Astrid Wonneberger, Mijal Gandelsman-Trier, Hauke Dorsch (eds.)

MIGRATION NETWORKS SKILLS

Anthropological Perspectives on Mobility and Transformation

transcript Culture and Social Practice

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Migration, networks, skills: these keywords not only denote three popular and important fields of current investigation in Social Sciences and Cultural Studies, they also mark the wide range of interests of cultural and social anthropologist Waltraud Kokot, who is to be honoured in this Festschrift. Internationally distinguished scholars from five European countries and various academic disciplines present their most recent research findings on topics such as diaspora and migration studies, urban anthropology and the anthropology of crafts, all of which are connected by the common themes of mobility and transformation.

Astrid Wonneberger (Dr., PD) is a private lecturer for cultural and social anthropology at the University of Hamburg as well as a researcher and lecturer for family science at the University of Applied Sciences (HAW) Hamburg.

Mijal Gandelsman-Trier (M.A.) is a lecturer at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Hamburg.

Hauke Dorsch (Dr.) is the director of the African Music Archives of the Department of Anthropology and African Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University Maynz.

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Introduction: Migration, Networks, Skills

Anthropological Perspectives on Mobility and Transformation

ASTRID WONNEBERGER, MIJAL GANDELSMAN-TRIER AND

HAUKE DORSCH

MIGRATION, NETWORKS, SKILLS

The title of this book can only hint at the wide range of topics of Waltraud Kokot, the scholar who is to be honoured in this *Festschrift*. Migration, networks, skills refer to several of her academic interests, without being exhaustive.

The thematic cluster of migration studies, to begin with one of her longest lasting interests, includes such various approaches and concepts as transmigration, transnational social spaces, diasporic social networks, globalisation, local and global space, just to mention a few key themes, to which Waltraud Kokot has worked and published over more than two decades (see complete list at the end of this book). The step from migration to her second major focus, urban an-thropology, is an artificial one, as both thematic clusters are empirically closely interwoven, as diasporic and other social networks are often centred in urban settings. The concept of skills leads us to more analytical and theoretical frameworks, but it also connotes the practices of actors. As it is presented here, it also opens a new field of studies and reflects Waltraud Kokot's keen interest in innovative approaches and her openness to new subjects. It is, however, the will to understand the longue durée of only seemingly new and surprising phenomena that characterises Waltraud Kokot's work and which is also reflected in the contributions to this *Festschrift*.

Due to the complexity of these foci, it is not surprising that Waltraud Kokot has never shied from taking in multiple approaches, considering and discussing perspectives and findings from colleagues of other disciplines who studied similar phenomena. Her projects on port cities, Hamburg St. Pauli and homelessness, for instance, included scholars from archaeology, sociology, European cultural anthropology ("Volkskunde") and geography; her study on street musicians in Hamburg was partially carried out by musicologists and her research on migration and diaspora included academics from history, migration and refugee studies, economy and political sciences, to mention just a few examples. Therefore it is not surprising that the authors in this volume represent not only Social and Cultural Anthropology, but also Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies and often apply interdisciplinary approaches in their contributions.

A disclaimer seems necessary: *Festschriften* have often been criticised for being a loose and more or less coincidental collection of themes that are at best only connected by the research interests of the honouree, and, indeed, we have to expose ourselves to this criticism. However, we had very good reasons to proceed as we did by including such a large variety of subjects.

First and foremost, there is Waltraud Kokot's understanding of true scholarship: any restriction to only one topic would just not do justice to her academic profile. For this reason, we decided during the planning process of this *Festschrift* not to set too narrow a thematic guideline but rather proceed in a way we hope Waltraud Kokot would also appreciate: namely to leave the decision to each contributor to stick to a topic that in his or her opinion would show the thematic connection to Waltraud Kokot's work in a most suitable way.

