post-New Order critique and commentary on the literature that evolved from it, see Beatty 2012.

energy.[20] Working my way backward, and more speedily as I draw on material already introduced above, I begin with houses, move on to a brief reconsideration of the scene at the auction place, and then follow fishers' accounts of their work on the boats out to sea. Being a woman, I have not yet been able to convince them to take me out. Thus, I approach the intrinsic value of work as an outsider, working through their stories, much as the women do who listen to them when they return home. I also draw on footage shot with smartphones, both by crewmembers themselves and by a male student who accompanied me to the field and who was allowed to join them. While obviously imposing obvious limitations, this ethnographic position allows me to trace gendered transformations of evaluations of work that occur on land, in spaces that I had immediate access to.

Evaluating Work as an Activity: Bodily Rhythms

Besides status markers, pieces of furniture act as mnemonics for periods of work on particular boats, each with its own qualities and memories. When Bu Ones had completed the abovementioned tour of her living room, Pak Arif, who had been listening, told Faudi and me at some length about his work on each of these boats. Seating himself sideways on one of "Pak Kamto's" chairs, he began by speaking of melons. He demonstrated how they used to cut and shared melons on Pak Kamto's boats, two slices for each. Fruit are a luxury at crewmembers' households. At sea, said Pak Arif, the crew had fruit every day, besides other high-quality food, as much as they wanted. Working hard felt good if one's belly was full, and eating as much as one wanted was great after working hard. Moreover, after eating a sumptuous dinner, the crew of several vessels fishing around the same spot would sometimes join their boats, sing karaoke and have a party. The next morning the sequence started over again: plenty of good food, hard work, more food, fun and rest. When he was finished, Bu Ones reminded him to tell me and Faudi that they could also choose among three types of instant coffee on board. Moreover, they were given various kinds of snacks that Bu Ones considered an extravagance and would never indulge in.

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20   As Harris notes, this question is especially important when work sustains relations in which the workers themselves are subordinate to others. It is also important where either the products or the process of work is deemed disgusting or ethically dubious, as is the case, for instance, for work in slaughterhouses (e.g. Pachirat 2013). Crewmembers' work at Kali Sambong sustains relations in which they themselves are subordinate. Ethically dubious, however, is not their work but that of boat owners, who are seen to make profits from products infamous for their stench and low quality. Accusations of black magic that follow from this accusation do not affect crewmembers' work. They are therefore not discussed here.

Shopping lists and receipts for the supplies of a boat, and even more so, the heaps of food that boat owners assemble in their front yard before departure are impressive indeed, compared to the short lists and the minute quantities in which crewmembers' wives buy their rice or cooking oil. Moreover, one sees types of food, such as corned beef, that one does not come across at all in crewmember's homes, and brand names that are likewise out of reach for their non-fishing relatives. As noted above, labor is short in the fishery, as many of the young men have chosen work on international fleets, where incomes are higher and more secure. Boat owners thus have to compete for crewmembers. Their captains are responsible for assembling their crew, primarily from among their neighbors, friends and distant relatives.[21] Captains have impressed on me, time and again, that ample and high-quality, diverse food is the first condition for retaining a crew, and for keeping them spirited during the work process.[22] The second important factor is a good sound system. Larger boats may have as many as four stereos with speakers, so as to give the crew a choice regarding their entertainment.

However, Pak Arif did not recall rich food and music per se, as he was dangling legs on Pak Karto's chair. He recalled the alternation of hard work, plenty of tasty food, and entertainment in his work on the boats. These rhythms, closely tied to the human body and its requirements, were central to other crewmembers' accounts of their work at sea, as well. I use the term rhythm, in Deleuze's (1994: 21) sense of repetition (or cadence-rhythm) with a difference (an intensity, or tone), and as always already poly-rhythmic. This not only permits, but prompts an investigation into the ways in which this human bodily rhythm is linked to other rhythms at sea, including machinic and environmental rhythms. In exploring this rhythmic assemblage, I take inspiration from Harris (2007), who notes that people's satisfaction with work as an energetic process cannot be understood apart from the particularities of their social and other environments, in this case, the boats and the sea. At the same time, and with reference to the longstanding German tradition of studying work rhythms, I draw on Dobler (2016), who extends Bücher's (1899) focus on regular work rhythms to an investigation of the combination of more and less regular rhythms. Both, he argues, are neces-

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21   If nuclear family members are recruited, people fear that work-related conflicts may spill over into family life, and vice versa.

22   Carsten (1989) emphasizes that snacks are shared among Malay fishers but rice (real food) is only shared among family members. Kali Sambong's crewmembers happily shared rice, as well as other types of food, with their peers. On land, the sharing even of snacks with non-relatives is hedged with precautions, for fear of black magic. If food is shared as part of the work process, however, such precautions apparently do not apply. One might, again, see a contrast between egalitarian relations among crew and hierarchical village relations at play that is absent from Carsten's ethnography of Malay fishermen.

sary for understanding how rhythms energize people at work[23] and how they both facilitate and signal enskilment. The relevant other rhythms, though different in many more ways than just their relative regularity, in fishers' cases were the rhythms of other crewmembers' bodies and of the machines on board, and thus of currents and fish at sea. An in-depth "rhythmanalysis" (Lefebvre 2013) of Danish Seiner fishers' work at sea would exceed the scope of this paper. I only investigate these maritime rhythms as far as necessary for sketching out the very different, and differently gendered evaluations of fishers' work that they facilitate.

Bodily and other rhythms at sea

When explaining their work, both to me and to their family members, crewmembers noted both the challenges and the energizing effects of coordinating their own bodily rhythms of work and rest, the ups and downs of their energy, and the speed and strength of their physical movements with those of others in the work process. Moreover, when lowering and pulling up the net, they must coordinate their bodily rhythms with those of the hauler, as well as the currents and fish. The overall responsibility for all these alignments lies with the captain. Captains reinforced crewmembers' statements about the centrality of food, music and rest, in order to keep the crew spirited. A hungry, poorly rested crew, they said, would be almost impossible to coordinate. This would not only affect catches, but also put people's safety at risk. During a four-month' period in 2013-14, I counted three deaths at sea and heard about various minor accidents. Deaths are typically deaths by drowning. They occur when crewmembers are in the way of the heavy net when it is lowered and are swept overboard. Not all of them can swim, and even if they can, they may not be able to save themselves if their limbs are caught in the net. Minor, and sometimes major accidents, such as facial injuries and losses of limbs, are usually due to crewmembers falling into the sharp teeth of the wheels of the hauler. Both types of accidents can occur due to human error, if the crew is in the wrong place in the process of lowering or pulling up the net, respectively.

They can also be due to engine failure. Engines and their rhythms are the second set of rhythms that captains must coordinate, and they are notoriously the weakest link in the rhythmic assemblage of humans, boat, gear, currents and fish. Besides endangering the crew working on board, a failure of the engine running the boat puts the entire boat at risk, especially in poor weather conditions. Moreover, catch may be lost if either of the two machines is unresponsive. Therefore, the engines receive great attention and care, from the captain, the machinist who is the second in command and responsible for their maintenance, and from the boat owner, whose finances will be

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23   Rhythms play a similar role in dance. For relevant ethnographic explorations, see for example Henriques 2010, Plancke 2014.

called upon if repairs or replacements are needed. It is not unusual to find all three, boat owner, captain, and machinist, as well as the crew standing around an engine sitting on the ground for testing, listening with their heads inclined and trying to come to a shared understanding of whether its rhythm is 'strong' and 'spot on' or whether a specialist needs to be called.

Because the task of coordinating all these different rhythms lies with the captain and not the crew, captains have a more expansive, and a more in-depth knowledge of these rhythms, besides many others that I omit here. The readiness with which crewmembers described such rhythms to me differed, and the differences appeared to correlate with their work experiences and skills acquired in sensing and creating alignments between these rhythms. Younger crew emphasized the processes in their immediate surroundings. Older, more experiences fishers appeared to pay more attention to the rhythms of the machines and of currents and fish, as well. While not all of them move up to the rank of engineer or captain – and not all of them would want the responsibilities that promotion brings – most of the older crewmembers were occasionally called upon to cover for either of those two, because they were trusted to know the relevant rhythms just as well. Although they received no special benefits, they were known and lauded for the contributions they made, not only by working hard, but also by supporting the work of others through cheerfulness, humor, by setting a good example, looking out for them and setting and maintaining a lively rhythm.

Maintaining one's own bodily rhythms at sea is, of course, foundational to playing such a role. Conversely, people who cannot do this will never be able to work vigorously at sea. It is telling, perhaps, that men from crewmembers' households who had not taken up fishing themselves all cited me the same reason. They got seasick. Seasickness is not only unpleasant. It renders people definitely and unquestioningly unfit for fishing. A fisherman who gets seasick cannot eat, rest or work. He endangers himself and, at worst, the entire crew. When the male student who accompanied me to the field and went fishing with the men from his host family got sea-sick, they sent him back after two days on another boat, arguing that they worried too much about him. If a man cannot adjust to the conditions at sea on his third fishing trip the latest, he must find another source of income – which isn't too hard for people at Kali Sambong, as there are several towns with work opportunities nearby.

Fishers with experiences on different gear types, including those who had worked as migrant fishers on foreign fleets, often compared the rhythmic requirements of working with each. These included day-time versus night-time sleeping times, the vicissitudes of working with foreign and powerful as opposed to local and breakdown-probe machines. In addition, while local fishermen stressed the discomfort of cooperating with people who were too closely related, migrant fishermen's stories highlighted the challenges of working in mixed-language international crews who could barely commu-

nicate, and who came from different fishing and occasionally non-fishing backgrounds. When telling stories about their time on foreign boats, they recreated complex rhythmic spheres through sound, gestures, and mimicry. For instance, migrant fishers on Taiwanese tuna boats imitated the swishing of lines, the "kkrrring" of wresting hooks out of fish, the slapping of the heavy fish onto the deck and its rattling down to storage room, the roaring of engines, and above all, the angry yells of Mandarin-speaking captains. Bu Ones' older son Toni, thinking of his own first months on such a boat, enacted for his brother Faudi his situation as a poor, polite Javanese newbie on board who got caught for a mistake by the captain. The captain would shout at him in staccato Mandarin. Toni, thinking of his father as a role model, would muster whatever self-restraint he could and utter a slow, soft and calm "iya, iya", in Indonesian. Seeing a smiling face and hearing "iya, iya", however, would only further enrage the captain, who expected a frightened, ideally panicked crewmember to hyper-actively correct his mistake. And so the two of them performed a classical Batesonian figure of complementary schismogenesis, whose end Toni wisely left in the vague so as not to upset his mother. Eventually, a well-meaning peer suggested that Toni try a brief "sh" or "hai" and just get back to work.

Toni was lucky. Several men who had returned from Korean boats years ago recalled a much harsher treatment. One recounted a combination of foul language, excruciatingly long work ours, too many men on board for doing the work well, and thin rice soup thrice a day for meals. Their passports had been taken off them, and they were not allowed on land when the boat entered a port. Eventually, the man and two other Indonesian crewmembers saw land that they thought could belong to Indonesia. They jumped overboard and swam ashore, found themselves in the Malaysian part of Borneo and managed to return home, with the help of Indonesian officials. Such stories indicate the multiple challenges of eating well, having fun, resting enough, and working hard on board. On land, such bodily rhythms tend to go unnoticed. At sea, fishers must learn anew to maintain them, amidst the rhythms of machines as well as humans different from themselves in language and habits and not always well-meaning, let alone the rhythms of fish and currents.

Food, music and work on land

Crewmembers carried their attention to the proper alteration of food, music and work over to their work on land. Whether they were unloading fish at the auction place, repairing a net stretched out along the roadside under the glistening sun or replacing planks in the body of the boat anchored in front of the owner's house along the river, they worked in bouts that alternated with sharing meals, coffee, tea, snacks or cigarettes. They worked in sync

with each other, vigorously, and amidst jokes. When they were not working in the noise of machines, crewmembers were usually engulfed by *dangdut* streaming from music boxes. Moreover, during their five days or so between fishing trips, crewmembers also carried their bodily rhythms over into their domestic life. This generated frictions with their families. One source of conflict concerned the amount and quality of food they demanded. Many crewmembers judged their families' daily meals against the standards they were used to from the boats, found them deficient, and boldly occupied the kitchen and set about changing them. Replacing the eggs or soycakes that their wives were used to with fish and meat, Maskom, for instance, finished his wife's food budget for a month in five days. Bu Ones routinely put aside household money for the days between Pak Arif's arrival and the hand-over of the catch for just this reason. Arif was fully aware of the troubles he was causing her but insisted on the importance of proper food. To make up for the extra expenditure, he saved the bonuses and any money "for food" or "for cigarettes" that the owner paid them during unloading for this purpose. The arrangement could not entirely smoothen over the differences, however. Bu Ones was split between wanting to treat Arif well and upbraiding him for his extravagant demands. Arif grumbled that she was "a nice person, but not in the kitchen".

Besides food, his music was a bone of contention. Like many older fishers who had worked amidst engine noise for decades, Pak Arif had hearing problems.[24] Even distant neighbors knew when he was home, by the loud music coming out of the house. Sometimes, family members tried to very carefully suggest that he lower the volume; more commonly, they fled and spent their free time elsewhere. The west monsoon, when most boats stayed in port for four to six weeks, depending on the weather, was especially difficult, rhythmically as well as economically. Crewmembers tended to be in an increasingly foul mood, for the lack of decent food, fun and work, they said. They felt lazy and listless and grew increasingly quick-tempered as the season progressed. Their wives and children often preferred to brave flooded roads and schedule visits to distant relatives rather than sustain protracted contestations over deeply engrained bodily rhythms at home.

However, not all encounters of different bodily rhythms were conflictive. In some cases, crewmembers' families appreciated learning about and participating, briefly and imperfectly, in some of the habits that crewmembers had acquired on the boats. For instance, Pak Arif introduced regular breakfasts that he bought for everyone during his stints on land, and Bu Ones, who usually did not bother to spend time or money on her breakfast, was pleased. Arif also insisted on everyone resting after their first spell of work over midday and going to bed early in the evenings after watching TV for a while. This

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24   The problem is exacerbated in fishing villages where men dive for fish with compressors. Many of them are deaf.

gave the day a structure that it did not have. Sometimes, we spoke about this when he was at sea, or one of us spontaneous bought breakfast for everyone, "as if Pak Arif were here". Crewmembers also brought leftover snacks home that the boat owner handed out after trips. Their families were delighted to try them, being instructed by the crewmember how to open this or that container or cut this or that fruit. Thus, their families directly participated in some aspects of crewmembers' work, while learning about others through crewmember's narratives.

Gendered evaluations of work

Appreciating work for its outcomes and as a process, respectively, are differently gendered modes of evaluating work at Kali Sambong. From one perspective, crewmembers' work yields dissatisfying outcomes, and a household's economic performance is credited to women's work of budgeting rather than men's work of fishing. From the other, fishing is a challenging, dangerous, but also energizing and deeply satisfying effort at sustaining one's own bodily rhythms – and, one might add, the rhythms that mark human life – under unusual circumstances. Crewmembers must learn to eat, work hard and rest well amidst the rhythms of other (non-kin, and sometimes not Javanese) people, as well as those of different types of machinery and equipment, each posing challenges of its own. Thus, while women create and manipulate economic distinctions that are crucial to social life at the village and in highly status-conscious lowland Java, crewmembers manipulate differences of a different kind. If work, as Olivia Harris (2007) suggests, is crucial to people's sense of what it means to be human, then crewmembers' work makes them human in the "inclusive sociality" (Palmer 2015: 21) of a maritime workspace in which not physical objects, but rhythms are the primary focus of attention.

If one starts from this "rhythmic" perspective, then crewmembers participate in an innovative form of generating distinctions, one that is different both from conventional male forms of generating status distinctions in Java. Conventionally, men seek to enhance their spiritual potency, refinement and self-control through ascetism, including abstention from food, rest, and work. In practicing self-control, they train themselves to be able to engage in interactions with a broad variety of social and spiritual others, both superior and inferior to them, without losing countenance, and thus without surrendering their peace of mind. Fishers, though apparently doing quite the opposite in insisting that one must eat well and regularly, enjoy music and rest and work hard, nevertheless achieve similar effects. Food, rest and hard work enhance their ability of engaging with various others, including other crewmembers, captains, machines, and eventually, though beyond the scope of this paper, fish. What we learn from their mode of sensing and manipulating differences through rhythms, is that status manipulation needn't take

the form of competition, but may also take the form of establishing a fragile, temporary balance with people and things whose vital rhythms do not match one's own.

This, in turn, also provides a new perspective on women's budgeting efforts, one that focuses on processes rather than outcomes. If one privileges outcomes, houses are the domesticated, relatively stable material forms that women create out of the slippery, fishy and monetary outcomes of a crewmember's work. This, however, tells us little about these processes of domestication, or in Arendt's (1998) terms, of "worlding", the creation of a relatively enduring, material and social lived space. Does worlding take particularly maritime forms among fishers? From a perspective informed by crewmembers' "intrinsic" evaluation of their own work, women's budgeting efforts align the rhythms of irregular and low incomes with those of both regular and irregular, small and large expenditures. Worlding, or "cooking" money (Carsten 1989) is a rhythmic process, although the rhythms handled by women are different from those that men engage at sea.

Concentrating on one or the other perspective on work is not a neutral theoretical choice. It implies privileging one or the other starting point for perception, action and mutual engagement. At Kali Sambong, these starting points are gendered. I have aimed to direct attention at the processes of mutual learning that men, women and young people are involved in, within the lived spaces of their houses that objectify both men's experiences of their work at sea, and women's efforts at turning the outcomes of men's work into an enduring space for human sociability. Here, people learn to appreciate one another's perspectives, not by physically assuming one another's point of view, but through the use of drama, humor, and narratives evoked by furniture. Women at Kali Sambong make the effort of joining in crewmembers' bodily rhythms, and crewmembers stand still amidst the buzz of the auction place and attempt to calculate if their share will be sufficient for covering the planned expenditures on a house. Their strategies for switching back and forth between differently gendered perspectives deserve further attention. Anthropologists interested in evaluating work – their own, and work that they are not "native" to – might draw inspiration from them.

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Katharina Schneider holds a PhD in anthropology from Cambridge University. She has conducted ethnographic field research in Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, with a thematic focus on fishing and human-environment relations in coastal and small island settings.

„Was ist überhaupt Gemeinschaftsarbeit?" Über den Umgang mit Arbeit in einer intentionalen Gemeinschaft im ländlichen Sachsen, Deutschland

Karla Dümmler

Was ist Arbeit? – am Beispiel einer intentionalen Gemeinschaft

Was ist Arbeit und was nicht? Wie grenzen sich Arbeit und Freizeit voneinander ab? Welche Rolle spielt dabei die Bezahlung? Das sind zentrale Fragen, die sich innerhalb der aktuellen wissenschaftlichen Debatte zu Arbeit stellen (Eckert 2016: 6f.). Völlig vom monetären Ausgleich für Arbeit absehend definiert Gerd Spittler Arbeit folgendermaßen:

> *Arbeit dient einem Zweck, der außerhalb ihrer selbst liegt. Sie ist eine qualifizierte Tätigkeit, die gelernt werden muss. Sie verlangt körperlichen Einsatz, und zwar den ganzen Körper: Muskeln, Geist und Gefühle. Gemeinsam ist den Tätigkeiten, die ich Arbeit nenne, auch die Regelmäßigkeit und Dauerhaftigkeit. Arbeit ist kein einmaliger Akt, sondern wiederholt sich und nimmt einen längeren Zeitraum in Anspruch. Wir arbeiten nicht nur einen Tag lang, sondern über Wochen, Monate, Jahre. (Spittler 2016: 17)*

Die Untersuchung sogenannter alternativer Formen des Zusammenlebens fügt dieser Debatte neue Aspekte hinzu. Denn häufig bemühte und auch kritisierte Dichotomien in der Ethnologie der Arbeit, wie industrielle und vorindustrielle sowie kapitalistische und vorkapitalistische Arbeit (Spittler 2016: 5), werden hier durch die parallele Existenz verschiedener Arbeits- und auch Entlohnungsformen gleichsam aufgelöst. Gleichzeitig entstehen weitere Dichotomien, wie bezahlte und unbezahlte Arbeit oder Arbeit für die Gemeinschaft und Arbeit für sich selbst. Beispielhaft für eine solche „alternative" Wohn-, Lebens- und Arbeitsform soll die *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft Jahnishausen* (LTGJ) vorgestellt werden, eine sogenannte intentionale Gemeinschaft mit 44 Bewohner_innen[1] im ländlichen Sachsen. Viele der hier verrichteten Arbeiten werden nicht mit Geld entlohnt, sondern gelten als Teil des Gemeinschaftslebens. Andere Dienste erhalten hingegen eine Gegenleistung in Form von Geld. Wieder andere Tätigkeiten werden bei einigen Ge-

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[1]   Alle aufgeführten Daten beziehen sich auf den Erhebungszeitraum zwischen Juli 2014 und März 2015.

meinschaftsbewohner_innen bezahlt, bei anderen nicht. Wie Arbeit in der Gemeinschaft aufgeteilt und entlohnt wird, ist Inhalt des vorliegenden Artikels. Weiter werde ich untersuchen, was die Mitglieder bewegt, sich unabhängig von einer finanziellen Gegenleistung „Vollzeit" für die Gemeinschaft zu engagieren.

Zur theoretischen Einbettung der Forschungsergebnisse aus dem noch recht jungen Feld der Erforschung von intentionalen Gemeinschaften werde ich Klassiker der ökonomischen Anthropologie und der Soziologie heranziehen. Primär beziehe ich mich hierbei auf Sahlins' Formen der Reziprozität (1988) und Mauss' „Die Gabe" (2013 [1950]), die sich zwar hauptsächlich auf den Austausch von Materiellem beziehen, inhaltlich aber auf das Geben von Zeit und Arbeitskraft übertragbar sind.

Auf die theoretische Einbettung folgt ein Einblick in die zugrundeliegende Forschung sowie eine Vorstellung der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* selbst. Im Anschluss daran werde ich die Sozialstruktur der Gemeinschaft anhand von Netzwerkdaten vorstellen sowie die Aufteilung von Arbeit unter den Bewohner_innen der LTGJ. Darauf folgend werde ich die Aushandlungen über Normen und Praktiken von Arbeit in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* diskutieren, insbesondere in Bezug auf das Leitbild „Alle Arbeit ist Gemeinschaftsarbeit". Abschließend werde ich in den Blick nehmen, was die Gemeinschaftsmitglieder zu ihrem Engagement für die Gemeinschaft bewegt, abhängig und unabhängig von monetärer Entlohnung, und wie diese Ergebnisse auf einen größeren Kontext übertragbar sind.

Die Gabe, Reziprozität und soziale Normen

Marcel Maus' Essay „Die Gabe" (2013 [1950]) zählt zu den meist diskutierten ethnologischen Klassikern, innerhalb und außerhalb des Faches. Hierin befasst sich Mauss mit dem Charakter der Gabe und des Gebens. Evans-Pritchard beschreibt in seinem Vorwort zur „Gabe" den Austausch in „archaischen Gesellschaften" (Evans-Pritchard 2013 [1966]: 10), Mauss folgend, als „totale gesellschaftliche Tätigkeit" (ebd.). Diese ist „zur gleichen Zeit ein ökonomisches, juristisches, moralisches, ästhetisches, religiöses, mythologisches und sozio-morphologisches Phänomen" (ebd.). Mauss legt den Fokus beim Austausch bzw. beim Geben auf dessen „freiwilligen, anscheinend selbstlosen und spontanen, aber dennoch zwanghaften und eigennützigen Charakter" (Mauss 2013 [1950]: 18). Weitere Charakteristika sind, dass der Gebende ein Individuum oder eine Gruppe sein kann und das, was ausgetauscht wird, nicht nur Güter, sondern z.B. auch Feste oder Höflichkeiten sein kann. Dass auf die Gabe eine Gegengabe erfolgt, ist zwingend erforderlich, auch wenn die Gegengabe „offiziell" einen freiwilligen Charakter hat (ebd.: 21f.). Mauss bezeichnet dies als „System der totalen Leistung" (ebd.: 22). Eine Schlussfolgerung, die Mauss in seinem Werk zieht, ist die Aufforderung zum

freiwilligen und obligatorischen Geben. Das zuvor beschriebene „System der totalen Leistung" ist für ihn in „unserer Gesellschaft" erstrebenswert. Weiter folgert er, von einem Beispiel aus Malinowskis Werk ausgehend, dass eine Gegengabe auch dazu dient, Bündnisse zu erhalten (ebd.: 164ff.), wohingegen der reine Fokus auf die eigenen Ziele „den Zwekken [sic] und dem Frieden des Ganzen [...]" (ebd.: 174) schadet.

