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ROMANIAN CEPHALIC INDEX IN THE VISION OF EUGÈNE PITTARD

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Image 1 − Eugène Pittard and his assistants, Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach
and Alexandru Donici, in Geneva laboratory in 1935, *apud* Langaney, André (1985: 149).

The goal of this article is the presentation of the cephalic index and its variability in the Romanian population, in the vision of Eugène Pittard, who made the first study on this subject in our country. Data from Eugène Pittard studies were synthesized and analyzed by geographical regions and sex. This paper highlights the importance of Eugène Pittard's researches on the morphological structure of the Romanian population, researches that filled the gap of "a white area" on the existing anthropological map of Europe in the early twentieth century.

Keywords: Eugène Pittard, cephalic index, Romania.

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THE CEPHALIC INDEX AND THE RACE TYPOLOGY IN THE AGE CONTEXT

Eugène Pittard (5 June 1867 – 12 May 1962), corresponding honorary member of the Romanian Academy, MD Honoris Causa of the University of Bucharest, member of the Royal Society of Geography from Romania, Commander of Romanian Crown, decorated by king Carol II with The Order of The Star of Romania, begins its anthropological investigations in Romania in 1899, being an extremely active presence in our country for over 35 years. According to his own assertions "it was necessary to be added little colour to this "land unknown from anthropological perspective" (Pittard E., 1920).

A great direction of research in anthropology during that period was the classification of human races, the first large-scale researches in the field in Romania, belonging to Eugène Pittard (Papilian V. and Velluda C., 1941). Pittard was one of the scientists whose opinions imposed themselves at the beginning of the 22th century, when the anthropology as science was in foundation process. He separates himself from the classification tendency of human races based upon the linguistic criteria or other ethnology criteria, sustaining the morphological criteria as the unique scientific ones on the grounds which the human races classification may be performed: "…By race, one should understand the continuity of the physical typology, which reflects the blood affinities, representing an essentially natural group which cannot have and generally does not have anything in common with the people, the nationality, the language, the customs corresponding to purely artificial groups, null anthropologically and irrelevant historically speaking" (Pittard E., 1924a). In 1924, his book "Les Races Belligérantes – Esquisses Anthropologiques" (Pittard E., 1924b), includes the list of the main classification criteria of human races, that is: the skin colour, the hair type, the height and the width of face, the nose (including the nasal index), the underhung and most importantly, the cephalic index.

Introduced into craniometric terminology by Anders Adolf Retzius (1796–1860) to indicate the ratio of the maximum width to the maximum length of the vertebrates head measured on a horizontal plane, the cephalic index was used in his classification of the human races as far back as 1842. Retzius was the creator of terms "dolichocephaly", a condition where the head is longer than would be expected, and "brachycephaly", a skull shorter than typical for its species. With no indication on the real dimension of the different diameters which vary depending on the individual, the age, the gender, this index succeeds to synthesise by a simple fraction, the morphological variations of the cephalic type and to allow the differential characterization of the anthropological structure of human races. This procedure base is represented by the powerful hereditary dynamism of the morphological characters which used to allow the affinities definition between the individuals of any population before any other population genetics studies.

From 1860 on, the doctrinal foundations of Retzius' ethnology and the craniologic division which he brought into widespread use (brachycephaly –

vs. dolichocephaly) would be methodologically criticized by the great French anthropologist Paul Broca. Retzius' ideas about the way ancient Europe was populated, the earlier appearance of the native brachycephalic stock and the migration of the Aryan dolichocephalic peoples coming from Asia would be questioned in the debates of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.

Paul Broca introduces the term of "mesocephalic" in 1861 in order to define the intermediary crania from the dolicocephalic and brachycephalic ones, being considered the scientist who introduced the concept of cephalic index on craniometry.

The human types classification based on the cephalic index used by Eugène Pittard, was the one introduced by Joseph Deniker (image 2), specialised on the classification field, that is:

- Hyperdolicocephalic – less then 75.9
- Dolicocephalic – between 76–77
- Sub-dolicocephalic – between 78–79
- Mesaticephalic – between 80–81
- Sub-brachycephalic – between 82–83
- Brachycephalic – between 84–85
- Hyperbrachycephalic – 86 and more

Image 2 – Joseph Deniker, *apud* Arthur Keith and Alfred C. Haddon,
"Obituary: Dr. Joseph Deniker", *Man*, 1918 (p. 66).
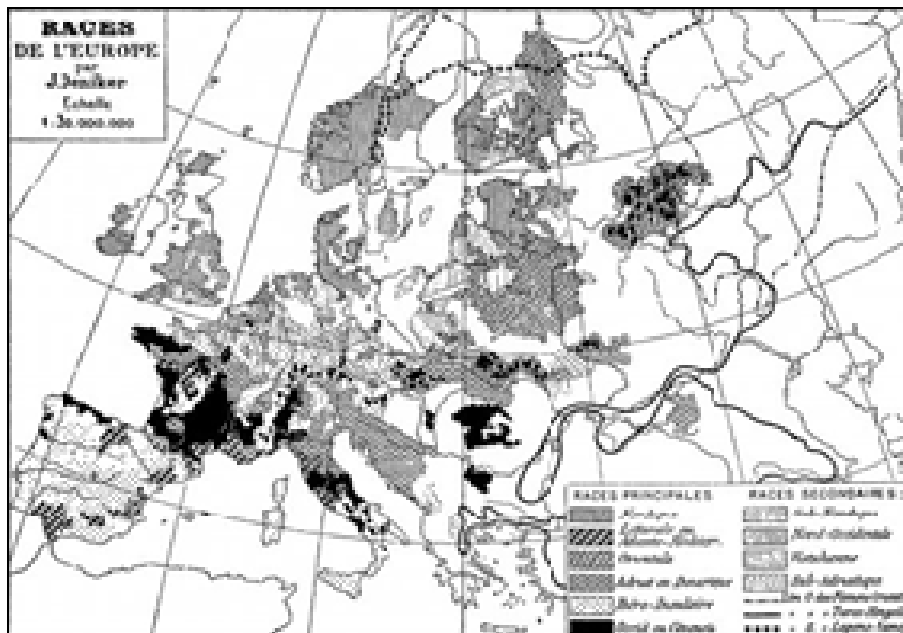
Image 3 – The map of the six main races and the four secondary races –
J. Deniker, *apud* Pittard E., *Les Races Beligerantes*, 1916 (p. 31).

As for Europe, Deniker acknowledges the existance of 6 main races (Pittard E., 1924a) (image 3):
1. The dolicocephalic blond races, very high
2. The sub-brachycephalic blond race, small
3. The dolicocephalic brown race, small
4. The brown very brachycephalic race, small
5. The sub-doliocephalic brown race, high
6. The brachycephalic brown races, high.

During that context, when the cephalic index was deemed one of the fundamental determinants of race type, Pittard proved, based on researches performed in Romania, together with the Romanian anthropologist Alexandru Donici (who was his doctoral student, and later his assistant), that any increase of height leads to an elongation of cranium, and thus to a decrease of cephalic index, therefore no comparison should be made based on the cephalic index without considering the height of subjects (Pittard E., 1905). In order to prove this observation, initially called "law of Pittard", or "law of morphologic correlation" he resumed the researches of Manouvrier on the correlation between the cephalic index and height (Manouvrier L., 1902), using more homogeneous population samples from Romania. It is all about a pattern of 1205 rromani adults subjects from Romania, 775 men and 430 women. This population is seen by Eugène

Pittard as relatively homogeneous due to the "nomadic feature which is still preserved by them or semi-nomadic" (Pittard E., 1905). The studies conclusions were the following: the cephalic index is lower as the waist is bigger; the aforementioned observation is present to both women and men.

The finding was denying the assumption existent in the era related to the supposed attraction represented by towns for the tall individuals, with marked dolichocephaly. "This claimed natural selection is simply explained by the simultaneous existence of two characters: higher development of height under urban life conditions and decrease of cephalic index due to this increase of height", concluded Pittard in the work "Influence of height over the cephalic index within a rather pure ethnic group" (Manouvrier L., 1902).

He was also the first anthropologist who understood that the explanation of secular increase of height is not due to food, but to the "easier surviving in urban environment" (http://w3public.villege.ch). The "law of Pittard", was opening new perspectives of anthropological research. Subsequently, in 1912, the anthropologist Franz Boas (with whom Eugène Pittard exchanged correspondence), proved the modification of the form of cranium on the children of European emigrants in United States, discussing the percentage of genetic determinism of cephalic index (http://w3public.villege.ch).

EUGÈNE PITTARD'S VISION ON THE RACE TYPOLOGY ENFORCED BY THE RESEARCHES CARRIED OUT IN ROMANIA

A strong personality, "fifteen years before the second world war, and in full development of the ideas generating Nazi eugenics, Pittard is the first who denies the existence of pure races in Europe", states the specialist in population genetics André Langaney, from the University of Geneva. Modern genetics, to be developed mainly after the 1960s, completely confirmed his opinions based on some impressive data, which, obviously, Pittard ignores (Necker L. *et al.*, 1985). All studies performed on populations knowing isolations in extreme forms (Melanesians, Eskimoes, Indians from America) show, despite certain losses of genes, that all have maintained a certain genetic diversity, and that they are not pure races at all", states as well the above-mentioned specialist (Necker L. *et al.*, 1985). Pittard argues this idea based on the "role of people travels: migrations, invasions, conquests, colonisations, emigrations, nomadism, performing the "permanent mixture of humanity, during war and peace, during fight or mutual aid", in order to end with the "mix of races, strong factor of development and enrichment in the absence of which the human groups, by isolation, would direct towards degenerescence" (Pittard E., 1924a).

During a period when in France, England or pre Nazi Germany, the raced typological classifications have as scope the hierarchization based on "biological laws", Pittard denies to different authors from the era the right of speaking about "inferior and superior" reported to the races "insufficiently known" during this

period, and states that his own classifications have only a practical utility "for the moment, with a view to recompose the history of population that interests him" (Necker L. *et al*., 1985). For example, Pittard does not hesitate to ironize the Gobinist theories relative to the social superiority «dolichocéphales de haute taille» and on the so-called cause-effect relationships between the Nordic type and their successes or political advantages And "…the arguments are not lacking in order to protest against such assimilations" he states. In order to support such statements, he focuses on a very detailed race presentation from different continents and goes to the physical anthropological classifications particular to the 1920s (Pittard E., 1924a). The end cannot be fought against: "…The humanity, irrespective its active forms… has a very urgent need of the Anthropology help" (Pittard E., 1924a).

Through the investigations from Balkans, the French anthropologist studies the anthropological variations of the populations with very different ethnic belonging. The rich material resulted will be subsequently processed in several publications, many performed in collaboration with Romanian researchers instructed in his PhD school (Alexandru Donici and Suzana Grințescu-Pop).

The first, "Les peuples des Balkans: recherches anthropologiques dans la Péninsule des Balkans, spécialement dans la Dobroudja", will be the base of all subsequent researches of people from Balkan Peninsula. One of the basic ideas of this volume is that the entire ethnic complexity of Balkan Peninsula may be reduced to two main anthropological kinds, which have led, in evolution, to the population from such period: a kind of high height, brachycephalic and brown, and a kind of high height, dolichocephalic and blond (Pittard E., 1920).

THE ROMANIAN CEPHALIC INDEX ACCORDING TO EUGÈNE PITTARD'S STUDIES

In compliance with the researches results carried out by Eugène Pittard, the Romanian population has a very old origin on its territory. "Romanian people have his race source in the prehistoric ground of the land and less in the flow of foreign blood of migrations", states the author in his work "Les peuples des Balkans" (Pittard E., 1920). Interpreting the respective results, E. Pittard claims that the neolithic period and until his researches date, alternated on Romanian territory, human groups with different morphological groups as compared to the aboriginal population, to affect considerably the Romanian morphological structure.

In the conclusions of Pittard related to the anthropological structure of the whole population from our country (study on populations from Moldova, Muntenia, Dobrogea and Ardeal) the following are encountered:
• the average height of Romanians is 1.65 m;
• the cephalic index indicates a branchycephaly;
• based on the vertical index of length of cranium, the Romanians are hypsicephalic;
• based on nasal index, Romanians are leptorinian;

• the Romanians from Ardeal are brachycephalic".

Referring only to the mentioned studies results relative to the cephalic index for the entire Romanian population, we can state that (Pittard E., Donici Al., 1926):

• "It is obvious about an average-height race, mostly brachycephalical and brown, which might have been the first root of Romanian individuals".

• The preponderance of the brachycephalic type in Romania during the anthropological campaigns of Eugène Pittard is obvious if we analyse the studies results on geographical zones from Transylvania, Banat, Wallachia but also from Moldova.

• "The cephalic index of women was lower than the cephalic index of men".

• "We showed that the cephalic index, opposite to the what was believed, was affected by the posture development."

• "The cephalic index of a region's ethnic representation, by the averages simple system may have, for a large part of the kingdom, a real value when it comes about the districts comparison with similar national conditions."

• "We naturally talk about the Romanian rural districts where we have the change to encounter the most authentic types of the old Romanian individuals (such as Gorj or Olt which include 96% and 95% of the rural areas)";

It is interesting to mention that the dolicocephalic types come from the plain zones and the brachycephalic from the mountainside.

In 1926, in the work "Étude sur l'indice céphalique en Roumanie, avec un essai de répartition géographique de ce caractère", Eugène Pittard and Alexandru Donici analyse the crane index on historical regions. Thus, Ţara Românească (Wallachia) is prevailed by the brachycephalic types in the mountain counties, such as Prahova and Muscel and by a dolichycephalic tendency in counties such as Vâlcea, Dolj, Romanaţi, Oltu and Teleorman. For the other Wallachia counties, the intermediary indexes are governing the zone, between the dolichycephalic and the brachycephalic ones.

If we imagine a map of the cephalic index repartition in Pittard and Donici's vision, we could suppose that the brachycephalics from Transylvania arose in various Wallachia counties, such as Gorj, Prahova, Muscel, Dâmboviţa and Buzău, as an "emigration" in their own land. Eugène Pittard's hypothesis is that the dolicocephalic individuals formed the basic anthropological structures in these counties where the brachycephalic ones superposed.

As for the gender repartition, "in Wallachia, the brachycephalic forms are equal for both genders; this province shows only a few differences as for the the cranium forms repartition by gender".

Retaking the anthropological analysis for Moldova, E. Pittard notifies the fact that the extreme limits of dolicocephalia in Moldova are between 72–79, as compared to the ones in Wallachia, which are between 70–79. The brachycephalic index in Moldova varies between the 82–97 limits 82–97 while in Wallachia goes till 94. In three counties from Moldova, id est Suceava, Vaslui and Roman, the

brachycephalic index has the same power, so that E. Pittard supposes that this brachycephalia was affected by the nearby populations. During the researching years in Wallachia, E. Pittard suggests that in the Southern Wallachia and the Northern Bulgaria, the population had the same anthropological features. To argue, E. Pittard refers to Wateff's studies.

Analysing the gender repartition of the cephalic index in Moldova, he states that the situation is different from Wallachia: "If women are less often brachycephalic and also less dolichocephalic than men, we can say that they are more often mesocephalic" (Pittard E., Donici Al., 1926).

About Transylvania, Pittard observes that the mountainside has always been a "citadelle historique du peuple romain", the "round" crania typical to the area being for him the appanage of the purest Romanian type, with an average cephalic index of brahicephalia, more sensitive as the one studied in other Romanian areas (Pittard E., Donici Al., 1926).

Thus, the researches results on the Transylvania population emphasise the average cephalic index to men of 84.40 limited between 72.68–96.45 and the average cephalic index to women of 84.17 extremely limited between 77.42 and 91.95. The cephalic index repartition in Transylvania according to Eugène Pittard:
- Hyperdolicocephalic 1.34%
- Dolicocephalic 2.68%
- Sub-dolicocephalic 5.36%
- Mesocephalic 12.05%
- Sub-brachycephalic 18.30%
- Brachycephalic 3.66%
- Hyperbrachycephalic 36.61%

Synthesis:
- Dolicocephalic forms 9.38%
- Brachycephalic forms 78.57%

As for the gender repartition of the cephalic index: "La différence la plus sensible entre les sexes est présentée par la Transylvanie où les femmes sont plus rarement dolichocéphales et mésaticéphales et également moins souvent brachycéphales que les hommes".

The anthropological structure of Dobrogea population is the closest to Wallachia than to Moldova. On this territory, Pittard identifies more many dolicocephalic than brahicephalic subjects. He also mentions the ethnic influence of the old colonists coming from the Romanian Carpathian Mountains which is marked do different Dobrogea places. The cephalic types repartition in Dobrogea during Pittard's studies is the following:
- Hyperdolicocephalic 7.58%
- Dolicocephalic 19.58%
- Sub-dolicocephalic 22.6%
- Mesocephalic 25.58%

- Sub-brachycephalic 10.35%
- Brachycephalic 6.89%
- Hyperbrachycephalic 8.28%

Concentrating the dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic forms in Dobrogea, we obtain the following data:

- Dolicocephalic forms – 48.96%
- Brachycephalic forms – 25.52%

From all Romanian provinces, Dobrogea has the largest number of subjects with elongated forms to the aforementioned research data. The interpreting of Eugène Pittard is the one that besides the old colonists, there is the possibility to add the subjects from the "Danube Wallachia", that is on the other Danube edge.

In Banat, the same population type is identified as in Transylvania, where the dolicocephalic forms are vert rare and the brachycephalic one are generous. The Romanian people estimated in Banat have an average brachycephalic index is of 84.17, which oscillates between the limits 76.68–94.12.