Secondly, it is an inherent strength of the *Festschrift* genre that it combines studies and research from rather distant fields and thus often implements or at least inspires an interdisciplinary approach, which – we hope – is also the case in this volume. This also reflects the work of our honouree, who was always open to collaborations with colleagues from other disciplines.

Moreover, as Horowitz (1991: 237) points out, "still, *Festschriften* persist and multiply. Why? Because they are not just retrospective, but prospective." This is also very true for this collection, and this also reflects one of Waltraud Kokot's achievements for social and cultural anthropology in Germany and particularly in Hamburg. Waltraud Kokot has always been and still is open to new topics and keen on re-thinking seemingly old-fashioned and stale themes. Her interests are characterised by an exploratory spirit; her enthusiasm for new subjects is very contagious and often resulted in new workshops or study groups, members of which are also represented in this volume. Thus, she initiated many new thematic core themes during her professorship in Hamburg, and some of the articles in this volume can be seen in this tradition as starting points for new thematic clusters that might even develop into new fields of investigations or even subdisciplines in anthropology. Finally, the collection is not as thematically heterogeneous as we had anticipated. Despite the thematic range from migration to networks, from kinship to skills, from rivers to cities, from minorities to diaspora and back to migration, and despite a range of collectives examined, which include Muslim Bulgarians, British Kashmiris, Jews identifying with Native Americans, Mexican migrants in the U.S. and modern Mafiosi among others, all articles contain an underlying theme of mobility and transformation: They deal with diaspora as a result of spatial mobility, but also of social movement and mobilisation; with lived realities in transnational communities shaped by uncertainties emerging out of changes in economic, social and ideological conditions; with fluid and conversed identities after political transformations; with changes of traditional values and perceptions of immigrants; with flexible and ever transforming network structures; with transformation of urban spaces and their images; and finally, with shifts in academic discourses and fields of interests, particularly regarding the concept of crafts and rivers as both a very flexible site of ethnographic research and a metaphor of the fluid and changing nature of the ethnographic field.

The themes of mobility and transformation also run like a unifying thread through Waltraud Kokot's academic work and we have therefore chosen it as the subtitle of our book.

We hope that this *Festschrift* will serve to inspire new research interests, as it is a superb collection of articles which do not only present field results but also open up new research questions and directions for the future of social and cultural anthropology not only in Hamburg but far beyond.

A TRIBUTE TO WALTRAUT KOKOT

This *Festschrift* is dedicated to Waltraud Kokot as a farewell present after her retirement from the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Hamburg in 2012. It brings together distinguished scholars who have all close connections with her, either as colleagues, friends or (former) students – and in many cases all at the same time. Therefore it is not surprising that many topics have been mutually influenced by close cooperation. However, before we introduce the topics in more detail, we will take a look at Waltraud Kokot's curriculum vitae and her manifold scientific interests.

Born in Cologne in 1952, Waltraud Kokot started to study social and cultural anthropology, linguistics and social psychology at the University of Cologne in 1974. After four years studying social sciences and cultural anthropology abroad at the University of California at Irvine, she returned to Cologne with a completed PhD in 1981, where she took over the position of an assistant at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology (Institut für Völkerkunde) at Cologne University. Equipped with a scholarship from the German Research Foundation (DFG) for three years, Waltraud Kokot went to Thessaloniki/Greece in 1983 where she carried out fieldwork in Kato Toumba, a neighbourhood for refugees from Asia Minor. This project, studying cultural models, cognition and social identity in the local quarter (e.g. Kokot 1996), became the starting point for her long-lasting interest in refugee, exile and diaspora studies. Back in Cologne, she continued working as a lecturer and researcher at the Department, where – after a four year training and practice in psychotherapy and intercultural individual and family counselling – she completed her *Habilitation* in 1995. By that time she had already been selected for a full professorship at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology (Institut für Ethnologie) at the University of Hamburg.