Eine der einflussreichsten ethnologischen Auseinandersetzungen mit Mauss' Essay ist Marshall Sahlins' *Stone Age Economics* (1988), in dem er folgende Schlüsse aus Mauss' Werk zieht: Die Gabe sei ein Gesellschaftsvertrag der „Primitiven". Sie bedeute „alliance, solidarity, communion – in brief, peace" (ebd.: 169). Gleichzeitig führe die Gabe nicht unbedingt zur Vereinigung der Gesellschaft, vielmehr erhalte Reziprozität die verschiedenen Untergruppen (ebd.: 170). Laut Sahlins besteht die Zentralität an Mauss' Werk in dessen Aufzeigen der versöhnenden und friedensstiftenden Wirkung von Gabe und Gegengabe (ebd.: 182). Mit „[...] every exchange, as it embodies some coefficient of sociability, cannot be understood in its material terms apart from its social terms" (ebd.: 183) schließt der Autor und macht damit seine den Artikel prägende, im Polanyischen Sinne substantivistische Position explizit (ebd.: xii).

Sahlins teilt Reziprozität in drei Kategorien ein, die ein Kontinuum an Austauschformen bilden: generalisierte Reziprozität, balancierte Reziprozität und negative Reziprozität (ebd.: 190ff.). Die generalisierte Reziprozität nennt Sahlins das „solidarity extreme" (ebd.: 193). Güter werden übergeben, ohne dass eine direkte Rückgabe erwartet wird: Auch wenn Empfangende nichts erwidern können, geben die Gebenden weiter. Dies bedeutet nicht, dass keine Verpflichtung zur Rückgabe besteht. Sie bleibt bestenfalls unausgesprochen und es existiert keine Rückgabefrist (ebd. 193f.). Auf der anderen Seite des Kontinuums steht die negative Reziprozität, das „unsociable extreme" (ebd.: 195). Ziel ist es, möglichst viel für sich selbst zu erhalten und dafür möglichst wenig zu geben. Reziprozität wird dabei häufig zwanghaft oder arglistig durchgesetzt. Dazwischen liegt die balancierte Reziprozität, deren perfekte Ausführung der direkte, unverzögerte Austausch ist. Endet der ökonomische Fluss von einer Seite, kann es zu einem Abbruch der sozialen Beziehung kommen (ebd.: 194f.).

Anschließend setzt Sahlins die verschiedenen Formen der Reziprozität in Zusammenhang mit sozialer Nähe und Distanz. Er expliziert hierbei folgende Verknüpfung: „The span of social distance between those who exchange conditions the mode of exchange" (ebd.: 196). Auf den sozialen Raum bezogen sieht Sahlins generalisierte Reziprozität auf der Ebene der Hausgemeinschaft verwirklicht, während Beziehungen zwischen Gesellschaften bzw. im „intertribalen" Sektor[2] häufig durch negative Reziprozität gekenn-

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2   Sahlins behandelt die Formen der Reziprozität anhand von tribalen Gesellschaften.

zeichnet sind. Dazwischen, auf der Ebene des Dorfes, des Klans etc. dominiert hingegen balancierte Reziprozität (ebd.: 196ff.).

Obwohl Marshall Sahlins sagt, dass seine Ausführungen insbesondere für "primitive" Gesellschaften gelten, betont er ebenso, dass seine Theorien gleichermaßen auf unsere eigene Gesellschaft anwendbar sind (ebd.: 196). In diesem Sinne werde ich untersuchen, inwiefern Sahlins' Modell zu einem besseren Verständnis des Gebens und Nehmens von Arbeit in der LTGJ beitragen kann.

Neben Sahlins' Erkenntnissen zu Reziprozität werde ich mich in meiner Untersuchung im Besonderen auch auf das Durkheim'sche Verständnis von sozialen Normen stützen. Auch in Mauss' Beschreibung der Gabe als freiwilliges und zugleich obligatorisches Phänomen wird die normative Prägung des Gabentauschs an sich deutlich (Mauss 2013 [1950]: 18). Der von ihm beschriebene Austausch fällt für ihn in die Kategorie der „totalen gesellschaftlichen Phänomene" (ebd.: 178) – „fait social total" (Stagl 1988: 301). Die theoretische Basis für diese Bezeichnung schuf Mauss' Onkel und Mentor Émile Durkheim (Schäfers 2006: 30). Durkheim prägte den Begriff des „fait social", der von René König als „soziologischer Tatbestand" (König 1976: 38) übersetzt, häufig aber auch als „sozialer Tatbestand" (Hegner 1994: 668) verwendet wird. Durkheim definiert den Begriff folgendermaßen:

> *Ein soziologischer Tatbestand ist jede mehr oder minder festgelegte Art des Handelns, die die Fähigkeit besitzt, auf den Einzelnen einen äußeren Zwang auszuüben; oder auch, die im Bereiche einer gegebenen Gesellschaft allgemein auftritt, wobei sie ein von ihren individuellen Äußerungen unabhängiges Eigenleben besitzt. (Durkheim 1976 [1895]: 114)*

Diese Durkheim'sche Definition des sozialen Tatbestands legt den Grundstein zur Untersuchung von sozialen Normen. In Abgrenzung zum *homo oeconomicus* mit der Maxime des rationalen Handelns wird die hier beschriebene Gesellschaft von Normen geleitet (Elster 1989: 99). Normen werden von außen an das Individuum herangetragen, gleichzeitig bringt sich dieses bei der Normierung ein (Schäfers 2006: 30). Gelten bestimmte Regeln für mehrere Personen, wird der Begriff „soziale Normen" (ebd.: 31) verwendet. Diese sind für Aufbau und Erhalt von sozialen Beziehungen notwendig (ebd.).

Normen können nach verschiedenen Kriterien eingeteilt werden. Aufgrund der praktischen Anwendbarkeit für meine Daten bediene ich mich der Einteilung „nach dem Grad der Verbindlichkeit und damit nach der Art (Strenge) der Sanktionen. [...]: Muss-Normen (z.B. Gesetze), Soll-Normen (z.B. Sitten), Kann-Normen (z.B. Bräuche, Gewohnheiten);" (ebd.). Das Nichteinhalten von Normen, im Speziellen von Muss- und Soll-Normen, ist mit Sanktionen verbunden. Durkheim beschreibt Devianz am Beispiel des Verbrechens als normal, da das Verbrechen ein der Gesellschaft inhärentes

Phänomen, also Normalität, ist (Durkheim 1976 [1895]: 156f.). Gleichzeitig ist das Verbrechen – genauso wie abweichendes Verhalten im Allgemeinen – notwendig „für eine normale Entwicklung des Rechtes und der Moral" (ebd.: 159) und dessen Wandel (ebd.: 160). Durkheim schreibt weiter: „Wie oft ist das Verbrechen wirklich bloß eine Antizipation der zukünftigen Moral, der erste Schritt zu dem, was sein wird." (ebd.). Hieraus wird deutlich, dass Normen keine immer gleichbleibenden gesellschaftlichen Konstanten sind, sondern einem Wandel unterliegen.

Ethnographischer Kontext: Die *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft Jahnishausen*

In dem knapp 200 Einwohner_innen großen Dorf Jahnishausen[3] im ländlichen Sachsen ersteigerten 2001 sieben Frauen das alte Rittergut des Ortes, um dort eine Gemeinschaft aufzubauen.[4] Die sogenannten Gründerfrauen fanden sich über die Gruppe „Magie des Alters", in der sich Menschen im Alter von über 50 treffen, um zu überlegen, wie sie ihr weiteres Leben gestalten wollen. Dabei kam damals die Idee des gemeinsamen Wohnens auf. Mittlerweile ist aus diesem Wunsch ein genossenschaftlich organisiertes Projekt geworden, in dem 44 Personen leben. Es gibt biologischen Gartenbau, eine Hackschnitzelheizung, eine Pflanzenkläranlage, verschiedenste Freizeitangebote – von Kino, über Yoga bis zum freien Musizieren – und einen regen Seminarbetrieb. Außerdem finden jede Woche Gemeinschaftszeiten statt, wie Kleingruppentreffen, Plenen und Zusammenkünfte unterschiedlicher Arbeitsgruppen. Die Gemeinschaftsmitglieder leben auf dem Rittergut in unterschiedlichen Wohnformen, wie WGs, Paarwohnungen und Wohnungen, die alleine bewohnt werden. Diese verteilen sich über das ganze Rittergut, das aus unterschiedlichen Gebäuden besteht.

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3   Statistisches Landesamt des Freistaates Sachsen, 2014: 5; (06.06.2017)

4   Die hier präsentierten Ergebnisse basieren auf einer insgesamt dreimonatigen Forschung im Rahmen der Masterarbeit in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft Jahnishausen* in den Jahren 2014/2015. Hierbei wurden mit unterschiedlichen Methoden sowohl qualitative als aus quantitative Daten erhoben, die ich für die Analyse in Bezug zueinander gebracht habe. Bei den ersten zwei Aufenthalten, die insgesamt einen Monat lang waren, wurden die aktuell am stärksten präsenten Themen der Gemeinschaft identifiziert, woraus das Forschungsthema entstand. Für die Masterarbeit habe ich mich dann mit den ökonomischen Austauschbeziehungen in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft Jahnishausen* befasst und hierbei den Austausch von Geld, Arbeit und Gütern erforscht. Das Thema der Arbeit innerhalb der Gemeinschaft zeigte sich hierbei als eines der am kontroversesten diskutierten, das in starkem Zusammenhang mit seiner Bezahlung oder auch Nicht-Bezahlung steht.

Besonders an der Gemeinschaft ist immer noch das überdurchschnittlich hohe Alter ihrer Bewohner_innen[5], das im Oktober 2015 bei ca. 55 Jahren lag. In der Gemeinschaft sind dabei von einigen Babys und Kleinkindern bis hin zu einer 80jährigen fast alle Altersgruppen vertreten. Die größte Altersklasse ist zwischen 60 und 69 Jahren[6]. Dem Altersdurchschnitt der Lebenstraummitglieder entsprechend liegt der Anteil der Rentner_innen im Oktober 2014 bei 46,2%; 35,9% geben an, in Arbeit zu sein, der restliche Teil kann den Kategorien „arbeitslos" oder „Sonstiges" zugeordnet werden.[7] Eine Verteilung, die sicherlich auch auf die Arbeit, die innerhalb der Gemeinschaft geleistet wird – die sogenannte Gemeinschaftsarbeit –, Einfluss hat.

Doch was ist eine *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft*? Ein solcher Zusammenschluss lässt sich auch mit dem aus der Gemeinschaftsforschung stammenden Begriff der „intentionalen Gemeinschaft" bezeichnen. Der Terminus entstand auf einer 1948 stattfindenden Konferenz nordamerikanischer Gemeinschaften (Kunze 2009: 53). Heute wird er in wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten zu Gemeinschaften definiert und verwendet (Shenker 1986; Andelson und Lockyer 2006). Barry Shenkers (1986: 10f.) Definition beinhaltet z.B. Punkte wie eine bewusste Gründung, freiwillige Mitgliedschaft und gemeinsame Ziele innerhalb der Gemeinschaft, die alle auch in der LTGJ gegeben sind.

Die *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft*: Sozialstruktur und Verortung der Individuen

Während meines Aufenthalts in der LTGJ wurde ich immer wieder mit verschiedensten Kategorien konfrontiert, in welche die Mitglieder die Gemeinschaft aufteilen: die Siedler und die Pioniere, die Jungen und die Alten, die Gutshausgruppe und der Rest der Gemeinschaft. Diese Aufteilungen werden von einigen Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern als „Schubladendenken" kritisiert und trotzdem immer wieder zur Erklärung der Gemeinschaft oder zur Verortung von anderen bzw. der eigenen Person herangezogen. Zugleich wurde ich häufig von Außenstehenden gefragt, ob es denn keine Leitung oder keine_n Hauptverantwortliche_n in der Gemeinschaft gebe.

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5   Das Projekt wurde mittlerweile für sein Potenzial mit dem Deutschen Alterspreis 2016 der Robert Bosch Stiftung ausgezeichnet (Robert Bosch Stiftung 2016; 07.06.2017).

6   Damit befindet sich der Altersdurchschnitt in der LTGJ gut neun Jahre über dem Durchschnitt in Sachsen, der sich auf Basis des Zensus 2011 bei 46,8 Jahren befindet (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015, 06.06.2017).

7   Die Bewohner_innen haben bzw. hatten hierbei die unterschiedlichsten Berufe. Es leben z.B. einige Lehrer_innen in der Gemeinschaft, mehrere Bewohner_innen sind/waren im medizinischen/pflegenden Bereich tätig, es gibt aber auch einen Landschaftsgärtner, einen Chemiker, einen Elektrotechniker, eine Betriebswirtin und viele weitere Berufsgruppen.

Die internen Kategorien finden sich zum Teil in den Ergebnissen meiner Netzwerkdaten wieder. Hier wurde zwar auch deutlich, dass es keine „klassischen" Führungspersonen gibt, aber dafür Mitglieder, die häufig um Hilfe gebeten werden. Denn auf Basis von drei Netzwerkfragen, die auf verschiedene Formen der Unterstützung[8] abzielen, zeigt sich klar, dass einige Personen in der Gemeinschaft häufiger frequentierte Ansprechpartner_innen sind, als andere:
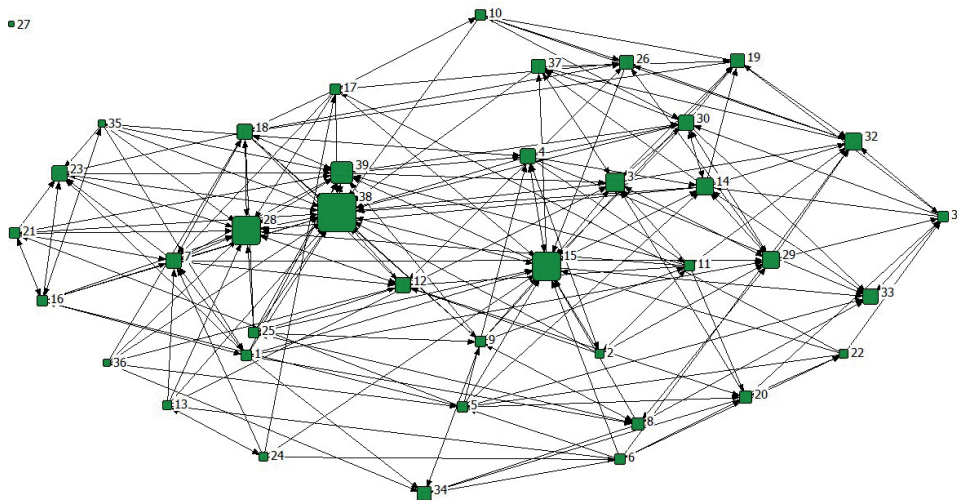

Abb. 1: *Indegree* im Hilfenetzwerk, Stand Oktober 2014. Grafik: Karla Dümmler

Die Knoten stehen hier jeweils für ein Individuum der Gemeinschaft, die Pfeilrichtung zeigt an, welcher Knoten wen als Ansprechpartner_in genannt hat. Fünf Knoten treten hier mit einer überdurchschnittlichen Nennung besonders vor. Wie die Soziologin Dorothea Jansen schreibt, haben diese „Akteure, die überwiegend Objekt positiver gerichteter Beziehungen sind, [...] ein hohes Prestige" (Jansen 2006: 142). Sie genießen besonders viel Achtung und sind in dem vorliegenden Fall Gemeinschaftsmitglieder, die als besonders hilfreich eingestuft werden. Die hier besonders häufig genannten Personen (in absteigender Reihenfolge Knoten 38, 28, 15, 39 und 3) leben zum Befragungszeitraum schon zwischen fünf und neun Jahre in der LTGJ, was im Vergleich zu den andere Bewohner_innen und in Anbetracht der recht jungen Gemeinschaft relativ lange ist. Auch liegt das Alter der fünf angefragten Mitglieder zwischen 60 und Anfang 70, also etwas über dem Altersdurchschnitt. Es handelt sich somit um Personen, die schon hinreichend Lebens-

8   Folgende drei Netzwerkfragen wurden gestellt: „Stell dir vor, du brichst dir ein Bein, wen kontaktierst du zuerst und fragst um Hilfe?", „Stell dir vor, du musst dringend eine Rechnung bezahlen, für die du nicht genug Geld zur Verfügung hast, wen würdest du um Hilfe bitten?" und „Stell dir vor, du machst dir große Sorgen um dein Kind/eine gute Freundin und brauchst Beratung. Wen würdest du um Hilfe bitten?".

und Gemeinschaftserfahrung haben und dementsprechend Unterstützung geben können. Außerdem qualifizieren diese sich zum Teil durch ihre medizinischen Kenntnisse bzw. durch ihre gute finanzielle Stellung. Gleichzeitig zeigen sich bei dem hier vorliegenden Zentralitätsmaß zwei weitere Gruppen: Zum einen sind das diejenigen, die in etwa so häufig genannt wurden wie der Durchschnitt der Gemeinschaft, also in etwa vier- bis achtmal bei einem Durchschnitt von sechs Nennungen. Zum anderen gibt es Personen die nicht (Knoten 27) oder fast nicht als Hilfsperson angegeben wurden (in absteigender Reihenfolge Knoten 6, 11, 16, 17, 2, 13, 22, 24, 35 und 36).

Neben dem *Indegree* zeigt auch die *Betweenness*-Zentralität ein interessantes Ergebnis. Diese fragt ab, ob es Vermittler_innen gibt bzw. Personen, die besonders viel Kontrolle innehaben (Schnegg und Lang 2002: 39). Durch das Zentralitätsmaß „Betweenness" treten neben den schon „bekannten" zentralen Personen zusätzlich zwei Personen hervor, die ein hohes Maß an Ressourcen- und Informationskontrolle aufweisen (Knoten 12 und 20). Die zwei neu hervortretenden Personen befinden sich mit Mitte 40 bzw. 50 Jahren zum Befragungszeitraum etwas unter dem Altersdurchschnitt und kommen aus dem Umland von Jahnishausen[9] oder verbrachten die längste Zeit ihres Lebens dort. Ihre Zentralität bezieht sich weniger auf ihr deutliches Hervortreten als häufig angefragte Personen, sondern vielmehr auf ihre Rolle als Kommunikatorinnen. Sie geben Informationen weiter, sind meist ansprech- und erreichbar, haben den Überblick über das, was passiert, und sind mit „wachen Augen" an der Gemeinschaft beteiligt.

Aus der Netzwerkanalyse ergeben sich somit vier unterschiedlich starke Formen des Angefragt-Werdens innerhalb der Gemeinschaft: Diejenigen, die sehr häufig und direkt kontaktiert werden (5 Personen), eine weitere Gruppe, die eine Vermittlerfunktion innehat (2 Mitglieder), Personen, die durchschnittlich oft angefragt werden (23 Bewohner_innen) und Bewohner_innen die weniger oft oder gar nicht als Ansprechpartner_innen genannt werden (11 Personen). Damit stellt sich die Frage, in welcher Relation die Eingebundenheit von Personen zu ihrem Engagement und zu ihrer Arbeit für die Gemeinschaft steht.

Die Organisation von Arbeit in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft*

Wie die Sozialstruktur der LTGJ zeigt, gibt es Personen, die häufiger, und Personen, die seltener angefragt werden. Trotzdem ist zu betonen, dass in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* keine einzelne Person lebt, der_die alleine angibt, was wie erledigt werden muss. Hauptsächlich werden Arbeiten über die soge-

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9   Dies ist in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* eher ungewöhnlich. Nur gut 28% der Bewohner_innen stammen aus einem Umkreis von unter 100 km Entfernung zur Gemeinschaft.

nannten Arbeitsgruppen verteilt.[10] Jeden Donnerstag trifft sich zum Beispiel die „Baugruppe", bespricht was zu tun ist und wer die Arbeiten übernimmt. Während meines Aufenthalts wurde hier u.a. über den aktuellen Umbau einer Wohnung diskutiert. Die „Neuland-Gruppe" kümmert sich um ein neu erworbenes Stück Land in der Nähe des Ritterguts und die Aufgaben der Gruppen „Öffentlichkeitsarbeit" und „Gäste- und Seminarbetrieb" sind selbsterklärend. Eine besonders interessante Einrichtung stellte für meine Forschung die Gruppe „Finanzflüsse" (Fiflü) dar. Deren Hauptaufgabe ist die Verwaltung des „Solidaritätsfonds". Dieser wird durch freiwillige, monatliche Zahlungen von Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern und Einnahmen aus z.B. Infowochenenden gespeist. Von dem Geld werden Bewohner_innen des Ritterguts unterstützt, die „[...] in schwierigen finanziellen Situationen [sind]. Also keine Dauerunterstützung, dafür ist es auch gar nicht genug Geld, sondern wenn mal irgendwie außerplanmäßig was ansteht", erzählt mir Elisa (02.02.2015)[11], ein Mitglied der Gruppe Finanzflüsse. Pro Jahr werden ca. fünf bis sechs Anfragen an den Solidaritätsfond gestellt, und häufig wird das Geld in Form eines zinslosen Darlehens zur Verfügung gestellt. Außerdem werden daraus von Zeit zu Zeit „Gratifikationen" an Menschen gezahlt, die sich besonders für die LTGJ engagieren und selbst wenig Geld haben (ebd.). Die Gemeinschaft hat somit eine eigene Einrichtung zur gegenseitigen finanziellen Unterstützung.

Eine weitere wichtige Einrichtung der Gemeinschaft ist die allmittwöchliche „Orga". Hierfür treffen sich im besten Fall alle im Speisesaal. Bei der „Orga" übernimmt immer eine Person die Leitung und eine andere das Protokollieren. Zuerst haben die Arbeitsgruppen das Wort, angeführt von der Geschäftsführung, gefolgt von der Baugruppe und danach allen weiteren Arbeitsgruppen, die etwas mitzuteilen haben. Anschließend dürfen allgemeine Mitteilungen gemacht werden, und es gibt eine Runde, in der etwaige persönliche Nachrichten verbreitet werden können. Hier werden zum Beispiel Fahrdienste gesucht oder es wird für Veranstaltungen geworben. Gleichzeitig dient die „Orga" zur Organisation der gemeinsamen Mittagessen: Die wöchentliche Küchenliste mit Koch- und Abräumdiensten zum Eintragen wird herumgegeben und eine Liste, in die jede_r einträgt, wann er_sie beim Mittagessen mitisst. Das gemeinsame Mittagessen ist hierbei eine komplett freiwillige Veranstaltung, die aber von sehr vielen Bewohner_innen vor allem unter der Woche täglich genutzt wird. Sich in die Küchenliste einzutragen

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10   Neben den Arbeitsgruppen gibt es Projektgruppen, die temporär eingerichtet werden. Hierunter fällt zum Beispiel die mittlerweile aufgelöste „Trassengruppe", die den Ausbau einer Abwasser-Trasse betreute. Dabei ist anzumerken, dass die Trennung zwischen den beiden Gruppenarten nicht streng gezogen wird.