The repartition of the cephalic types from Transylvania gives us the following aspects of the cephalic forms:

- Dolichocephalic forms 11.11%
- Mesocephalic forms 11.11%
- Brachycephalic 77.78%

"The Romanian people from Bucovina belong without doubt, or at least a part of them, to the same races as the ones from Transylvania and Northern Moldova".

"The Romanian people from Basarabia, whom we have no anthropological information about, seem like attached to Moldova people".

We have to mention the fact that E. Pittard's researches have been retaken by Romanian anthropologist teams of Iasi and Bucharest school, formed by PhD students and Pittard's collaborators, such as Olga Necrasov and Suzana Grintescu-Pop (Pittard E., Grintescu S., 1931, Pittard E., Grintescu S., 1932, Necrasov O., Pop S., Enachescu Th., 1957, Necrasov O. *et al.*, 1967, Necrasov O. *et al.*, 1964).

The comparative analysis of the anthropological structure of Romanian population before and after the two World Wars, highly affected by the massive population variations and the socio-economical influences, shall form the subject of the next article.

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LA PERCEPTION DES RISQUES ALIMENTAIRES ET NUTRITIONNELS EN EUROPE: UN OUTIL POUR «MOCA»[1]

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The work of the international research group "MOCA" are intended to understand the effects of globalization of eating habits and try to find solutions to number of problems associated with them. Globalization is a force for change and knowledge of the perception, by the population, to the risks related to food and nutrition helps us to understand certain behaviors. The objective of this paper is to highlight the risks related to food and nutrition perceived by the peoples of Group "MOCA". This paper refers to the Eurobarometer (2010) and should serve as a starting point for understanding the current behaviors, and a tool to better management of nutrition education.

Keywords: Food risks, Europe, MOCA, perception.

INTRODUCTION

Les travaux du groupe de recherche international «MOCA» ont pour objet de comprendre les effets de la mondialisation des comportements alimentaires et de tenter de trouver des solutions aux divers problèmes qui y sont liés. Les bouleversements observés dans les technologies nouvelles, l'accélération de l'urbanisation et de la mondialisation ont considérablement changé le mode de vie des populations. La mondialisation est un moteur de changement. En effet, le choix de produits proposés en provenance du monde entier s'est considérablement étendu. En conséquence, les aliments peuvent être produits n'importe où, parfois suivant des normes de qualité alimentaire variables. La sécurité (l'insécurité ?) des aliments ne connaît dès lors pas de frontières. La connaissance de la perception par la population des risques liés à l'alimentation et à la nutrition nous aide à comprendre certains comportements.

L'évolution rapide des sciences et des technologies, les modifications législatives et les réalités socio-économiques actuelles ont des conséquences considérables sur nos achats de produits alimentaires. L'adoption d'un mode de production agricole intensif utilisant des pesticides, des additifs et des conservateurs pour améliorer le goût des aliments, leur apparence et leur durée de validité peut engendrer des craintes chez de nombreux consommateurs. De plus, les nouvelles technologies déjà utilisées au sein de l'Union Européenne, comme par exemple les organismes génétiquement modifiés (OGM), ou celles qui sont envisagées, telles que la nanotechnologie et le clonage des animaux, endommagent actuellement la culture, l'élevage et la production alimentaire.

La vie active moderne et l'urbanisation transforment les modes de vie, tandis que l'on assiste corrélativement à la progression foudroyante de l'obésité au sein de la population. Cette progression de la surcharge pondérale a propulsé les problèmes nutritionnels et de conduite alimentaire parmi les principales préoccupations des décideurs politiques européens.

Ces évolutions ont elles modifié la manière dont les citoyens européens perçoivent les risques alimentaires ? Ces évolutions ont elles diminué leur degré de confiance dans les autorités publiques?

La perception des risques alimentaires par la population est un domaine de recherche relativement récent, qui nécessite une collecte de données systématique dans l'ensemble des États membres de l'Union Européenne.

OBJECTIF

En 2010, l'European Food Savety Authority (EFSA) a commandé l'étude Eurobaromètre qui a permis d'interroger les consommateurs de toute l'Europe, pour connaître l'évolution de leur opinion concernant les risques liés à leur alimentation depuis 5 ans. Les résultats de cette étude Eurobaromètre seront un outil essentiel à intégrer dans la compréhension des comportements alimentaires dans les pays concernés par le «MOCA»: la France, l'Espagne, la Roumanie, la Bulgarie, la République Tchèque et le Maroc. Les résultats de ces six pays seront mis en relief dans le présent papier, puisqu'il suffit de se référer au rapport complet pour avoir les données de l'ensemble des pays de l'Union Européenne.

MÉTHODE

L'étude globale (Spécial Eurobarometer 354) a été menée dans tous les Etats membres de l'Union Européenne (Fig. 1), auprès d'un échantillon représentatif de 26 691 personnes âgées de 15 ans ou plus.

Fig. 1. Les 28 pays de l'Union Européenne (toute l'Europe.eu).

Tous les entretiens ont été réalisés en face à face, dans la langue maternelle des interlocuteurs, entre le 9 et le 30 juin 2010.

RÉSULTATS

1. La signification de l'alimentation.

Quelles sont les opinions des Européens sur l'alimentation ? Il a été demandé aux personnes interrogées comment elles accordaient une grande attention au choix de la qualité des aliments, appréciaient les repas en famille ou entre amis, recherchaient des prix abordables, cherchaient d'abord à satisfaire leur faim, étaient préoccupées par la sécurité des aliments, ou vérifiaient le nombre de calories et la composition de leurs aliments (Tableaux I et II).

Tableau I

Associations extrêmes entre l'alimentation et six propositions (en pourcentages de répondants)
pour l'ensemble des pays de l'UE. Entre «accordent une grande importance» et «indifférence»
existent des positions intermédiaires

	Accordent grande importance (en %)	Indifférence (en %)
Choix d'aliments frais et bons	58	1
Repas en famille ou entre amis	54	2
Recherche de prix abordables	44	2
Satisfaire la faim	44	2
Être préoccupé par la sécurité des aliments	37	5
Être préoccupé par calories et composants alimentaires	23	15

Tableau II

Pourcentages de répondants qui accordent «beaucoup ou une certaine importance» et ceux qui sont
«plutôt ou totalement indifférents» aux propositions concernant l'alimentation, dans l'ensemble des
pays de l'UE

	Accordent de l'importance (en %)	Plutôt indifférents (en %)
Choix d'aliments frais et bons	94	6
Repas en famille ou entre amis	91	9
Recherche de prix abordables	88	12
Satisfaire la faim	89	11
Être préoccupé par la sécurité des aliments	79	21
Être préoccupé par calories et composants alimentaires	61	39

Au niveau de l'ensemble de l'Union Européenne, une majorité de consommateurs associent l'alimentation au plaisir:

– 58% associent d'abord l'alimentation au fait de choisir des aliments frais et de bon goût;

– 54% apprécient particulièrement les repas en famille ou entre amis;

– seuls, un peu plus d'un tiers (37%) se préoccupent sérieusement de la sécurité alimentaire;

– et moins d'un quart (23%) s'inquiètent des composants alimentaires et auraient des préoccupations sérieuses d'ordre nutritionnel.

2. Les risques liés à l'alimentation et aux aliments.

Si les risques alimentaires et nutritionnels encourus ne sont très préoccupants que pour 37% des Européens, leur perception varie considérablement selon le pays. En effet (Fig. 2), les chiffres varient ici de 14% en Autriche à 75% à Chypre. En ce qui concerne les pays du «MOCA», 54% des Espagnols sont très préoccupés par la sécurité des aliments, 45% des Bulgares et des Roumains, 38% des Français et 37% des Tchèques.
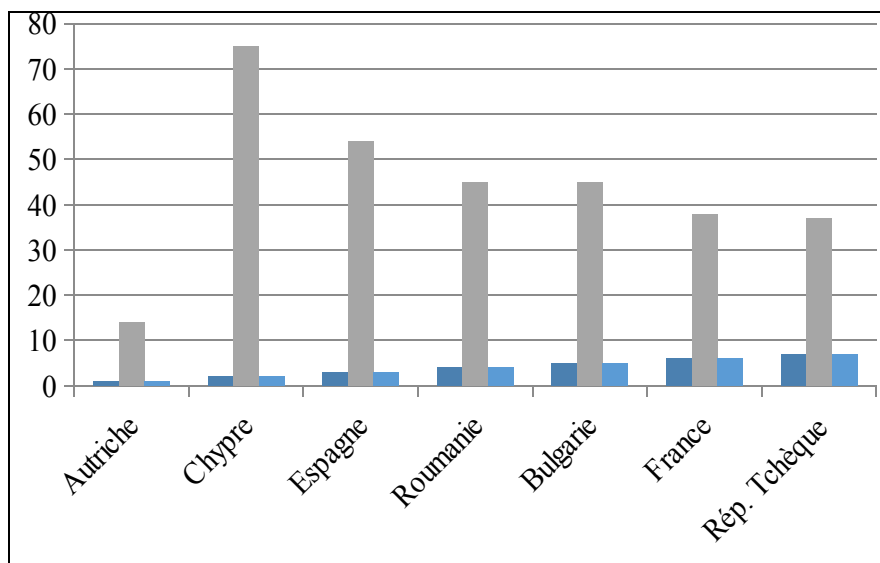
Fig. 2. Pourcentages de répondants très préoccupés par la sécurité alimentaire européenne
(pays du «MOCA» et les deux extrêmes européens).

Si l'on ajoute aux répondants très préoccupés par les risques alimentaires, ceux qui sont «plutôt» préoccupés, on remarque alors qu'une franche majorité d'Européens expriment des doutes plus ou moins sérieux sur la qualité de ce qu'ils consomment (Fig. 3).
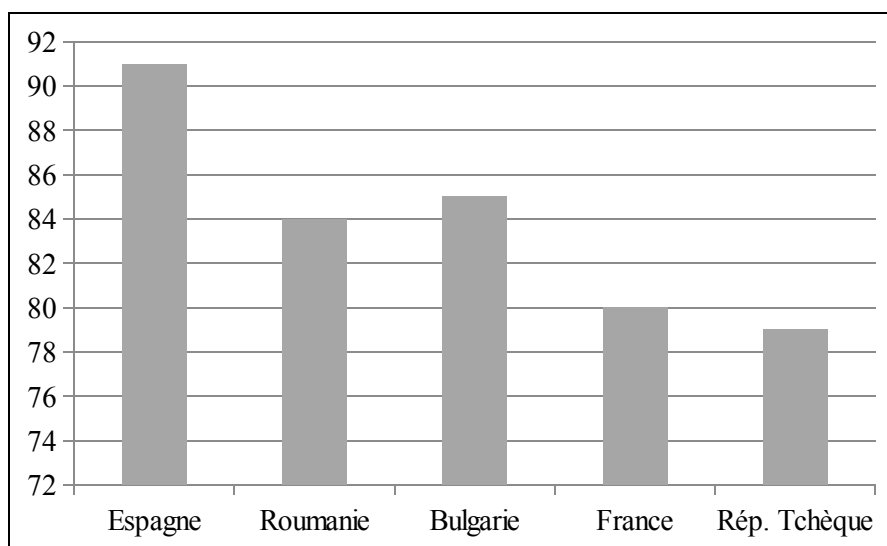
Fig. 3. Pourcentages de répondants «MOCA» très préoccupés, ou plutôt préoccupés
par la sécurité alimentaire européenne.

3. Place des risques alimentaires parmi les autres préoccupations des Européens.

En termes de risques qu'ils peuvent encourir, les citoyens de l'Union Européenne ne situent pas leurs préoccupations liées à l'alimentation en première place. Ils sont 20% à craindre d'abord d'être touchés par une crise économique, 18% s'inquiètent surtout de la pollution de l'environnement, 12% craignent fortement d'être atteints d'une maladie grave, et 11% se préoccupent sérieusement du risque que la nourriture puisse être mauvaise pour leur santé.

Là encore, il existe une forte diversité des réponses entre les répondants, en fonction de leur lieu d'habitation. Les Finlandais ne sont que 3% à penser qu'ils ont une forte probabilité de courir un risque personnel lié à leur alimentation, tandis que les Chypriotes sont 28%. Dans les pays concernés par le «MOCA», les Bulgares (24%) et les Roumains (21%) ont des craintes personnelles sérieuses, les Français (14%), les Tchèques (9%) et les Espagnols (7%) viennent ensuite (Fig. 4).
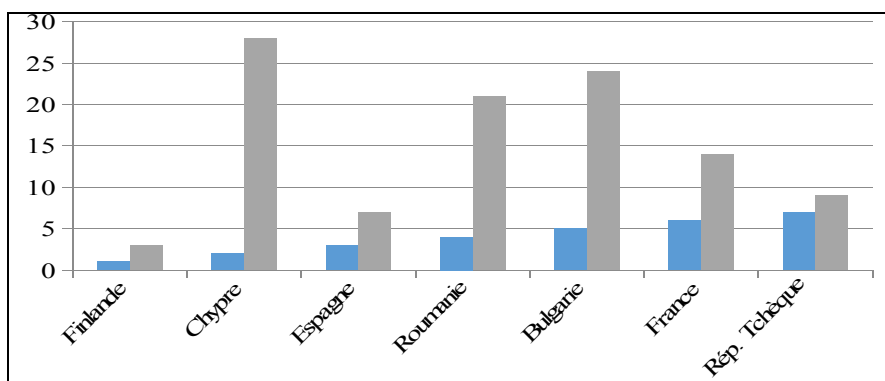
Fig. 4. Pourcentages de répondants qui perçoivent un risque très probable d'être personnellement victimes d'une mauvaise alimentation (intoxication, maladie).

Ces chiffres montrent un recul de la confiance par rapport à l'enquête effectuée 5 ans plus tôt (Eurobaromètre 2005). Les Chypriotes n'étaient en 2005 que 11% à considérer les risques alimentaires encourus comme très probables (*vs* 28% en 2015). Concernant les pays du groupe «MOCA», il n'y a pas eu progression des fréquences, entre les deux enquêtes, mais on n'observe pas non plus de régression de la probabilité perçue de risques liés à l'alimentation en général. Il en est de même pour tous les états membres de l'UE.

4. Perception des risques liés aux aliments proprement dits.

Il n'existe pas de préoccupation uniforme et répandue parmi la majorité des Européens interrogés. Les résultats de la dernière enquête montrent que les inquiétudes qui ressortent parmi les réponses extrêmement variées sont la présence de produits chimiques, de pesticides et de substances toxiques, puisque ces risques sont spontanément cités par 19% des répondants, éléments qui arrivaient en

deuxième position avec 14% des citoyens qui en faisaient mention 5 années plus tôt. Arrivent en seconde position les antibiotiques. Les résidus chimiques des pesticides, les antibiotiques ou les hormones dans la viande, les polluants comme le mercure dans le poisson et les dioxines dans le porc, le clonage des animaux à des fins alimentaires sont des préoccupations répandues parmi 70% des citoyens de l'Union Européenne très inquiets ou plutôt inquiets (Tableau III).

Tableau III

Pourcentages d'Européens très préoccupés par la présence de résidus de pesticides dans les fruits, les légumes et les céréales

Moyenne Union Européenne	72 %
Espagne	66 %
Roumanie	72 %
Bulgarie	84 %
France	80 %
République Tchèque	66 %

Les sujets d'inquiétude qui viennent ensuite sont: la qualité et la fraîcheur des aliments (Tableau IV), les organismes génétiquement modifiés dans les aliments ou les boissons, les additifs tels que les colorants, les conservateurs ou les arômes utilisés dans les aliments ou les boissons, le bien-être des animaux d'élevage, les intoxications alimentaires provoquées par des bactéries comme la salmonelle dans les œufs ou la *listéria* dans le fromage, les nouveaux virus présents chez les animaux comme la grippe aviaire, les substances contenues dans les plastiques ou autres objets qui entrent en contact avec les aliments, développer une maladie liée à l'alimentation comme le diabète, des problèmes cardiaques ou hépatiques.

Tableau IV

Pourcentages d'Européens très préoccupés par la qualité et la fraicheur des aliments, la présence d'OGM, le bien-être des animaux d'élevage

	Qualité et fraicheur des aliments	OGM dans les aliments et boissons	Bien-être des animaux d'élevage
Moyenne UE	68 %	66 %	64 %
Espagne	80 %	62 %	63 %
Roumanie	72 %	< 50 %	< 50 %
Bulgarie	81 %	< 50 %	< 50 %
France	70 %	< 50 %	65 %
République Tchèque	66 %	58 %	57 %

Enfin, en proportions plus faibles, viennent certaines préoccupations telles qu'avoir une alimentation saine et équilibrée (Tableau V), ne pas avoir de réaction allergique aux aliments ou aux boissons, craindre de prendre du poids, avoir peur des nanoparticules présentes dans les aliments, et peur de l'encéphalie spongiforme bovine.

Tableau V

Pourcentages d'Européens étant très inquiets de ne pas avoir une alimentation saine et équilibrée

Moyenne UE	52 %
Espagne	62 %
Roumanie	63 %
Bulgarie	50 %
France	54 %
République Tchèque	56 %

DISCUSSION

En résumé, on peut donc dire qu'il existe une grande diversité de perception des risques liés à l'alimentation et aux aliments parmi les adultes de l'Union Européenne en général, et des pays concernés par les recherches du groupe «MOCA» au sein de l'UE.

La principale préoccupation des Espagnols («très inquiets» ou «plutôt inquiets») – 80 % des personnes interrogées – réside dans la qualité et la fraicheur des aliments qu'ils achètent et consomment.