When Waltraud Kokot took up her new position in Hamburg in 1995, she brought with her a number of innovations, renewals and initiatives which were to shape the Department's academic profile over the next almost two decades. As far as research interests were concerned, such topics as migration, diaspora and transnationalism, urban anthropology, cognitive anthropology, the anthropology of law, material culture and a regional focus on Europe (particularly South Eastern Europe) enriched the portfolio of themes that had until then only marginally, if at all, been studied and taught at the Department. But she did not only introduce these topics as part of her own research projects, one of her major contributions to the Department's learning culture was to include them in her projectand research-oriented lectures and seminars, always encouraging students in all phases of their curriculum to participate in setting up and developing new thematic clusters. In doing so, she also contributed to establish and strengthen the Department's focus on teaching (and applying) research methods. She has always been convinced that learning by doing is the best way to become a good anthropological field worker; any enthusiastic student could and should principally learn and carry out research, and the anthropological field not only existed in tropical rain forests, remote mountain villages or craggy islands, but also and often equally exotic - in Europe, particularly in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Ireland and even Hamburg.

Cities and urbanity were among the most relevant starting points for Waltraud Kokot's projects (Kokot, Hengartner and Wildner 2000). Under her guidance, Hamburg became in fact a very popular place for ethnographic research, for undergraduate and graduate students alike (e.g. Kokot 2002b). A group of students carried out field work in and on the urban quarter of St. Pauli between 2001 and 2004 (Kokot 2002a, Sökefeld and Wonneberger 2004). Culture(s) of homelessness in the inner city of Hamburg was another of her long-term interests containing several empirical phases carried out by various students from 2001 until 2010 (Kokot 2007, Kokot and Gruber 2007, Kokot 2004b, Kokot, Axster and Gruber 2002). "Street musicians in the city centre of Hamburg" was another interdisciplinary research project, conducted in cooperation with musicology (Kokot, Rösing, Reich and Sell 2004). The international cooperation project "Port Cities as Areas of Transition", funded by the EU from 2002 to 2006, contained several subprojects focusing on Hamburg (Kokot 2004a, Kokot 2006), just as the research cluster on cultural identities in the diaspora, which channelled several undergraduate and graduate projects, some of which again studied diasporas in Hamburg (Kokot 1999).

It should be emphasised that Waltraud Kokot never had reservations to cooperate with partners beyond the academic scene. She has always enjoyed getting in touch and sharing her experiences with people who are open for adapting a new perspective on (human) life. As an example the project "Denkwerk Ethnologie: Familie in der Diaspora" (2006-2011) should be mentioned here: aiming at a closer collaboration between universities and schools, in this project pupils from five schools in the Greater Hamburg area were trained to conduct their own ethnographic fieldwork projects in their immediate neighbourhoods (Wonneberger 2008, 2010, 2011).

All these projects prove that culture is not something that exists in geographically distant and exotic places, but likewise next door, be it in St. Pauli and the inner city of Hamburg, in Sofia or Thessaloniki. They also show that social and cultural anthropology refers to very current affairs, which can be studied not only by advanced scholars but also by beginners, provided they are guided by professionals to look at the world around them with open and curious eyes. Waltraud Kokot has thus helped to implement cultural anthropology as a science in and of Europe and our own society, as well as cultures all over the world.

Beside urbanity and urban studies, migration has been the second key area, which has shaped Waltraud Kokot's research and teaching activities in Hamburg; and both topics were often closely intertwined. The already mentioned port city project is a good example: as crossroads in the global flows of goods, capital and people, port cities can also be interpreted as places of spatial networks, of mobility and movements (Kokot, Gandelsman-Trier, Wildner and Wonneberger 2008). Studies of migration and diaspora have dominated Waltraud Kokot's research interests for more than two decades, following various approaches and perspectives:

The research project "Cultural Identity in the Diaspora" focused, explicitly or implicitly, on collective identities which seemed less "rooted" and less based on localities, regions or nations than older notions of ethnic or other cultural groups would have it. However, the more studies were completed, the more it became obvious that diasporas are always shaped by their temporal and spatial contexts. They might not be bound within one location, but localities and places, both symbolic and real, do also play a role in forming and maintaining diasporic networks (Kokot, Tölölyan and Alfonso 2004). Although firmly rooted in ethnographic research and anthropological theoretical debates, these studies reached beyond anthropological confines and were published in history journals and used as instruction material at the Fernuniversität Hagen for their distance learning courses in history (Kokot and Dorsch 2004, Kokot and Dorsch 2006).