11   Zum Schutz ihrer Privatsphäre habe ich alle Mitglieder der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* und etwaige andere Personen, die in Interviews genannt wurden, anonymisiert.

ist hingegen etwas verpflichtender: Es wird erwartet, dass jedes Gemeinschaftsmitglied zwei Dienste pro Woche übernimmt. Bei Nichterfüllung gibt es jedoch keine direkten Sanktionen, außer dass an manchen Tagen das Mittagessen ausfällt oder vor dem Essen nach einem fehlenden Abräumdienst gesucht wird. Außerdem äußert sich von Zeit zu Zeit jemand kritisch in der „Orga" darüber, dass die Liste nicht ausreichend gefüllt wird. Aber generell leisten die Gemeinschaftsmitglieder regelmäßig ihre Dienste, weshalb niemand zum Kochen eingestellt werden muss.

Des Weiteren gibt es auch einen Putzplan, der nach alphabetischer Reihenfolge erstellt wird und für alle einsehbar ausliegt. Jede Woche haben zwei Menschen Putzdienst für den Essraum, die Küche, den Eingangsbereich vor dem Speisesaal und die angrenzenden Toiletten. Wer nicht putzen kann oder will, kann seinen Putzdienst gegen einen anderen Termin mit jemandem tauschen. Außerdem gibt es die Möglichkeit, ihn gegen eine feste Bezahlung von 25€ an ein anderes Gemeinschaftsmitglied abzugeben. Einige Gemeinschaftsmitglieder schenken es auch anderen, den Dienst für sie zu erledigen. Der Putzdienst ist nach meinen Beobachtungen der am strengsten geregelte Dienst in der Gemeinschaft. Zwar wird erwartet, dass sich jede_r zweimal pro Woche in die Küchenliste einträgt, es ist aber nicht problematisch, ab und zu auszusetzen. Der Putzdienst wird im Gegensatz dazu fest zugeordnet. Als Gründe hierfür wurden mir in den Interviews unterschiedliche Maßstäbe bezüglich Sauberkeit genannt, dass viel zu wenige Menschen gerne putzen und dass damit Räume gereinigt werden, die häufig von Gästen genutzt werden. Generell ist festzuhalten, dass ein großes Maß an Freiwilligkeit bei der Verteilung von Arbeit besteht. Zugleich ist Engagement für die Gemeinschaft ein großer Wert.

Gehen wir zurück zu der am Anfang genannten Definition von Arbeit nach Spittler, die besagt, dass Arbeit einen externen Zweck hat, eine qualifizierte Tätigkeit ist, körperlichen Einsatzes bedarf und einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit und Dauer unterliegt (Spittler 2016: 17), lassen sich hiermit auch die Aufgaben innerhalb der LTGJ als Arbeit definieren, auch wenn sie nicht unbedingt bezahlt werden. Denn Arbeit dient in der Gemeinschaft hauptsächlich dem Erhalt der Gemeinschaft, also einem „externen Zweck". Weiter prägt sie den Gemeinschaftsalltag und bestimmte Tätigkeiten, wie Renovierungsarbeiten, die Reinigung von Räumen, aber auch die Pflege der Website werden dauerhaft und regelmäßig durchgeführt. Für ihre Ausführung braucht es, wie für jede Arbeit, einige Fähigkeiten und Übung, denn auch z.B. Kochen für ca. 40 Menschen will erlernt sein. Der körperliche Einsatz – von Muskeln, Geist und Gefühlen, wie Spittler sagt – ist ihr per se inhärent. Das dreistündige Kochen des Mittagessens bedarf einiges an Muskelkraft, wie ich selbst während des Zerkleinerns von 14 kg Kürbis spüren konnte. Die Planung eines solchen Mittagessens braucht „geistige" Anstrengung. Die Hauptköch_innen einer Woche treffen sich jeweils am Wochenanfang, um

die darauffolgenden Mahlzeiten zu planen. Gefühl ist auch gefragt, denn die verschiedenen Essensvorlieben und Allergien erfordern einiges an Einfühlungsvermögen, Organisationstalent und Kreativität, um alle Bewohner_innen „satt zu bekommen". Neben diesen Übereinstimmungen mit Spittlers Definition von Arbeit unterscheiden sich die Tätigkeiten in *Jahnishausen* doch in einem Punkt von den von ihm untersuchten Arbeiten. Dieser schreibt: „Meistens wird Arbeit räumlich und zeitlich von anderen Tätigkeiten abgegrenzt." (Spittler 2016: 281). In der LTGJ ist das Gegenteil der Fall. Die Arbeit ist sowohl räumlich in den Lebensraum eingebettet als auch zeitlich stark mit anderen Tätigkeiten verzahnt. Damit hat Arbeit eine ähnliche Eingebundenheit in das restliche Leben, wie sie auch E.P. Thompson (1967) für das vorkapitalistische England und Pierre Bourdieu (2000 [1977]) für das „traditionelle" Algerien beschreiben. So geht in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* das gemeinsame Mittagessen über in Gespräche, in denen Veranstaltungen geplant werden. Gemeinschaftszeiten, die für die eine als Freizeit gelten, würde der andere klar als Arbeit für die Gemeinschaft wahrnehmen. Gleichzeitig kommt die Verzahnung in Anbetracht der Strukturierung von Arbeit durch mehr oder weniger stark verpflichtende Listen an ihre Grenzen und wird bei bestimmten Tätigkeiten, allen voran dem Putzen der Gemeinschaftsräume, von „Freizeit" losgelöst.

Auf der Basis dieser Organisation von Arbeit möchte ich im Folgenden explizieren, auf welchen Normen der Umgang mit Arbeit innerhalb der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* basiert und wie diese real gelebt werden. Die sozialen Normen sind hierbei nicht als immerwährende Konstanten zu verstehen, sondern – wie oben anhand von Durkheim diskutiert – als wandelbare Richtlinien, die mit unterschiedlichen Verbindlichkeiten belegt sind. Weiter sollen hierfür auch die Ergebnisse der Netzwerkanalyse miteinbezogen werden.

Der Austausch von Arbeit

Die normative Ebene: Alle Arbeit ist Gemeinschaftsarbeit

An einem Mittwochabend im Januar 2015 sitze ich in der „Orga" und stelle der Gemeinschaft meinen Forschungsplan vor. Ich berichte über mein Forschungsthema und meinen Plan, verschiedene Interviews zu führen sowie an einigen Arbeitsgruppen teilzunehmen, wie z.B. der Baugruppe, der Fiflü und der Working-Guest-Gruppe[12]. Nach dem Treffen notiere ich zuversichtlich in mein Forschungstagebuch: „Ich denke, allgemein konnte ich ganz gut klar

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12   Die Working-Guest-Gruppe ist eine Arbeitsgruppe, die die Organisation und Durchführung von Aufenthalten sogenannter Working Guests zur Aufgabe hat. Dies sind Personen, die gegen Kost und Logis in der LTGJ arbeiten und nur noch einen kleinen Kostenbeitrag für ihren Aufenthalt entrichten müssen.

machen, was ich vorhabe" (14.01.2015). Als ich am nächsten Tag in der Küche vorbeischaue, um meine Hilfe beim Kochen anzubieten, wird diese nicht gebraucht. Doch so schnell lässt mich der kochende Arno nicht aus der Küche verschwinden. Er fängt mit mir ein Gespräch über meine Forschung an: Seiner Ansicht nach würde der Plan mit den Arbeitsgruppen so nicht funktionieren. Einige Gruppen, die ich genannt hätte, träfen sich nur situativ oder sehr selten. Er bietet mir an, dass wir uns zu einem Interview zum Thema Geld und Arbeit treffen können.

Eine Woche später sitzen wir in seiner gemütlichen Wohnung an einem Tisch am Fenster. Wir sprechen über bezahlte und unbezahlte Arbeit. Arno, der Mitglied der Geschäftsführung ist, erklärt: „[...] die bisherige Regelung war so: also prinzipiell ist alle Arbeit Gemeinschaftsarbeit. Das ist erst mal der Grundsatz, den wir hatten. Das ist dann ein bisschen verwässert worden" (Arno, 23.01.2015). In einem späteren Interview ergänzt er: „[...] Gemeinschaftsarbeit wird nicht bezahlt" (ebd., 03.03.2015). Auch andere Interviewte teilten diese Ansicht, und schon bei meinem ersten Anruf in der LTGJ erklärte mir Helene am Telefon, dass es in der Gemeinschaft eigentlich keine Möglichkeit gäbe, Geld zu verdienen.

Das Thema ist eng verwoben mit der zuvor beschriebenen Eigenverantwortung, was auf der Internetseite der Gemeinschaft folgendermaßen zum Ausdruck kommt: „Innerhalb der Gemeinschaft gibt es keine nennenswerten Verdienstmöglichkeiten, deshalb ist jede/r aufgefordert, eigenverantwortlich für seinen Lebensunterhalt zu sorgen." (LTGJ, 13.06.2017). Bei dem Grundsatz, dass jede Art von Arbeit Gemeinschaftsarbeit ist, kann von einer gesamtgemeinschaftlichen „Sollnorm" (Schäfers 2006: 31) ausgegangen werden, die aktuell neu ausgehandelt wird. Generell lässt sich die Gemeinschaft nicht dazu verpflichten, bezahlte Arbeit für Gemeinschaftsmitglieder bereitzustellen. Dennoch steht auf der Webseite der LTGJ auch: „Unser Ziel ist es, einige der Arbeiten künftig vergüten zu können" (LTGJ, 13.06.2017). Doch wie stehen die Mitglieder je nach ihrer Position in der Gemeinschaft dazu?

Die Praxis: bezahlte Arbeit und unbezahlte Arbeit

Je mehr Zeit ich in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* verbrachte, desto mehr fiel mir auf, wie viel die Bewohner_innen jeden Tag vorwiegend ohne Bezahlung für die Gemeinschaft und für einzelne Gemeinschaftsmitglieder leisten: Jeden Tag werden ein Frühstück und fast immer ein warmes Mittagessen für alle zubereitet. Die Grünflächen und Beete rund um die alten Gebäude werden gehegt und gepflegt, die Genossenschaft wird verwaltet, jemand kümmert sich um die Gäste und um das Heizen der Kneipe am sonntäglichen Kinoabend. Verschiedene Bewohner_innen gehen mit den Babys spazieren, unterschiedliche Heilarbeiten werden durchgeführt, und bei persönlichen Problemen findet sich meist ein offenes Ohr.

„Was ist überhaupt Gemeinschaftsarbeit?" (Klaus, 23.02.2015; Holger, 11.03.2015; Gabriele, 06.03.2015) fragen einige Bewohner_innen im Interview. Gemeinschaftsarbeit an sich ist schwer zu definieren, und die Meinungen dazu, was darunter fällt, gehen weit auseinander. Generell gibt es in der LTGJ unbezahlte und bezahlte Tätigkeiten, wobei letztere während meiner Aufenthalte 2014/15 vorrangig diskutiert werden. Während dieser Zeit ist ein Großteil der Arbeit unbezahlt, daneben beobachte ich einige Sonderregelungen: Es gibt vier Personen, die bei der Gemeinschaft für ihre Arbeit in unterschiedlichem Umfang angestellt sind. Zwei Personen werden für Instandsetzungsarbeiten und bauliche Arbeiten an neuen Projekten bezahlt, eine Person für organisatorische und praktische Aufgaben rund um die Küche und ein viertes Gemeinschaftsmitglied für die Bewirtschaftung des Gemeinschaftsgartens. Außerdem gibt es die Regelung, dass Gemeinschaftsmitglieder bei der Geschäftsführung nachfragen können, ob sie für eine bestimmte Arbeit bezahlt werden können. So bat z.B. während meines Aufenthalts ein Gemeinschaftsmitglied um die Bezahlung der von ihm ausgeführter Renovierungsarbeiten in seiner Wohnung. Eine weitere Variante ist, dass bestimmte Lebensmittel von Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern, die diese herstellen, verkauft werden. Es gibt unterschiedliche Meinungen, ob die herstellenden Gemeinschaftsmitglieder etwas am Verkauf verdienen: Ein Beispiel dafür ist das Brotbacken. Der Hauptbäcker wird für sein Brot bezahlt, dafür kauft er selbst die Zutaten, um das Brot dann in seiner Wohnung zu backen. Ein zweites Gemeinschaftsmitglied backt zusätzlich unbezahlt Brot. Dafür nutzt sie die Zutaten aus der Gemeinschaft und die Gemeinschaftsküche. Da es sich hierbei um sehr kleine Geldbeträge handelt und schwierig festzustellen ist, ob die herstellenden Gemeinschaftsmitglieder wirklich daran verdienen, werde ich diese „Verdienstmöglichkeit" im Folgenden ausklammern.

Schon bei meinem Aufenthalt im Herbst 2014 merke ich, dass das Thema der bezahlten und unbezahlten Arbeit in der Gemeinschaft heiß diskutiert wird. Als ich im Januar wiederkomme und mein Forschungsthema zwei meiner Mitbewohner_innen vorstelle, reagieren diese sehr interessiert, denn die nächste, für den Februar 2015 anberaumte „Intensivzeit", d.h. eine Zeit, in der Mitglieder der LTGJ vorher festgelegte, die Gemeinschaft betreffende Themen besprechen,[13] wird sich mit dem Thema „Geld und Arbeit" befassen. Elisa erzählt mir im Interview zur Fiflü, dass dies auf die letzte Supervision[14] zurückgeht, bei der klar wurde, dass in der Gemeinschaft ein anderer Umgang mit Geld und Arbeit notwendig ist (Elisa, 02.02.2015). Daraufhin

13   Solche Intensivzeiten finden mindestens einmal im Jahr statt und werden von einer Gruppe aus der Gemeinschaft gestaltet und geleitet. Während meines Aufenthalts Anfang 2015 hatte ich die Möglichkeit, an einer viertägigen Intensivzeit zum Thema „Geld und Arbeit" teilzunehmen.

14   Neben den Intensivzeiten werden auch regelmäßig Supervisionen organisiert. Im Gegensatz zur Intensivzeit kommen zu Supervisionen ein oder zwei Personen von außen, die die Gemeinschaftszeit anleiten.

bildete sich die Gruppe „Geld und Arbeit", die bis zur nächsten Supervision ein neues Modell entwerfen sollte und hierbei der Frage nachging, was es für Alternativen zur Bezahlung der Menschen in der Gemeinschaft nach Stundensätzen gibt. Sie entwickelte folgendes Modell: Die Menschen, die aktuell Geld aus der Gemeinschaft beziehen, sollen losgelöst von den Stunden, die sie arbeiten, ein Bedarfseinkommen erhalten, das aus Töpfen der Gemeinschaft sowie Zahlungen einzelner Mitglieder gespeist wird. Die Arbeit soll so von monetärer Entlohnung losgelöst und bis jetzt geführte Stundenzettel sollen obsolet werden. Für die in der Gemeinschaft allgemein anstehenden Arbeiten überlegte sich die Gruppe ein weiteres Modell, das eine Arbeitsgruppe vorsieht, die Aufgaben sammelt, priorisiert und verteilt. Die Modelle wurden während und nach der Intensivzeit eingehend diskutiert, es kam jedoch nicht zu einem endgültigen Beschluss. Dies liegt sicherlich daran, dass es in der Gemeinschaft sehr unterschiedliche Einstellungen zum Thema „bezahlte Arbeit" gibt, die ich im Folgenden anhand von jeweils einer Person vorstellen werde, die sich durch unterschiedliche Positionen in der Netzwerkanalyse auszeichnen. Hierbei muss festgehalten werden, dass die Darstellung der einzelnen Aussagen sicherlich nicht beispielhaft für jede_n Bewohner_in der Gemeinschaft ist, ich mich bei der Auswahl aber um eine größtmögliche Repräsentativität bemüht habe. Die ausgewählten Personen sind entweder besonders beispielhaft und teilen die gleiche Meinung wie andere Gruppenmitglieder oder stellen besonders aufschlussreiche Extreme dar, wie bei einem Gemeinschaftsmitglied, das selten als Ansprechperson genannt wurde.

Katrin, die „Kümmerin", zählt zu den zentralsten Personen in der Netzwerkanalyse. Zum Erhebungszeitpunkt ist sie 62 Jahre alt und lebt seit gut sechs Jahren in der Gemeinschaft. Ihre persönliche Einkommenssituation bezeichnet sie als „frei bis zur Rente" und schilderte im Interview: „Für mich ist schon auch Gemeinschaft Nehmen, aber auch so viel Geben, mindestens so viel Geben wie Nehmen." (Katrin, 21.02.2015). Ihr ist die Frage wichtig: „Was schenkst du der Gemeinschaft?" (ebd.), die sie auch Gemeinschaftsanwärter_innen stellt. Ich erlebte, wie sie selbst freigiebig ihre Arbeitskraft und finanziellen Mittel an die Gemeinschaft schenkte. In der Orga äußert sie, dass ihr gleichgültig sei, was mit einer von ihr gespendeten, großen Geldsumme geschehe. Eine ihrer Aufgaben ist die Küchenorganisation, die sie sich mit einer Person teilt, die dafür bezahlt wird. Dazu erklärt sie mir: „Ich denke da also gar nicht mehr dran. Erst wenn so eine Frage kommt. [...] Und ich sehe ein, dass die Anderen das Geld brauchen, und die sollen das gerne haben."(ebd.). Auf bezahlte Arbeit in der Gemeinschaft im Allgemeinen bezogen, erzählt sie weiter:

> *Also mich tickt da nichts an. Ich bin da emotional ruhig und gelassen. Wenn ich also von mir ausgehe, sage ich: Ich brauche das überhaupt nicht, weil ich genug Geld habe. Also ich habe da einfach so eine gewisse Außenseiterstellung. [...] Manchmal*

bin ich irritiert bei anderen. Wenn jemand sagt: ‚Dann will ich dafür aber auch Geld haben. Ich mache das nur noch, wenn ich zwölf Euro kriege.' Ich meine, das höre ich immer wieder mal. Da denke ich: ‚Hm ja schade. Schade, dass der so ist oder schade, dass der so denken muss.' Da ist ja dann auch irgendein Mangel da. Also ich habe selbst keinen Mangel und der andere hat einen Mangel. Der mag einerseits finanziell sein. Vielleicht aber auch anderer Art und ich glaube, da sind wir auch nicht immer so ehrlich zueinander, weil der Mangel dann nicht benannt wird. Sondern die Person sagt einfach: ‚Ich will dann auch zwölf Euro.' Um gesehen zu werden oder um das Gefühl zu haben: Meine Arbeit ist was wert. Also ich habe das Gefühl, die Arbeit, die ich reinschenke, die ist was wert. Ich brauche dann nicht nochmal den Gegenwert in Geld dafür. (ebd.)

Katrin formuliert deutlich ihre Einstellung, die im Sinne der generalisierten Reziprozität von Sahlins (1988: 193) betrachtet werden kann. Sie gibt, weil sie es kann. Sie erwartet keine Rückzahlung oder Gegenleistung, denn das Schenken der Arbeit bzw. des Geldes an sich ist für sie mit ausreichender Wertigkeit verknüpft. Sie, die eine zentrale Ansprechpartnerin innerhalb der Gemeinschaft ist, lebt generalisierte Reziprozität und würde sich diese auch von anderen Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern wünschen. Trotzdem versteht und akzeptiert sie, wenn diese von anderen nicht praktiziert wird, und fordert sie nicht als Gegenleistung für ihr freigebiges Schenken von Arbeit ein. Wie Sahlins es ausdrückt: „Failure to reciprocate does not cause the giver of stuff to stop giving" (ebd.: 194). Katrins Handeln zeigt sich damit als Idealtyp der generalisierten Reziprozität. Sicherlich agieren nicht alle nach der Netzwerkanalyse zentralen Personen der LTGJ genau gleich, aber tendenziell stehen sie Sahlins' Typ des „solidary extreme" (ebd.: 193) nahe.

Als zweites stelle ich die Perspektive von Marta vor, die sich in der Netzwerkanalyse als Vermittlerin zeigt und die verschiedenen möglichen Formen der Reziprozität von Arbeit für die Gemeinschaft zum Ausdruck bringt. Ihr genereller Standpunkt dazu, wie jedes Mitglied der Gemeinschaft gegenüber handeln sollte, ist:

Ich würde mir wünschen, dass jeder, der hier in der Gemeinschaft ist, dass ihm so wichtig ist, dass es hier funktioniert, dass er das rein gibt, was er kann. Und das ist bei manchen Zeit, Kraft, Energie, Nerv, Zuhören, sich um Besucher kümmern, oder was auch immer ansteht. Und das ist bei manchen, wenn sie es übrig haben, auch Geld. (Marta, 06.03.2015)

Hier formuliert sie Mauss' Handlungsempfehlung des freien und verbindlichen Gebens aus (Mauss 2013 [1950]:165). Gleichzeitig ist Martas Handeln

im Rahmen der Sahlins'schen generalisierten Reziprozität verortbar. In Bezug auf bezahlte Arbeit lässt sich bei Marta eine Differenz zu der Einstellung von Katrin feststellen, mit der Martas Position als verbindende Kommunikatorin deutlich wird:

> *Na die, die das Gehalt kriegen, das ist ja Großteils für mich keine Gemeinschaftsarbeit. Also Anke mit ihrem Garten, das ist nicht nur Gemeinschaftsarbeit, das ist ein Fulltime-Job. [...] Bei den zwei Jungs ist das auch so, dass das für mich keine Gemeinschaftsarbeit ist [...]. Also bei den zwei Jungs sehe ich es wirklich eher als Hausmeisterjob. [...] Und bei Svenja finde ich es total in Ordnung. Ich denke, den Küchenjob könnte man wahrscheinlich auch so machen, wenn sich viele Leute da reinteilen würden. Aber ich finde es total wohltuend, dass es in einer Hand ist, und Svenja macht das größtenteils Spaß. [...] Also beim Svenja-Job, wenn sie das nicht machen würde, könnte ich mir vorstellen, dass sich das aufteilt. Aber dann würde es ganz schön knarzen im Gebälk, weil manchmal sind jetzt schon so die Reserven ein bisschen verbraucht: Winter geht es, Sommer ist manchmal, wenn dann noch ein paar Seminare und viel los ist und ein paar Leute unterwegs sind, dann ist es schwierig hier mit der Freiwilligkeit noch über die Runden zu kommen. [...]. (Marta, 06.03.2015)*

Marta betrachtet differenziert einzelne Arbeiten in der LTGJ und beschreibt deren Relevanz für die Gemeinschaft. Für sie ist es richtig, Arbeit zu vergüten, die über „normale" Gemeinschaftsarbeit hinausgeht. Der Gemeinschaft tut es nach Martas Ansicht gut, dass bezahlte Arbeit geleistet wird, denn so knarzt es eben nicht unbedingt im Gebälk. Sie führt weiter aus: „[...] das sind hier ganz viele Arbeiten, die würde keiner so nebenbei aus Spaß machen. Dann sollen sie bezahlt werden" (ebd.). Diese Ansicht unterstreicht Martas Position als Kommunikatorin, die die Gesamtgemeinschaft und einzelne Mitglieder im Blick hat. Gleichzeitig wird in ihrer Aussage die in der Gemeinschaft stark präsente Dichotomie zwischen unbezahlter Gemeinschaftsarbeit und bezahlter Arbeit innerhalb der Gemeinschaft deutlich. Nicht zuletzt stehen ihre Äußerungen im Einklang mit balancierter Reziprozität: Die von ihr beschriebenen Arbeiten sollten ihrer Meinung nach direkt ausgeglichen werden.