Les additifs tels que les colorants, les conservateurs ou les arômes utilisés dans les aliments ou les boissons représentent la principale cause d'inquiétude de 70 % des adultes Roumains interrogés.

Les résidus de pesticides dans les fruits, les légumes ou les céréales sont la première préoccupation des Bulgares interrogés (84 %), qui citent également les intoxications alimentaires provoquées par des bactéries comme la salmonelle dans les œufs ou la *listéria* dans le fromage comme source d'inquiétude.

En France, 80 % des personnes adultes interrogées citent comme principale préoccupation les résidus de pesticides dans les fruits, les légumes ou les céréales, et les polluants tels que le mercure.

En République Tchèque (77%), les intoxications alimentaires provoquées par des bactéries (salmonelle et *listéria*) sont la principale inquiétude d'ordre alimentaire.

Ces résultats représentent une base intéressante de travail pour comprendre les comportements alimentaires et les comportements de rejet de certains aliments des habitants des différents pays concernés par le «MOCA». A partir des résultats de la présente enquête Eurobaromètre, de nouvelles investigations vont pouvoir être initiées, afin de connaître, pour chacune des équipes scientifiques du «MOCA», les facteurs qui peuvent être liés à la classe d'âge des personnes (les adultes de plus de 15 ans, mais aussi les opinions des adolescents), aux variables sociales et démographiques, au sexe. Les résultats nous amènent aussi à penser que les inquiétudes concernant les risques alimentaires et nutritionnels encourus par la population est liée aux politiques agricoles qui diffèrent d'un pays à l'autre.

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VARIATION DE LA CROISSANCE ET DE L'ÉTAT NUTRITIONNEL ENTRE 1982 ET 2014 DES ENFANTS ÂGÉS DE 7 À 18 ANS DE LA VILLE DE MARRAKECH (MAROC)

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Objective: To describe the secular evolution of certain parameters related to growth, sexual maturation and nutritional status of Moroccan children.

Sample and methods: The data from four transversal anthropometric surveys carried between 1982 and 2014 in the schools of the city of Marrakech; 5215 children aged 7–18 years of which 2610 boys (50%) and 2605 women (50%). The variables used in this study are age and sex of the child, weight, height, body mass index and menarche age.

Results: The results show a positive evolution of all anthropometric parameters studied; a significant increase of weight, height and body mass index and a net decrease in the age at menarche. This change in the positive direction nonetheless translated by an increase in the prevalence of overweight in these four decades respectively 3.2% in 1982, 3.5% in 1992, 7.9% in 2002 to reach a value 17.9% in 2010.

Conclusion: The positive trend of growth and nutritional status of Moroccan children translates importance of socio-demographic, socio-economic, health and nutrition that Morocco has known in recent decades. However, the country is now in a context of nutritional transition (reduction of underweight and overweight increased) following this long transitional demographic and socio-economic chain.

Keywords: growth, menarche, nutritional status, evolution, children, Marrakech, Morocco.

INTRODUCTION

Programmés génétiquement, la croissance et l'atteinte de la maturation sexuelle sont sous les influences de l'environnement. En effet, ces paramètres biologiques, très sensibles aux changements des conditions de vie des enfants, témoignent ainsi des progrès socio-économiques et sanitaires réalisés au sein de la population [1–3]. Ils constituent donc, comme d'autres paramètres biodémographiques et sanitaires,

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d'excellents indicateurs de mesure de l'état de santé d'une population. Ce fait a été largement démontré dans diverses populations dans le monde; l'évolution positive au cours du temps de ces paramètres est fortement corrélée à l'amélioration des conditions de vie et caractérisée par des changements systématiques, à long terme, d'une large variété de paramètres biologiques humains à travers des générations successives [3–14, 35, 36]. Ces changements séculaires qui correspondent donc à une augmentation moyenne de la taille, du poids et une diminution de l'âge où la maturation sexuelle est atteinte ont été déjà observés en Europe depuis la moitié du 19ème siècle [17].

Aussi, l'état nutritionnel d'un individu et/ou d'une population, évalué par les paramètres anthropométriques (poids, taille…) évolue dans le même sens que ces paramètres et demeure ainsi dans le temps ou à un moment donné sous l'influence de facteurs environnementaux [10–16]. Le Maroc, comme d'autres pays en voie de développement, a connu ces dernières décennies d'importants changements d'ordre démographique, économique, socioculturel et sanitaire et qui auraient, sans doute, des répercussions positives sur la biologie de sa population. L'espérance de vie qui était de 47 ans en 1962 a atteint 74,9 ans en 2011, la mortalité infantile a enregistrée une nette régression, passant de 149‰ en 1962 à 30,2‰ en 2010, de même, pour l'indice de fécondité qui est passé de 7,2 enfants par femme en 1962 à seulement 2,2 en 2010 [18].

À la lumière de ces changements, l'objectif de notre étude est d'appréhender le sens de la variation au cours du temps de la croissance, de la maturation sexuelle et de l'état nutritionnel des enfants et des adolescents de la ville de Marrakech.

SUJETS ET MÉTHODES

Les données de cette étude proviennent de quatre enquêtes transversales réalisées en 1981–1982, 1991–1992, 2002–2003 et 2010–2014 dans les établissements scolaires de la ville de Marrakech auprès des échantillons d'enfants âgés de 7 à 18 ans et appartenant à des niveaux socio-économiques différents. Ces enquêtes ont touché respectivement 1141 enfants (573 garçons 50,2% et 568 filles – 48,9%) et 1113 enfants (566 garçons – 50,9% et 547 filles – 49,1%), 1447 enfants (722 garçons – 49,9% et 725 filles – 50,1%) et 1514 enfants (749 garçons – 49,5% et 765 filles – 50,5%).

Pour chaque enfant, nous avons relevé la date de naissance exacte (en jours, mois, année), le poids en kg et la taille en cm. Les mesures anthropométriques (stature, poids) ont été prises conformément aux recommandations du Programme de Biologie International [19]. La stature, en cm, appréciant la croissance osseuse en longueur, a été prise à l'aide d'une toise verticale, graduée de 0,1 cm et le poids, en kg, a été déterminé par une balance pèse-personne correctement tarée et suffisamment précise (type Seca, précision de 0,1 kg). A partir de ces deux variables, nous avons déterminé pour chaque individu l'indice de masse corporelle

ou indice de Quételet (IMC) qui est égal au rapport du poids (en kg) au carré de la stature (en m²). Cet indice P/T2, bien que corrélé au poids et à la masse grasse, n'exprime aucune liaison avec la stature [20, 21] et il est considéré comme le critère de sélection le plus fiable et l'indice de corpulence le plus utilisé [22] dans les études épidémiologiques, nutritionnelles et cliniques notamment concernant l'estimation du déficit ou l'excès pondéral d'un sujet, l'adiposité, l'obésité etc.

Pour l'étude de l'évolution séculaire des variables anthropométriques poids, taille et IMC, nous avons réparti les enfants examinés par période d'étude, par sexe et par classe d'âge d'un an (la classe d'âge 7 ans comporte par exemple les enfants âgés de 7,0 ans et 7,99 ans…). Les valeurs médianes (ou percentile 50) du poids, de la taille et de l'IMC en fonction de l'âge (en mois) et l'ajustement des courbes ont été respectivement obtenues et réalisées par le logiciel «LMS Chart Maker» [23].

L'estimation de l'âge à la ménarche des filles a été faite selon la méthode de statu-quo en demandant à chaque fille: "Avez-vous ou non vos premières règles?". Les filles sont ensuite réparties en classe de 6 mois et l'âge médian à la ménarche, qui correspond à l'âge auquel 50% des filles sont réglées, a été calculé selon la méthode des probités [24].

L'état nutritionnel des enfants a été défini selon les valeurs individuelles de z-scores de l'indice de masse corporelle (IMC) calculées selon la formule (X-M)/Sd où X, est la valeur individuelle, M, la valeur médiane de la population de référence et Sd, l'écart-type de la population de référence [22]. Selon la valeur de z-score de l'IMC, l'enfant est obèse si son z-score>= + 2sd, pré-obèse ou en surpoids si son z-score> +1sd, normo-pondéral si son z-score est compris entre – 2sd et +1sd, en déficit pondéral si son z-score < -2sd.

Les traitements statistiques des données ont été faits à l'aide des programmes SPSS-PC, LMS Chart Maker Light et WHO AnthroPlus (SPSS-PC version 10.0.5 Rel. 10.0.05. Chicago: SPSS Inc. 1999), WHO AnthroPlus Manuel Software for assessing growth and development of the world's children. *2007 v 1.0.3 for personal computers.*

RÉSULTATS ET DISCUSSION

1. Croissance staturale et pondérale

Les courbes des valeurs médianes de la taille moyenne montrent une évolution positive de la taille depuis 1982 à 2010 (Figure 1). Dès l'âge de 7 ans, les garçons et les filles des années 2002 et 2010 ont en moyenne une taille supérieure à celle de leurs homologues des années 1982 et 1992. Cependant, l'écart devient très réduit vers l'âge adulte aussi bien chez les garçons que chez les filles.
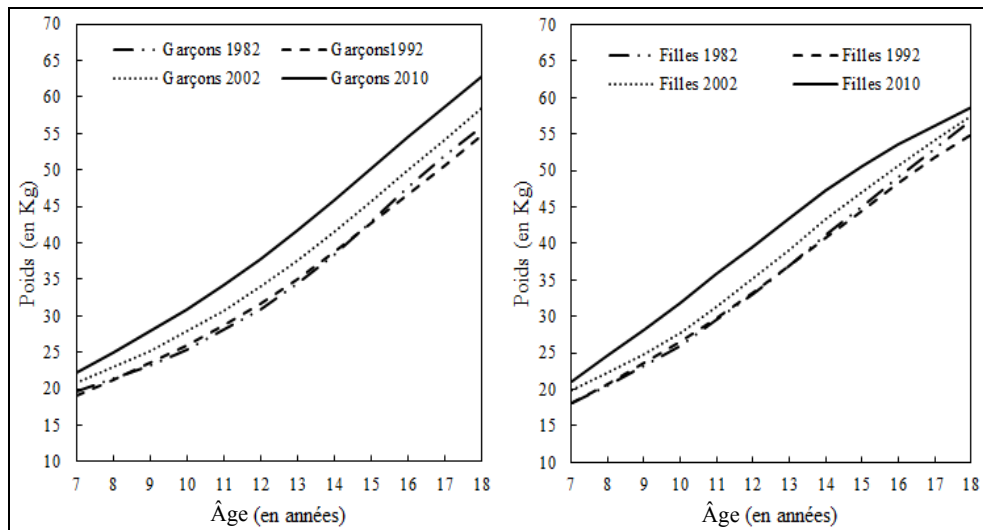
Fig. 1. Variation des valeurs médianes du poids (en kg) par âge (en années) et par périodes d'étude chez les garçons et les filles.

Même constat pour le poids, mais avec un écart à tout âge plus important entre les garçons et les filles de 2010 et leurs homologues des autres années (Figure 2).
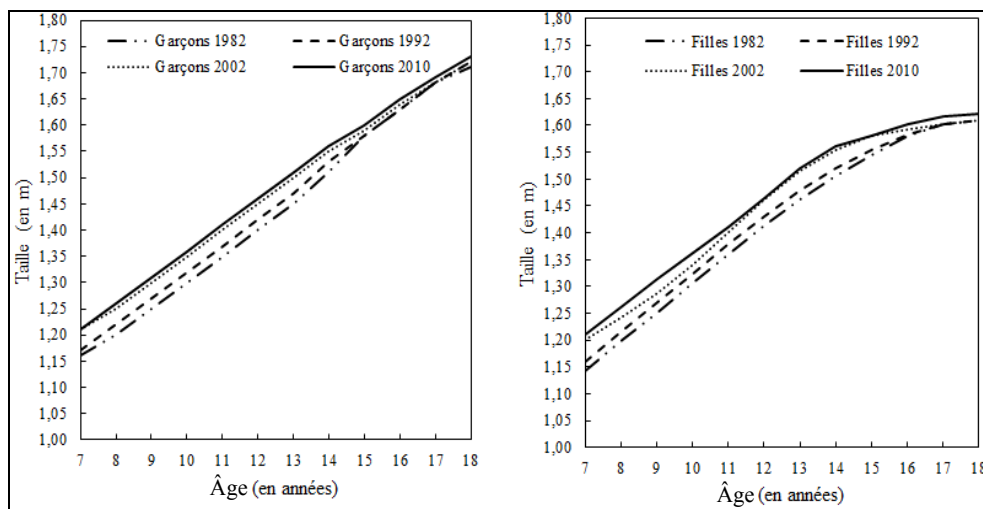
Fig. 2. Variation des valeurs médianes de la taille (en mètre) par âge (en années) et par périodes d'étude chez les garçons et les filles.

Les valeurs médianes des garçons et des filles de 1982 et 1992 sont très rapprochées et les courbes sont même confondues, surtout pour les garçons. Cette augmentation du poids et plus particulièrement chez les enfants des années 2002 et

2010 serait la conséquence des changements des conditions de vie des enfants marocains avec plus particulièrement une alimentation très diversifiée, riche en calories et une sédentarité caractérisée surtout par une augmentation du temps passé devant les écrans de télévision, jeux vidéo, Internet et l'usage de plus en plus des modes de transport passifs [25, 26]. Une évolution positive du poids moyen a été mise en évidence lors de la comparaison des enfants âgés de 7 à 18 ans des enquêtes de 1992 et de 2002 [27]. La même tendance a été observée également chez les nourrissons de la ville de Marrakech au cours de ces deux dernières décennies [14, 33].

Résultant du poids et de la taille, les valeurs médianes de l'indice de masse corporelle, augmentent également au cours du temps: à tout âge, elles sont très élevées aussi bien chez les garçons que chez les filles et plus particulièrement chez ceux examinés en 2010 (Fig. 3).
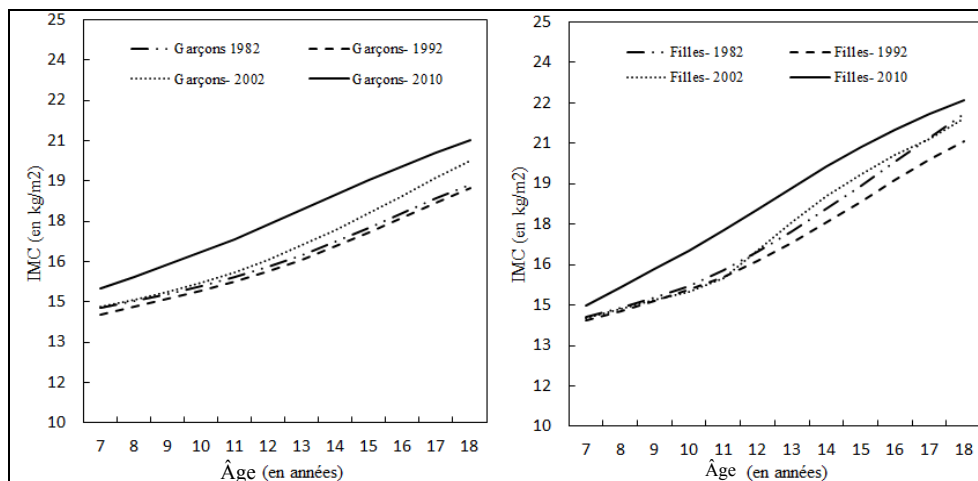
Fig. 3. Variation des valeurs médianes de l'IMC (en kg/m^2) par âge (en années) et par périodes d'étude chez les garçons et les filles.

2. Âge à la ménarche

Selon les résultats obtenus, il parait que l'âge médian à la ménarche diminue au cours du temps (Tableau I). Au cours des trois dernières décennies, l'âge à la ménarche est réduit d'environ d'1 an et 3 mois (1,24 an). Cependant, l'important écart, d'environ de 6 mois, est enregistré entre 1982 et 1992. Entre les autres périodes les écarts sont relativement identiques, soit 0,32 an entre 1992–2002 et 0,37 an entre 2002–2010.

Bien que l'âge à la ménarche montre une évolution positive, il existe toutefois une grande variabilité de cet âge à travers le monde, En effet, c'est un paramètre régi par le facteur génétique, mais tout en étant très sensible aux variations des facteurs de l'environnement, L'amélioration des conditions socio-économiques et nutritionnelles favorise sa précocité [3, 29, 30, 35].

Tableau I

Distribution des fréquences des filles réglées par classes d'âge de 6 mois et âges médians à la ménarche

Classes d'âge	1982		1992		2002		2010	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
11,0–11,5	–	–	–	–	–	–	43	7
11,5–12,0	–	–	10	10	–	–	40	3
12,0–12,5	25	8	28	7	17	6	48	15
12,5–13,0	27	7	16	13	8	38	41	32
13,0–13,5	35	23	28	39	26	39	37	65
13,5–14,0	22	55	22	59	31	61	34	74
14,0–14,5	42	48	34	68	34	91	32	94
14,5–15,0	37	65	18	83	44	84	27	96
15,0–15,5	64	70	34	82	48	92	34	97
15,5–16,0	26	85	16	88	35	97	48	98
16,0–16,5	13	92	33	100	15	93	41	98
16,5–17,0	27	94	–	–	17	100	41	100
17,0–17,5	11	100	–	–	–	–	–	–
Âge médian ± Sd	14,3 ± 1,50		13,75 ± 1,31		13,43 ± 1,22		13,15 ± 1,31	

Les âges médians à la ménarche des filles de la ville de Marrakech restent supérieurs à celui trouvés dans les villes d'El Jadida et Sidi Bennour, soit respectivement 12,9 ans et 13,5 ans]31]. De même, ils sont supérieurs à ceux trouvés en France (13,05 ans), en Belgique (13 ans) [29], en Espagne (12,76 ans) [28], en Colombie (12,63 ans) [32], mais inférieurs à ceux trouvés en Algérie (14,3 ans), Bangladesh (15,8 ans), Cameroun (14,61 ans), Nigeria (15 ans) et bien d'autres pays en voie de développement [30].