In 2006, when everything concerning the "D-word" (as Waltraud Kokot's topic had been labelled by then) had seemingly been said and done, new open questions emerged which slowly led to yet another perspective on this matter. The project "Diaspora as a resource - transnational networks as cultural capital" linked the idea of diaspora to the investigation of social and economic networks and locality. This project approach has also stimulated many researchers in Hamburg to investigate into these questions as well as international partners (Kokot, Giordano and Gandelsman-Trier 2013). Throughout history and until today, diasporas have been points of contact between home countries, societies of residence and other diaspora groups. As nodes of exchange, they provide important contributions to economies, politics and culture for home and host countries. In cultural terms diaspora can be seen as an entity that shares to a large extent cultural knowledge. However, to regard a diaspora in this way implies the risk of assuming a homogeneous unit. To be sure, diasporas are heterogeneous social formations, fragmented and conducted by differing interests. Within the diaspora studies in Hamburg one aspect has always been of great importance: the interdependence between diaspora and urbanity. As mentioned before, both concepts reflect two major areas of research of Waltraud Kokot, and she combined them in the idea of "diaspora cities". Diasporas shape the urban space they live in, and cities have always been a resource for diasporas.

Apart from new thematic focus points, Waltraud's commitment to the Department is also characterised by other innovations: In 1999, she initiated both the foundation of the *Hamburger Verein für Ethnologie* (the Hamburg Association for Cultural and Social Anthropology) and the publication of the first issue of the departmental journal *Ethnoscripts*. Running now in its 18th year and dealing with current anthropological debates and topics in German and English, Ethnoscripts has served as a frequent publishing platform for many of Waltraud Kokot's and her students' research projects, just like *Lines*, the second journal she brought into life. While the former has developed into a widely read and firmly established journal for anthropologists in German speaking countries and beyond touching on the entire span of anthropological themes, the latter focuses on urban ethnographic topics.

Waltraud Kokot has also strongly intensified the Department's international profile by expanding cooperation with anthropologists from other countries, particularly in international research projects. Therefore it is not surprising that the contributions in this book are written by sixteen scholars from twelve different universities in six countries, ranging from north-western to south-eastern Europe. Among numerous international conferences the editors and some of the contributors to this volume vividly remember a very successful example of this international cooperation: a workshop on cognitive anthropology by Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn, which was organised by Waltraud Kokot. It reflects another important field of her interests, manifested in several of her early publications and later teaching activities.

Finally, in 2003, Waltraud Kokot received the "Fischer-Appelt Preis für hervorragende Leistungen in der akademischen Lehre" ("Fischer Appelt Award for outstanding performance in teaching") from the University of Hamburg for her inspiring and innovative lectures and seminars.

MIGRATION, NETWORKS, SKILLS – STROLLING THROUGH WALTRAUD KOKOT'S RESEARCH INTERESTS

Clustered by the catchphrases of the title of the book, the contributions in this *Festschrift* cover a large part of Waltraud Kokot's wide-spread research interests, which she has developed and dealt with over the years, approaching the connections and overlapping with her work in very different ways: some of them professional, others more personal.