Nach zwei Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern, die in der Netzwerkanalyse besonders prominente Plätze eingenommen haben, stelle ich Helene vor, die sich durch eine durchschnittliche Position auszeichnet. Sie positioniert sich folgendermaßen:

> *Also es ist ja immer noch wie 2012, habe ich jetzt noch ausgedruckt: Alle Arbeiten sind Gemeinschaftsarbeiten. Und es gibt*

Arbeiten, die eben vergeben werden gegen Bezahlung. Und damit bin ich gut im Frieden. [...] da ich das selber alles nicht machen kann und auch nicht weiß, wie es jetzt supertoll gemacht wird oder was weiß ich, lebe ich da gut mit, dass die das machen. Bin froh darum, dass ich das nicht machen muss und kann da gut mit sein. Also den Küchenjob von Svenja möchte ich nicht machen. Finde ich gut, dass sie das macht und auch die Bauarbeiten und auch den Garten. Ich finde das toll, dass es Menschen gibt, die da mit Freude arbeiten und dass sie natürlich Geld dafür haben wollen, weil sie leben müssen, kann ich gut verstehen. (Helene, 22.02.2015)

Helene findet die aktuelle Regelung der Gemeinschaft in Ordnung. An ihrer Aussage wird außerdem deutlich, dass sich ausgehend vom Grundsatz der unbezahlten Gemeinschaftsarbeit balancierte Reziprozität entwickelt hat. Diese entwickelte sich über „Reziprozität auf Nachfrage"[15] (Schnegg 2015), da die Arbeiten gemacht werden müssen und da bestimmte Menschen ein Einkommen brauchen. Nach Sahlins (1988: 195) zeigt die balancierte Reziprozität eine handlungspraktische und ökonomischere Alternative zu der in der Intensivzeit vorgestellten Trennung von Geld und Arbeit. Zu möglichen Streitpunkten, die das freiwillige Engagement bei unbezahlter Gemeinschaftsarbeit mit sich bringen kann, erklärt mir Helene einen Standpunkt, den ich so bei mehreren Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern feststellen konnte. Ihr sei generell wichtig, dass sich alle beteiligen. Sie räumt jedoch ein:

Also ich hatte mal so ein Thema mit jemandem hier, der nix gemacht hat, und dann habe ich aber gemerkt: Die Schwierigkeit liegt nicht daran, dass er nichts macht. Sondern die Schwierigkeit liegt daran, dass ich zu viel mache. Wenn ich nur so viel mache, wie ich wirklich gerne mache oder gebe, dann ist das auch egal, ob die anderen was machen oder nicht. (Helene, 22.02.2015)

Aus Helenes Aussage wird eine Lebenseinstellung deutlich, die ich in vielen Gesprächen und Situationen in der LTGJ beobachten konnte: Versuche nicht, andere Menschen zu ändern. Du kannst, wenn überhaupt, nur dich selbst ändern.

Allgemein wird bei vielen die Meinung deutlich, dass Engagement für die Gemeinschaft essentiell ist. Franz formuliert dies folgendermaßen:

[...] ich halte das für ganz, ganz wichtig, dass alle ein Teil der Arbeiten tun, die hier für die Gemeinschaft notwendig sind. [...] Kann ich mir anders überhaupt nicht vorstellen. Zu sagen: Hier

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15 „Reciprocity on Demand" frei von mir aus dem gleichnamigen Artikel von Schnegg (2015) übersetzt.

kann einer hinkommen und kann hier leben und sagen: ‚Nö, aber mithelfen mag ich nicht. Ich will hier leben, aber mehr nicht.'' Nein. Das funktioniert für mich nicht. (Franz, 24.02.2015)

Reziprozität wird verwirklicht, indem jede_r etwas einbringt. Hierbei wird jedoch berücksichtigt, dass die Gemeinschaftsmitglieder sich je nach ihren Stärken und ihrem Können engagieren sollten. So erkennt z.B. Maria, die in diesem Punkt Franz' Meinung teilt, auch Florentines morgendliches, rituelles Feuer und ihre Zeit für Gespräche mit Menschen als Gemeinschaftsarbeit an (Maria, 27.02.2015). Sowohl der Begriff von „Arbeit" als auch (und damit zusammenhängend) der von „Gemeinschaftsarbeit" sind somit stark dehnbar, und diese werden von den Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern sehr unterschiedlich definiert. Das wird sehr deutlich, wenn man die Meinung zweier Bewohner hinzuzieht, die laut der Netzwerkanalyse eher selten als Ansprechpersonen für Hilfe gelten. Da ist zum einen Stefan, der davon überzeugt ist, dass die aktuelle Regelung zu bezahlter und unbezahlter Arbeit in der LTGJ „absoluter Sprengstoff" (Stefan, 21.02.2015) für die Gemeinschaft ist. Während meines Aufenthalts Anfang 2015 erlebe ich immer wieder, wie er für Veränderungen des aktuellen Systems eintritt. Er hinterfragt die gegenwärtige Praxis öffentlich und kritisch, er bringt sich innerhalb der Gruppe „Geld und Arbeit" ein, und das in der Intensivzeit vorgestellte, alternative Modell zur Arbeit wurde von ihm mitentwickelt[16]. Dieses sieht generell vor, dass jede in der Gemeinschaft geleistete Arbeit unbezahlt sein sollte. Lediglich Aufgaben, die eine besondere Expertise erfordern oder die niemand machen möchte, sollen mit einer Prämie dotiert werden, die Dankbarkeit für die Erledigung der Arbeit ausdrücken soll. Stefans Ideal ist also das der generalisierten Reziprozität, der Gabe ohne direkte Rückforderung. Zugleich ermöglicht das Modell gegebenenfalls balancierte Reziprozität. Stefan drückt seine Unzufriedenheit mit dem aktuellen System und dem Vorgehen der Gemeinschaft offen aus. Er erzählt mir, dass er sich nicht mehr in die Küchenliste zum Kochen und Aufräumen einträgt:

[...] die Liste ist ja eigentlich ein Organisationinstrument und wird momentan auch als Bewertungsinstrument von einigen benutzt. Die dann darüber auch bewerten: Wie macht jemand was in der Gemeinschaft oder nicht. Ich trage mich in diese Liste nicht mehr ein. Ich mache Dienste. Aber ich trage mich da nicht mehr ein [...], weil ich nicht bewertet werden will und weil ich aber trotzdem meine Dienste mache. So und ich dafür weder eine negative Bewertung noch eine Dankbarkeit – hier Tischklopfen und so – haben will. (Stefan, 21.02.2015)

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16 Stefan erklärt mir auch, dass das Modell ursprünglich im Rahmen von Workshops auf einem Treffen von Mitgliedern verschiedener Gemeinschaften entwickelt wurde (Stefan, 21.02.2015).

Um nicht bewertet zu werden, zeigt er öffentlich ein Verhalten, das als Form der negativen Reziprozität – also als Versuch, etwas für nichts zu erhalten – interpretiert werden kann. Weil er sich nicht in die Liste einträgt, erscheint es so, als würde er keine Dienste übernehmen. Damit gerät er bei diesem Thema an den äußeren Rand der Gemeinschaft, was in dem einen oder anderen informellen Gespräch am Mittagessenstisch auch von anderen Gemeinschaftmitgliedern kritisch kommentiert wurde. Weiter forderte Stefan wohl vor einiger Zeit für Arbeiten in der Gemeinschaft einen höheren als den üblichen Stundenlohn. Hierüber wurde viel diskutiert und dies war wohl der Grund dafür, dass aktuell in der Geschäftsführung angefragt wird, wenn eine Bezahlung von Arbeit gewünscht wird. Anderseits sehe ich hier jedoch vielmehr die Bestrebung, sich kritisch zu äußern und durch von der Norm abweichendes Verhalten das bestehende System aufzubrechen, sowie zu Diskussion anzuregen. Dieser Versuch scheint zu gelingen, da das Thema in der Gemeinschaft während meiner Aufenthalte heiß diskutiert wurde.

Betrachtet man die Einstellungen innerhalb der LTGJ als ein Kontinuum, stellt Stefans Meinung einen Extrempunkt dar. Deshalb gehe ich im Folgenden auf die Aussagen einer zweiten Person ein, die von der Gemeinschaft ein Gehalt gezahlt bekommt. Johannes berichtet, er sei sehr froh darüber, in der Gemeinschaft Geld zu verdienen. Gleichzeitig erledige er viel unbezahlte Gemeinschaftsarbeit. In der Intensivzeit wurde deutlich, dass die Gemeinschaft nicht mehr ausreichend Geld zur Verfügung hat, um so viel zu bezahlen wie in der Zeit davor. Johannes berichtet von seiner Konsequenz daraus:

> *Daraufhin bin ich ja aus der Arbeit, die über meinen Arbeitsvertrag hinaus bezahlt wird, ausgestiegen. [...] Also ich vergrab mich da jetzt auch nicht in irgend so einer Mitleidsecke, sondern es ist einfach so, dass ich das schon immer hier in meiner zehnjährigen Selbstständigkeit gelernt hab: Muss ich halt woanders rührig werden. Weißt du, so einfach nach mir zu gucken. Das ist ja meine Eigenverantwortlichkeit, in der ich auch hier bin. (Johannes, 08.03.2015)*

Johannes verortet sich und seine Arbeit also innerhalb der im Kapitel zuvor beschriebenen Norm der Eigenverantwortung, auch wenn er von der Gemeinschaft ein kleines Gehalt erhält und dadurch in gewisser Weise von der Gemeinschaft abhängig ist. Trotzdem beschreibt er Eigenverantwortlichkeit als einen Leitsatz für seine Existenz in der Gemeinschaft. Zudem wird sein Verantwortungsbewusstsein gegenüber der LTGJ deutlich, denn er bietet freiwillig an, die Gemeinschaft durch weniger bezahlte Arbeit finanziell zu entlasten. Soweit es für die Gemeinschaft also möglich ist, erhält er in balancierter Reziprozität als direkten Austausch für seine Arbeit ein Gehalt. Darüber hinaus ist es für ihn wichtig, unbezahlte Gemeinschaftsarbeit zu leisten, für die es keine direkte Gegenleistung gibt.

Die Ausführungen der einzelnen Gemeinschaftsmitglieder lassen sich mit Sahlins' Verknüpfung von Verwandtschaftsdistanz und Reziprozität betrachten (Sahlins 1988: 196ff.), wobei Verwandtschaft hier auf die Nähe- und Distanzverhältnisse innerhalb der LTGJ übertragen verwendet wird. Im Zentrum, bei denen, die sehr gut in die Gemeinschaft eingebunden sind, wird generalisierte Reziprozität gelebt und von anderen erwünscht. Bei den verbindenden Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern besteht die Norm der generalisierten sowie Verständnis für balancierte Reziprozität. Bei den durchschnittlich eingebundenen Bewohner_innen wird die balancierte Reziprozität über Reziprozität auf Nachfrage erklärt und als pragmatische Organisationsform in der Gemeinschaft gelebt, auch wenn die Norm „alle Arbeit ist Gemeinschaftsarbeit" absolut akzeptiert wird. Bei Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern, die weniger häufig angefragt werden, sind Tendenzen zur negativen Reziprozität feststellbar, aber nicht annähernd in dem Maße wie von Sahlins beschrieben. Denn auch bei diesen Personen werden die Normen der Gemeinschaft betont. Dies liegt nach meiner Einschätzung daran, dass auch nicht so häufig als Ansprechpartner_innen konsultierte Personen aktive und integrierte Teilnehmer_innen am Gemeinschaftsalltag sind. Allgemein kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass je zentraler eine Person, desto mehr lebt sie und wünscht sie sich generalisierte Reziprozität in der Gemeinschaft. Denn die Zentralität dieser Personen hängt auch damit zusammen, dass sie viel für die Gemeinschaft geben und dadurch zentrale Ansprechpartner_innen geworden sind.

Fazit: „Gleicher Lohn für gleiche Arbeit?"

Die Analyse zeigt, dass Eingebundenheit in die Gemeinschaft und Motivation, für die Gemeinschaft zu arbeiten bzw. sich zu engagieren, in starkem Zusammenhang miteinander stehen. Sahlins' Theorie auf die *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* übertragen macht deutlich: Wer stark eingebunden ist, tendiert in Norm und Praxis zu generalisierter Reziprozität, und durchschnittlich eingebundene Mitglieder tendieren zu balancierter Reziprozität. Bei der negativen Reziprozität kommt die Übertragbarkeit des Sahlin'schen Modells auf die LTGJ an ihre Grenzen. Zwar sind im Denken und Handeln einiger weniger angefragter Mitglieder leichte Tendenzen in diese Richtung zu verzeichnen, aber definitiv können sie nicht allgemein darauf zusammengefasst werden. Den Grund hierfür sehe ich darin, dass im Vergleich zu Sahlins' Beschreibung von Kinship und „Kinship Residential Sectors" (ebd.: 199) in der LTGJ gar nicht so weit außen befindliche Positionierungen vorhanden sind wie in den von Sahlins untersuchten Gruppen. Um in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* langfristig leben zu können, braucht es ein gewisses Maß an Integration als Grundvoraussetzung. Diese Eingebundenheit bewirkt wiederum, dass die meisten Aussagen zwischen generalisierter und balancierter Reziprozität variieren, also zwischen einem „mehr geben als nehmen" und

einem „mindestens so viel geben, wie man nimmt". Gleichzeitig ist nicht zu verneinen, dass sich Eingebundenheit und Engagement auch in die andere Richtung bedingen: Also wer viel Engagement zeigt, ist meist automatisch eingebundener als wer sich bei der Gemeinschaftsarbeit zurückhält.

Neben den Reziprozitätsbeziehungen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft ist es zudem spannend zu betrachten, wie sich diese in Bezug auf Menschen gestalten, die die Gemeinschaft umgeben. Gibt es hier bei Fremden die Tendenz, mehr nehmen zu wollen als zu geben? Dies ist eine Frage, die ich mit den vorhandenen Daten nicht abschließend beantworten kann. Denn zu den Zeiten meines Forschungsaufenthaltes waren nur sehr wenige andere Gäste in der Gemeinschaft, da ich hauptsächlich außerhalb der Gästesaison geforscht habe und mein Fokus auf den Mitgliedern selbst lag. Somit konnte ich kaum Außenkontakte beobachten und analysieren. Klar ist aber, dass sich die LTGJ per se vor möglicher negativer Reziprozität ihr gegenüber schützt: Die Bezahlung von Gästeübernachtungen und Mahlzeiten für Gäste sind klar und eindeutig geregelt, ebenso die Arbeitszeiten für sogenannte Working Guests, so dass hier kein „Ausnutzen" der Gastfreundlichkeit der Gemeinschaft möglich ist.

Diese verschiedenen Beziehungen zum Geben und zum Austausch in der LTGJ lassen sich auf David Graebers Lesart von Mauss' „Gabe" beziehen, der aus diesem Werk herausarbeitet, dass es keine klare Trennung und Kontrastierung von sogenannten „market economies" und „gift economies" gebe. Anstatt dessen seien alle zentralen moralischen und ökonomischen Spielarten in jeder menschlichen Gesellschaft vorhanden (Graeber 2014: 66). Grae-ber identifiziert hierbei drei Arten der Gabe bzw. der sozialen Beziehungen, die die Gabe bedingen: Kommunismus, Reziprozität und Hierarchie (ebd.: 67). Diese müssten demnach auch in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* zu Tage treten: „Kommunismus" in Graebers Sinne, also "the principle of 'from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs'" (ebd.), ist schon allein in den alltäglichen Handlungen der Unterstützung von Gemeinschaftsmitgliedern und in dem Engagement der Bewohner_innen für den Erhalt der Gemeinschaft sichtbar. Unter diesen Bereich fällt auch die Gemeinschaftsarbeit, zu der die Interviewten – wie z.B. Helene – betonen, dass diese in der LTGJ unbezahlt ist. Austausch, bei dem es laut Graeber um Gleichwertigkeit geht (ebd.: 70), wird z.B. in der Küchenliste praktiziert, in der sich jede_r gleichwertig engagieren sollte. Offen bleibt die Frage, wann es genau zu hierarchischen Beziehungen kommt und diese als Basis dem Geben unterliegen, denn diese widersprechen per se den Vorstellungen von Interaktion innerhalb der Gemeinschaft. Um diese Facette der Gabe nach Graeber genauer betrachten zu können, wäre somit, wie schon zuvor bemerkt, eine Untersuchung der Außenbeziehungen der Gemeinschaft sinnvoll.

Innerhalb der LTGJ selbst waren Geld und Arbeit, sowie die Aufteilung dieser, während meiner Aufenthalte heftig diskutierte Themen. Einen Grund

hierfür sehe ich darin, dass Gemeinschaftsmitglieder beobachten, dass in ihren Augen andere in ihrem Handeln z.T. von der Norm, mindestens genauso viel zu geben wie zu nehmen, abweichen. Eine Entwicklung, von der ich u.a. in der Intensivzeit, aber auch in Interviews gehört habe, ist z.B., dass immer mehr Gemeinschaftsmitglieder Geld für ihre Arbeit in der Gemeinschaft möchten. Dies ist auch vor dem Hintergrund problematisch, dass die finanziellen Ressourcen der LTGJ endlich sind. Ein weiteres Beispiel ist die Sorge darum, dass sich nicht mehr genug Menschen in die Küchenliste eintragen und sich zu wenige bei gemeinschaftlichen Arbeitsaktionen engagieren.

Im Sinne Durkheims, der Devianz als Normalität beschreibt, kann Abweichung von den Normen als der Gemeinschaft per se inhärent betrachtet werden. Devianz ist, nach Durkheim, zentral für die Entwicklung von Recht und Moral. Am Beispiel des Verbrechens schreibt er: „Wie oft ist das Verbrechen wirklich bloß eine Antizipation der zukünftigen Moral, der erste Schritt zu dem, was sein wird" (Durkheim 1976 [1895]: 160). In diesem Sinne interpretiere ich in Bezug auf die LTGJ, dass Devianz, z.B. im Verhalten Stefans, wenn er ein höheres Gehalt fordert, die Weiterentwicklung in der Gemeinschaft anregt. Solche Abweichungen führen zu Diskussionen, die gegebenenfalls in Supervisionen oder Intensivzeiten münden, in denen neue Ideen für die Gemeinschaft entstehen. Somit haben die heftigen Diskussionen um Geld und Arbeit im Umkehrschluss eine gemeinschaftsstabilisierende Konsequenz, da sie die Auseinandersetzung der Gemeinschaft mit ihren Themen und unter den Mitgliedern am Leben hält. In dieser Untersuchung der Austauschbeziehungen innerhalb der LTGJ als totales gesellschaftliches Phänomen zeigt sich, was Mauss vor über 60 Jahren geschrieben hat: „wir sehen die gesellschaftlichen Dinge selbst, konkret so, wie sie wirklich sind. [...] Wir sehen sie in Bewegung, [...]. Wir entdecken Gruppen von Menschen und Triebkräfte, eingetaucht in ihr Milieu und ihre Gefühle" (Mauss 2013 [1950]: 178).

Wie die Analyse zeigt, bietet es sich gerade bei der Untersuchung von für die Ethnologie eher untypischen Forschungsfeldern – wie intentionalen Gemeinschaften – an, auf viel diskutierte und rezipierte Theorien zurückzugreifen: Auf Basis der Theorien von Mauss, Sahlins und Graeber zu Gabe, Tausch und Reziprozität lassen sich Erkenntnisse über die Auseinandersetzungen zu bezahlter und unbezahlter Arbeit in der LTGJ gewinnen, die eine Gruppe in „unserer" aktuellen Gesellschaft darstellt. Gleichzeitig lassen sich von dieser, die abgetrennt und zugleich eingegliedert in die Gesamtgesellschaft lebt, Schlüsse auf letztere ziehen. Mit besonderem Erstaunen habe ich in der *Lebenstraumgemeinschaft* beobachtet, wie Menschen trotz ihrer teilweise konträren Ansichten über die Entlohnung und Nichtentlohnung von Arbeit letztlich alle bereit sind, Gemeinschaftsarbeit zu leisten. Die Bereitschaft geht sogar so weit, dass Menschen zusammen an einer Aufgabe arbeiten und eine Person dafür bezahlt wird, die andere nicht. Solche Be-

obachtungen sind auf Ideen wie das bedingungslose Grundeinkommen auf staatlicher Ebene übertragbar. Von Kritiker_innen wird hier stets die Gefahr eines Moral Hazard[17] angeführt: Warum sollte man ohne finanzielle Notwendigkeit arbeiten? (Denkler 15.08.2015; 13.06.2017). Doch die Forschung in einer begrenzten Gruppe zeigt beispielhaft, dass finanzielle Entlohnung nicht primäre Arbeitsmotivation sein muss. Eingebunden sein und auch das Gesehen-Werden des Engagements scheinen genug Triebfeder für dauerhaftes und intensives Engagement zu sein. So wie Spittler in der Anthropologie der Arbeit zeigt, was wir aus einem Vergleich „unserer Arbeitsformen mit der von Jägern und Sammlern, Bauern und Hirten, Familienwirtschaften, [...], lernen können" (Spittler 2016: 290), eröffnet auch die Erforschung der Arbeitsorganisation und -umsetzung in intentionalen Gemeinschaften neue Zugänge zum Thema Arbeit und bricht damit die starre Trennung von monetär und nicht-monetär entlohnter Arbeit auf.

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17 In Bezug auf Versicherungen wird das Phänomen folgendermaßen definiert: „Moral Hazard, das ‚moralische Wagnis', die ‚moralische Versuchung' für den Verbraucher bedeutet, dass sich das Verhalten der Versicherten ändert, wenn sie versichert sind und diese sich gegenüber jedem Risiko nachlässiger verhalten, gegen das sie sich durch die Versicherung abgesichert haben" (Kaminski 2008: 438).

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Karla Dümmler hat am Wiener Institut für Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie im Bachelor studiert und ihren Master am Hamburger Institut für Ethnologie absolviert.

The Threads of Time in Bangladesh's Garment Industry: Coercion, Exploitation and Resistance in a Global Workplace

Hasan Ashraf

A morning in Mirpur

Starting around 7:30 am, long processions of young women and here and there some young men take over the sidewalks and streets in Mirpur, a district in Bangladesh's capital Dhaka. Holding their *timecards,* a tiny piece of paper, in their hands, they walk very fast, faster than other pedestrians to swiftly disappear into one or the other of the high-rise buildings flanking Mirpur's main roads. At the gates, jostling may occur when the young women and men take off their sandals and flip-flops before entering. These buildings are the well-known and notorious factories producing ready-made garments and knitwear for the rest of world, in particular for Western Europe and North America; and workers are supposed to enter them barefoot and in time, by 8am sharp. At the gates of Asha Garments, where I conducted long-term ethnographic research in 2010 and 2011, Toslim, the timekeeper, stands every morning to collect the timecards from each worker. He scolds at latecomers and marks the late-coming on their timecards. A worker with three marks of late-coming in a month gets one day's wage cut. As sewing machine operator Jamila describes her morning:

> *"It feels like a supernatural power that drags me to the factory. It feels like invisible powerful threads of time pull me out from the bed even when I don't want. But I can only sleep a little longer if I skip the breakfast; at the factory I must report on time. And once you are in, you have lost control of your time. Management has taken it over."*

In this article I will engage with the experience of work in Bangladesh's garment industry, with the invisible threads of time dragging workers like Jamila every day to the factories and with their loss of control during work. The industry is now in its fourth decade. It slowly started with the opening of a few factories in the late 1970s with technical knowhow from South Korean industrial giant Daewoo and its development accelerated in the mid-1980s when factories started to mushroom in and around Bangladesh's capital Dhaka. Since the 2010s, the total number of export garment factories amounts

to over 5000.[1] In 2011, Bangladesh turned into the 2nd largest readymade garment exporter on earth. At the same time, this industry accounted for almost 80 per cent of Bangladesh's export earnings. This reveals the country's dependency on the ready-made garment sector which, in turn, is based on its ability to provide the industry with cheap labour. The rapid expansion of the sector depended on a mass influx of workers from rural areas into Dhaka's factories and employs more than four million workers, of whom nearly 80% are women, and who are rated among the world's cheapest labour force. At least since the collapse of the factory complex at Rana Plaza in 2013 that killed 1.135 workers and injured more than 2.000 in Bangladesh's capital Dhaka, the country's garment industry and its notorious working conditions are much discussed. However, so far, these discussions abstract from the lived realities of working in the industry.