3. État nutritionnel

L'état nutritionnel des enfants a connu également une évolution positive au cours des quatre périodes d'étude. La prévalence des enfants ayant un déficit pondéral a diminué considérablement entre 1982 et 2010: elle était très élevée en 1982 et 1992, soit respectivement 13,7% et 16,4% puis elle diminue pour atteindre 11,5% en 2002 et 5,2% en 2010. En revanche, la prévalence du surpoids a augmenté: elle était de 3,2% en 1982 et de 3,5% en 1992, 7,9% en 2002 pour atteindre la valeur de 17,9% en 2010. Cette forte diminution de la prévalence du déficit pondéral et l'augmentation de celle du surpoids concerne aussi bien les garçons que les filles, Cependant, il parait que les filles sont moins touchées par l'insuffisance pondérale, mais en revanche, plus affectées par le surpoids. (Tableau II). Il parait selon ces résultats, une nette diminution au cours du temps du déficit pondéral au détriment du surpoids, Cependant, les deux dernières périodes sont caractérisées par la coexistence du double fardeau nutritionnel (déficit pondéral et surpoids), phénomène qui s'inscrit dans un contexte de "transition nutritionnelle" de la société marocaine caractérisé par un développement urbain intense, une "modernisation" des habitudes alimentaires et une baisse de l'activité physique des enfants [25, 26, 33, 34].

Tableau II

Distribution des fréquences des filles réglées par classes d'âge de 6 mois et âges médians à la ménarche

Catégories pondérales	Garçons				Filles			
	1982	1992	2002	2010	1982	1992	2002	2010
En déficit pondéral	17,8	19,3	13,7	7,1	9,5	13,3	9,4	3,4
Normo-pondéraux	80,6	79,2	79,6	77,8	85,7	81,2	81,5	75,9
Pré-obèses	1,2	1,4	5,0	9,6	4,4	4,4	7,6	15,2
Obèses	0,3	0,2	1,7	5,5	0,4	1,1	1,5	5,5

Il ressort de cette analyse une tendance positive caractérisée de ces paramètres de croissance au cours du temps. En effet l'amélioration globale des conditions de vie des enfants marocains a contribué à une bonne expression des potentialités génétique [4]. Cette évolution positive corrélée avec les changements sociaux, économiques et culturels a été démontré également dans divers populations européennes [3, 4, 9, 27, 28, 29].

CONCLUSION

Les résultats de cette étude montre une évolution positive des paramètres de croissance (poids, taille, IMC, maturation sexuelle) des enfants marocains. L'accroissement de ces paramètres dans le temps témoigne de l'amélioration de leurs conditions de vie, résultat à la fois d'importants changements démographiques, socio-économiques, culturels et sanitaires qu'a connu le Maroc au cours de ces dernières années. Cependant, ces résultats démontrent au sein de l'échantillon des enfants examinés en 2010, la coexistence du double fardeau nutritionnel, le surpoids et l'insuffisance pondérale, conséquence de la transition nutritionnelle que connaissent les pays en voie de développement dont fait partie le Maroc. Cette diminution notable de l'insuffisance pondérale accompagnée d'une augmentation de la prévalence du surpoids s'inscrit désormais dans un contexte de transition nutritionnelle qui ne fait que suivre une longue chaîne transitionnelle démographique et socio-économique. Ces foyers à double fardeau constitueront donc un défi pour les responsables de santé publique.

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DÉMARRAGE DE L'ALLAITEMENT MATERNEL ET FACTEURS ASSOCIÉS (MARRAKECH – MAROC)

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Objective: The aim of our study was to evaluate the prevalence of early breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding at birth and apprehend the associated factors.

Sample and methods: The data from our study comes from a survey, conducted between 2013–2014. 567 women were interviewed in different maternity wards in Marrakech. The variables used for our study are related to socio-demographic characteristics (age, educational level, occupation, parity…) and some health characteristics (monitoring of pregnancy, mode of delivery…), also some breastfeeding practices (importance of breastfeeding during the first hours after childbirth, nature and prevalence of breastfeeding at birth).

Results: The average age of the surveyed mothers is 27.6 years. 26.1% of women are illiterate and 92% of them are housewives.

Multiparas represent 63.7% of our sample. 90.5% of pregnancies were followed, 74.1% of women have given birth vaginally.

In our study only 38.1% of newborns were put to the breast in the first hour after birth. Also results show that the prevalence of breastfeeding was 96.7%, and the rate of exclusive breastfeeding is 88.5%.

Factors associated with delayed latching were the delivery mode (Wald test = 49,765; OR =17,698, risk of about 18), parity and mothers' knowledge before delivery of the benefits of breast milk.

Conclusion: The good start breastfeeding is crucial for maintaining this practice as long as possible, but this depends on the interaction of several factors which must be object of any effort promoting breastfeeding.

Keywords: breastfeeding, start, early breastfeeding.

INTRODUCTION

Le lait maternel constitue l'aliment optimal du jeune nourrisson, le mieux ajusté à ses besoins comme à ses capacités. Ces bienfaits pour la santé de l'enfant et de la mère sont incontestables [1]. Le lait maternel, présente des bénéfices aussi bien

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pour l'enfant que pour la mère. En plus, l'allaitement au sein renforce les liens affectifs entre eux. Il assure un bon développement psychoaffectif chez le nourrisson et renforce ses facultés psychomotrices. L'OMS recommande un allaitement maternel (AM) exclusif durant les six premiers mois de vie du bébé.

Cependant, la pratique de l'allaitement maternel au Maroc connaît un recul inquiétant. En effet, en 1992, 51% des enfants étaient nourris au sein durant les six premiers mois de la vie. En 2004, ils n'étaient plus que 32%, en 2011, le chiffre est passé à 27,8% [2]. Ce recul a suscité l'intérêt du ministère de la santé qui dans son plan d'action 2008-2012 a encouragé l'allaitement maternel en tant que moyen naturel de protection de la santé de l'enfant et de la mère.

À l'échelle régionale, la ville de Marrakech ne constitue pas une exception vue que différentes études ont montré un déclin alarmant de la pratique de l'allaitement maternel. La prévalence de l'allaitement maternel à la naissance est passée de 96,9% en 2001 à 86,0% en 2003 et 96,1% en 2007 [3–5]. Cependant sa durée au cours des années a connu un abaissement remarquable en passant de 10,3 mois en 1989 à 5,2 mois en 2007.

En effet, malgré les efforts d'information et d'éducation, la situation se dégrade comme en témoignent les données des enquêtes nationales et régionales.

Selon plusieurs études, les facteurs identifiés comme étant liés à l'initiation et la durée de l'allaitement au sein sont multiples et complexes [6].

Ainsi, l'objectif de notre étude est d'évaluer la prévalence de la mise au sein précoce et de l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance et saisir les facteurs associés.

SUJETS ET MÉTHODES

Cette étude, réalisée entre 2013–2014, a été porté sur un échantillon de 567 femmes mariées ayant accouché dans les différentes maternités du secteur public de la ville de Marrakech.

La collecte des données a été réalisée à l'aide d'un questionnaire anonyme préétabli administré après le consentement libre et éclairé de la femme participante à l'enquête. L'entretien avec chaque femme a été réalisé juste après les 48 heures suivant l'accouchement (entre le premier ou le deuxième jour du post-partum) et dont la durée varie entre 15 à 20 minutes.

Les variables retenues dans cette étude sont l'âge, le niveau d'instruction et la parité de la femme, les informations reçues sur l'allaitement maternel avant l'accouchement, le suivi de la grossesse, le mode d'accouchement (voie basse, césarien) le moment de la mise au sein, l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance et le sexe du nourrisson.

Le traitement des données a été réalisé avec le programme statistique SPSS, version 10.

RÉSULTATS ET DISCUSSIONS

1. Caractéristique socio-démographiques des mères étudiées:

Dans l'ensemble de notre échantillon, l'âge des femmes varie de 17 à 46 ans, avec une moyenne de 27,6 ans (σ = 6,3 ans). Les femmes âgées de moins de 35 ans représentent 80% de l'ensemble; il s'agit d'un groupe de femmes relativement jeunes. Par ailleurs, le taux d'analphabétisme de notre échantillon est de 26,1%; 31,2% ont un niveau de scolarisation primaire, 35,8% le niveau secondaire et seulement 6,9% ayant atteint le niveau supérieur. En effet, le taux d'analphabétisme enregistré au sein de notre échantillon est inférieur à celui enregistré en 2014 à l'échelle régional ainsi que national, qui sont respectivement de 47,6% et 42,1% [7].

La majorité des femmes, soit 92% n'exercent aucune activité professionnelle au moment de l'enquête. Le taux des femmes qui exercent une activité professionnelle au moment de l'enquête enregistré dans notre étude est identique à celui enregistrée dans la région de Marrakech-Tensift-Al Haouz en 2011 qui est de 8,3% [2].

Le nombre d'enfants par femmes varie de 1 à 8, avec une moyenne de 2 enfants (moyenne = 2,2±1,3). En effet, les multipares représentent 63,7% de notre échantillon. 90,5% des grossesses ont été suivies; 19,7% d'entre elles dans une structure privée, 19,5% des cas dans une structure public et dans 60,7 % des cas dans les deux structures. Le nombre de visite prénatale varie de 0 à 10 visites avec une moyenne de 4 visites (3,9±2,2). Parmi ces femmes 53,9% d'entre elles ont bénéficié de 1 à 4 visites prénatales et 37,6% femmes plus de 4 visites (de 5 à 10 visites). Dans notre échantillon, 25,9% des femmes ont accouché par césarienne, et 74,1% par voie basse dont 48,9% par épisiotomie. Le taux des césariennes enregistré dans notre étude est relativement supérieur à celui rapporté au niveau national en 2011 et qui est de 19,0% [16]. Les résultats des grossesses des femmes ont abouti dans la quasi-totalité des cas à un seul enfant, dans 3 cas sont des grossesses gémellaires. Parmi les nouveau-nés, 307 sont des garçons (53,9%) et 263 sont des filles (46,1%), soit un sexe ratio de 1,2.

2. Informations reçues sur l'allaitement maternel avant l'accouchement:

87,3% des mères ont déclaré avoir reçu des informations concernant l'allaitement maternel au cours de la grossesse, contre 12,7% qui ont déclaré n'avoir reçu aucune information. L'entourage immédiat (famille, amie, médias) constitue la principale source d'information des femmes interrogées (73,9%) et seulement 15,4% les ont reçues du personnel de la santé. Aussi, 71,1% de ces informations prénatales sur l'allaitement maternel concernent les bienfaits du lait maternel sur la santé du bébé et de la mère, soit respectivement 51,3% et 19,8%. 23,1% sur les conduites et la pratique de l'allaitement maternel et enfin 4,6% et 3,7% restants portent sur l'avantage économique et les effets de l'allaitement au lait artificiel.

Quant à l'intention à l'égard de l'allaitement maternel, presque la totalité des mères enquêtées (99%) ont déclaré pendant la grossesse leur intention d'allaiter leurs bébés au sein dont 94,2% d'entre elles envisagent allaiter leurs bébés pour une durée de plus de 12 mois.

3. Pratique de l'allaitement maternel (l'AM) à la naissance:

Dans l'ensemble, 38,1% des nouveau-nés ont été mis au sein pendant la première heure qui suit la naissance, 28,4% entre une et six heures et 33,2% au-delà de la 6ème heure de leur naissance.

L'étude des raisons de la mise au sein retardé a montré, selon les déclarations des mères que les principales raisons qui entravent la précocité de la mise au sein du bébé sont l'état de santé de la mère après l'accouchement et la séparation de son bébé, soit 74,2% (40,4% mère fatiguée et manque d'envie d'allaiter et 33,8% mère séparée du bébé). En 22% des cas, le bébé est endormi, d'autres raisons étant 1,6% mamelons ombiliqués, 1,3% indication médicale, 0,5% manque du lait et 0,3% refus de la mère.

4. Mise au sein retardée et caractéristiques sociodémographiques et sanitaires:

L'étude des variables sociodémographiques et sanitaires et la mise au sein retardée, a montré un impact statiquement significatif du niveau d'étude de la mère, sa parité, le mode d'accouchement et le fait d'être informéer sur les avantages de l'allaitement maternel, sur la mise au sein retardée (Tableau 1).

En effet ce sont les primipares qui retardent de plus la mise au sein de leurs bébés dans les deux premières heures après la naissance, ceci peut être expliqué par le fait que les multipares sont plus expérimentées et en plus de confiance en soi pour réussir la mise en route de l'allaitement maternel.

Aussi la première mise au sein n'est souvent pas aussi précoce en cas d'accouchement par césarienne.

Tableau 1

Mise au sein au cours des deux premières heures de la naissance et caractéristiques sociodémographiques et sanitaires

Variables	Modalités	Effectif	≤2 heures	Test χ2
Classes d'âges	17–24 ans	206	39,8	0,5 ns
	25–34 ans	257	37,4	
	35–46 ans	100	36	
Niveau d'étude	Aucun	147	27,9	17,65 **
	Primaire	177	41,8	
	Secondaire	201	45,8	
	Supérieur	39	20,5	
Parité	Primipare	210	24,8	25,31 ***
	Multipare	354	46	
Suivi grossesse	Suivie	512	39,6	5,49 ns
	Non suivie	52	23,1	
Sexe du bébé	Fille	257	40,1	0,89 ns
	Garçon	304	36,2	
Informations avantage de l'AM exclusif	Non	72	8,3	31,04 ***
	Oui	492	42,5	
Mode d'accouchement	Voie basse	417	49,9	93,79 ***
	Césarienne	147	4,8	

*(ns: non significatif, ** p<0,0; *** <0,001).*

Dans un modèle de régression logistique binaire, la variable dépendante était la mise au sein tardivement, les variables indépendantes sont les variables sociodémographiques et sanitaires étudiées dans le Tableau 1.

Nous avons noté que par ordre d'importance, c'est le mode d'accouchement qui retarde le plus la mise au sein (Wald = 49,765; OR = 17,698, soit un risque d'environ de 18) (Tableau 2). L'état de santé de la mère et sa séparation de son bébé après l'accouchement est aussi l'une des principales causes: 68,3% des femmes séparées de leurs bébés ont accouché par césarien. Donc, la césarienne entrave considérablement ainsi la mise en route précoce de l'allaitement maternel. La parité et les connaissances des mères avant l'accouchement sur les avantages du lait maternel sont inversement associées à la mise précoce du nourrisson au sein. En effet, il semble à travers ces résultats que la mise au sein précoce est fortement liée aux conditions de l'accouchement et à l'état de santé de la mère.

Tableau 2

Modèle de régression logistique binaire de la mise au sein tardivement (>2 heures) et les variables sociodémographiques et sanitaires

Variables indépendantes	β	χ2	OR (IC à 5%)
Classes d'âge	0,121	0,638	1,129 (0,838 – 1,520)
Niveau d'étude de la femme	–0,131	1,264	0,878 (0,699 – 1,102)
parité	–0,808	11,665 **	0,446 (0,280 – 0,709)
Sexe du bébé	0,100	0,260	1,105 (0,753 – 1,622)
Suivi prénatal de la grossesse	0,705	3,337	2,024 (0,950 – 4,314)
Informations avantage du l'AM exclusif	–1,413	8,901 **	0,244 (0,096 – 0,616)
Mode d'accouchement	2,873	49,765 ***	17,698 (7,965 – 39,321)

β: constante, χ2: Wald, OR: Odds ratios, IC: intervalle de confiance de l'odds ratio, ** p<0,01 ; *** p<0,001.

5. Allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance et caractéristiques socio-démographiques et sanitaires

La prévalence de l'allaitement maternel varie considérablement d'un pays à un autre. En Tunisie 94,4% des femmes de la région de Monastir ont allaité au sein à la naissance [8]. Tandis que les taux enregistrés au Maroc au cours de cette dernière décennie sont respectivement 95% en 1997 [9] et 94% en 2003–2004 [10]. Dans la ville de Marrakech 96,9% en 2001 [3] et 96,1% en 2008 [5] ont été allaité au sein à la naissance.

Dans notre étude, la prévalence de l'allaitement maternel à la naissance est de 96,7%. Le taux d'allaitement maternel exclusif est de 88,5%, celui de l'allaitement mixte est de 8,1% et artificiel de 3,4%.

L'analyse des associations entre la pratique d'un allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance et les caractéristiques sociodémographiques et sanitaires, laisse apparaître que l'âge de la mère, son niveau d'étude, le mode d'accouchement et la mise au sein précoce au cours des deux premières heures de la naissance, sont des variables significativement associées avec la pratique de l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance (Tableau 3).

En effet, il a été démontré l'existence d'une association significative entre l'âge de la mère [11–14], son niveau d'instruction [11, 12] et la pratique de l'allaitement maternel ce qui est en accord avec nos résultats. Aussi un manque d'information sur les bonnes pratiques de l'allaitement maternel est associé à un sevrage plus précoce [15].

Dans notre étude les femmes ayant déclarées avoir des informations sur l'allaitement maternel ont plus de tendance à allaiter exclusivement au sein au moment de l'enquête. En plus, des recherches indiquent que l'expérience obstétrique des femmes peut influencer le comportement d'allaitement [6], ce qui a été démontré par une association positive entre le mode d'accouchement de la femme et l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance.