Our stroll through her academic life will start with the probably most important and longest lasting field of interest which we have already outlined above. The thematic cluster of migration, including the related areas of diaspora and transnationalism, after Waltraud Kokot's arrival in Hamburg soon developed into one of the largest research projects in Hamburg and resulted in more than 25 final theses (*Magister*, doctoral and *Habilitation* theses) and two international conferences: "Locality – Identity – Diaspora" (10-13/02/2000) and "Diaspora as a Resource: Comparative Studies in Strategies, Networks and Urban Space" (04-06/06/2010). Both these conferences took place in the Warburg Haus in Ham-

burg Eppendorf, a location which could hardly have been a more suitable venue for these topics. Built in 1925-1926 for Aby M. Warburg, heir to the Warburg family bank, this building was designed as a library for his private comprehensive collection of literature on iconography and the history of culture and as a meeting room for seminars with eminent scholars from various fields. After 1933, as a Jew Warburg was forced to emigrate to London, taking with him a major part of his library of over 60.000 books. The building was expropriated and used for various purposes until 1993, when it was bought by the city of Hamburg and dedicated to the university to be used again for its original purpose: as a library and a centre of academic exchange.

Martin Sökefeld begins the series of articles dealing with questions of diaspora and migration by departing from a critique of conceptualising diaspora as community. While diaspora has become a popular concept in the social and cultural sciences because it promised to overcome reifications of "cultures" or "communities" as rooted in space and place this promise was only partially fulfilled. In fact, diaspora is mostly conceived as community rooted "elsewhere", in some country of origin. Instead, he suggests conceptualising diaspora not simply as a result of spatial mobility/migration but of social movement and mobilisation. More often than not, diasporic mobilisation is contested; it may also be temporal and reversible. Focusing on political aspects of mobilisation and a campaign for the recognition of Kashmiri identity, Sökefeld discusses the case of Kashmiris in Britain suggesting distinguishing different aspects of diasporic commitments in order to avoid essentialist conceptions that take activists' constructions of diaspora for granted.

Julia Pauli and Franziska Bedorf then take us to Mexico and the USA. Many Mexicans on both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border agree that fulfilled ageing is tightly connected to the everyday presence and care of family members and the family in general. Such perceptions are part and parcel of wider Mexican kinship and family ideologies. However, lived realities in transnational communities between rural Mexico and the USA diverge from these idealized discourses. Based on two long-term field projects and ethnographic locations (rural Mexico and urban Chicago) the authors ask how the elderly and their families within migrant transnational communities deal with new uncertainties (and certainties) emerging out of broader changes in economic, social and ideological conditions that are linked with migration. While elder women and men in rural Mexico are confronted with the crumbling of indigenous inheritance and security systems such as the practice of ultimogeniture, their elder counterparts in Chicago face new models of living arrangements and daily routine that result in appreciated leisure time on the one hand and loneliness and abandonment on the other hand. Participation in past time activities at Senior Clubs serves as a means to deal with this ambiguous situation and to create new social ties. Both in Mexico and Chicago migration thus crucially influences the frameworks and structures elderly Mexicans interact with, thereby necessitating new strategies for a satisfied ageing. In the new emerging realities the ideal of a family centred old age might be replaced by more diverse models of ageing.

Waltraud Kokot herself was particularly interested in case studies of migration and diaspora in and from south Eastern Europe, where the next contributions are set. Milena Benovska-Sabkova and Iliya Nedin examine the reasons for a high level of tolerance (perceived or real) between Christians and Muslims in the Bulgarian town of Zlatograd, a small frontier community at the borderline between Bulgaria and Greece. The two authors address the conversion from Islam to Orthodox Christianity after 1990 as a symbolic expression of the voluntary change of marginal Muslim ("Pomak") identity with Bulgarian one. Cases of conversion are just one way to express the changes occurring in the fluid identity of Muslim Bulgarians in Bulgaria after 1990.