Thus, policy experts and economists usually discuss the chances the garment industry holds for Bangladesh's economic development under changing global conditions (Islam and Quddus 1996), from the perils and potentials of the expiration of the so-called Multi-Fibre Arrangement restricting trade in textiles and garments between developing and developed countries between 1974 and 2004 (Bhattacharya 2002; Razzaque and Raihan 2008) to the effects of the global recession of 2007 (Taslim and Haque 2011), and how to increase Bangladesh's access to global markets and its competitiveness under these changing conditions (Rahman and Anwar 2006; Titumir and Ahmed 2006; Haider 2007). When work in the garment industry is discussed, this is most often done in developmentalist terms for its potential for "women empowerment", for reducing wage gaps between men and women, for changing traditional gender roles and for reducing the power gap between men and women in intra-household relations (Kibria 1995; Wahra and Rahman 1995; Jamaly and Wickramanayake 1996; Siddiqi 1996; Sultan 1997; Zahir 2000; Absar 2001; Paul-Majumder and Begum 2006; Hossain 2012). In a more critical light, other scholars have discussed the adverse health implications of working in the ready-made garment sector (Zahir and Paul-Majumder 2008 [1996]; Paul-Majumder 2003; Steinisch et al 2013, 2014; Akhter et al 2010); they have shown how wage labour in the garment industry has imposed new forms of regulating women (Siddiqi 1996, 2000, 2009; Feldmen 2009), how it has exposed women to new forms of sexual harassment at work and beyond (Siddiqi 2003), but also how the largely women workers in the industry engaged in collective action (Kabeer 1997, 2002, 2004; Hossain and Jagjit 1988; Nuruzaman 1999; Dannecker 2002; Morshed 2007; Ahmed and Peerlings 2008; Rahman 2010; Rahman and Langford 2014; Siddiqi 2015).

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1   The actual number of export garment factories in Bangladesh was much debated after the Rana Plaza collapse. Figures range between five to seven thousand depending on the definition of the category "factory", whether small sub-sub-contracted workshops are counted among them or not.

None of the above-mentioned publications engages in depth with the everyday labour processes in the garment industry. However, as Geert de Neve (2005) has shown in his research on the South Indian textile industry, a labour process-centred approach is crucial for understanding how relations of authority, (in)equality, gender and class are made on industrial shop floors. He thereby also shows how the teleology and essentialism around notions of gender, class and caste that prevail in scholarly and lay debates on labour in India can be overcome. In his work De Neve draws on Michael Burawoy's concept "relations in production", that he has coined to emphasise that conflict and consent on industrial shop floors cannot solely be explained with reference to the antagonistic relationship between capital and labour, the relations of production, but that they are also outcomes of the particular way the labour process is organised on particular shop floors. Akin to De Neve's and Burawoy's approach, Dina Siddiqi, in her work of Bangladeshi garment workers (2000: L-11, 2009, 2015 and 2017), calls for foregrounding the lived realities of work in the ready-made garment industry in order to avoid reducing garment workers' lives to yet another local variation of the global narratives of the "universally subordinated women" and "the global worker exploited by capital." Her call to take into account the global dimension of work in the garment industry and at the same time to problematise the relationship between the global and the local resembles Michael Burawoy's (2000a, 2000b) methodological call for "grounding globalisation". By that, Burawoy cautions us to remain wary of alleged isomorphisms between the global and the local, to not assume that global forces and connections directly imprint themselves on local levels (ibid: 343), but to instead "ground" the globalisation-narratives by "extending out from the micro-processes to macro forces, from the space-time rhythms of the site to the geographical and historical context of the field" (ibid: 27).

Likewise, in this article, I argue that the dynamic of social relations on factory floors in Dhaka's garment industry can only be understood with reference to the politics of development, class, gender and morality peculiar to contemporary Bangladesh, and that at the same time the conditions under which ready-made garments are locally produced are decisively shaped by demands from global corporations. As I further argue, notions of "time" prevailing in Bangladesh's garment industry provide a particularly useful window for looking into these entanglements and the power asymmetries that constitute them. In the first section, I show how the labour process at Asha Garments produces relations in production coined by lateral conflicts among workers, not only between management and workers. As I show in the second section, in addition to intentionally instilling these lateral conflicts, management also frequently reminds workers of their debt to and their dependency on the company, and it resorts for that purpose to local notions of family, religion and nation. In the third and last section, I show that at Asha Garments

(as well as other factories) workers, supervisors and managers alike consider the ready-made garment industry as a distinct world, a "garment-world", separated from the rest of Bangladesh not only by walls and guards, but also by the "garment-time" that rules within it. The "garment-time" refers to the constant time pressure under which they work to fulfil production targets set by corporations and their almost weekly changing micro-seasons of "fast fashion". As the notion of both garment-world and garment-time show, the ready-made garment industry in Bangladesh is inherently global in nature.

Working for Asha

In Mirpur, a district of around 1,000,000 inhabitants in the west-northern part of Dhaka, there are more than 600 woven, knit and sweater export garment factories of different sizes and types. I grew up in Mirpur in a middle-class family and from my days at a local boarding school, I knew some people who had opened garment factories themselves. As a childhood acquaintance, one of them allowed me to conduct ethnographic research in his factory, Asha Garments. I started in August 2010 and worked at Asha for the next six months, until March 2011. Since then, I have regularly visited many of the workers and supervisors with whom I had developed friendships, and I revisited the factory for a couple of weeks in 2012 and 2014 respectively. The ethnography presented in this article draws on my participant observations during these periods and also on a survey on the labour relations and social composition of the workforces I conducted in 75 further garment factories in Dhaka.[2]

Around the same time that I started working at Asha Garments, Naima, a twenty-nine-year-old woman, sought a job here, too. As I was soon to realise the way she got her job at Asha's was fairly typical and hence worth retelling in detail. Naima had lost her job in another garment factory in the middle of the month and since life in Dhaka is expensive even if one shares rooms in the small sheds of corrugated tin in one of the thousands of labour colonies in Dhaka she couldn't afford to stay unemployed for long. What made things worse, her previous employer had retrenched her and other workers, because of financial problems. Hence, Naima wasn't sure when or whether they would pay her remaining salary plus overtime. When she approached the gateman at Asha Garments he introduced her to Rahman, the line supervisor who is in charge of production lines of around 50 workers on 20-25 sewing machines and who, in turn, referred her to Khairul, the production manager, or PM, who is in charge of all the overall production on the sewing floor and the key person in the relation between management and workers. The latter told her, "after we observe your 'production' for a day we will decide about your job",

2   In addition to work in the garment industry, my ethnographic research in Dhaka focused also on social life in the labour colonies and on the labour movements and labour protests in and around the industry.

despite the fact that Naima had worked in the garment sector already for ten years. Naima instantly sat down at the sewing machine assigned to her and started to work. Since she needed the job she put all her efforts to perform well. She outdid the hourly production target and she did so for the twelve hours we worked on that day. At the end of the workday, Khairul told her to return the next day and that he would discuss her job prospects with higher management.

Fig. 1: Cardboard with calculation of hourly production target. Photo: Hasan Ashraf

The following day, he was reluctant to talk about her appointment but accused the line she was working at of not working fast enough. Naima did not dare to raise the issue of her employment and continued to work at a very high pace. During the lunch break, Naima told the other workers and me that she wasn't sure whether she would get the job and not even whether they would pay her for today and yesterday, and how urgently she needed the money to pay for her expenses of living in Dhaka. We felt very sorry for her,

because she was friendly, and we got on well with her. On her third day after lunch, Khairul asked Naima's line supervisor about her performance and the latter reported that she had outperformed the target of 50 sewing processes per hour and did not make mistakes. Khairul told her line supervisor to note this as her hourly productivity in her records and to see that she won't go below that. Thus, the maximum efforts that Naima had put into getting the job was now set as her minimal standard. Furthermore, the PM then told the timekeeper to issue Naima a timecard from next morning onwards which meant that they would employ and pay her only from then on. Shamima, the operator to whom I was assigned as a helper that day, whispered to me "*madarchod* ("motherfucker"), I knew it, they won't pay her for the three days she has worked here on probation!" Shamima, Naima and all others knew of course, too, that Naima had no other choice but to consent.

During the following four months of my time at the Asha Garments, we produced around 265,000 pieces of different types of ready-made garments for global brands from few EU countries and the US. These were tank tops, ladies' tops, light jackets, and gowns of different sizes, but the bulk of production was made up by tee shirts. In what follows, I will give a detailed account of how we worked on one order of t-shirts for a brand in Germany.

One day before the start of this new work order, the PM Khairul, told us to come to the sewing floor on time – or not to come ever again. A new work order always meant that the production line, the arrangement of the different types of sewing machines in a sequential order, had to be adjusted according to the specificities of the garments to be produced. This line layout was the responsibility of the line supervisors. In our case, this was Shamol, a man in his late twenties who had left college in order to get a foot into the garment business. He had figured out the required line layout already before the preceding order came to an end. A continuous production is vital for individual companies to stay in business and for that they have to secure a continuous series of work orders from garment brands. The shift from one work order to the next is a critical moment. Bangladeshi garment companies like Asha Garments operate with tight profit margins and time schedules and they cannot afford losing too much time in getting ready for a new order if they do not want to risk contractual penalties.

The order from Germany only contained basic t-shirts. Hence, the re-arrangement of the line layout was a rather easy task for Shamol this time. But the workers were worried as usual when the production lines were re-arranged. Workers preferred to work on sewing machines they knew well, because adjusting to the peculiarities of a new one always costs time which they weren't given. What made things worse is that management declared workers responsible for the smooth running of their machines. Equally important, workers preferred to work alongside friends and/ or persons from the same village or region. Shamima, e.g. had developed close friendship with Wahi-

da and Nilofar over the months they all worked at Asha. They shared their lunches, tried to help each other at work and with the difficulties of urban life in Dhaka. However, this time Shamol assigned Wahida to another line and separated her from her peers. Wahida and her friends knew that this was a reprisal for quarrelling with Shamol over extra-long work hours recently. However, Shamol himself also emphasized that it is good management practice to separate friends into different lines from time to time. As he said, "it is harmful for a steady pace to let the same worker work at the same machine. It creates groups and when one of them talks back to the management, the rest supports her. It creates disobedience in the line."

Fig. 2: Production line at Asha Garments. Photo: Hasan Ashraf

In Shamol's line, there were 26 sewing machines arranged in two columns of 13 machines each. There were two workers at each machine, one operator who sewed, and one helper who assisted her. The first sequence of production was at the input table where two helpers, both teenage women, matched the back and front part of the tee shirts inside-out, bundled them and passed the bundles on to the first pair of machines. There, Rahima, a twenty-five-year-old who had learned to master the overlock sewing machine required for this task, sews together the shoulder joints and passes it to her helper Kohinoor, a young woman at the age of fifteen. Kohinoor checks the seams and cuts the extra thread on both sides of the shoulder joints and passes on the t-shirts to the next machine. There, 21-year-old Rita prepares the neck ribs by sewing together the ends of a small strip of fabric on a plain sewing machine while her helper checks them before passing them on to another machine where the

neck rib is sewn on to the t-shirt's body. Before that takes place, on another plain sewing machine, Marufa prepares the stripes of piping that are to be attached on the inner surface of the neck on the back part of the t-shirt body. The work station where the neck rib is sewn together with the t-shirt body is considered as the critical part of making the t-shirts. It was done with an overlock sewing machine that is more difficult to handle than a plain or a flatlock sewing machine, and it also required finer skills to sew the round neck and to glide the body fabric together through the needle feet close to the machine knife. At this machine sits Kamal, a twenty-seven-year-old male worker and an "all-rounder machine operator", i.e. a worker who can operate all different kinds of sewing machines. The line supervisor Shamol called him the most important worker on the line. Kamal was proud of his image of an allrounder and enjoyed outdoing others with his pace of work and precision. The following, the sixth and seventh production steps were done at four plain sewing machines, all operated by women. Here, the necks are finished by sewing the neck piping on the back and by attaching the German garment brand's size and brand labels beneath the neck piping on the middle of the back part. These four operators are assisted by two female and two male helpers who mark the places where to attach the labels and check the results. After that, the sleeves are sewn on to the t-shirt body, again at an overlock machine. The helper standing here checks 'shedding error', i.e. whether the colours of the sleeves and the t-shirt body match exactly, and then marks with chalk the point on the sleeve where the machine operator is supposed to start sewing them on to the edge of the shoulder joint. Following that, at the ninth work station the side seams on both sides are sewn together and then the care label with washing instructions are attached on the left side of the t-shirt, all at overlock sewing machine. The helper here cuts extra threads from the edges of the sleeves and the bottom of the t-shirts and checks the attachment of the care labels. Production steps number ten and eleven are sewing the hems at the sleeves and at the bottom of the t-shirt with flatlock sewing machines which is again checked by the helper who also cuts off remaining threads. After that, she passes the finished t-shirts on to the output table where three quality checkers stand to closely inspect all seams. After a stint of six weeks as a helper at the sewing machines, it was at the output table where I mostly worked during my six months at Asha Garments.[3] We put Quality Checked (QC) stickers on the "okay bodies" and send them off to the factory's finishing section for the final inspection, ironing, poly-packing and to make it ready for shipment to – for this order – Hamburg. Wherever we detected mistakes, we put a red arrow sticker and send the t-shirt back to

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3   In addition, I also worked as a so-called assembly line quality checker who checks the work processes at all work stations of a line. That had the advantage that I could go to different sewing machines and talk with workers while checking different parts of the t-shirt in the making.

the specific machine to correct the mistakes, or – in shop floor parlance – to "alter" them.

Fig. 3: Garment workers sewing nickers for a different work order. Photo: Hasan Ashraf

As this detailed description of the production process shows, there exist various differences among the workers on the production line, in terms of skill, gender and age.[4] Most crucial in this regard is the difference between operators, helpers and quality checkers because their relationship was conflictual by design: line supervisors constantly pressurized machine operators to speed up production at the same time as they urged the helpers and the quality checkers to closely check the work of the operator and not to pass on to the next machine or, in the case of the quality checkers, to return any

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4   In fact, there are also conflicts between two different kinds of workers working at Asha Garments as well as many other garment factories. These are the *betoner lok*, i.e. those holding timecards and receiving a monthly salary or salaried workers of the factory treated as employees of the factory. For the sake of space, in this paper, I restrict my discussion to the *betoner lok* who make up ninety per cent of the workforce. Apart from them, there exist also so-called *contract-er lok*, workers working under a contractor who is contracted for technically difficult production steps and also in times of emergency, close to shipment deadlines. The *contract-er lok* are high skilled machine operators, they are paid piece rates and they receive their wages from their contractor. The *contract-er lok* are almost exclusively male; they are given more freedoms on the shop floor, but they are few. At Asha Garments there were only 12 to 16.

alter pieces. The tension between quantity and quality of production leads to an internal conflict between workers differently positioned in the production process, not only between the workers and the management staff.[5] Thus, similar to what Michael Burawoy (1979) describes for the Chicago machine tool factory where he had undertaken ethnographic research in the 1970s, the conflict between management staff and workers gets translated into a lateral conflict among workers. However, as the following episode of an inspection visit by buyer's representatives and the ensuing conflict on the shop floor shows, management did not solely rely on mechanisms in the labour process to inhibits workers' solidarity, but also constantly moralised the relationship between capital and labour.

A moral economy of garment production

On one workday in November 2010, it was extraordinarily quiet on the sewing floor. Only the usual buzzing and rattling of the sewing machines filled the space. The workers were even more concentrating on their work, and also the production manager and the line supervisors were only talking in muted voice. This day was the day of a so-called "buyer's visit" – an inspection from the representatives of the garment brands. The whole floor had been cleaned up for it. When two *buyer quality inspectors* ("buyer quality" in shop floor parlance) arrived they first summoned the *sewing floor quality in-charge* Mamun to bring the *master measurement sheets* of the women's tops we were sewing. Then the inspection round began and Mamun was following the inspectors holding the measurement sheets in his hands. Mamun was very anxious when they meticulously checked the work processes and results at different machines. However, when they left the sewing floor after two hours, they seemed satisfied. The buyers then went down with Mamun to meet the factory management. After some time, Mamum returned to the sewing floor alone. He and the line supervisors were talking about the checking that was going in the store. We also heard that the inspectors were given nice snacks in the conference room.

However, suddenly, the PM rushed to the sewing floor like an arrow and ran up to floor quality Mamun. He screamed at him, "how did it happen that buyer inspectors rejected 300 tops from the finished carton. Where have you been?" The reason for the rejection was that one of the two cardigan pockets on the top mismatched the sample top and the measurement sheet by almost

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5   At the same time, management aims to provoke competitions between the different lines on the sewing floor. The production manager or the line supervisors write down the hourly output figures achieved by each line on a huge black board that hangs on the wall in front of all lines. And they constantly point to these digits when pushing lines with lower figures to produce faster. Sometimes, managers also used monetary incentives to entice the lines to compete with each other and thereby increase production.

two millimetres. An eerie silence groped the shop floor immediately. We were all disappointed by the buyer inspectors' decision and anxious what would happen next. The PM appeared vulnerable, nervous, panting and nevertheless angry. He suddenly slapped Mamun in his face and shouted, "this is entirely your fault! Get lost!" Mamun was visibly shocked. He tried to defend himself, "there might be a few items with faults, but not the entire work order!", but this didn't convince the PM. Mamun continued defending himself, "our work is hand-work and one or two millimetres deviation is allowed!" Tears were rolling down his chins. The PM replied, "the buyer quality wants to reject the entire work order and if you cannot ensure the quality that they want, you may leave the factory." Mamun was fired on the spot. He left the factory at once, crying and dejected, not only for being fired but also for being openly insulted and ashamed. The workers and I were speechless. We had thought this kind of humiliating and violent treatment was reserved for workers and now we witnessed a mid-level manager being treated the same. This revealed how precarious everybody's stand was in the garment industry. However, there wasn't much time to contemplate about it. As soon as he had finished with Mamun the PM turned around to us and screamed, "you all are busy buggering; you do not do any work properly!"

There was also more to follow in the aftermath of the inspection. The owner of Asha Garments had pleaded the buyer's representatives not to reject the entire work order, but only 300 pieces of it. The latter agreed, but announced further inspections until the work order was completed. The rejection was a loss for him, but it would have been worse had he lost the whole order or even the buyer. After the buyer representatives had left the factory, the owner called all supervisory staff of the factory to his office as well as a few key machine operators. I was among them. As usual, we were expected to take off our sandals before entering the owner's office and we were supposed to stand in front of his desk with a lowered head. The owner did not speak to us immediately and we could sense the tension in the room. After a few minutes he started drawing on a white paper a circle, and then several others around it. He then stopped and asked as whether we know what this is. Nobody dared to say something, so he said,

> "This is a pond. The way you are looking at it, this is what you used to do back in the village. Someone else was digging a pond and you all used to look at that without having a business there being unemployed. I have enough to live on. If I close this factory you all then will have to go back to the villages you came from. If you don't care then go back to the village, be unemployed and wander around. I do not need to keep up this tense business here if you neglect your tasks and put all of us in front of the buyer inspectors. I do this business for you!"

We were then all told to return to our work. The operators and helpers who had remained on the sewing floor were anxious if someone else was fired. The 300 tops were half a day's work, and the management decided not to enquire into who in the assembly line was responsible for the wrongly attached pocket. Instead we were subjected to lecture on management's "moral economy". After we came back from the owner's chamber the PM Khairul asked all of us to gather close around him on the sewing floor. He then told us to touch the factory floor and to swear an oath in the name of Allah to work "properly" to achieve the optimal level of production without any flaws. Before he started with the oath he sermonised at length:

> *"The helpers work at the bottom of the factory hierarchy, but they are the pillars of this factory. A wrong pattern marking by a helper leads to the wrong needlepoint by the operator. One mistake leads to another. After few machines the supervisors or the line quality [checkers] will anyway detect whose mistake it was and return that to her to* alter. *It costs time, delays the target and renders arguments and disorder in the [assembly] line. Mistakes are often irreversible. If any confusion arises you can come to us [the PM and supervisors] or compare with the sample body approved by the foreign brand. You should not fear that we could beat or scold you for that. We are like your elder brothers.*
>
> *Even the tiniest mistake causes financial loss to our owner. We must not cause any loss to our* malik *("owner") who pays us. From the top to the bottom – from the MD (Management Director) to the helpers – we all are equal to run the factory like a family. We are like an engine, work in a* chain system. *Each small part is important to run it. A malfunctioning bobbin or a broken needle hampers* production *and reduces* output. *Our MD pays the electricity bills and we get electricity to operate the machines. He manages work orders from the foreign buyers and only then we can work. I am there for you. You are here for us. Many a little makes a mickle. At the moment, the market situation is really depressing and obtaining a work order is getting increasingly difficult and the buyers are reducing the* CM *(Cost of Manufacturing) day by day.*
>
> *We need coordination in the line and discipline on the floor. You have to stop laughing, eating and gabbing at the lines and must not leave your machine without permission. You all are given targets, and production is a competition not only between the helpers and operators or between the lines but also against yourself! Minimise the production time and avoid mistakes. Don't forget that the time you pass in the factory, every minute*

is paid. This is the company's time not yours, the company owns it. It works like a taxi meter, counts minutes and fair only goes up. You must make your income halal *[i.e. permissible according to Islamic law] and do not buy food with* taka *(Bangladesh's currency) that is* haram *[opposite to halal, forbidden by Islamic law]. If you do not do what is asked from you then your salary becomes* haram.

The bhat *("cooked rice") we eat comes from a successful chain system. We work, receive salary and make a living. Having a meal is* ibadat *("worship") and so is work. We* salam *("honour") a piece of rice when it falls from our plate because wasting rice is sin. We also* salam *the salary, even kiss the money and touch it on the forehead on salary day. We respect our salary as we respect the rice. We then must respect our work and this company as well. Now we are going to take an oath and recite after me. You all sit and touch the ground. Since this building is on the ground, technically we are touching the earth."*

After this, we all bent over and were about to touch the ground. Suddenly, the operator Shima, whose helper I was on that day, looked at me slightly shaking her head, winking and whispering, "don't touch the floor. If you touch, you will be trapped and then become obliged to follow his orders. You do not have to recite what he says, just hum. Don't touch the ground. He won't read your mind or see you!" I followed her advice and only pretended to take the vow. In fact, it was only the first inner circle of workers right around the PM who touched the ground and who recited with him loudly the following oath,

"bismi-llāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm ["In the name of Allah; The Most Gracious, the Most Merciful."] We, the workers and supervisors of Asha Garments, are swearing this oath in the name of Allah that we shall be changed from today. We made a mistake and we shall not repeat it ever again. We shall cooperate with each other, respect the bosses and work responsibly. If we do not understand a task we shall ask the bosses. We shall be pro-work and work with adequate concentration. We will work hard to meet the target. We will keep our workplace and machines clean and running. We will not talk, laugh or eat or leave our machines during work. We will love and respect our company as we love our family and the country. We will not cause any harm to our company. We shall make our money halal *and not eat* haram*, amen!"*

The PM then continued his lecture,

> *"Keep in mind that we cannot work alone. An inflamed finger affects the whole body. If one of you becomes idle, slack and neglects work, it affects the whole line like infectious disease. I will instantly kick you out through the factory main door if you do not work properly or show any disobedience. There is no space for a* haramkhor *(who eats* haram*) in this factory. Do not force me to punish you. There is no need to scold you and it is not at all necessary. An ideal son or daughter is not supposed to let his or her parents be scolded.*
>
> *An ideal worker always respects her machines, does not break or quarrels with the tools. Everyone has to keep their machine clean to avoid oil-spots on the fabric. The foreign customers are clean and much more developed than us. They love cleanness and are not dirty like you. We cannot dissatisfy them. Losing our reputation would reduce the possibility to get a new buyer let alone losing the existing one. When you cut a thread using your tooth instead using the cutter, your lipstick or remaining of the turmeric on your lips from lentil or the curry sauce stains the fabric. The factory is not a place for* fashion show. *I will not tolerate any* mistake *or* alter *in the line or at the output tables. The* line quality *will count the number of* alters *and the workers with higher number of* alter *will be punished standing in front of all holding their ears, get* absent *in their* timecard, *if not enough, will be kicked out with an old-shoe garland on the neck.*
>
> *We all are eating* bhat *(cooked rice) [living] on company's money. This is your* onnoreen *(rice debt). This is not easy money. Our family members, our mother, father, brother, sister, husband or whoever depend on this. If you continue* alter *in the line you will not get money to support them. Aside those, thousand others are depending on your money too. You buy vegetable, fish and drink tea so the farmers in the village, the fishermen on the river, tea workers in Sylhet and the vegetable, the fish and the tea sellers in Dhaka are depending on you. You buy a cloth and ride a rickshaw; the weaver and the rickshaw puller and their families depend on your money. If one factory shuts down, more than 50,000 peoples'* rizq *(sustenance) will be stopped. Now, can you imagine the role of one garment factory and how huge your responsibility is? The whole country's economy is depending on your shoulder. We love our country, don't we? Try to feel it. You have to be honest (*shot*), enthusiastic (*agrohi o utshahee*) and loyal (*anugoto*) to your work and the company.*

Today we have sworn the oath touching the earth. If you break this oath then the earth will not take you after death. You all know what will happen when you will die. The grave will press you so hard that you will suffer until the keyamot *(judgment day), the day – millions of years to come or might happen anytime. The tunnel between the heaven and your grave will be cut off. Do not forget that you touched the ground.*"

After this lengthy lecture the PM left the sewing floor. We became busy asking each other who touched the ground and who did not, and then we engaged in discussions about the PM's moralising talk. Most workers called it a *bhater khota*, literally a "spiteful remark on eating rice", a Bangla expression for talking about livelihood provision and relations of dependency. In Bangla, *bhatar* means "provider", someone providing *bhat* ("rice") to dependents.[6] Such *bhater khota* can be found in all social, economic and political domains in Bangladesh, from agrarian patron-client relations (Islam 1974; Schendel 1981; Karim 1990; Siddiqui 2000) to the gendered household relations (Baum 2010) as well as the partisan culture practiced by political parties to denote party loyalty (Centre for Governance Studies 2006, chapter two). Those engaging in *bhater khota* emphasise that the provision of income, food and shelter incurs upon the recipients a "rice debt" (*onnoreenn*) for which the provider can expect unquestioned loyalty and service. A typical feature of *bhater khota* was also to wrap the relations of dependency, debt and subservience in moral notions of kinship and religion. The PM's *bhater khota* bears all these characteristics. He claimed for himself and other supervisory staff the role of elder brothers vis-à-vis the workers.