Tableau 3

Allaitement maternel (AM) exclusif à la naissance et caractéristiques socio-démographiques et sanitaires

Variables	Modalités	Effectif	AM exclusif (%)	Test χ2
Classes d'âges	17–24 ans	206	93,7	8,8**
	25–34 ans	259	86,1	
	35–46 ans	101	84,2	
Niveau d'étude	Aucun	148	89,2	8,81**
	Primaire	177	91,0	
	Secondaire	203	88,7	
	Supérieur	39	74,4	
Parité	Primipare	210	84,3	5,93 ns
	Multipare	357	91,0	
Suivi grossesse	Suivie	513	88,1	0,9 ns
	Non suivie	54	92,6	
Sexe du bébé	Fille	259	89,6	0,45 ns
	Garçon	305	87,9	
Informations avantage de l'AM exclusif	Non	72	81,9	3,53 ns
	Oui	495	89,5	
Mode d'accouchement	Voie basse	420	95,5	76,87 ***
	Césarienne	147	68,7	
Mise au sein	Oui	215	97,2	25,99 ***
	Non	349	83,1	

*ns: non significatif, ** p<0,01; *** <0,001.*

Pour résumer les facteurs déterminants de l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance, nous avons réalisé une analyse de régression logistique binaire. La variable dépendante correspond à la nature exclusive de l'allaitement maternel à la naissance. Les variables indépendantes concernent les variables sociodémographiques et sanitaires mentionnées dans le Tableau 3.

La lecture des résultats montre aussi que l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance parait fortement lié au mode d'accouchement (OR = 28,583; risque 5,7) (Tableau 4). La mise au sein après l'accouchement affecte également l'allaitement maternel exclusif; en effet, plus la mise au sein est tardive, plus la mère donne à son bébé un aliment autre que le lait. L'âge de la femme est négativement corrélé à l'allaitement maternel exclusif.

Tableau 4

Variables du modèle de régression logistique binaire et allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance

Variables indépendantes	β	χ2	OR (IC à 5%)
Classes d'âge	–0,467	4,374*	0,627 (0,404 – 0,971)
Niveau étude de la femme	–0,286	3,484	0,751 (0,751 – 1,014)
parité	0,417	1,564	1,518 (0,789 – 2,919)
Sexe du bébé	–0,180	0,383	0,835 (0,472 – 1,477)
Suivi prénatal de la grossesse	0,369	0,392	1,446 (0,456 – 4,587)
Informations avantage du l'AM exclusif	0,216	0,264	1,242 (0,544 – 2,835)
Mode d'accouchement	–1,747	28,583 ***	0,174 (0,092 – 0,331)
Mise au sein ≤2h	–1,039	4,530 *	0,354 (0,136 – 0,921)

*β: constante, χ2: Wald, OR: Odds ratios, IC: intervalle de confiance de l'odds ratio, ** p<0,01; *** p<0,001.*

CONCLUSION

À la lecture des résultats, il parait que le mode d'accouchement est le facteur le plus déterminant du bon démarrage de l'allaitement maternel. En effet, une femme sur 4 de notre échantillon a accouché par mode césarien, ce qui l'oblige à retarder la mise au sein et par conséquence l'allaitement maternel exclusif à la naissance (mère fatiguée, femme séparée de son bébé…). De ce fait, pendant l'accouchement, l'équipe soignante devrait être consciente que ses interventions peuvent induire des problèmes de démarrage de l'allaitement. Les professionnels de santé doivent garder à l'esprit la priorité que constitue le démarrage de l'interaction mère-enfant dès la naissance et assister ainsi la mère, surtout celle malade ou accouchée par césarien et lui recommander la cohabitation mère-enfant pour lui faciliter la mise au sein précoce et l'allaitement maternel à la demande.

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ÉTUDE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE COMPARATIVE ET DIACHRONIQUE DES CERTAINS ÉTUDIANTS ROUMAINS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT UNIVERSITAIRE DE BUCAREST

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Diacronic and comparative anthropological study of some Romanian students from Bucharest universities.

In the present paper we compare mean dimensional and conformational values which characterize four series of students from Bucharest universities (Medicine, Technology, Ecology) studied by Professor Francisc Rainer (1929), Th. Enăchescu and Suzana Grinţescu-Pop (1972, 1974) and Eleonora Luca (1996–1998). By comparison with national mean values from the Anthropological Atlas of Romania (Radu, Glavce, Știrbu, 2011:52), analyze of the results shows higher dimensions for cephalic callote, height and sitting height from the series of 1972 and 1974. The students of Ecological University are closer mostly to the national mean values, excepting the height, significantly higher and also the highest in the series succession. Compared with the mean values of the students of 1929, a progressive and significant increase of height throughout eight decades is observed for the next series and a diminution trend of cephalic indices and cormic index for ecologist students.

Keywords: anthropometry, morphotypology, accelerated growth, microevolution.

La considération et le respect devant les précurseurs peuvent être illustrés, plus directement et de façon plus expressive, par des travaux, des études qui prouvent la continuation et l'enrichissement de leur activité en recherche. Les amples enquêtes anthropologiques développées par les anthropologues de Jassy et Bucarest pendant la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle, après le modèle des recherches du Professeur Rainer dans les trois villages roumains (Rainer, 1937) ont été valorisées sous diverses formes en culminant avec les Atlas Anthropologiques des provinces roumaines et de l'ensemble du pays publiés entre 1999–2012 (Radu, Glavce, Știrbu, 2011).

Parmi les préoccupations des anthropologues roumains, synchronisées avec les recherches d'autres pays européens, ont été aussi les aspects concernant les phénomènes microévolutifs chez les populations roumaines: des modifications

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diachroniques chez la population adulte concernant la structure typologique, les traits morphophysionomiques et pigmentaires, le dimorphisme sexuel métrique etc.; l'étude de l'accélération / décélération dans la croissance et le développement des enfants et jeunes, la maturation sexuelle etc. (Necrasov, 1968: 31–36; Chamla, Gloor, 1986: 483–489; Şandru, 1999: 15–30; Radu, 2000: 11–18; Luca, 2010: 225–226).

Les études concernant les phénomènes microévolutifs chez les jeunes recrues, élèves et étudiants entre 18 et plus de 23 ans, mesurés en 1872, 1976 et 1998, mettent en évidence au niveau somatique une augmentation significative de la stature, de la longueur des membres inférieurs et de l'indice cormique et au niveau céphalo-facial une leptomorphisation de la face et un début de débrachycéphalisation (Şandru, 1999: 15–30; Radu, 2000: 11–18).

Dans l'anthropologie roumaine sont connues les recherches du Professeur Fr. Rainer, le fondateur de l'Institut Roumain d'Anthropologie, sur les étudiants de la Faculté de Médecine de Bucarest (1929) et les études comparatives des autres anthropologues roumains consacrés, Th. Enăchescu et Suzana Grinţescu-Pop, sur les étudiants de Polytechnique (1972) et de Médecine (1974), qui apprécient les modifications diachroniques de la structure anthropologique produites au niveau des générations suivantes. (Rainer, 1937: 73; Enăchescu, Pop, 1973: 35–44; 1977: 127–130). Dans le présent travail les auteurs font des comparaisons entre les étudiants de la Faculté de Psycho-pédagogie (1996–1998) de l'Université Ecologique de Bucarest – la première université roumaine privée après la Révolution de 1989 – et les séries des étudiants de 1929, 1972 et 1974 concernant les caractéristiques dimensionnelles et de conformation céphalo-faciales et corporelles pour apprécier les possibles modifications diachroniques dans la succession des générations de la jeune population étudiante de l'enseignement universitaire bucarestois.

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODE

Les sujets de la recherche sont les 4 séries d'étudiants (3 générations), „sélections masculines", de l'enseignement universitaire bucarestois de 1929, 1972, 1974 et 1996/98, provenant de toutes les provinces de Roumanie, prédominant de Bucarest et Munténie. (Figs. 1–2). Conformément aux travaux cités, ont été choisis 7 dimensions céphalo-faciales et corporelles: la longueur (g-op), largeur (eu-eu) et la hauteur (t-v) de la calotte céphalique, la largeur (zy-zy) et la hauteur (n-gn) de la face, la stature (V-sol) et la taille-assise (T-assise). On a calculé 5 proportions (indices de conformation): l'indice céphalique (eu-eu/g-op, IC), l'indice vertico-longitudinal (t-v/g-op, IVL), l'indice vertico-transversal (t-v/eu-eu, IVT), l'indice facial (n-gn/zy-zy, IF) et l'indice cormique (T-assise/V-sol). (Tableau 1). Nous avons calculé les valeurs moyennes des caractères incriminés concernant notre série d'étudiants à l'Université Écologique. On a établi, en plus, l'appartenance aux classes de variation correspondantes selon les échelles classiques pour toutes les valeurs moyennes de chaque série d'étudiants (Tableau 2). Nous avons calculé aussi le coefficient de variabilité (Fig. 4). (Săhleanu, 1977: 37–38; Luca, 2016: 168–172).

On a comparé les séries en utilisant le test t. (Fig. 3). Nous avons apprécié aussi les moyennes des séries par rapport aux valeurs moyennes des caractères sur l'ensemble du pays (Radu, Glavce, Ştirbu, 2011: 52) en utilisant la distance réduite „z" (Fig. 5). (Aron, Aron, 1997: 22–197).

Finalement, il faut souligner que l'analyse comparative des séries basée sur les valeurs moyennes des caractères ne fait pas une appréciation assez objective concernant certains phénomènes micro-évolutifs produits chez la jeune population roumaine étudiante. Les exigences méthodologiques ne sont pas entièrement accomplies (Necrasov, 1968: 31–35; Chamla, Gloor, 1986: 463–493; Luca, 2010: 225). Il reste, néanmoins, une caractérisation concernant les phénotypes métriques moyens et les différences constatées entre ces „sélections professionnelles" séparées en temps.
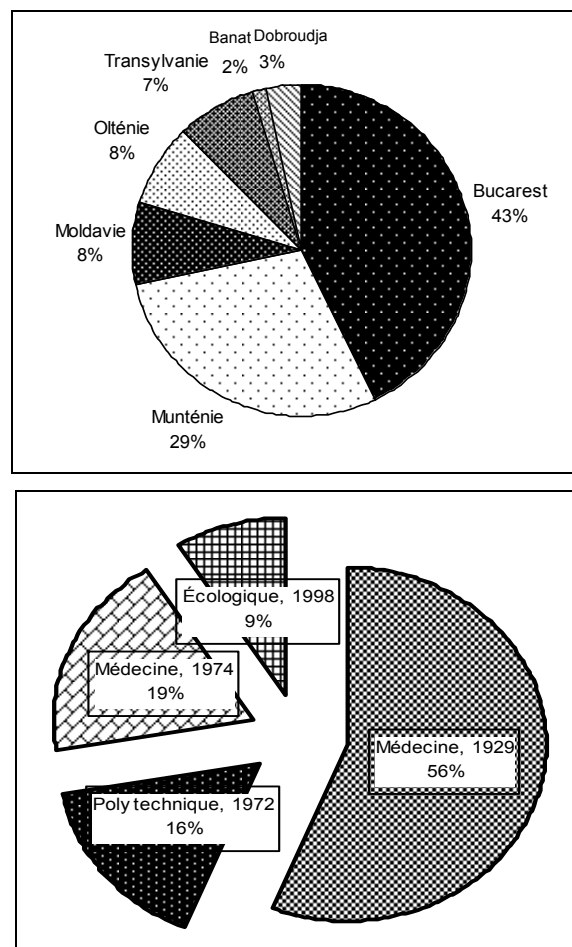

Fig. 1–2. Lieu de provenance des étudiants écologistes et le volume des séries des étudiants (%).

RÉSULTATS ET COMMENTAIRES

1. L'analyse comparative des séries d'étudiants (Tableaux 1, 2; Figures 3–5).

Les étudiants de Raineren Médecine (1929), ont, en ce qui concerne les dimensions, une calotte céphalique longue, large et haute et concernant la conformation, se caractérise par brachycéphalie, hypsicéphalie et métriocéphalie. La face est moyenne en largeur et moyenne à la limite supérieure en hauteur. La conformation faciale est mésoprosope vers leptoprosope. La stature moyenne, de 1715 mm, est grande et la taille-assise est surmoyenne, la proportion tronc/stature (= l'indice cormique) en illustrant moyennement une macrocormie au début de la catégorie. Par rapport aux autres séries, mais dans les mêmes catégories de variation, les étudiants de Rainer ont, en moyenne, le plus court diamètre céphalique longitudinal (g-op) et la plus basse stature et taille-assise. La stature c'est la dimension par laquelle les étudiants de toutes les séries suivantes dépassent progressivement et significativement les étudiants de Rainer: 1715 mm en 1929, 1743 mm en 1972, 1747,1 mm en 1974 et 1749,04 mm en 1998.

Tableau 1
Valeurs moyennes des caractères métriques chez les séries des étudiants

Caractère	Rainer, 1929 Médecine		Enăchescu, 1972 Polytechnique		Enăchescu, 1974 Médecine		Luca, 1996-1998 Univ. Écologique	
	M	DS	M	DS	M	DS	M	DS
g-op	187,8	6,7	189,9	6,37	191,9	7,4	188,52	6,96
eu-eu	157	5,6	158,9	5,72	159,8	5,3	155,58	4,88
t - v	128	5,4	132,6	4,81	131,4	5,2	123,04	5,27
zy-zy	141	5,1	138,3	5,15	142,3	5,17	141,21	5,36
n-gn	122,5	5,6	120,4	4,02	124,2	6,4	123,13	6,12
V-sol	1715	57,7	1743	59,1	1747,1	66	1749,04	54,41
T-assise	911	30	929,1	29,9	926,4	33,9	917,78	35,77
IC	83,79	3,48	84,08	3,83	83,4	4,3	82,63	3,77
IVL	68,15	3,06	69,87	2,73	68,54	3	65,27	3,79
IVT	81,46	3,91	83,15	3,73	82,24	3,6	79,1	3,94
IF	87,1	4,35	86,6	4,7	87,43	5	87,26	4,45
I.cormique	53,11	1,26	53,15	1,14	53,21	1,7	52,45	1,66

Tableau 2
Catégories et amplitudes de variation des valeurs moyennes chez les séries des étudiants

Caractère	Échelle de variation	Moyenne minimale	Série	Catégorie variation	Moyenne maximale	Série	Catégorie variation
g-op	Lebzelter-Saller	187,8	1929	long	191,9	1974	long ls
eu-eu	Lebzelter-Saller	155,58	1998	moyen ls	159,8	1974	large
t - v	Routil	123,04	1998	moyen	132,6	1972	haut
zy-zy	Lebzelter-Saller	138,3	1972	moyen	142,3	1974	moyen ls
n-gn	Lebzelter-Saller	120,4	1972	moyen	124,2	1974	haut début
V-sol	Martin	1715	1929	grand	1749,04	1998	grand
T-assise	Schlaginhaufen	911	1929	surmoyen	929,1	1972	surmoyen
IC	Martin-Saller	82,63	1998	brachycéphalique	84,08	1972	brachycéphalique
IVL	Martin	65,27	1998	hypsicéphalique	69,87	1972	hypsicéphalique
IVT	Martin	79,1	1998	métriocéphalique début	83,15	1972	métriocéphalique
IF	Martin-Saller	86,6	1972	mésoprosopique	87,43	1974	mésoprosopique ls
I.cormique	Giuffrida-Ruggieri	52,45	1998	métriocormique ls	53,21	1972	macrocormique début
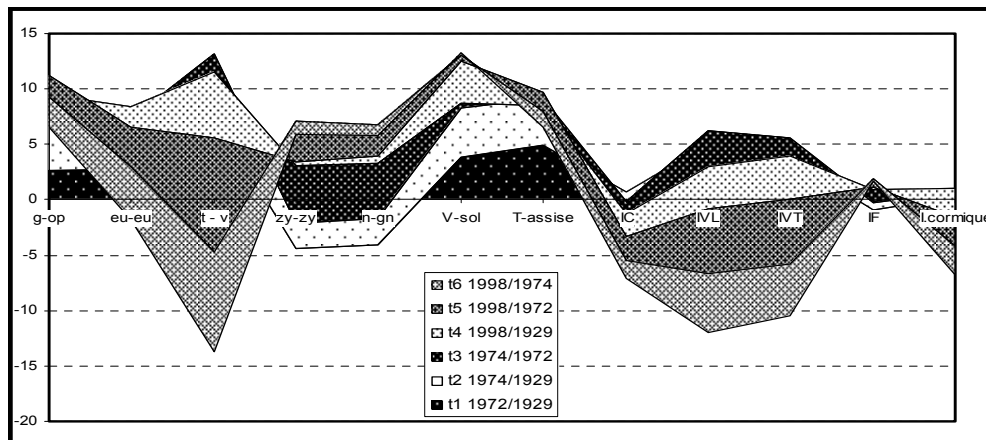
Fig. 3. Comparaison entre les séries des étudiants (t).
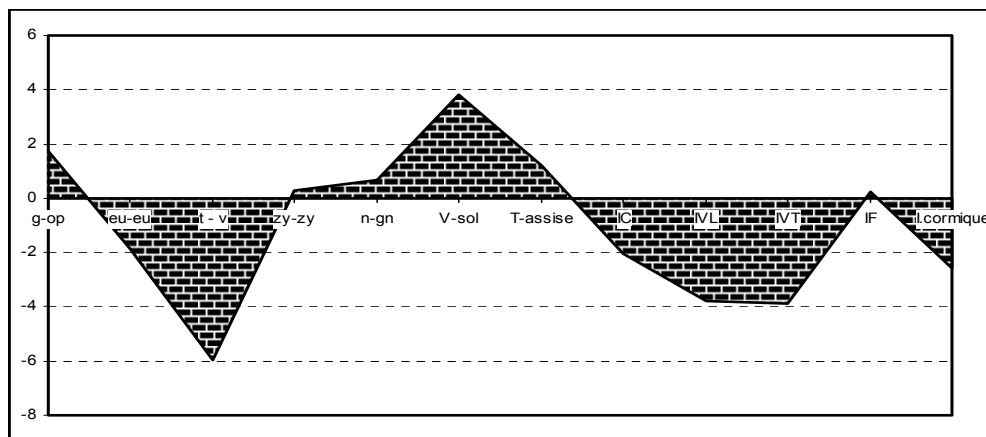
Fig. 4. Comparaison entre les étudiants (t) de Rainer et les étudiants de l'Université Écologique.