Effihia Voutira addresses the issue of traditional Greek values and their progressive deterioration in the context of the "global migration crisis". She analyses the underlying assumptions of the current public discourses concerning illegal migration and asylum seekers focusing on the paradoxical element embedded in the use of the ancient Greek obligation to provide hospitality as articulated in the concept of Xenios Zeus (the God who protects the foreigner/stranger) and its current abuse by government authorities who have invented the label "Xenios Zeus" as a brand name for their police operations and mass arrests against illegal migrants in urban centres. In this context, the traditional values of hospitality are deemed irrelevant and even penalised. Thus, the meaning of the concept "Xenios Zeus" is perverted.

Although the Jewish diaspora, another of Waltraud Kokot's interests, has been studied intensively, many aspects are still underrepresented in official historiographies. These aspects include the role of Jewish settlers in North America's West, which is discussed by Sabine Lang in this volume. Jews are generally absent from the Anglo-American narrative of "How the West was won", as well as from stagings of that narrative in Western movies and popular literature. Yet they were among the first to set foot onto the New World and became an integral and respected part of the settler community. At the same time, they held on to their identity, built synagogues and maintained support networks among themselves. Starting out from that Jewish presence in North America, the second focus of Lang's contribution is on mutual interactions and perceptions of Native Americans and Jews who were both "diasporans" in the U.S. While Jews would sometimes harbour feelings of interethnic kinship due to shared histories of persecution and genocide, Native Americans, in turn, rather viewed Jews as one subcategory of the "whites" who interacted with them as traders, settlers, explorers or soldiers. This has changed only recently, as some Native American writers were struck by the similarities between their peoples' experience of near extinction and the genocide suffered by the European Jews during the Holocaust.

All these phenomena dealing with migration and diaspora have as a common denominator the importance of networks, which brings us to the next contributions.

Studying the Mafia as a flexible network structure Christian Giordano combines three of Waltraud Kokot's interests: The study of networks, Southern Europe and secret associations (to which she has also devoted much of her spare time). For a long time the Mafia was considered an anti-modern phenomenon that would have come to an end with society's evolution. Contrary to this expectation, the Mafia proved to be far more resilient, so much so that it responded effectively to the challenge of globalisation. Analyses about the Mafia are often based on two myths, namely the folkloristic one and the pyramidal one. In the first one, the role of secret and occasionally gruesome rituals with an archaic aura has been voyeuristically played up, whereas the second one views the Mafia as a centralised institution on a par with a state institution. This paper highlights, instead, how the Mafia has shown to be more modern than the State on account of its strategic use of personalised networks and consolidated cores. The personalised Mafia networks and consolidated cores have proven to be far more efficient in public mistrust societies, in which the Mafia finds its most favourable habitat to flourish, and in the vast context of globalisation, where formal institutions have trouble establishing themselves and imposing their role due to structural reasons.

From networks it is only a small step to the next topic: the anthropology of kinship, which has also been one of Waltraud Kokot's recurring themes, particularly in classes, lectures and seminars. Hartmut Lang and Astrid Wonneberger deal with a debate that was for a long time a dark corner of this sub-discipline in social anthropology, namely the debate whether societies where fathers are deemed not necessary for conception have ever existed. Today, there are still three factions: proponents who feel such societies exist, opponents of this claim and those who are undecided because they feel they lack the necessary knowledge. In their article the authors investigate how good the empirical foundation is on which the proponent and opponent factions have built their positions. However, since the debate has up to now produced a big heap of literature, the study had to be exploratory. This contribution also touches on general de-

bates in anthropology, such as the problem of exoticism and the question of how anthropologists deal with observation data and how much influence does previous knowledge have on observations and the interpretation of such data. It also deals with invented traditions in that it shows how easily recent cultural phenomena can mutate into (supposedly) old traditions.