The PM cautioned workers that they have an obligation to make their wages *halal*, not *haram*, i.e. to give in a fair day's work for a fair wage and to seal all these obligations by a religious oath in the name of the Allah. Furthermore, it is very revealing that the PM not only emphasized the debt and loyalty the workers owe to their *malik*, but to the nation at large; and his reference to the Western buyers made it clear what was at stake for the nation: Bangladesh's path to cleanliness, development and modernity. Of course, the relevance of kinship-and-gender ideologies, religious moralities and national development for labour relations is not particular to Bangladesh. Though in slightly different guises, they have also been prominently researched in South India's textile industry (De Neve 20005: 204-238) or in Java's spinning mills (Wolf 1994) or in the steel industries in India (Parry 2009a; Sanchez and Strümpell 2014) and Indonesia (Rudnycky 2012), to name a few prominent

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6   In the same vein, *bhatar* is also a synonym for husband, because he is said to provide rice to his wife. The notion of *bhatar*, is also indicative of the significance of *bhat* ("boiled ice") as a staple food and as a symbol of livelihood and vitality in general. In dictionary form, *bhati* is a classical Bangla adjective that means "enslaved to another for one's food or maintenance".

examples. Workers at Asha Garments stand out because of their wholesale rejection of the moralism their employer, managers and supervisors clad in terms of religion, family and nation. They reject it not because they are e.g. disbelievers. Rather the contrary, they all described themselves as devout Muslims (and in a few instances as devout Hindus). They reject the *bhater khota* of the PM and other managerial staff because they regard it as highly offensive: their wages are way below of what they produce for the company and they are hence more than *halal*. Or as Lucky, one of the operators, poignantly put it,

> *"I am not married to you, or to the owner or to this factory that you can demand more work from me without paying. I work here for money. You can get what you pay. It has become your hobby to extract more work by sweet words, but you don't pay for that extra work."*

Beyond the blatant rejection from the workers, what the PM's talk also clearly reveals is that the moralism on which he draws in his "sweet words" is largely a local one, one that – with the exception of the idea of national economic development – is particular to contemporary Bangladesh. However, as I will show in the following section, everybody involved in Bangladesh's ready-made garment industry, whether owners, managers or workers perceive this industry as constituting a world that is highly distinct from its local surroundings.

"garment-world" and "garment-time"

The world of work in the ready-made garment industry I have just described is also often referred to as the *garments-er jogot*, which literally translates as the "garment-world", a world that sharply differs from the *bahir-er jogot*, the "outside world" surrounding it. For everybody in Dhaka, the separation of both spaces is manifested in the well-guarded factory walls and gates. They are guarded round the clock by dedicated professional male sentry, and the larger factories also employ armed guards. The six-storied Asha Garments factory was surrounded within high concrete fence with barbed wire on the top. The main entrance was an iron-gate with a low height pocket door on the one side. Without prior permission from management it was not possible to enter the factory premise. Unannounced visitors had to wait at the gate for security clearance from inside – which never came if one didn't have established acquaintances at the higher management level. At the entrance gate the workers had to undergo a "body check" each time they entered or left the factory compound. Male workers and midlevel staff being checked by the male guards in the guards' room next to the entrance while female workers were checked by the female cleaner at a covered corner situated next to the

gate leading to the sewing section. As one of the guards repeatedly claimed, it would be a gross mistake to trust the workers, because "if they got the chance, they would empty out the factory in less than an hour." Concerns about theft were also the reason why at the least the sewing floors of the garment factories had barred windows in order to prevent workers from throwing out garments items.[7]

Given the barbed-wired walls, the grilled windows, the body checks and the constant surveillance, it does not come as a big surprise that workers often called garment factories "jails" (*jailkhana*), and described their life in them an imprisonment (*bondishala*). At times, especially when referring to the grilled windows on the sewing floor, workers at the Asha Garments described themselves as *khacha-r pakhi* ("caged birds"). Workers described themselves as jailed in the garment-world also explicitly with regard to the time they are obliged to spend in it. They must be at the gate at 8am sharp and the regular workday lasts until 5pm. However, only on rare occasions could workers leave the factory then. Usually they had to continue working far beyond that. Normally, the workday was prolonged by 3-5 hours overtime or sometimes even whole night shifts though workers every day again hoped that today they could go home early. Management announced its decision on overtime only shortly before 5pm, as they said, in order not to frustrate workers too early and hence vitiate the employees' working morale. When overtime was announced workers vented their anger and tried to persuade management to withdraw the decision, but while I was working at Asha Garments, always in vain. Managers and supervisors reacted with again alluding to the workers' debt to the factory owner and to the nation and with abusing them and threating them with wage cuts if they won't consent. In some instances, I witnessed threats with physical violence or indeed being beaten.

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7   The secrecy around the garments items produced at the factories has two further reasons. Firstly, the global garment brands are anxious that their new designs are leaked and in order to prevent this they contractually oblige Bangladeshi garment companies to keep them under tight wraps. Secondly, the secrecy also serves to conceal the connections between particular garment brands and local producers in Bangladesh. Trade unions and labour NGOs, that are usually similarly global as the brands, have often in vain attempted to collect brands' labels at particular garment factories in order prove the connection between them and the brands, and to hold the latter accountable for the working conditions or for the fatalities there. In Amsterdam, the IIAS archive preserves the garment brands' labels found on the ground of the Spectrum Sweater Factory that had collapsed in 2006 and the global labour rights groups also had to prove brands' presence at the factories by careful documentation of the labels found on the factory premise in the events of Tazrin Factory fire (2012) and Rana Plaza collapse (2013). In both cases (and in all others), most of the brands rigorously denied their involvement in these factories and until it was proven disclaimed any responsibilities for the dead workers and their families.

Hence, workers often said that they are forced to live in the factory, i.e. that they do not have much life on their own or with their families.[8] The following comment by a male sewing machine operator well encapsulates the workers' experience of being in the garment-world,

> "Once you step in, you cannot go outside the factory building according to your own wish. You can join the world of garments or you come inside the factory to work on your own wish, but your wish won't work when you need or want to go out."

The incessantly long days they had to spend working in the factory was only one problem for the garment workers. Another one was getting paid for them. It is only for the working hours that are noted on their timecards for which they can claim wages including overtime payment. When managers and supervisors e.g. threatened them with wage cuts if they won't consent to overtime hours, they most often threatened to cancel the overtime hours of previous workdays noted on their timecards. The timecard is a small piece of blue coloured paper, folded once in the middle that each worker gets issued monthly.[9]

Fig. 4: Timecard by author after the first month at Asha Garments. Photo: Hasan Ashraf

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8   In cases of extreme emergencies when workers were allowed to go out, but only if the production manager issued a gate pass that had to be signed also by the line supervisor of the respective worker. They only signed and issued the gate pass if production would not be hampered, i.e. if someone else would take their place for the time being which was rarely possible. In case it was issued, the gateman noted down for how long she or he was out and afterwards recorded this in the timecard, too.

9   In some factories, an electronic punching machine is used instead of paper timecards, but they are few in number.

In Bangla the timecard is called *hajira* card which translates as "attendance card", but everybody calls it a timecard. On the first page the timecard contains information on the worker's name, position in the factory, the card number, the month and year, the total workdays, the overtime hours, days of unauthorised absence, holidays and late arrivals. At the bottom of that page is space for signatures of the factory manager and the chairperson. On the second and the third page of the timecard a table of 7 columns and 31 rows is printed. Here is noted for each day a worker's in and out time, late arrival, and her overtime hours. The last two columns in each row are reserved for signatures, one by the timekeeper who signs every day and another one by the factory management who signs at the end of the month. However, the timecard is not merely an attendance register. Since garment workers are usually not given working contracts, the timecards are the only written document they possess that testify their working hours and in fact their working relationship with their employer.[10] They are therefore extremely cautious to not lose it and they also feel uneasy about leaving their timecard with the factory timekeeper during their workdays.

Taslim, the factory timekeeper at Asha Garments, collects the time cards of each worker each morning when they arrive at the factory. Taslim is a man of 45 years and thus much older than the workers. At 7.45am, he positions himself right next to the entrance gate and stands there for 15 minutes collecting the workers' timecards and noting their time of arrival on them. He counts tardiness by the minutes and only for a short while. After that Taslim always left the gate and goes to his desk on the shop floor where he copies the arrival times he noted in the timecards into the factory time-book.[11] He returns the timecards to the workers only at the end of the workday, i.e. when management decides that the workday is over, in rare instances at 5pm and usually after overtime three to five hours later. Workers constantly fear that Taslim – at the behest of management – records lesser working hours than they actually have worked or that he even cancels already recorded working hours; and they know that this will happen if they protest against working hours or working conditions or if they make too many mistakes. Hence, the timecards are an important means by which management solves one perennial problem of capitalists, that workers not only come to the factory, but that they also work when they are there (Parry 2009b: 105). Consequently, workers often described the timecards as "remote controls" or "video game buttons" through which management controls them.

10   Asha Garments later started to give separate ID cards with a photo of the worker on it.

11   During factory inspections the factory time-book is regularly checked for the maintenance of legal provisions regarding working hours. Workers and unionists in various factories are convinced that managers maintain a second, "clean" time-book for these occasions.

Also beyond the "timecards", "time" was an obsession in the *garments-er jogot*. Indeed, among the most important aspects in which the *garments-er jogot* differs from the *bahirer jogot* is time. As I was often told, the garment-world is ruled by "garment-time" or *garments-er time* in Bangla. Time is always chased on the shop floor, and is referred to as something that can be saved, hoarded or stockpiled. Line supervisors constantly look at bundles of un- and half-finished t-shirts to re-calculate hourly production targets and pressurize workers to outperform them, all to make sure that they get out the maximum production. As the Production Manager Khairul liked to say in English followed by a Bangla translation, "time and tide wait for none!" Less prosaically, he also constantly reminded workers that, "a minute you waste to finish your tasks incurs loss on our *malik* ("owner"). We must not do this to our *malik* as we are living from him!" As this shows, *garments-er time* is not the same for workers, management staff and owners. Management's main concern is to increase the length of the workday as well as the intensity of work (or to maintain them at high levels) or, in Marx' classic terms, to obtain both absolute and relative surplus value (ibid. 2015 [1887]: 358ff).

It is important to note in this regard that this obsession with time is also directly related to the global production chain that constitutes the ready-made garment industry. The garment industry lives on fast fashion that is mass consumed in the cities of North America, Europe and elsewhere, and that is mass produced in places like Asha Garments and other factories in South and East Asia (and elsewhere). The garment brands set the producers so-called lead-times within which the ordered garments must be produced, and which correspond to the fast-changing fashion seasons.[12] As already mentioned above, the schedules these lead-times set are very tight, and in the usual contracts between global brands and Bangladeshi companies the latter are declared fully responsible for sticking to these schedules. Any delays lead to contractual penalties that the Bangladeshi companies try to avoid at any cost, e.g. by an expensive shipment by air freight instead of the usual sea freight. Hence, the obsession with chasing and husbanding time in factories like Asha Garments. Thus, the time regime here is not "local", but "global", and so is the "garment-world" where this regime applies.

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12 The fashion brands get together in major 'fashion weeks' around major cities in the world, from traditional fashion hubs in New York, London, Milan, and Paris, to new ones in (to name a few) Berlin, Tokyo, Los Angeles, São Paulo, Shanghai or Amsterdam. The proliferation of fashion weeks also broke down the traditional Spring/Summer (January-June) and Fall/Winter (July-December) fashion seasons into by now almost 52 "micro seasons", so that today's new t-shirt is out of fashion next week.

Conclusion

The stress workers, supervisors and managers in Bangladesh's garment industry place on the divide between the *garments-er jogot* and the *bahir-er jogot* substantiates Burawoy's and De Neve's argument for the importance of labour-process oriented approaches to industrial work. The "garment-world" is separate from the "outside world" and can only be understood from an insider's perspective. Relations and notions that pertain to the *bahir-er jogot* in Dhaka and Bangladesh, regarding gender, class, authority, morality and the nation, are brought into the garment-world, but they are renegotiated here, put to new uses (e.g. in PM Khairul's speech) and contested and resisted in novel ways (e.g. workers' refusal to take the oath or their insistence of the wage relation). Thus, workers, supervisors and managers, as well as the nation and morality are made on the shop floors in Bangladesh's garment industry. As I have also shown, the spatiality and temporality of the garment factories in Mirpur and other sites in Bangladesh can only be understood when placed in the context of a global garment industry. The relentless grind in Bangladesh's garment industry with imposed overtime, timecards, the withholding or cancelling of payments etc. is a result of the pressure to fulfil daily production targets and to remain within the lead-time of the order as determined by the global brands; and the *garments-er time* that is thus constituted can only be enacted in a corresponding world, a *garments-er jogot*, in which factory buildings have grilled windows, are surrounded by barb-wired walls that leave only narrow entry gates that are often even locked in order to prevent garment workers from sneaking out.

Furthermore, highlighting the globality of the garment factories in Bangladesh is important beyond academic debates. The ready-made garment factories in Bangladesh are known for their notorious working conditions. These hit the headlines of the global press and news channels after one of the frequent accidents has killed dozens or hundreds of garment workers, such as (to name the most recent prominent examples) the collapse of the Rana Plaza complex in 2013 or the fires burning the Tazreen Fashion factory and the Aswad Composite Mill to the ground in 2012 and 2013 respectively. In the aftermath of these catastrophes, the global garment brands disavow any responsibility for the deaths and the working conditions provoking them until it has been proven that the factories had been working on their orders. Even if that is proven, the global brands present the working conditions in Bangladesh's ready-made garment industry as Bangladesh's problem for which the governments and companies of Bangladesh are responsible. In their depictions, the fact that Bangladeshi governments and companies don't solve the problem is due to their corruption and/ or their lack of concern for workers' and human rights which the global brands in turn present as typical for Bangladesh and Bangla culture. There are of course also many international actors launching well-meant initiatives, e.g. Dutch or German development

aid programs financing projects for building integrity, electric and fire safety in Bangladeshi garment factories. Indeed, in many instances, the factory fires had proven so lethal because the factory gates or the gates of the sewing floor had been under lock and key, so that workers could not leave the burning factory or the sewing floor. However, these programs narrowly focus on technocratic solutions and abstract from the global realities shaping the actual everyday labour processes.[13] By turning a blind eye to these realities human resource development projects depoliticise them. As I hope to have shown in this paper, the re-politicisation of these realities requires, following Burawoy (2000a), addressing both the actual micro-practices of shop floor relations and management, and the ways these are embedded in the macro-forces operating through the garment industry's global production chain.

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13   For further and more detailed information on these programs and their effects see Siddiqi 2015; Ashraf 2017; Prentice and Neve 2017; Ashraf and Prentice forthcoming.

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Hasan Ashraf is assistant professor in the anthropology department at Jahangirnagar University, Bangladesh, and a doctoral candidate in the anthropology departments at Heidelberg University, Germany, and at the University of Amsterdam the Netherlands. His research interests include economic, medical and political anthropology. In his dissertation he focuses on workers in Bangladesh's export-oriented garment industry. In addition to that he also works on a range of other issues in the Bangladeshi context, such as human and sexual rights, violence against women, religious reform movements, transformations of agrarian society as well as rural power structures.

"During a busy day I don't get much done"
On the materiality of immaterial labour in a multinational professional services firm

Frauke Mörike

Busy but not "real work": approaching the paradox

"During a busy day I don't get much done." This quote from a client consultant at Advice Company[1,] a multinational professional services firm in Mumbai, India, condenses the dilemma discussed in this paper: what officially counts as "real work" – work that produces a quantifiable output – rarely corresponds to the daily lived praxis in the office. The so called "real" or "counting work" is associated with the production of deliverables such as presentation slide decks or other documents and classified by the employees in the organisation as categorically distinct from work such as emails or phone calls which does not directly redound to or even hampers the production of ascertainable work products. This distinction is insofar of upmost relevance for the employees at Advice Company, as the organisation benchmarks their performance in terms of artefactual-like results. The employees themselves, however, must spend a significant portion of the work day with tasks that do not lead to such results. This is insofar remarkable, as professional service firms, also referred to as knowledge intensive firms or knowledge-based organisations, rely on a professionalised workforce with specialised expertise and skills in order to produce immaterial products (Nordenflycht 2010; Alvesson 1995), and hence have arguably made the shift towards a postmodern "informational economy" together with a "change in the quality and nature of labor (sic)" (Hardt and Negri 2000: 289). The understanding of work at Advice Company, however, yields the evaluation of labour in material terms that is considered characteristic of 20th century "industrial" labour, but that is here found at the core of a 21st century organisation: a multinational corporation in the services industry that supposedly draws on "immaterial" labour.[2] Thus, neo-Marxist theorists such as Hardt and Negri (2000: 292f) or Lazzarato (1996) have argued that contemporary capitalist production is characterised by the hegemony of "immaterial labour", a form of labour producing "immaterial goods" such as a services, knowledge or communication.

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1   The name of the company is fictive.
2   Thanks to Andrea Muehlebach for inspiring me to develop my argument in this direction.

In this article, I will critically engage with the thesis of Hardt and Negri by drawing on ethnographic work in Advice Company.[3] I will argue that material products and the corresponding value attributions that they consider characteristic for the "industrial labour" of mid-20th century Fordism still remain important for the 21st century services industry. My argument stands in line with and enhances the critique voiced by Sylvia Yanagisako (2012) on Hardt's and Negri's proposition. Her work is complementary to my critique, as she argues from a historical perspective on the silk industry in northern Italy that "immaterial" labour "has always been crucial to industrial production" (ibid.: 16).[4]

After a brief exploration of the concept of immaterial labour and "affective work" (Hardt 1999) in the following chapter, I will then illustrate the ambiguities and paradoxes of what my interlocutors at Advice Company categorise and value as "real work" in contrast to what is classified as non-work activity. Here it becomes apparent that deliverables of a material-like quality in the form of documents, reports or presentations slides stand in the focus of attention and most employees in the organisation are measured on them. Their correct, accurate and timely submission represents a seemingly quantifiable basis determining career advancements of the individual – or, in case of underachievement, an impending threat of the loss of organisational membership denoting the loss of the job and salaried work.

After that I will then illustrate how this output stands in contrast to the *Alltagswelt* in the office which is characterised by highly frequent, non-formalised interactions (face-to-face, phone, chat, email). To provide an impression of the employees' notion of "busy-ness" from the opening quote of this paper I follow a consultant closely through one hour of highly intensive work activity. The employees experience a dissonance between their "non-counting" working praxis and the organisation's requirement to produce artefacts in several ways. This leads to the paradoxical situation that "being busy" is perceived as contradictory to "getting things done", and the need to develop handling strategies to mitigate the area of conflict. I will conclude with a discussion on the materiality of immaterial labour.

Immaterial labour, affective work and value

Advice Company is a western-origin multinational corporation operating in the services industry sector. With its business model to provide consulting and advice to clients on their strategic business decisions the organisation

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3   The ethnographic data presented here are based on 11 months of fieldwork carried out for my PhD project in 2013/14 at the offices of a multinational consulting company in Mumbai with approximately 800 employees of various hierarchy levels and designations. The research was funded by a scholarship of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

4   Thanks to Christian Strümpell for the reference.

denotes a classic example for a knowledge-intensive firm (Alvesson 1995) and is part of what is commonly referred to as the "service and knowledge economy" (Gill und Pratt 2008: 2). The knowledge economy has been at the focus of contemporary theories of "immaterial" labour as a major characteristic of the post-industrial economy. Through the shift within capitalism from material production to immaterial knowledge concepts of work have consequently changed towards "immaterial labour" which does not result in a physical or tangible final product (Lazzarato 1996: 133). Or, as Hardt and Negri (2000: 292) write more explicitly:

> *"Most services indeed are based on the continual exchange of information and knowledges. Since the production of services results in no material and durable good, we define the labor in-volved in this production as* immaterial *labor – that is, labor that produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication."*

Their argument follows the assumption that digital technologies change the way in which value is produced, away from the production of material commodities towards forms of immaterial production, including information and affect (Wilkie 2011: 50). Furthermore, one of the main propositions of immaterial labour theory is that, in contrast to labour utilised for the production of material commodities, immaterial labour cannot be quantified (Hardt und Negri 2000: 146).

As I will show with the ethnographic cases in the following sections, the latter assumption of a detachment of immaterial labour from mechanisms of quantification is questionable, suggesting a less clear-cut view on immaterial forms of labour. Hardt (1999: 92) assumed an increased "information-alisation" also of production processes, while Springer (1999: 124) speaks of a "re-Taylorization" of production work. Other anthropological studies have provided further food for thought about the limits of the development and the assumption that the direction of development is inevitably running in solely one direction. In her work about two IT organisations, Mayer-Ahuja (2011: 13) provides a powerful example of how IT software development – arguably at the heart of the new service industry – becomes broken down into small work parts, resembling what she calls the "Taylorization" of software work along an imaginary assembly line. Her findings are in accordance with other accounts (Upadhya und Vasavi 2008; Matuschek et al. 2007) and Pettinger (2006) highlights the fundamental role of engagement with material products in the work of retail assistants in fashion clothing stores in contrast to the customer interactions considered a characteristic of service work.