Les étudiants de Polytechnique (1972) ont la plus haute calotte et taille-assise et, concernant la conformation, la plus accentuée brachycéphalie, hypsicéphalie et métriocéphalie.

Les étudiants en Médecine (1974) ont la plus longue et large calotte céphalique et la plus large et haute face. Concernant la conformation, ils ont la plus prononcée mésoprosopie (vers la leptoprosopie) et, respectivement, macrocormie.

Les étudiants en psycho-pédagogie de l'Université Écologique (1996–1998) ont, en moyenne, la plus grande stature et la plus étroite et basse calotte céphalique. Ceux-ci diffèrent comparativement des séries antérieures par une diminution de la bracycéphalie, hypsicéphalie, métriocéphalie et de la proportion du tronc en stature (métriocormie par rapport à la macrocormie des autres séries) en faveur de l'allongement des membres inférieurs.

Un regard sur l'ensemble des séries (tableau 2) nous montre l'amplitude de variation des valeurs moyennes des caractères par leur grandeur et aussi par leur position dans les échelles de variation phénotypique. Au minimum se trouvent les étudiants de l'Université Écologique (eu-eu, t-v, IC, IVL, IVT, I, cormique), les étudiants de Rainer (g-op, V-sol, Taille-assise) et ceux de Polytechnique (zy-zy, n-gn, IF). Au maximum se situent les étudiants de Médecine de 1974 (g-op, eu-eu, zy-zy, n-gn, IF, I. cormique), les étudiants de Polytechnique (t-v, T-assise, IC, IVL, IVT) et ceux de l'Écologie par la stature. Quoiqu'il y ait beaucoup de différences significatives, les plus valeurs moyennes des séries se situent entre les limites de la même catégorie de variation. On trouve quatre exceptions: la largeur céphalique (eu-eu) qui varie entre moyenne et large, la hauteur céphalique (t-v) entre moyenne et haute, la hauteur faciale (n-gn) entre moyenne et haute et l'indice cormique entre métriocormie et macrocormie.

Les coefficients de variabilité (Fig. 5), proportion entre la valeur moyenne et la dispersion des phénotypes autour de celle-ci, c'est une mesure arithmétique simple de la variabilité. La grandeur du coefficient est déterminée (directement proportionnelle) par la distribution statistique des phénotypes et l'homogénéité d'un certain échantillon (Săhleanu, 1977: 37-38; Luca, 2016: 168-172). En ce qui concerne les séries des étudiants, on voit que les valeurs du coefficient sont petites et assez rapprochées entre elles selon tous les caractères considérés. En dépit des différences du volume, les coefficients de variabilité prouvent l'homogénéité des sélections et leur comparabilité.
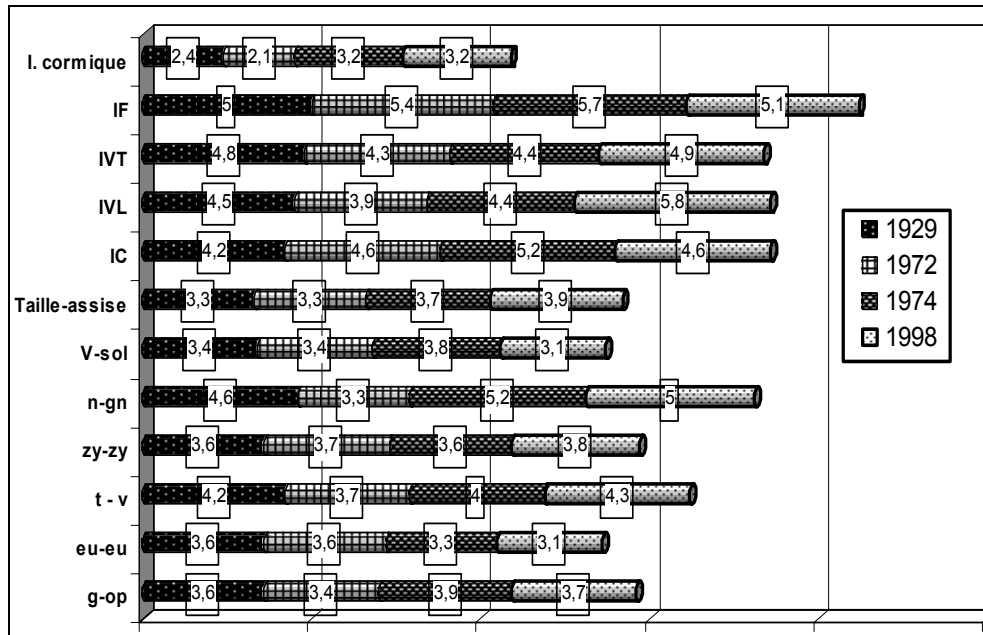

Fig. 5. Le coefficient de variabilité (%) selon le caractère et la série d'étudiants (%).

2. La comparaison des valeurs métriques moyennes des étudiants avec les données nationales (Figure 6).
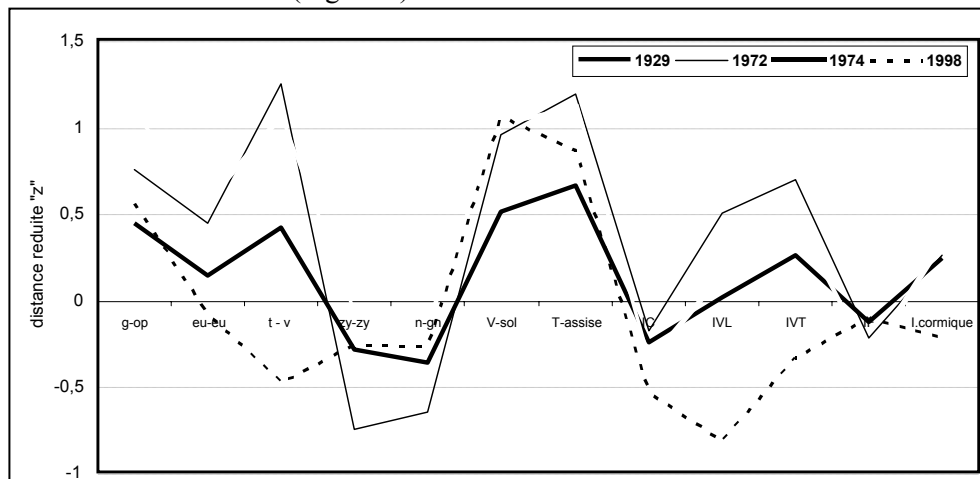
Fig. 6. Position des séries d'étudiants par rapport à l'ensemble du pays (z).

Les valeurs moyennes des caractères métriques concernant l'ensemble du pays et publiées dans l'Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie (Radu, Glavce, Știrbu, 2011: 52, 78) se réfèrent à la multitude de données collectées dans une période d'approximativement trois décennies (1960–90). Quoique la série de Rainer (1929) et la série de l'Université Écologique (1998) se trouvent à l'extérieur de cet intervalle, une comparaison des toutes les séries avec l'ensemble du pays met mieux en évidence les différences entre celles-ci.

Les valeurs moyennes ***des étudiants de Rainer*** se situent par rapport aux valeurs moyennes nationaux dans l'intervalle „M±DS", la distance réduite „z" étant comprise entre ±1. On peut sous-entendre que les étudiants de 1929 étaient mieux développés à ce moment-là. La stature des étudiants (1715 mm) est significativement plus grande par rapport aux moyennes calculées par Rainer pour les trois villages roumains, Nereju (1668 mm), Fundu Moldovei (1695 mm) ou Drăguș (1681 mm). (Rainer, 1937: 23–73). On peut apprécier chez les étudiants de Rainer, non significativement, une calotte plus longue et plus haute, une stature (1715: 1682,2 mm) et une taille-assise (911: 887,8 mm) plus grandes.

Les étudiants de Polytechnique (1972) dépassent les moyennes nationales par les dimensions céphaliques et corporelles. La hauteur de la calotte et celle de la taille-assise sont significativement plus grandes et la moyenne de la stature se situe à la limite de la signification (1743: 1682,2 mm). D'autre part, les dimensions faciales (largeur et hauteur) sont plus petites (et aussi les plus petites des séries), les auteurs de la recherche parlant d'une „diminution de la face" (Enăchescu, Pop, 1973: pp. 35–44).

Les étudiants de Médecine (1974) dépassent aussi les moyennes nationales par les dimensions de la calotte, stature et taille-assise mais les dimensions de la face sont plus rapprochées par rapport aux moyennes de l'Atlas. La longueur et la hauteur de la calotte, la stature (1747,1: 1682,2 mm) et la taille-assise sont significativement plus grandes (Enăchescu, Pop, 1977: pp. 127–130).

Les étudiants de l'Université Écologique (mesurages effectués par dr. Luca et les étudiants eux-mêmes) se rapprochent le plus par rapport aux valeurs nationales, excepté la stature, significativement plus grande (1749,04: 1682,2 mm) et, en même temps, la plus grande dans la succession des séries. On peut noter, bien que sans signification statistique, une calotte plus longue et plus basse, une face doucement plus étroite et plus basse et une taille-assise un peu plus haute. Concernant la conformation, les étudiants en écologie se caractérisent par de plus petits indices de la calotte, les valeurs de ceux-ci traduisant la diminution de la bracycéphalie, hypsicéphalie et métriocéphalie.

CONCLUSIONS

La comparaison des étudiants de l'Université Écologique, la dernière série de la recherche, avec les étudiants des autres séries met en évidence quelques modifications diachroniques intéressantes dans la structure anthropologiques des jeunes étudiants:

– une diminution significative des dimensions céphaliques, spécialement de la hauteur, qui entraîne des changements au niveau de la conformation de la calotte, en pouvant parler d'un début de débrachycéphalisati;

– l'augmentation significative et progressive de la stature susceptible d'un phénomène d'accélération de la croissance et, en même temps, une diminution de la proportion du tronc en stature en faveur de l'allongement des membres inférieurs.

On constate les mêmes ressemblances entre nos résultats et ceux des études sur les jeunes recrues, en admettant des modifications diachroniques qui se sont produites dans la structure morpho-typologique de la jeune population.

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ÉTUDE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE CONCERNANT LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE LA MAIN ET DE L'OREILLE EXTERNE CHEZ UNE SÉLECTION D'ENFANTS ROUMAINS D'ÂGE PRESCOLAIRE (3–6 ANS) PROVENANT DE TOUT LE PAYS

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The purpose of the paper is to evaluate the conformational and dimensional development of the hand and external ear of a group of children 3 to 6 years of age (240 children, 122 boys and 118 girls) from all the country, selected from the study of family and filiations. The data have been compared with Knussmann normality scales. The statistical signification was probed with Student t-test and Z-test. On the average, the auricle has a medium dimensions and conformation, while the hand has smaller dimensions and a medium conformation. The growth between 3 and 6 years is characteristic for this period, with irregular rhythm and low intensity sexual dimorphism, favoring the boys. The research represents a novelty for the Romanian auxological anthropology. The preschool age is a delicate ontogenetic period, contained in the Pende's "little puberty", and the development of the hand and external ear is very important for the future complex activity of the child, claiming the care and attention of the didactic staff. We consider that our study reveals its importance for the medical and educational system.

Keywords: anthropometry of hand and external ear, cross-study, sexual dimorphism.

INTRODUCTION

La main et l'oreille externe (le pavillon) représentent des „empreintes" importantes du corps humain en génétique médicale, médecine légale, pour la thérapeutique médicale (acupuncture, pressopuncture etc.), ayant une héritabilité appréciable et une valeur sémiologique importante (Geormăneanu, 1986: 32). Quelques exemples concernant la forme, la grandeur, la position, l'orientation etc. de l'oreille ou/et de la main dans différentes maladies héréditaires. Dans les syndromes chromosomiques: des oreilles dysplasiques, petites, bas implantées, des

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mains grossières, les doigts courts (Down – trisomie 21); des oreilles malformées, des mains „serrées" avec hexadactylie (Pätau – trisomie 13); des oreilles malformées, anguleuses, le pouce élargi (trisomie 22) etc. Dans malformations cranio-faciales: des oreilles bas implantées, mains avec syndactylie ayant un aspect d'un gant avec un doigt (syndrome Apert), des oreilles basses tournées en rond, brachyclinosyndactylie, pouce élargie (syndrome Carpenter) etc. En dysplasies squelettiques: oreilles épaisses, dysmorphiques, brachydactylie (Dysplasie dystrophique), oreilles proéminentes, mains longues (dysplasie Spranger-Wiedermann) etc. En gigantisme: des oreilles et mains grandes (syndrome Sotos), oreilles orientées en derrière avec des anomalies du hélix, anthélix, concha, avec arachnodactylie contractante, des doigts minces et longs (syndrome Stickler) etc. Dans les syndromes avec surdité congénitale se remarquent des malformations des oreilles externes: oreilles petites, la présence des fossettes, des fistules préauriculaires, déformations structurales etc. accompagnées fréquemment par des défauts du squelette (ex. mains avec synphalangisme etc.) (Geormăneanu, 1986: 107; Walter-Roşianu, 1986: 23).

Quelques mots concernant la morphogenèse de la main et de l'oreille externe. Pendant les semaines 5 et 6 on esquisse chez l'embryon humain, dès extrémités dorsales des arcs branchiaux I et II, les tubercules auriculaires dont formeront l'oreille externe avec le pavillon et le conduit auditif externe et au cours de la période fœtale précoce celle-ci se déplace vers le crâne ayant déjà l'aspect humain. Pendant les semaines 6 et 7, les bourgeons des membres supérieurs se séparent en segments, le segment distal représentant „la main primitive", comme une plaque élargie et puis s'esquisse les bourgeons des doigts réunis d'abord par une membrane interdigitale qui se résorbe dans la semaine 8, quand s'individualisent les doigts définitifs (Ranga, 1990: 184–194).

Dans l'anthropologie roumaine on connaît peu d'études concernant l'anthropométrie de la main et de l'oreille externe chez la population roumaine adulte (Dumitrescu, 1961: 78–109; Vulpe, 1971: 93–98; Schmidt, 1971: 85–92; Luca, 2016: 88–99; Luca, 2017: 419–426) et moins de recherches sur les enfants, celles-ci concernant des enfants déficients (Vulpe, 2003: 99–111; Petrescu, 2013: 356–361). Ainsi, les enfants déficients d'ouïe ont des oreilles mésomorphes avec une tendance accentuée vers brachymorphie, plus larges spécialement aux garçons, plus éloignées et le lobule plus petit (Vulpe, 2003: 99–111). Les enfants avec un retard mental ont comparativement les échelles de normalité selon l'âge et sexe, des mains courtes et larges, la variabilité métrique variant seulement dans la plage des catégories situées au-dessous de valeur moyenne (Petrescu, 2013: 356–361). Chez certains enfants normaux de 3–5 ans on décrit, en ce qui concerne la morphologie, la prédominance d'une oreille moyenne en grandeur, de conformation mésomorphe vers brachymorphe, avec un lobule moyen vers petit, libre ou partiellement adhérent (Luca, 2014: 250–261).

Notre étude constitue une nouveauté dans l'anthropologie auxologique roumaine et une contribution à l'enrichissement de la base des données morphotypologiques et biomédicales. C'est un travail concernant une étude transversale qui permet des appréciations sur des sections d'âge mais aussi, comparativement, une estimation évolutive de l'anthropométrie de la main et de l'oreille externe entre 3–6 ans – „la deuxième enfance" – jusqu'à l'apparition de la première molaire définitive, période caractérisée par un rythme plus lent et irrégulier de la croissance et développement, avec des différences petites entre les deux sexes („l'enfance neutre"), un intervalle ontogénique compris dans les grandes alternances de Stratz: 3–4 ans = „accomplissement" ou „turgor primus" et 5–6 ans = „étendue" ou „proceritas prima" et compris aussi dans „la petite puberté" de Pende (4–8 ans). (Ghițescu, 1965: 73; Ranga, 1990: 389).

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODES

Le lot des enfants d'âge préscolaire (3–6 ans) a été sélectionné dès expertises de recherche en filiation (photos 1–6)[1] et dès recherches sur les familles (Luca, 1997:87, 138; Luca, 2014: 250) et comprend 240 enfants de 3–6 ans (122 garçons et 118 fillettes) (Fig. 1). Les sujets proviennent de tous les départements du pays, également rural/urbain, et aussi de Bucarest. Les provinces historiques mieux représentées sont Transylvanie, Munténie et Moldavie (Fig. 2).