The next article in this volume represents the second large of Waltraud Kokot's cluster of interests, urban anthropology and urban studies, and also touches on her interest on fieldwork methodology. Kathrin Wildner takes a closer look at the Hamburg HafenCity, its perceptions and imaginaries and their changes within the redevelopment process of the port area. Based on the analysis of mental maps collected in 2002 and 2013, Kathrin Wildner explores how the perceptions and usages of the HafenCity among various types of actors have changed. Has the HafenCity become the lively urban space developers and architects envisioned in the planning process? At the same time, this sketch is a brief approach to test and further discuss the possibilities of mental maps as a tool for analysing the perception of urban space.

As we have referred to before, Waltraud has always explored new themes for ethnographic research and pioneered in such areas as prostitution, homelessness, diaspora as resource, forensic anthropology and port areas. For this reason this volume would not be an appropriate stroll through Waltraud Kokot's academic life if it did not include contributions which do not fit into well-established thematic clusters and sub-disciplines. The attributes "towards" in the titles of the next two contributions indicate their pioneer character.

Henk Driessen follows a personal approach to Waltraud Kokot's interests in port areas, water bodies and rivers by sketching a new field of investigation which he derived from casual observations and experiences in terms of global transformations. As open, fluid and ever changing nodal sites of trade and social networks, rivers are not only an apt metaphor for the present-day notion of fieldwork in anthropology and related disciplines, they also make a fascinating research topic. In his article, Henk Driessen briefly explores in a holistic way the social and cultural life of rivers in order to point out topics for further anthropological research.

The second outline of a new future field in anthropology is the contribution of Clemens Greiner and Michael Pröpper on crafts, a subject that also always interested Waltraud Kokot. Although facets of crafts/wo/manship appear in some renowned sub-disciplines of cultural and social anthropology – particularly in material culture and educational anthropology, but also in anthropologies of the body – crafts/wo/manship is amazingly absent in many others. While economic anthropology, for example, has well-developed research on techniques of food

production (from hunting-gathering to industrial agriculture), on industrial production and on contemporary financial institutions, this sub-discipline has no visible research tradition on the production of crafts. This contribution represents a first attempt to close this knowledge gap. Starting with the task of defining the subject, the authors draw on the scattered bits and pieces of anthropological research on crafts/wo/manship to shed light on existing theoretical, conceptual and methodological approaches, as well as on an array of case studies, and close with an outline of the contours of a more integrative anthropology of crafts.

Before we proceed with the actual contributions, we would like to insert a few comments on the front cover of this book. The artist of the picture is Michael Pröpper, student and colleague of Waltraud Kokot and one of the authors in this volume. Michael Pröpper is both anthropologist and artist. The two interests and passions complement and influence each other, as his art is often inspired by his ethnographic work. Having a long-lasting interest in art herself, Waltraud Kokot always showed a deep interest in Michael Pröpper's paintings. After long discussions we finally chose, together with the author, the picture "Luanda morning". It was created in 2012, based on a photograph which had been taken by the artist in Luanda/Angola in 2009 during a morning walk along the beach of the lagoon.¹ Apart from this geographic reference, the image serves as an apt metaphor for several themes of this *Festschrift*, as it symbolises mobility and transformation, insinuates networks and skills and, last not least, invites the spectator to visualise migration, waterways and port cities.

In 2012, Waltraud's term as a professor for Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Hamburg ended. She has never shied from rethinking old themes, introducing supposedly marginalised topics and approaches, asking new questions, initiating new research projects, promoting, respecting and appreciating talented students and cooperating with colleagues from various disciplines. After editing several *Festschriften* for her colleagues, namely Ulla Johannsen (Schweizer, Schweizer and Kokot 1993), Hans Fischer (Kokot and Dracklé 1999) and Hartmut Lang (Greiner and Kokot 2009), it is now time to honour Waltraud Kokot for her merits and achievements for Cultural and Social Anthropology in general, for the Department at Hamburg University in particular, and, above all, for being a great colleague, teacher and friend.

¹ Oil on canvass, 100x70cm, taken from the series "Luanda Nights". See also the artist's website at www.michaelproepper.de.

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