Even though the concept of immaterial labour is frequently connected in current discourse to the contemporary capitalist economy (Gill und Pratt 2008; Wissinger 2007), feminist writers have stressed the fact that women

are and have for a long time been prominently engaged in immaterial labour in the context of social reproduction (Bear et al. 2015: no. 7; Fortunati 2007; Desai et al. 2011; Morini 2007), or more explicitly in the context of affective and relational labour (Friedemann-Sánchez 2012; Muehlebach 2011). Affective labour is framed as a type of immaterial labour (Hardt 1999: 90), as kin work or caring labour and, according to Hardt, highlights the fact that such work produces sociality (ibid.: 89):

> *"The other face of immaterial labor is the affective labor of human contact and interaction [...] This labor is immaterial, even if it is corporeal and affective, in the sense that its products are intangible, a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement or passion." (Hardt 1999: 95-96)*

Connected with affective work, however, is in female work contexts the question of paid or unpaid work: Friedemann-Sánchez' illustrates in her study (2012) on female workers in Colombia's floriculture industry their challenges to manoeuvre between salaried work in the agroindustry sector and unpaid caregiving for dependents. Despite the advertised potential of increased agency for women achieved through employment work, women frequently leave their job again after a few months to provide unpaid care services for their children or elderly kin, as there is no reconciliation between employment and family work.

While Friedemann-Sánchez' study shows the inseparable connection between salaried work and affective work as two separate entities, Hardt argues that with the movement towards the service economy, affective work has established its position at the centre of the capitalist production and the type of jobs he refers to are characterised by the central role knowledge, information, communication and affect plays for them (Hardt 1999: 90–91).

The concepts of immaterial and affective labour as a prioritization of "extracting value from relational and emotional elements" (Morini 2007: 40) suggest an emphasis on such forms of labour in professional servicing firms such as Advice Company. While this assumption will prove applicable in one aspect of consulting work, the following case study reveals a more complex categorization of immaterial labour.

Counting what counts: "real work" and performance at Advice Company

A few weeks into my fieldwork within Advice Company I had the opportunity to attend a new employees' introduction training. This training was a good starting point for gaining insights into the organisational viewpoint on work. The "Discover Advice Company" training, as it is officially called, is held every few months, depending on the number of new joiners. It is organ-

ised by the human resources department whose members also play several active roles in the agenda of the two days. All employees who newly joined the organisation in the weeks since the last training was held are invited from all offices of Advice Company across Mumbai, irrespective of their designation. The final session of the training was held by a senior human resources representative. He pointed out the rules of how to ensure to stay employed in the organisation and explained the "performance measurement scale" along which each employee gets a rating by his or her manager once per year. This ranking is based on objectives, such as completed projects or contribution to project reports which are agreed upon at the beginning of each financial year between the employee and the manager. The rating is then given on a scale from level 1 to 4, level 4 being best. The rating determines not only the amount of the yearly bonus payment, but also enables or disables promotions, which can only be granted with a rating of the best level four. He furthermore stated that:

> *"employees rated only with a level 1 are asked to move out of the system immediately as well as the lower level 2 performers as they are obviously not living up to our values. Only level 3 and 4 performers are to be retained in the organisation, and only with a rating of level 4 you can apply for a different department or for the mobility program[5] once you have been for at least two years in your initial department."*

This grade-based system illustrates the organisation's perception of how to objectively quantify and measure the immaterial work for which they paid their employees. However, the weeks of "annual performance review" brought up several, often bitter discussions about differing perceptions about the right "justified" grading level between a team member and a manager. Although Advice Company is part of the knowledge economy and hence primarily relies – according to Hardt and Negri – on immaterial labour, the claim for a materiality-oriented understanding of labour value was already communicated to the new employees within this very first phase of their entry into the organisation.

Consequently, the employees established a categorical differentiation between "real work" based on intangible digital commodities and "non-counting" immaterial labour. As one consultant explained, "work is all that goes into presentations, spreadsheets or document files. That's real work. Emails, phone calls, discussions and meetings don't really count." This notion was mirrored in a lunch discussion amongst the consulting team I accompanied. The team discussed their relation to the project coordination teams, who had

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5   The mobility program is the opportunity for those who wish to get a placement in one of Advice Company's offices abroad.

the function to manage the client projects as a support for the consulting teams, which was often conflictual:

> *"We [consultants] have the final project report and client presentation. But what do the project coordinators have? They have nothing. That's why their position is so difficult."*

Interesting to note is here that the project coordinators indeed engaged heavily in affective and relational work due to their function to coordinate project work tasks across the various departments in the organisation: they wrote emails and made dozens of phone calls per day to keep all contributing functions informed and sometimes had to persuade a colleague to do an extra hour of work to complete a task without delay.

Although the apparent hierarchisation of functions based on material-quality deliverables falls in line with the organisation's evaluation strategy of work, this devaluation of affective labour is striking for the fact that Advice Company operates exclusively in the services industry sector.

This hierarchisation emphasises the fact that the outputs of work (presentations, documentations etc.) stood in the sole focus of attention, as most of the annual performance measurement items were centred on them. There was the official assumption about how these outputs have been produced, a best-practice-oriented view in how employees structured their work day to progress on their given tasks. Yet what really happened until the presentation or documentation could be delivered – the actual working praxis – was subsumed under a diffuse notion of "being busy" and the differentiation into work items that count and others that don't.

Being busy: working praxis and handling strategies

How "I'm busy" looks like

To get a grip on this seemingly subjective notion of "being busy" I took what I call "activity snapshots" of the interlocutors I accompanied: I tracked the flow of information over the duration of an hour through different communication channels such as email, chat, phone calls (on mobile phones or landlines), face-to-face conversations and ad-hoc mini meetings of three to five persons at the interlocutor's desk.[6] When possible, I combined the tracking of incidents via "activity snapshots" with a detailed field notes protocol of the events during the hour, including the approximate time and duration of the event and its wider context. The outcome of such a combination of data

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6   Although it is an approach orienting on Wolcott (2003 [1973]: 9), who monitored the actions taken by the school principal he observed in 60 second intervals over the duration of two hours, I have changed this method to fit the requirements of a corporate office.

is provided in figure 1, which illustrates a typical hour during a "being busy" phase of a client consultant.

Ruchika, an experienced senior client consultant, is in her early thirties, has been working for three years at Advice Company and leads a sub-team of three junior consultants. Ruchika and her direct reports are part of a client consulting team of 12 members. I accompanied the wider consulting team for the total of six weeks and Ruchika for four days. The following vignette reproduces an hour of one of Ruchika's workdays during which I accompanied her. Figure 1 illustrates – in five-minute intervals – the activities that occurred during this hour followed by a detailed description of the events in this section. As the figure illustrates, most of the events occurred in dense sequential order, and some even simultaneously.
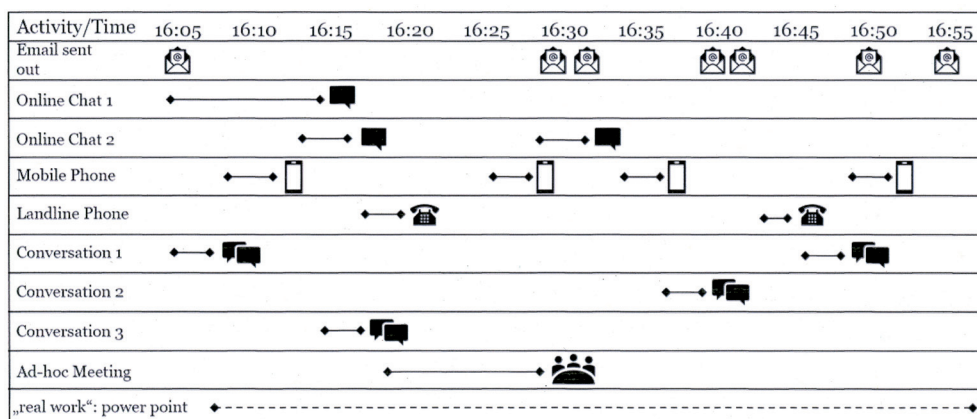

Figure 1: Client consultant Ruchika's communication flow during one hour

Ruchika had intended to work on a presentation she needed to finish that day. The hour started with her writing a short email to her manager, but this was interrupted when Raveena, one of her mentees, leaned over her desk's partition wall to ask Ruchika's advice on replying to a particular client's request. They exchanged a few sentences and Ruchika moved her attention back to her screen. An orange blinking bar appeared at the bottom of her desktop, indicating that she had received an online chat message from a colleague. While she started to respond, her mobile phone rang: a client was calling her to discuss the details of a report Ruchika had sent a few days ago. Ruchika got up from her desk and moved to a corner of the office, where she paced, staring with concentration at the carpeted floor. After a few minutes, Ruchika returned to her desk and opened the chat program to find the name of the colleague she was looking for. She double-clicked his name and sent him a question. While she waited for his reply she finished her still open chat conversation from the beginning of the hour and closed the window. When the reply arrived from the colleague she had reached out to, she wrote back, only to realise that the recipient of her message was already standing at her desk. He pulled a vacant chair from a temporarily unattended desk in the adjacent

bay and, together, he and Ruchika leaned over her computer screen and discussed the report documentation. When they did not seem to come to a conclusion, Ruchika stretched out her arm to the landline phone and dialled the four-digit number of a fellow client consultant colleague in a parallel team she knew by heart, without picking up the handset. After two ringtones the call was answered with a "Hallo?" on the other side. A conversation started amongst the three colleagues when it became clear that the issue could not be clarified in a few sentences, the colleague on the phone announced to come over in a second. Indeed, a few seconds later, a man appeared from somewhere behind the meeting rooms and joined Ruchika and the other colleague. Now, all three leaned over the screen, discussing the content. One scribbled a few lines on a note pad and Ruchika moved text boxes around in the document.

Then Ruchika's mobile phone rang again. She checked the incoming caller's name, which was blinking on her phone, rose from her chair and waved with her free hand, signalling for the two colleagues at her desk and her teammates at the surrounding desks to lower their voices. While picking up the phone call she again walked over to the corner and the third colleague, who had initially stood behind the two, took her seat. During her absence, he and the other colleague continued to change the file on Ruchika's laptop. After she returned, she leaned for another few minutes between the chairs over the two colleagues working at her desk, while they came to a conclusion. Both of the colleagues stood up to return to their desks and Ruchika took her seat again. She worked on the jointly discussed document for a few minutes while exchanging chat messages with one of the two colleagues about the project. Then she wrote an email to her team about the client call she had just received and another to a colleague in the accounting team.

Shortly later, she again stood up from her desk, walked away and called back the client who had led to the previous discussion. Once she was back at her desk, her manager casually walked by and asked her about the status of the presentation she was supposed to finish by the end of the day. He also asked if she knew the status of a different project in a critical status. She showed him the presentation slides and they briefly discussed them. When she was on her own again, she wrote two short emails before calling one of the two recipients to announce that she had sent him an email with high priority and she would like him to take care of it today because "the client is expecting me to revert back A.S.A.P."

The moment she hung up the phone, her mentee Raveena rose from her chair and leaned over with a question about how she should approach a task she had been given. Raveena picked up her laptop and leaned it over the partition panel to illustrate her issue. Ruchika's explanation was interrupted by the ringtone of her mobile phone. This time she checked the incoming caller's name and answered the call with "Ek second, thik hai? [One second, okay?]".

Ruchika lowered the mobile from her ear down to hip level and continued to instruct her mentee for half a minute. Then she attended to the colleague who was waiting on the mobile phone. He was working from home that day and she forwarded him an email while on the phone with him. Towards the end of the tracking hour, Ruchika finally returned to the presentation slides, only to switch back to the email program a few minutes later to write an email she had "almost forgotten". In total, the hour resulted in 14 conversations and 7 written emails, but only a few clicks in the presentation – her "real work", as she explained to me, which she had meant to work on.

When we both sat in the rickshaw that evening (as we were incidentally headed to destinations in the same area that day), Ruchika explained that it had been yet another "of those busy days where you're exhausted in the end and don't really know why, as all the work still remains". She was not aware of the number of communications she had managed in that hour and at a similar scale along the entire day, but she knew she would have to work on the presentation at home that evening.

What becomes apparent from this case is that even at a consulting firm, a prime example for immaterial labour, the affective and relational work that Ruchika is involved in, such as the mentoring and communication activities, are devalued. In repetition of the categorisation proclaimed by the organisation's performance measurement strategy, the material aspects of the immaterial work are recognised as the only "real work", practically erasing the factually existing large portion of affective and relational labour involved in Ruchika's work day.

Out of office: producing "real work"

The employees themselves reproduce the categorical distinction between "real work" and "work that doesn't count", as they know that they are evaluated on the former and engaging too heavily in the latter can potentially threaten their job at Advice Company. But in response to this, they actively seek strategies to mitigate the dissonance between the relational work they are involved in and the requirement for ascertainable deliverables. One of the strategies was to avoid the office, an open-area space without separating walls between desks or departments. The notion of the office as a "great place to coordinate things and meet people, but not to do the real concentration work" was voiced by colleagues from different functions and hierarchy levels. Sujata from the Human Resources Department, with a completely different function and work profile from Ruchika, stated:

> *"To do routine things and coordination I need to be in [the] office, but for creative and concentrated work I want to be at home, have my bed and my things around me, get up and think, continue to work. I need to create that one presentation from scratch*

for next week; I can't do that in the office. Right now it is quiet, but this is because all of them [she gestures with her arm to the empty desks around her] are in meetings, and our team head is not here. But when he is here you will see that there are people coming to talk to him, they have louder conversations, people on the call..."

The strategy to simply not be present at the office for concentrated work tasks was practised in various ways. I met Sneha, a member of the accounting team, regularly when I came to the office on Saturdays. She remarked that she preferred to come in on the weekend for a few hours to quietly work on tasks requiring concentration over a longer period, as she was not able to "properly take care of them in the hectic of the week". Raghunandan, a top-level manager, explained to me that he did his "brainwork" from home in the early morning until 9.00am, and then came to the main office to do "all the chatting with the junior people to give them attention, but also to get a feeling for the potential goof-up of a project before it makes its way through all of the hierarchy".

The examples illustrate that the office, the "official" place of work, is primarily associated with affective work and social reproduction and that the employees employ strategies such as moving to other locations or work times to engage in what is categorised as "real work". In correspondence to Ruchika's work hour the other employees perceived the office as a space marked by high communication density and interactions, hence immaterial labour – not surprising for the office of a professional servicing firm. Equally consistent across the employees' reflections on work is the perceived contrast between the predominantly performed immaterial labour and the dominating notions of materialised "real work" at Advice Company.

Discussion: re-thinking materiality

The dissonance between the relational and affective work performed in the context of communication and coordination at the office and the pressure to deliver ascertainable outputs is rarely expressed as a serious area of concern. But the smouldering struggle in the background to balance the two emerges from the following quote of a client consultant:

"When issues [in the client project] come up I am all busy-busy in here [the office], checking with everybody. And then my time to create the presentation gets cut down at least by 50%, which results in these long working hours. And this is why we people do die early..."

The wording he chose is admittedly dramatic, especially for a person around thirty with hardly sufficient professional experience to draw from for such a

claim on the mortality rates in the industry sector. Yet illustrates this quote succinctly the perceived pressure to deliver "real work" results while factually taking care the entire day of tasks associated with non-work. The consultant experienced the pressure as so salient that he apprehended physical consequences for him/herself.

While the digital outputs the client consultants produced in the form of presentations, spreadsheet reports and documents files are intangible, the employees' notion of these outputs have to be understood in terms of their material quality. The organisational management emphasises that notion through the practice of performance measurement, which is based on exactly these outputs. The delivery of these digital products determines the future career opportunities of each employee. I would argue that their immateriality solidifies in employees' notions to a concrete product with material qualities in contrast to other work tasks performed.

The daily practised labour at Advice Company is immaterial in a wider sense, as the consultants engage in even less tangible work, in affective work for a large part of their work day, and hence are not able to produce the "real work", artefact-like documents required. I have illustrated how the employees struggle with the constant challenge to match the organisationally disavowed, yet factually closely connected spheres of social relations and capitalist production. Even more, the consultants at Advice Company perceive the pressure of connecting the material and immaterial spheres of their knowledge work as physical pressure.

The incompatibility of "being busy" and "getting things done" is a symptom of the fact that labour in the professional services industry is framed by the organisational leaders still in continuity of the tradition of the 20th century industrial labour with an emphasis on the production of material-quality goods as definition of work. Immaterial labour, especially affective work and social reproduction, is instead devalued.

I have shown in my paper that the lived working praxis at Advice Company indeed corresponds to the ideas of affective labour framed by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. Yet the organisational understanding of work remains coined by the production of material-quality-like digital artefacts – in an explicitly material quality of immaterial labour. Here the conceptualisation of immaterial labour is falling short of the lived working praxis, leading to the incompatibility of "being busy" to "getting things done".

The ethnographic cases illustrate that that economic and social relations are enchained to one another and that the former cannot be detached from the latter.

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Frauke Mörike received her PhD in anthropology (Heidelberg University) and is postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at the TU Berlin (Institute of Psychology and Ergonomics). Her research interests include anthropology of work and organisations, applied business and design anthropology as well as ethnography in interdisciplinary research contexts.

Georg Pfeffer (2016) Verwandtschaft als Verfassung:
Unbürokratische Muster öffentlicher Ordnung.
Baden Baden: Nomos

Hartmut Lang und Astrid Wonneberger

Pfeffers Buch hat 826 Seiten. Auf 741 davon steht fortlaufender Text, den mehrere hundert Abbildungen und Tabellen ergänzen. Pfeffers Opus hat also einen ziemlich gewaltigen Umfang. Umfangreiche Bücher können allerdings auch zu dick sein. Wie sich zeigen wird, trifft aber das Gegenteil zu: es ist nicht zu dick, sondern könnte sogar gut noch umfangreicher sein.

Das Thema des Buchs stellt Pfeffer mit sechs Schlüsselwörtern klar, die im Titel und Untertitel des Buchs stehen. Mit einem einzigen Wort des Titels klärt er, dass ihn ein Thema der Menschheitsgeschichte beschäftigt hat, nämlich mit ‚bürokratisch‘. Mit diesem Wort charakterisiert er eine menschheitsgeschichtliche Epoche, in der er sich selbst befindet; auch „wir“ gehören dazu und eine ganze Menge weiterer Zeitgenossen, die keine Ethnologen sind. Beispiele für Bereiche von Welten, die unter „legal-bürokratischer Herrschaft“ stehen, sind u.a. „Behörden“ und „Kirchen“, ebenso „Verkehrsmittel“ und „Freizeitparks“.

Den Bürokratie-Begriff hat Pfeffer von Max Weber, und das Schlüsselattribut ist ‚Entscheiden „ohne Ansehen der Person“‘ (Weber 2005: 166). Verfassungen, in denen ein derartiges Entscheidungsprinzip gilt, haben allerdings in den Welten, mit denen sich das Buch befasst, keine Chance, auf die Wirklichkeit Einfluss zu nehmen. Diese Welten gehören vielmehr in eine (unbürokratische) Epoche, in der Verfassungen mit Verwandtschaft verbunden sind, oder ausführlicher gesagt, wo an der Herstellung der öffentlichen Ordnung verwandtschaftsbezogene Muster wesentlich beteiligt sind, und diese Welten gibt es noch heute.

Als Methodik hat Pfeffer für seine Studien den „weltweiten Vergleich“ von Ethnien bzw. „Gemeinwesen“ gewählt. Wenn diese Fälle im Buch ausführlicher beschrieben werden, heißen sie ethnographische Skizzen – nicht zu Unrecht, denn im Zentrum der Darstellung steht zwar Verwandtschaft, aber es geht auch um manches Andere, das mit Verwandtschaft verbunden ist und von dem die Menschen überzeugt waren und auch noch sind, es müsse in Regeln gefasst werden.

Die ethnographischen Skizzen sind Ausgangspunkt einer Reihe von Arbeitsschritten. Die Skizzen bieten einen Einblick in die „Variationsbreite“ der öffentlichen Ordnungsmuster. Darauf bauen allgemeine „anthropologische

Thesen" auf, und schließlich münden die Analysen in einer sechsteiligen verwandtschaftsorientierten Ordnung von Gemeinwesen, dargestellt in sechs Kapiteln.

Die Kapitel bestehen wesentlich, aber nicht allein aus ethnographischen Beschreibungen der Fälle und den Analysen, auf die sich die Gliederung stützt. Das abschließende Schlüsse-Ziehen aus der vorgelegten ethnographischen Evidenz überlässt Pfeffer auch öfter mal seinen Lesern.

Bis auf die Einleitung sind die Kapitel alle mit Buchstaben ‚beziffert'. Kapitel G ist die „Zusammenfassung".

Die folgende Tabelle gibt Auskunft über die Mengen ethnographischen Materials, die als empirische Evidenz für die sechs verwandtschaftsbezogenen „spezifischen Klassifikationsweisen" herangezogen worden sind.

	Kapitel mit ethnographischen Fällen	Textanteil von A-F (674)	Anzahl ethnogr. Fälle (39)	Seiten pro Fall
A	**Keine Gliederung** [sic] Gemeinwesen ohne Verfassung	3 %	5	4
B	**Bloße Untergliederung** Gemeinwesen von wechselhafter Größe oder ohne klar geregelte Bindungen	19 %	6	21
C	**Affinität als allgemeine Bindung** Zuweisung zu einem Gemeinwesen lateral bei Geburt, soziale Bindung durch Heirat definiert (Affinität)	41 %	12	23
D	**Abstammung als allgemeine Bindung** Verfassungen von Herrschaften, mit hierarchischer Differenzierung und Senioritätsprinzipien	19%	7	18
E	**Deszendenz als kombinierte Bindung** durch Deszendenz festgelegte und auch affinale Beziehungen zwischen Teilgruppen	13 %	4	21
F	**Affinität als hierarchische Abgrenzung** Indische Kastenordnungen, die einem hierarchischen Ansatz folgen und unilineare mit affinalen Beziehungen verbinden	5 %	5	7

39 Fälle sind es also, auf die sich Pfeffers Werk stützt, eine Zahl, die uns auch einen Einblick in Pfeffers Methodologie gibt. Es dürfte sich deshalb ziemlich leicht darüber Einigkeit erzielen lassen: Zu viele Fälle sind es gewiss nicht, eher schon zu wenig.

Kapitel A ist das kürzeste des gesamten Buchs. Weil der Kürze auch das inhaltliche Gewicht entspricht, fassen wir uns ebenfalls kurz. Das Kapitel geht der Frage nach, ob es überhaupt Gemeinwesen gibt, die ohne Verfassung auskommen. Pfeffer meint ‚ja', und diese Gemeinwesen müssten unter den ‚Immediate-return'-Wildbeutern zu finden sein. Lieber ist Pfeffer wohl der Begriff ‚Wildbeuter mit Eigentumsaversion'. Immerhin, auch dieses Merkmal kommt in der Attribute-Kollektion vor, die Woodburn 1982[1] zu den ‚Immediate return'-Wildbeutern publiziert hat.

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1   Siehe Zusammenfassung: S. 431.

Indikator[2] für Verfassungslosigkeit ist im Buch der Inzest. Die ethnographische Vignette dazu, ein Mutter-Sohn-Inzest bei den Paliyanern (Südindien), liefert Gardner (1966). Dieser Fall soll zeigen, wie die Paliyaner ihre soziale Welt ordnen – eben nicht mit allgemeinen Kriterien. Pfeffer schließt daraus, soziale Ordnungssysteme seien weder „universal" noch seien sie eine „Voraussetzung" für die Existenz der Menschen.

Nun gibt es aber noch weitere Daten in den ethnographischen Berichten, die Pfeffer in seinem Buch nicht erwähnt. So liest man über die Paliyaner, auf Inzest steht die Todesstrafe (Gardner 1966: 397), die von übernatürlichen Wesen vollzogen wird; und über die Chewong (Howell 1984: 26, 71), die Pfeffer gleichfalls zu den bestätigenden Fällen rechnet, erfährt man Ähnliches.

Daraus darf man schließen, wenn diese ethnographischen Daten alle zugleich wahr sein sollen, müssen Menschen Inzestverbote kategorienfrei kommunizieren können. Das aber wird wohl kaum jemand für möglich halten. Die Paliyaner und die Chewong sind demnach keine bestätigenden Fälle für die gesuchte Verfassungslosigkeit. Trotzdem halten wir die Idee eines verfassungslosen Zustands für durchaus plausibel, der aber in realen Welten wohl eher am zeitlichen Anfang der Menschheitsgeschichte vorgekommen sein dürfte.