Les dimensions (en mm) considérées sont : la largeur (pa-pra) et la longueur (sa-sba) de l'oreille externe (pavillon), respectivement, la largeur (mm-ml) et la longueur (sty-da) de la main, toutes celles-ci représentant la base sur laquelle on a calculé les indices conformationnels; l'indice otique (pa-pra / sa-sba) et l'indice de la main (mm-ml / sty-da). Pour chaque individu on a calculé les moyennes arithmétiques des mesurages gauche/droite. On a calculé les valeurs moyennes des caractères métriques de l'oreille et de la main selon l'âge et le sexe et leur éloignement par rapport aux valeurs moyennes – étalon (de référence) de Knussmann (tableau 1). On a apprécié l'intensité du dimorphisme sexuel (t) (Fig. 5) et la variabilité phénotypique des caractères selon l'âge et le sexe sur l'échelle de variation sigmatique de Knussmann à l'aide de la distance réduite „z" (variable normée) (Figures 3 et 4). A été calculé aussi le rendement (le gain total) de croissance dimensionnelle de 3 à 6 ans sur la base des valeurs moyennes annuelles, mais les résultats demandent une appréciation réservée, notre étude étant transversal, avec d'autres enfants pour chaque âge (Fig. 6). (Aron, 1997: 152; Deloison, 1996: 357; Knussmann, 1968: 273; Milici, 2014:108-119; WHO, 1995).

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[1] Les photos reproduites après celles originales des Archives de l'Institut „Fr. Rainer".
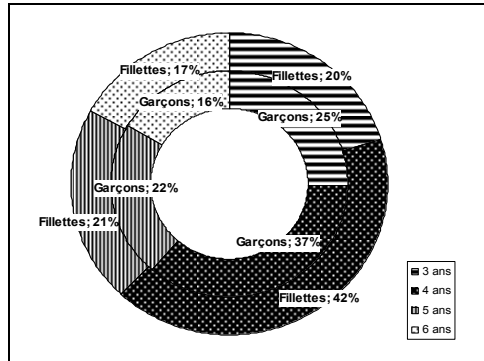
Fig. 1. Distribution selon l'âge et le sexe.
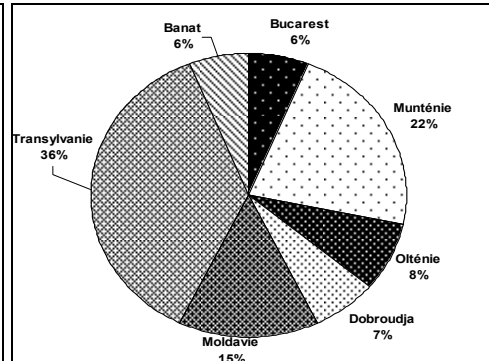
Fig. 2. Lieu de naissance des enfants de 3–6 ans des enfants de 3–6 ans.

RÉSULTATS ET COMMENTAIRES

1. **Valeurs moyennes dimensionnelles et conformationnelles de l'oreille externe et de la main chez les enfants de 3–6 ans** (Tableau 1).

1.1. **L'oreille externe** (Tableau 1).

Tant les garçons que tant les filles du lot ont par rapport aux valeurs moyennes de l'échelle Knussmann une oreille externe (pavillon) moyenne en largeur et longueur, aussi en ce qui concerne la conformation exprimée par l'indice otique. Les valeurs moyennes des dimensions et de l'indice selon l'âge, sexe et caractère otique se situent à l'intervalle „M±DS", la valeur de la distance réduite (z) étant comprise entre –0,36 et +0,46 chez les garçons, respectivement entre –0,41 et +0,52 chez les filles (Tableau 1).

Photo 1. Garçon de 4 ans.

Photo 2. Fille de 4 ans.
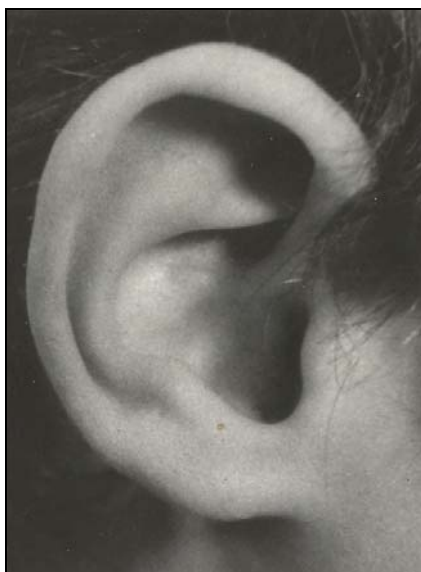
Photo 3. Oreille droite, garçon de 4 ans.   Photo 4. Oreille droite, fille de 4 ans.

Tableau 1
Anthropométrie de l'oreille externe et de la main chez les enfants de 3-6 ans.
Valeurs moyennes

		Garçons			Fillettes			Diff.sexe
		M	DS	"z"	M	DS	"z"	t
	Oreille							
3 ans	pa-pra	32,32	2,73	-0,05	31,25	2,34	0,2	1,55
	sa-sba	52,55	4	-0,24	50,72	2,81	-0,17	1,99
	ind.otique	61,15	7,77	0,12	62,51	7,08	0,52	-0,68
4 ans	pa-pra	32,84	1,97	0,09	31,33	1,77	-0,06	3,87
	sa-sba	52,85	2,48	-0,36	52,21	2,88	-0,25	1,14
	ind.otique	62,44	4,51	0,46	59,97	4,18	0,1	2,68
5 ans	pa-pra	33	1,33	-0,03	31,84	1,6	-0,13	2,83
	sa-sba	54,27	2,36	-0,06	52,51	2,52	-0,31	2,63
	ind.otique	60,9	3,13	0,24	61,08	3,45	0,28	-0,2
6 ans	pa-pra	33,6	2	-0,25	32,31	2,46	-0,41	1,82
	sa-sba	55,69	2,68	-0,17	53,12	3,09	-0,15	2,79
	ind.otique	60,41	3,6	-0,05	60,93	4,54	-0,19	0,4
	Main							
3 ans	mm-ml	50,33	3,38	-1,7	51,24	2,91	-0,89	-0,96
	sty-da	101,54	6,13	-1,12	104,1	8,7	-0,44	-1,1
	ind. main	49,65	3,25	-0,58	49,67	3,29	-0,26	-0,02
4 ans	mm-ml	53,99	3,21	-1,13	51,28	3,05	-1,66	3,71
	sty-da	108,26	6,78	-1,13	104,97	7,23	-1,36	2,02
	ind. main	50,11	2,81	0,25	49,12	3,32	0,05	1,98
5 ans	mm-ml	55,39	3,54	-1,28	53,03	2,9	-1,87	2,65
	sty-da	112,06	7,56	-1,29	108,81	5,93	-1,71	1,73
	ind. main	49,49	2,29	0,24	48,82	2,82	-0,07	0,94
6 ans	mm-ml	58,28	3,36	-1,05	57,67	3	-0,81	0,51
	sty-da	122,47	7,28	-0,74	120,5	7,76	-0,98	0,69
	ind. main	47,53	1,82	-0,27	48,05	3,81	0,25	0,45

1.2. **La main** (Tableau 1)

Par rapport aux valeurs moyennes de Knussmann, celles des enfants du lot indiquent une main plus petite concernant les deux dimensions, la largeur et la longueur, aussi quelques différences sexuelles. Ainsi, chez les garçons, la largeur de la main est moindre significativement pour tous les âges (3–6 ans) et aussi la longueur de la main entre 3–5 ans, les valeurs moyennes de celles-ci étant situées dans la catégorie „<M–DS", excepté la longueur de la main, dont la valeur moyenne se situe dans la catégorie „M±DS".

Photo 5. Les mains d'un garçons de 4 ans.   Photo 6. Les mains d'une fille de 4 ans.

Chez les fillettes, la main est moindre significativement à 4 et à 5 ans par les deux dimensions, les valeurs moyennes étant comprises dans la catégorie „<M–DS". À 3 et à 6 ans les fillettes ont, moyennement, une main moyenne en longueur et en largeur. Concernant la conformation, l'indice de la main – proportion entre la largeur et sa longueur – a, chez les deux sexes et pour tous les âges, une valeur moyenne située dans la catégorie „M±DS" (Tableau 1).

2**. Variabilité phénotypique dimensionnelle de l'oreille externe et de la main chez les enfants de 3–6 ans** (Figures 3 et 4).

2.1. **L'oreille externe** (Fig. 3)

Les phénotypes de largeur et longueur du pavillon otique se situent davantage dans la catégories moyennes, „M±DS", chez les deux sexes pour tous les âges (> 70%). La distribution des phénotypes individuels décrit une courbe de variation presque symétrique, gaussienne. Chez les garçons, selon l'âge, on remarque une variabilité plus large à 3 ans, celle-ci se restreignant vers les âges suivants. Chez les filles, à tous les âges, la largeur de l'oreille dépasse en variabilité la longueur, spécialement à 3 et à 6 ans.
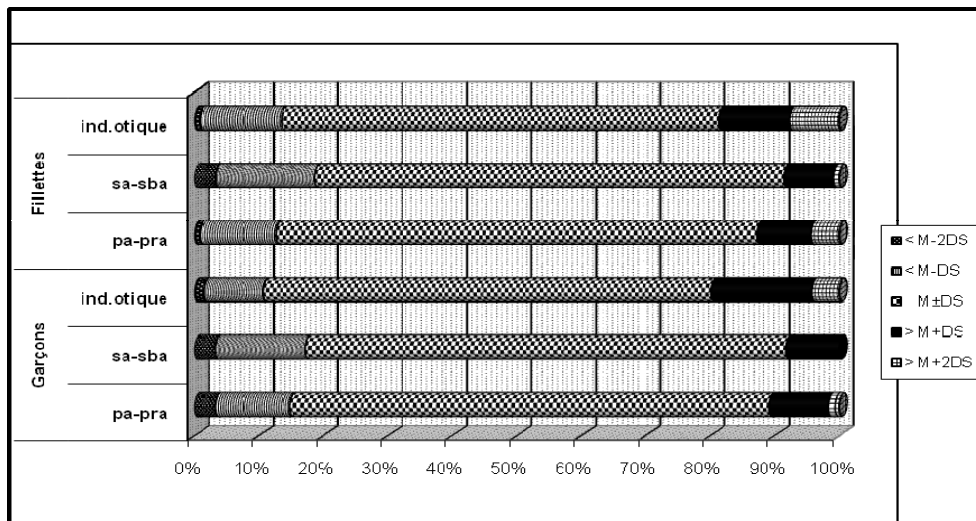
Fig. 3. Variabilité de l'oreille externe entre 3-6 ans sur l'échelle Knussmann.

2.2. **La main** (Fig. 4)

Chez les deux sexes, entre 3–6 ans, les phénotypes dimensionnels de la main ont une distribution appréciable dans les catégories „petite" et „très petite", l'amplitude de variation étant comprise entre les catégories „M±DS" et „<M–2DS". Selon l'âge, chez les garçons, la variabilité plus grande se remarque pour la largeur à 3 ans et pour la longueur à 5 ans et la moindre pour les deux dimensions s'enregistre à 6 ans. Chez les fillettes, la variabilité de la largeur est plus restreinte, enregistrant un maximum à 4 ans. La longueur a une variabilité maximale à 3 ans, ceci restreignant à 4–5 ans et, puis, s'élargissant faiblement à 6 ans.
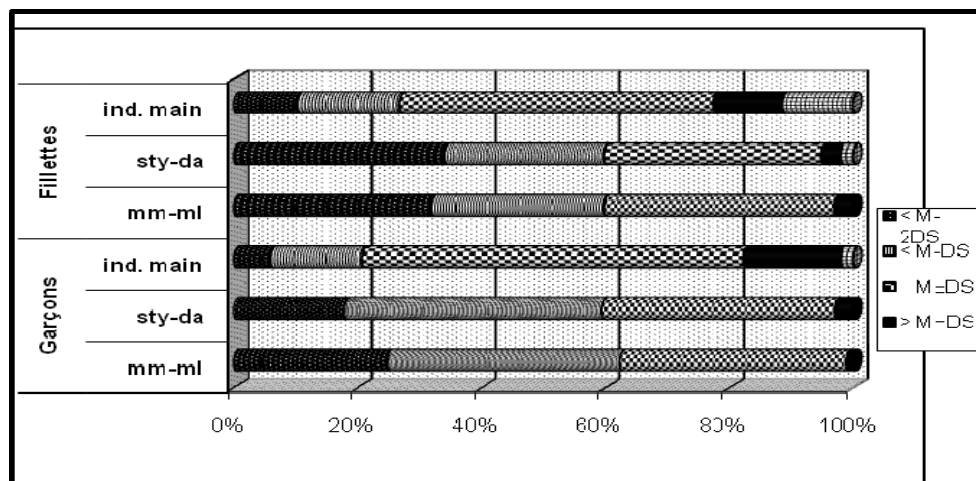
Fig. 4. Variabilité de la main entre 3–6 ans sur l'échelle Knussmann.

3. **Le dimorphisme sexuel métrique chez les enfants de 3–6 ans** (Tableau 1, Fig. 5)

3.1. **L'oreille externe** (Tableau 1, Fig. 5)
Chez tous les âges les différences concernant les dimensions sont favorables aux garçons, significativement pour la largeur à 4 et 5 ans et pour la longueur à 5 et 6 ans. On remarque aussi une différence significative pour l'indice otique à 4 ans ceci ayant une valeur plus grande chez les garçons.

3.2. **La main** (Tableau 1, Fig. 5)
En ce qui concerne les dimensions de la main, on voit une différence, pas significative statistiquement, à 3 ans, en faveur des fillettes dont les valeurs moyennes de largeur et longueur de la main sont plus grandes par rapport aux garçons. Les garçons enregistrent entre 4-6 ans de moyennes dimensionnelles plus grandes, significativement seulement à 4 ans pour les deux dimensions et à 5 ans pour la largeur de la main.
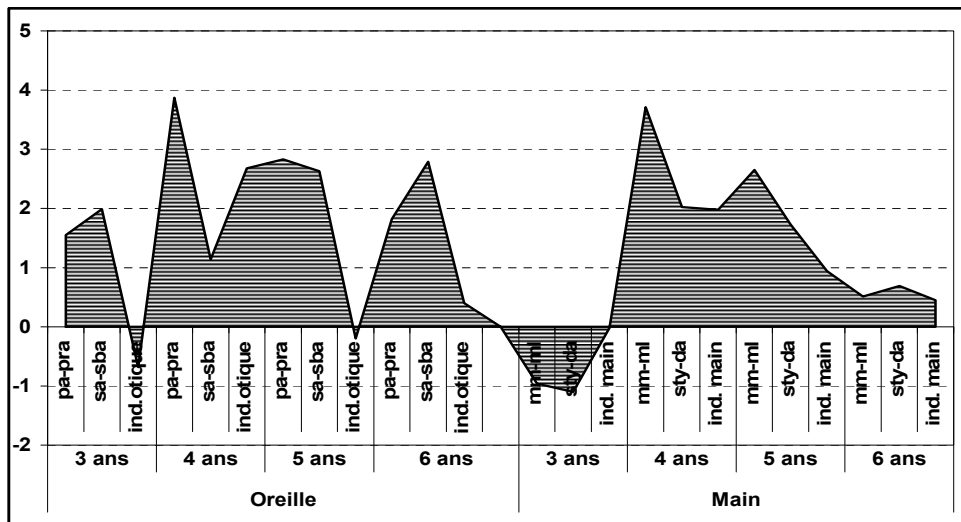
Fig. 5. Le dimorphisme sexuel métrique chez les enfants de 3-6 ans au niveau de l'oreille externe et de la main (t).

4. **Le développement dimensionnel de l'oreille externe et de la main entre 3–6 ans** (Fig. 6)
Quoique notre étude soit un étude transversale, les sujets étant différents pour chaque âge, sous la réserve de rigueur, nous avons essayé aussi une estimation de l'évolution dimensionnelle de la main et de l'oreille externe de 3 à 6 ans par rapport aux données-étalon des tableaux de Knussmann (Knussmann, 1968: 273–75). Les différences d'un âge à l'autre sont appréciées en millimètres et, naturellement, les accroissements sont plus saisissables dans la figure 6 au niveau de la main chez les deux sexes (Fig. 6).

4.1. **L'oreille externe** (Fig. 6)

Chez les garçons entre 3 et 6 ans le pavillon de l'oreille croît en largeur avec 1,28 mm et en longueur avec 3,14mm, respectivement, chez les fillettes, avec 1,06 mm en lageur et avec 2,4 mm en longueur. Selon l'âge, chez les garçons la largeur croît modérément surtout entre 3–4 ans et 5–6 ans et la longueur croît entre 4–6 ans approximativement de 2,5 fois par rapport à la largeur. Chez les filles, la largeur, aussi modérément, croît spécialement entre 4–6 ans et la longueur entre 3–4 ans.

4.2. **La main** (Fig. 6)

Dès 3 à 6 ans, la main croît chez les garçons avec 7,95 mm en largeur et avec 20,93 mm en longueur et chez les filles avec 6,43 mm en largeur et avec 16,4 mm en longueur. Selon l'âge chez les garçons la main croît dimensionnellement davantage entre 3–4 ans et entre 5–6 ans. Chez les filles, entre 3–6 ans, la main croît progressivement tant en largeur que tant en longueur, l'accroissement notable étant consigné entre 5–6 ans.

Fig. 6. L'accroissement dimensionnel de la main et de l'oreille externe entre 3 et 6 ans (mm).