Kapitel B hat eindeutig eine mittlere Länge. Diese Gruppierung von Gemeinwesen stützt sich also auf eine Zahl von ungefähr sechs exemplarischen Fällen. Der Inhalt des Kapitels hat bei uns die Erinnerung an John F. Embrees Formel des „loosely structured social system" (1950) wachgerufen. Es handelt sich bei Embree wie im B-Kapitel um soziale Systeme mit vagen Regeln und unscharfen Gliederungen, deren Akteure mit Widersprüchen (cf. z.B. Embree 1950: 184) ziemlich mühelos zurande kommen können.

In diesem Kapitel taucht außerdem zum ersten Mal die Matrix-Methode auf. Das ist eine Methode, mit der Pfeffer Charakteristika von Verwandtschaftsterminologien herausarbeitet. Sie lässt sich nicht auf jede Art von Terminologie oder in jedem beliebigen Kontext[3] anwenden. Trotzdem sind geeignete Terminologien weit verbreitet, kommen aber (fast) nicht in Afrika vor.

Die Matrix-Analyse (der Name stammt nicht von Pfeffer) wird im Buch am Beispiel der Verwandtschaftsterminologie der Piaroa entwickelt, die im Guyana Hochland von Venezuela lebten[4]. Sie haben ein Moiety-System und bilden Lokalgruppen, die idealerweise endogam sind. Abstammungsgruppen, die sich auf Vorfahren berufen, sind keine nachweisbar. Eine deutliche Bevorzugung des patrifilialen Prinzips bestimmt die Gruppenzugehörigkeit nicht.

Die Piaoroa verfügen über eine hochentwickelte und gut dokumentierte Form von Teknonymie, die Pfeffer geschickt so einführt, dass dem nahelie-

2   Siehe auch Abschnitt G 1.1.

3   Siehe z.B. das Rätsel der Melpa-Terminologie und die Lösung von A. Schneider auf Seite 253.

4   Wie Overing 1975 schreibt, gibt es die Piaroa (so) nicht mehr.

genden Eindruck entgegen gewirkt wird, es handele sich um eine belanglose Marotte.

Man sieht auch bald, es müssen in diesem Buch keineswegs alle Themen eng miteinander vernetzt sein. Das demonstriert u.a. ein Fehler, wie er sich in einem so gewaltigen Opus wohl kaum vermeiden lässt. Der Fehler betrifft die Wortbildung von maskulinen Verwandtschaftstermini in der Piaroasprache, wo Pfeffer die Plural-Suffixe mit den maskulinen Suffixen[5] verwechselt hat.

Nun zur Matrix-Methode. Den Kern der Methode bildet eine vieldimensionale Matrix, die zwei Hauptdimensionen hat. Die eine erfasst die Generationen und umfasst bei den Piaroa fünf Generationen. Die andere Dimension ist aufgeteilt in Paare von „Gender"-Spalten (männlich | weiblich). In dieses Zellenraster wird bei der Analyse das Vokabular der analysierten Terminologie eingepasst.

Das Ergebnis der Matrix-Analyse gibt Pfeffer in einer eigenen Tabelle und in „abstrahierter Form" wieder. Zweck der Tabelle ist es, die Übersicht über die Präsentationen zu erleichtern. Die Abstraktionstabelle zur Piaroa-Terminologie sieht so aus:

	m/w		m/w
Ebene +2		vereinigt	
Ebene +1	K	↔	A
Ebene 0	K	↔	A/A
Ebene -1	K	↔	A
Ebene -2		vereinigt	

Das Wort Ebene bezieht sich auf die Generationen. K steht hier für die „Kategorie der Konsanguinen", A für „Affine". m/w gibt die beiden Gender-Ausprägungen an. Im „formalen Sinn" sind für Pfeffer allein die Affinen heiratsfähig, und es gibt einen „symmetrischen Tausch zwischen Konsanguinen und Affinen" der „von der Sprache festgeschrieben [sic][6] wird". Symmetrie wird durch Doppelpfeile symbolisiert. Eine Erörterung, wie es zu der Feststellung gekommen ist, die Terminologie impliziere einen symmetrischen Tausch von Heiratspartnern, fehlt im Piaroa-Abschnitt. Das kommt aber später noch. Als Grundmuster sieht Pfeffer in seiner Tabelle „zwei terminologischen Linien", eine affinale und eine konsanguine, während es nur je einen Terminus für Großvater und Großmutter (etc.) gibt. Das ist die Bedeutung von „vereinigt".

Die Rede vom Tausch der Heiratspartner ist in der Verwandtschaftsethnologie gang und gäbe. Die eine Partei gibt einen Sohn (in die Ehe), die andere gibt eine Tochter. Das ist jedes Mal eine Transaktion, wenn die Gabe

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5   Pfeffer 2016: 129 vs. Overing 1975: 8 n.1

6   Wir wissen, dass im Deutschen Sprache und Schrift als eng mit einander verbunden betrachtet werden (siehe die Debatten über die Rechtschreibreform). Im Fall der Piaroa ist es uns aber besonders schwer gefallen, das Unpassende an dieser Verschwisterung von Sprechen und Schreiben zu übersehen.

angenommen wird. Allerdings können, wie Mitgift und Brautpreis zeigen, diese Transaktionen recht unterschiedlich kalkuliert werden.

Der Abstraktionstabelle kann man nicht ansehen, ob es bei den Piaroa geordnet oder ‚loosely structured‘ zugeht. Bei seiner Fallanalyse ist Pfeffer aber auf manchen „Widerspruch" gestoßen. So gibt es die folgenden beiden Regeln. Einander heiraten sollten sich die Kreuzcousinen und -cousins; nicht heiraten sollten sich hingegen die Parallelvarianten der Cousins und Cousinen. Nun heißt es aber auch, Parallel-Verwandte seien als Heiratspartner besonders gut geeignet. Pfeffer sieht darin einen „Widerspruch", der „geklärt" werden müsse.

Die Ethnographin der Piaroa, Joanna Overing Kaplan, wiederum stellt in ihrer Monographie fest, es sei überhaupt unpassend, bei den Piaroa von Kreuzcousinenheirat zu reden (Overing 1975: 128). Die Piaroa selbst hingegen gehen in diesem Kontext folgendermaßen vor. Wenn sich bei der Partnerwahl Widersprüche ergeben, beseitigen sie diese durch Umbenennen. Die falsch verheirateten Heiratspartner heißen nach der Heirat (verwandtschaftsterminologisch) nun so, als hätten sie den Regeln entsprechend geheiratet: Es gibt dann kein parallelverwandtes Ehepaar mehr; die gerade noch geltenden Verwandtschaftstermini sind ersetzt worden durch die passenden Termini.

Wir haben gerade die meiste Zeit die Heirats-Regeln so beschrieben, als hätten die Verwandtschafts-Kategorien eine handlungsleitende Funktion bei der Wahl der Heiratspartner. Die Piaroa gebrauchen ihr Terminologie-System aber offenbar anders. Was die Kategorien steuern, ist nicht die *Wahl* des Partners, sondern die *Benennung* des Partners. Es ist zwar nicht völlig beliebig, wer mit wem verheiratet wird, aber um den politischen Zielen der jeweiligen Heirat gerecht zu werden, sind der Partnerwahl ziemlich weite Grenzen gesetzt.

Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass das Umbenennen in manchen Fällen zu einem Durcheinander der Benennungen führt, und Overing hat so etwas auch tatsächlich beobachtet („considerable terminological confusion" Overing 1975: 134).

Für seine Leser hat sich Pfeffer im Piaroa-Textabschnitt eine ganze Reihe von Hilfestellungen bezogen auf die Matrixanalyse und manches andere einfallen lassen. So erklärt er hier noch einmal die Bedeutungen der üblichen Verwandtschaftskürzel (z.B. FB bedeutet „Vater-Bruder"). Er gibt „einmalig" die „nächstmöglichen" deutschen Bedeutungen des Piaroa Verwandten-Vokabulars in der Matrix an, formuliert Richtlinien für die Analyse und kommentiert einige Dimensionen der Matrix.

Zu den Richtlinien gehört u. A. das folgende holistische Prinzip:

> *„Alle Termini für Beziehungen bilden gemeinsam ein geschlossenes System. Für sich vereinzelt kann ein Terminus nicht analysiert werden, und terminologische Teile des Systems ergeben für sich keinen Sinn."*

Wir haben uns gefragt, wie man dieses Analyse-Prinzip in der Praxis anwendet. Pfeffer geht bei der Erläuterung der Vereinigung der beiden Großväter in einem Großvater-Terminus so vor. Er bringt ein längeres Zitat aus einem Text von Louis Dumont, in dem dieser die Vereinigung in einem Großvaterterminus bei den Tamilen (sic) erklärt.

Dumonts Analyse sieht so aus. Wir geben das Zitat in Pfeffers Buch komplett wieder:

> *„In der Generation des Großvaters führt Kreuzcousinenheirat (oder ein Äquivalent) zur Annahme einer affinalen Verbindung zwischen egos beiden Großvätern, und gerade dies ist der Grund, warum sie nicht unterschieden werden können und warum es normalerweise nur einen Term für beide gibt, denn beide sind einerseits Konsanguine und andererseits Affine: Mutter wie Vater ist für ego konsanguinal und das gilt auch für deren Väter, die gleichzeitig eine Allianzbeziehung unterhalten ...“*

Ist das nun eine exemplarische Anwendung des holistischen Prinzips? Für uns sieht es eher so aus, als würden hier gerade nicht alle Termini, sondern nur ein sehr kleiner Teil der Terminologie (in G+2) mit Hilfe eines anderen Teils der Terminologie (G0 u. +1) einer Analyse unterzogen.

Es gehört zum Selbstbild des Fachs, dass Ethnologen einen holistischen Forschungsansatz verfolgen. Wie Pfeffer zu fordern, „alles“ müsse mit in die Analyse einbezogen werden, ist keineswegs ungewöhnlich. Es ist aber auch nicht unüblich, ausdrücklich und ohne Begründung auf die Erfassung der Gesamtheit zu verzichten – immerhin kann kein Forscher unbegrenzt lange einer Frage nachgehen.

Im Fall der Piaroa ist die Menge der Verwandtschaftstermini ziemlich überschaubar. Trotzdem hat Pfeffer nicht alle Termini in die Analyse einbezogen. Man sieht, der Lehrbuchmodus kann ziemlich plötzlich an- und abgestellt werden, und im abgestellten Zustand ist das Buch dann nur noch für ausgepichte Kenner zugänglich. Aus einem anderen Blickwinkel betrachtet, kann man auch sagen, der Autor wendet sich mal an Leser, die einfältig und etwas lernbehindert sind, mal müssen es alte Hasen mit wachem Verstand sein. Wir haben uns gefragt, ob es nicht nur uns so geht, die wir das Hin und Her schließlich sogar etwas ärgerlich gefunden haben.

Kapitel C bildet den Gegenpol zum A-Kapitel. Es ist das größte Kapitel überhaupt. Es vereint fast die Hälfte der Textmenge auf sich, und 12 Fälle sind bei Pfeffer das Maximum an Evidenz, auf der eine Klasse von Mustern öffentlicher Ordnung fußt.

Den Inhalt des Kapitels hat man in der Ethnologie mit dem Namen ‚Allianz-Theorie‘ verbunden – ein Terminus, den Pfeffer selbst nur ausnahmsweise gebraucht. Es geht um Gemeinwesen, deren Ordnung wesentlich durch

„formal festgeschriebene" Heiratsbeziehungen (= Affinitäts-Bindungen) bestimmt wird, also Ethnien, in denen Heiratssysteme dominieren.

Wir meinen, worauf wir jetzt eingehen werden, sollten wir nicht als bekannt voraussetzen. Sicher sind wir uns in diesem Punkt leider nicht. Die Unsicherheit können wir aber wohl mit dieser Information entschärfen: Wer sich einigermaßen in der Geschichte des französischen Strukturalismus[7] auskennt, wird im folgenden Absatz nichts Neues erfahren.

Heiratssysteme waren und sind ein bedeutendes Forschungsgebiet der französischen Strukturalisten. Ihr Stammvater ist Lévi-Strauss, und Pfeffer steht in der Nachfolge dieser Strukturalisten (s. Schneider 2010: 59). Das große und so ziemlich einzige verwandtschaftsethnologische Exerzierfeld von Lévi-Strauss waren eben diese Heiratssysteme, und es ist dieses Gebiet der Verwandtschaftsethnologie, auf das er die Aufmerksamkeit eines ziemlich großen Teils des Fachs auch außerhalb von Frankreich gelenkt hat. Ihre Anziehungskraft besteht mit Sicherheit auch darin, dass sie die vertracktesten von ‚formalen' Regeln bestimmten Systeme der Ethnologie zu bieten haben. Darüber hinaus haben sie die (vermutlich) größte Zersplitterung der Ethnologen in Teilgruppen entstehen lassen. Angezogen wurden von diesem Gebiet auch ein paar Soziologen, Linguisten und einige wenige waschechte Mathematiker plus eine vermutlich etwas größere Zahl von Mathematik-Aficionados. Überdies haben sich an diesem Forschungsgebiet wohl die Geister der Ethnologen in besonders krasser Weise geschieden. Die einen wollen nach der ersten einigermaßen ernsthaften Begegnung, wenn möglich, gar nichts mehr mit dem Thema zu tun haben; und die anderen können sich nichts Schöneres vorstellen, als ihr Leben ausschließlich diesem Thema widmen zu dürfen. In diesem Teilgebiet der Ethnologie begegnet man unweigerlich auch den Kreuzcousinen und Kreuzvettern. Das ist eine Klasse von Verwandten, die zusammen mit bestimmten Heiratsregeln, zeitweilig jedenfalls, ein ‚Markenzeichen' des ethnologischen Fachwissens gewesen sind.

Wir werden uns zunächst noch ein Weilchen mit der Matrix-Methode befassen, weil im C-Kapitel noch Erhellendes über die Symmetrie-Dimension und manches mehr zur Methode nachgeliefert wird. Auf diese Informationen stößt man im Abschnitt über die Garo.

Die Garo leben in Nordostindien und jenseits der Grenze in Bangladesch. Wieder gibt es eine Abstraktionstabelle:

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7   Strukturalismus bedeutet im vorliegenden Text immer strukturalistische Ethnologie.

	m/w		m/w
Ebene +2		vereinigt	
Ebene +1	K/K	↔	A/A
Ebene 0	K/K	↔	A/A
Ebene -1	K/K	↔	A/A
Ebene -2		vereinigt	

Wenn man von den Verdoppelungen von K und A absieht, ist diese Tabelle identisch mit der Piaroa-Tabelle. Es gibt auch in der Tat große Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Verwandtschaftsterminologien der beiden Fälle. In weiten Teilen sieht die Matrix so aus, als hätte man nur die Vokabeln der Piaroa gegen die der Garo ausgetauscht – wenn man von der Wortbildung absieht.

Es gibt noch eine weitere, diesmal historische Ähnlichkeit. Needham hat schon 1966 ein ziemlich ähnliches Analyseergebnis zum Garofall publiziert. Das ist kein Zufall, denn Pfeffer hat ausdrücklich bei der Entwicklung der Matrix-Analyse Ideen des Briten Needham übernommen – teilweise direkt, teilweise auch modifiziert, dann um die Methode an die globale Aufgabenstellung seines Projekts anzupassen. Es hat übrigens von Needham zu Lévi-Strauss eine (mindestens einmal heftig verunglückte) intellektuelle Beziehung gegeben.

Aus der Nähe betrachtet, sieht es bei den Garo ziemlich anders aus als bei den Piaroa. Hier wie dort gibt es zwar ein Moiety-System. Das heißt, man findet, wie es sich für ein Moiety-System gehört, bei den Garo Regionen, wo es in der Tat nur zwei exogame Teilgruppen gibt und nicht mehr. Aber es gibt auch Distrikte, wo mehr als zwei exogame Gruppen vorhanden sind (cf. Burling 1968: 22, 361 und Nakane 1958: 27 n.2), was sich nun nicht mit einem Moitety-System verträgt. Bei Pfeffer sieht es noch einmal anders aus.

Pfeffer stützt sich für die Garo allerdings nicht auf unsere Ethnographen, sondern auf eine Monographie von de Maaker. Der kennt zwar auch mehr als zwei Gruppen. Es gibt eine dritte Gruppe, aber diese Gruppe ist hier nur ein Seitenzweig einer der beiden Moiety-Teilgruppen, die zusammen *eine* exogame Einheit bilden (Maaker 2009: 27 + n. 35). Mal ist die dritte Gruppe also nur ein Seitenzweig, mal handelt es sich um mehr als zwei Gruppen, aber jede bildet eine veritable, eigene, exogame Gruppe. Einen Kommentar dazu gibt es bei Pfeffer und bei de Maaker nicht. Man fragt sich, wie es innerhalb von etwa einem halben Jahrhundert zu dieser stillschweigenden Verschiebung in der ethnographischen Berichterstattung kommen konnte. Pfeffer jedenfalls beschreibt nur Verhältnisse, wie man sie in de Maakers Bericht vorfindet, soweit er nicht Needhams Daten übernimmt.

Pfeffer kommt laut Abstraktionstabelle zu dem Ergebnis, bei den Garo sei das in der Verwandtschaftsterminologie vorliegende Heiratsmuster symmetrisch. Er weist allerdings darauf hin, dass Lévi-Strauss hier wohl ein

anderes Muster gefunden haben würde, nämlich ein asymmetrisches. Denn es gibt zwischen Haushalten den folgenden Heiratspartnertausch. Danach bekommt Haushalt C von Haushalt B einen Sohn, und in der nächsten Generation erhält Haushalt C wiederum einen Sohn von Haushalt B und so weiter, und wenn alles gut geht, wird von einem weiteren Haushalt A in gleicher Weise ein Sohn an Haushalt B transferiert. Das wäre aber ein asymmetrisches Tausch- bzw. Transaktionsmuster und würde dem Ergebnis „widersprechen", welches man erhält, wenn man die Verwandtschaftsterminologie der Garo analysiert. Denn dort findet man nur einen Terminus für beide Kreuzvettern (FZS und MBS), und einen für beide Kreuzcousinen, was perfekt zu bilateraler Kreuzvetternheirat passt, die ein symmetrisches Muster entstehen lässt.

Nun weiß die Ethnologie schon seit ihren Anfängen, dass Teile ein und desselben kulturellen Systems sich unterschiedlich schnell wandeln können. Musterbeispiele waren anfangs für einige Zeit die sogenannten ‚survivals'. Man könnte hier von einem Ungleichzeitigkeitstheorem sprechen.

Die Verwandtschaftsethnologen sind sich einig, dass auch in ihrem Gegenstandsbereich dieses Theorem anwendbar ist, wobei von den Teilen eines Verwandtschaftssystems die Verwandtschaftsterminologie das konservativste Subsystem ist, sich also am langsamsten verändert. Pfeffer kennt das Theorem selbstverständlich auch und weist im Text mehrfach darauf hin u.a. an prominenter Stelle im G-Kapitel. Man könnte nun meinen, das Ungleichzeitigkeitstheorem ließe sich perfekt auf den Garo-Fall anwenden – nicht bei Pfeffer.

Bei Pfeffer können statt dessen „die Beteiligten" gar nicht anders, als der Auffassung sein, ihr Heiratssystem sei symmetrisch, und aus den verschiedenen Analysen ergibt sich „offensichtlich" (als letzter Satz der Garo-Passage im C-Kapitel) diese Aussage: „Wir können *nicht* vom Muster der Heiratsregeln folgern, wie die *korrekte* Terminologie gestaltet sein muss oder umgekehrt." (Hervorhebungen zuerst P. dann L&W). Dazu konnten wir allerdings keine eigene empirisch fundierte und konsistente Lösung finden.

Kapitel D gehört ebenfalls zu den Kapiteln mittlerer Größe. Es befasst sich mit „Abstammungslinien"; und außerdem haben die besprochenen Fälle alle komplexe Herrschaftssysteme. Zu den betrachteten Fällen gehören die Tswana, die Inka und polynesische Gruppen.

Den Deszendenzterminus hat Pfeffer reserviert für einen Spezialfall von Abstammung, der u.a. mit Exogamie also mit einer bestimmten Heiratsregel verbunden ist. Deszendenzsysteme in diesem Sinn kombiniert mit komplexen politischen Systemen findet man in **Kapitel E**, einem kleineren Kapitel, in dem unter u.a. die Asante studiert werden.

Kapitel F war für Pfeffer möglicherweise, was für Fußballer ein Heimspiel ist. Jedenfalls hat er Vertrautheit mit dem indischen Kastensystem in jahrzehntelangem Umgang erworben, der von praktisch, persönlich bis abstrakt, theoretisch reichte. Darüber hinaus ist es Pfeffer bei diesem komplexen

Thema in lobenswerter Weise gelungen, sich kurz zu fassen. Nicht jeder will ja unbedingt und zuerst das Standard-Werk von Louis Dumont zum Thema durcharbeiten, wie wir auch nicht in Anspruch nehmen, Experten in Sachen Kastensysteme zu sein.

Wir kommen zum Schluss – noch steht das Gesamturteil aus – und haben uns gedacht, wir könnten den Lesern dabei behilflich sein, selbst zu urteilen, indem wir eine Reihe von Feststellungen bereitstellen, die man unterschiedlich bewerten und gewichten kann.

- Die Besonderheit von Pfeffers Forschungsanliegen lässt sich folgendermaßen beschreiben. Es befasst sich mit Verwandtschaft im globalen Maßstab; Verwandtschaft war von Anfang an Forschungsgegenstand des Fachs; und es wird – im Unterschied u. A. zur Wirtschaftsethnologie – bis heute allein von der Ethnologie bearbeitet.
- Verwandtschaftsethnologie ist mit den Jahren zu einem sehr umfangreichen Gebiet angewachsen, in dem man sich leicht verirren und in dem man sich mindestens ebenso leicht irren kann. Das Buch bahnt auf überlegte Weise Pfade durch dieses Gebiet.
- Pfeffer bietet eine Auswahl von exemplarischen Fällen an, in der wichtige Fälle fehlen – z.B. die akephalen segmentären Systeme vom Typ der Mae Enga, die wesentlich anders ‚ticken' als die ebenfalls mit dem Epitheton ‚segmentär' versehenen Garo. Nur, wer hätte bei dieser Aufgabenstellung und dieser Methodologie einem Vorwurf dieser Art entgehen können? Immerhin macht Pfeffer auf eine Anzahl von exzellent beschriebenen Ethnien aufmerksam, die durchaus zum kanonischen Wissen der Ethnologie zählen sollten oder könnten.
- Man kann das Buch durchaus auch happenweise zu sich nehmen – mit Gewinn!

Und hier noch ein allerletztes Wort. Es betrifft Pfeffers Verhältnis zum Thema Biologie und Verwandtschaft. Schon auf der ersten Seite des Texts ist die Rede von der „*angeblichen* Natürlichkeit" (Hervorhebung L&W) der Verwandtschaft, und diese wie auch verwandte Phrasen tauchen im ganzen Buch wieder und immer wieder auf. Die biologische Basis von Verwandtschaft (beinahe komplett) zu ignorieren, halten wir für falsch und überdies schädlich für das ethnologische Weltverständnis. Einen einigermaßen aktuellen Stand der Debatte über das Thema inklusive Hinweise auf ältere Positionen findet man in Chapais 2014.

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Dr. Hartmut Lang, Institut für Ethnologie an der Universität Hamburg, ist Professor in Ruhestand. Eines seiner Forschungsschwerpunkte ist die Verwandtschaftsethnologie.

PD Dr. Astrid Wonneberger ist Privatdozentin für Ethnologie an der Universität Hamburg und wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin und Dozentin im Weiterbildungsmasterstudiengang Angewandte Familienwissenschaften an der HAW Hamburg. Einer ihrer zentralen Arbeitsschwerpunkte ist die Sozialethnologie mit Schwerpunkt auf Familie und Verwandtschaft.