CONCLUSIONS

Le travail apprécie le développement dimensionnel de la main et de l'oreille externe chez un lot d'enfants roumains de 3-6 ans provenus de tout le pays. Par rapport aux échelles de normalité de Knussmann, le pavillon de l'oreille, chez les deux sexes et à tous les âges, est moyen en largeur, en
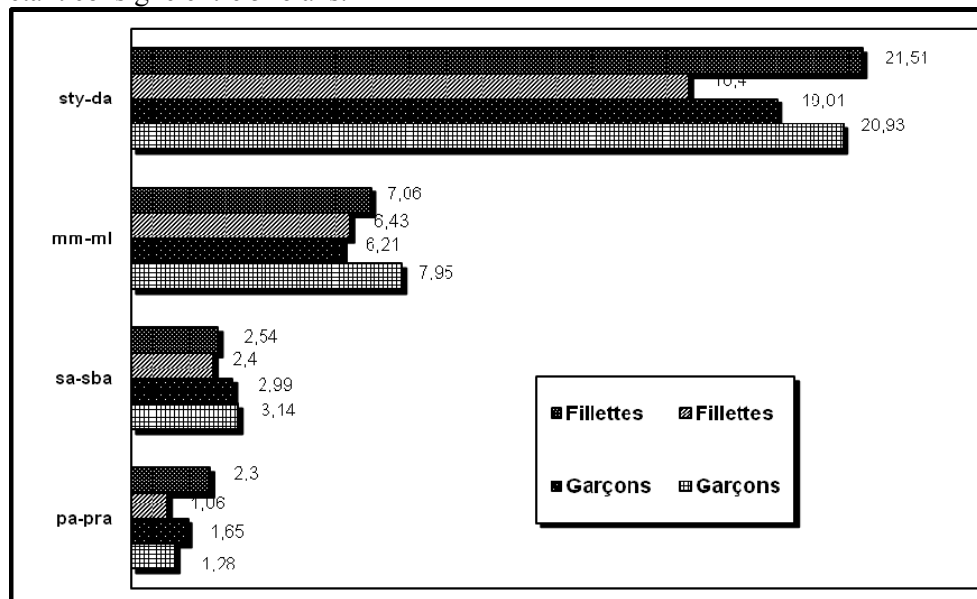
longueur et conformationnellement, quant à la main elle est plus petite en longueur et largeur et moyenne seulement par conformation. L'accroissement dimensionnel est plus lent, caractéristique à cette période et son rythme est irrégulier. Le dimorphisme sexuel est faible en intensité et, en général, en faveur des garçons. L'âge préscolaire (3-6 ans) est une période ontogénique délicate, comprise dans la „petite puberté" de Pende, d'évolution physique et psychique, de préparation des enfants pour la vie scolaire. Parmi beaucoup d'autres, le développement de la main et de l'oreille est très important pour la prochaine activité complexe et pour leur santé, exigeant un soin, une surveillance et une attention spéciale du personnel didactique. Notre travail est une nouveauté dans l'anthropologie auxologique roumaine dont l'importance se relève aussi dans le système médical et d'enseignement.

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FEEDING DISORDERS IN AUTISTIC CHILDREN:
AN OVERVIEW

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Autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder that the DSM-V defines by how it affects the ability to socialize/communicate and the presence of stereotyped behaviours and interests. Feeding disorders are frequent among children with autism spectrum disorders, parents often reporting the poor diet of their children and showing concern with regards to their health. In this paper, we aim to review the studies researching feeding disorders in order to identify the most common causes, behaviours and effective interventions.

Keywords: feeding disorders, autism, interventions.

INTRODUCTION

Autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder that the DSM-V defines by how it affects the ability to socialize/communicate and the presence of stereotyped behaviours and interests (Kim, 2015). Additionally, autism can present several associated disorders, intellectual disability, motor delay/disorders, gastrointestinal syndrome, epilepsy, sensory disorders and feeding disorders.

Global incidence of this disorder is progressively increasing, the percentages increasing so fast and in such different populations, that the medical world is talking about an epidemic. In the United Kingdom, in 1997, the prevalence was estimated at 7.2 in 10000 children aged between 3 and 15 years, and 9 years later, in 2006, the prevalence from a study conducted on children aged between 0 and 15 years was 44.2 in 10000 (Elsabbagh, 2012). In 2014, in the United States of America, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention announced a prevalence of 1 in 68 children aged up to 13 years (McCarthy, 2014).

Among children with autism, the prevalence of feeding disorders was estimated at 90% (Kodak *et al.*, 2008) and the prevalence of selective diets was estimated at 70% (Twachtman-Reilly *et al.*, 2008). Restrictive diets and feeding

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disorders often bring children to the attention of physicians and nutritionists because there is a risk that the child is not getting the necessary nutritional intake for optimal health, or, in severe cases, necessary for sustaining life. Parents are often concerned about the low number of foods in their child's diet or the large quantities of just one food. Food selectivity is present in neurotypical children as well, but in children with autism spectrum disorders, it is more severe, more prevalent and harder to treat.

Considering all this data, in the present study we aim to review the factors that lead to the occurrence of feeding disorders and the most effective interventions presented in the literature.

DEFINITION

Over time, the definition and the limits of feeding disorders have varied due to the way the causes and consequences were understood at that specific time. Many definitions included any deviation from normality in feeding disorders, but normality wasn't and couldn't be precisely defined. Additionally, cultural differences in regards to what a child should or should not eat at a certain age, what is healthy, appropriate, recommended qualitatively or quantitatively, made the definition and understanding of these disorders even more difficult. Thus, we have decided upon the definition given by Green (2015), which states that feeding disorders are short term feeding patterns that lead to a higher risk of negative social or medical consequences in the long term (Green *et al*., 2015).

BEHAVIOURS

The feeding disorders encountered most often in the autistic child are: inability to chew and/or swallow (Kadey, 2013), overselectivity, refusal, vomiting, insensitivity (Seiverling, 2011). Additionally, there are several complex behaviours related to feeding and eating, often seen in children that have sensory and motor disorders: keeping the food in the mouth without swallowing, filling the mouth completely, swallowing unchewed food, regurgitation, mouth, tactile, visual, or olfactory oversensitivity, or oversensitivity to the surrounding environment (Smith, 2014).

Moreover, related behaviours during meal times can be extremely challenging, as they are an important part of feeding disorders and the target of many therapeutic interventions. Thus, children cry, turn their head, purse their lips, spit or throw the food, throw the plates or the eating utensils, scream, throw themselves on the floor, bite, hit themselves or others (Laud *et al*., 2009; Atlee *et al*., 2015).

Food overselectivity is displayed through the restrictive diets of children, who have exclusive preferences, refuse foods they do not know, and reduce the food intake to just a few types of foods. In a study conducted in the United Kingdom, it was shown

that 69% of the autistic subjects (children aged between 3 and 10 years) had less than 20 different foods in their general diet (Cornish, 1998). Another study based on interviewing parents of children with autism spectrum disorders showed that they have a limited diet of 2–5 different foods, and that the main reason the parents consult a physician is their concern in regards to the medical consequences of such a diet in the long term (Bowers, 2002). Whiteley et al. showed that 83% of parents report that their children's food repertoire is very limited, emphasizing the fact that the accepted types of foods depend on texture/consistency, presentation or the name of the producer/packaging (Whiteley *et al.*, 2000).

Vomiting is a behaviour sometimes seen as both a feeding behaviour on its own and as accompanying refusal and overselectivity, and even as a form of protest during some behavioural interventions for improving the diet.

The child may sometimes accept to bite into or even swallow a food, but will vomit shortly afterwards, due to either the biological repulsion to the food or by inducing this process by themselves. Another form of food refusal after swallowing, specific to autism, is regurgitation, known mostly due to parents' reports, and less documented in the literature (Seiverling, 2010).

Just as some children may present oversensitivity, others may present insensitivity that can affect any of the 5 senses and can be caused by sensory processing disorders of these senses. Tactile and gustatory insensitivity is another feeding disorder, which sometimes has long term consequences on children's health. The child cannot feel that particular sensation or they cannot discriminate between different perceptions (Clark *et al.*, 2013). There are children who cannot say, judging solely by taste, if they are eating a banana or an apple, who have a limited capacity to perceive the amount of food in their mouth and, sometimes, who are unable to distinguish food items from non-food items. As a consequence of the lack of sensitivity, there is a need for stimulation in that area, thus an affected child will put anything at their disposal in their mouth, such as food, modelling clay, toys, and money, and will sometimes self-stimulate with food, asking for it over and over, especially in stressful moments. Also, they can sometimes prefer extreme tastes: sour, spicy, bitter, asking for foods like lemon, vinegar, chilli peppers, and so on.

CAUSES

The causes of these feeding disorders are not fully known, but in most cases they are a combination of medical, biological and psycho-behavioural causes that, together, create a large collection of disorders with different severities and characteristics.

Generally, the most common biological causes are due to the different sensory sensitivity of children with autism that manifests as oversensitivity to

certain stimuli in different combinations, or as undersensitivity to those stimuli. Sometimes, both sensory issues can occur at the same time, for different stimuli, creating a complex spectrum of feeding disorders, which makes interventions very difficult to implement.

Of course, there are several medical causes associated with these disorders, such as gastrointestinal disorders (constipation, intolerance, allergies), which are fairly common in people with autism (Valicenti-McDermott *et al.*, 2006). However, other studies have shown that only a small percentage of feeding disorders is caused by these issues, and there is no significant difference between the prevalence of gastrointestinal disorders in children with autism and the prevalence of these disorders in children from the control group, thus promoting the idea that autism does not predispose children to these disorders (Levy *et al.*, 2007).

Another type of causes are the psycho-behavioural causes, which derive from aversion to change, oppositional behaviour, excessive preferences and the tendency to repeat the same known thing over and over, which are fairly common in people with autism.

One of the major causes of mastication issues is the inability to control the muscles involved in mastication, which causes 23.2% of feeding disorders (Schreck *et al.*, 2006). However, simultaneously, the causes can be medical, dental, behavioural, due to oversensitivity or inability to perceive and control the chewed food. The muscles in the tongue are sometimes affected and this leads to the inability to control chewing and swallowing. Of course, there are mental causes as well, due to the general developmental delay, physical and cognitive inability to control the feeding processes and/or a poor management of the act of feeding from caregivers or teachers (Kadey, 2013).

The causes of overselectivity can be both biological and psycho-behavioural. Oral, tactile or gustatory sensitivity is one of the biological reasons behind such behaviour. The sensation of repulsion or the inability to tolerate the taste, the intensity of the aroma or the texture of certain foods is physical. Sensory sensitivity has been repeatedly emphasized by researchers in the last decades, and its prevalence among children with autism is over 90%, especially in regards to taste, smell and touch (Leekam *et al.*, 2007). Another cause discovered by researchers is the responsiveness to sensory stimuli, as it has been observed that 89% of children with autism participating in the study displayed under-responsivity, 75% displayed over-responsivity, with 67% of subjects displaying both to different stimuli (Ben-Sasson *et al.*, 2007).

In a study led by Schreck (Schreck *et al.*, 2006) it was observed that an important factor in the existence of a restrictive diet in children with autism is the family diet and the number of foods that the extended family commonly uses. For all types of food, the family's food preferences were the only predictor of the child's food preferences, which means that there is a proportional relationship between the two.

In regards to insensitivity, the cause is primarily biological. There are either affected receptors or sensory nerves in that area, or the processing of stimuli in the brain is affected. There is no medical treatment for this type of disorder, but according to the degree and the level of impairment, through daily training and exercise, the child can be taught to discriminate between a few more obvious tastes/smells/textures and/or can be taught to discriminate between food and non-food at the cognitive level.

EFFECTIVE INTERVENTIONS

The interventions in these cases must be adjusted precisely to the causes that emerged from the functional analysis of all the factors involved. For children who have actual biological difficulties to control the muscles of mastication, the best intervention is offering a longer time for meals, doing exercises for facial, lingual and masticatory motricity in order to train the muscles and learn the process.

It is recommended that caregivers and teachers adapt the time, type of food and size of the bites to the child's age and ability to eat. And, in the case of issues with chewing, swallowing and other types of associated feeding disorders (keeping the food in the mouth, filling the mouth completely due to the lack of perception of the mouth's filling capacity, etc.) it is recommended that the food be cut in very small pieces, the child be observed closely during meals, and they should not be rushed and should not be allowed to do complex physical activities with food in their mouth in order to avoid the risk of chocking and suffocating. Of course, the exercises for strengthening the muscles of mastication, through medical and/or therapeutic interventions led by a speech specialist, constitute a real help in some cases.

Initial intervention for food overselectivity is desensitization, gradually exposing the child to the food by which they are repulsed or which is necessary for their diet, starting with very small doses. It can be: visual, tactile, olfactory, gustatory and for swallowing. The order, the degree of exposure and the speed at which the doses are increased must be strictly adapted to the type of impairment, the severity of the disorder and the child's cognitive and behavioural development.

Several psychotherapeutic approaches have proved to be effective in these cases, as they are behavioural analysis techniques, reinforcing through rewards the desired behaviours and eliminating the disruptive behaviours associated with feeding during meals (spitting the food, screaming, throwing utensils, etc.). Among these, the most common and the ones that have proved to be efficient in a number of cases, according to the literature, are: differential reinforcement, escape extinction, positive reinforcement and nonremoval of the spoon (Piazza *et al*., 2003; Valdimarsdottir *et al*., 2010).

In trying to find a solution and to implement techniques that improve feeding for children with ASD, vomiting is one of the common behaviours that the

physician or the behavioural psychologist deals with, either as a response to intervention or due to the sensory sensitivity to those stimuli. Excessive vomiting can cause serious medical issues of the stomach, liver, oesophagus, mouth and teeth. Thus, it is recommended to consult paediatricians, child nutritionists and specialists in feeding disorders, in order to find combined solutions, both medical and psychological, so that the child's life is not put in danger.

MEDICAL RISKS AND CONSEQUENCES

One of the major concerns of both specialists and parents is the risk of nutritional deficit due to the poor or severely restricted diet of some children with feeding disorders. Several studies looked at the food intake on 3- or 7-day nutritional questionnaires, along with medical tests to check for the quantities of nutrients ingested by the children and if the necessary amounts were present in the organism. The results varied, however, the main reason being the huge diversity of the type of diets and ingested food. Cornish et al. (1998) reported that 53% of the children in the study had inadequate nutritional intake, below the nutritional recommendations for their age. The most consumed foods were fats and carbohydrates, and even though the majority of subjects didn't eat sufficient fruits and vegetables, vitamin A, vitamin B2, folic acid, sodium, potassium, magnesium, phosphorous and copper were within normal parameters. In 2009, Herndon et al., reported that the daily intake of calcium, iron, vitamin D, vitamin E and fibre is lower in subjects with autism. Some studies show that feeding disorders have serious consequences on nutritional intake in the long term, both quantitatively and qualitatively, as iron, vitamin D, vitamin C, niacin, riboflavin and zinc were found to be below the levels recommended by nutritionists (Cernak, 2010). However, other studies didn't find a difference between the intake of various nutrients in children with autism and children in the control group (Schmitt *et al.*, 2008), both groups falling within the recommended values for their age.

Vomiting and regurgitation, which accompany most of the feeding disorders, can cause serious medical issues in the stomach, liver, oesophagus, mouth and teeth, due to acidity.

The harder to see consequences of these disorders that drastically change the feeding behaviour are those with a late onset, especially in children who did not benefit from an intervention or for whom the intervention did not yield any results: increased risk of health issues, including malnutrition, cognitive and developmental delay, psycho-social deficits and poor academic development.

In severe cases, the consequences are even more serious, individuals needing invasive and drastic interventions, such as a feeding tube, in order to prevent death due to starvation (Sharp, 2010).

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Feeding disorders in autistic children are complex, from the standpoint of their manifestation, etiology and intervention methods. Sometimes, these disorders are combined and so the interventions become even more complex. There are cases in which special medical intervention is needed, either through an IV drip or a feeding tube.

Each case should be reviewed with the utmost attention by a psychologist, a physician and a specialist in nutritional issues so that together they may determine the optimal necessary intervention.

Conclusions from research studies are varied. The most common causes for feeding disorders among children with autism are sensory sensitivity and the psycho-behavioural characteristics of autism. It is also important to remember that the extended family's restrictive diet is predictive of the restrictive diet of the child, which shows once again the cultural and social dimension of feeding and its variability.

The most efficient interventions are those derived from behavioural analysis (positive reinforcement, differential reinforcement, escape extinction, nonremoval of the spoon), after the medical causes have been treated and cured.

Even though they are not widely studied and are considered of little importance, feeding disorders can have serious consequences on the physical, mental and cognitive development of the child and, in extreme cases, can cause permanent medical issues.

In analyzing each case, the cultural component, familial environment, meal time habits and the types of foods used most often in the family are as important as the psycho-behavioural aspects.

Feeding behaviours are complex actions that involve and need a wide perspective of multiple factors involved in this process, because the need to feed is not just a physiological necessity; it is a complex mental, social, cultural, biological and medical act for any person. Biology determines and limits at the same time the need, amount, type and rhythmicity of the feeding act, and the culture determines its quality, complexity, refinement, commensality, appropriateness and the surrounding environment. In any approach to nutritional issues, all these factors should be considered, as it is not only about the individual with a feeding disorder, but also about the surrounding environment that can cause or suffer from it, about the social act of consuming the food which can improve or worsen the relationship with the family members or society, which is the basis of their integration in society or, in some cases, social marginalization and isolation. The best approach to both understand feeding disorders and to find solutions and possible interventions is and should be a multidisciplinary approach.

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THE ROMA IN THREE MULTI-ETHNIC VILLAGES
OF (POST)SOCIALIST ROMANIA:
HOUSING, WORK, AND INSTITUTIONS

RALUCA MATEOC*

This work examines the multiple narrative identification forms present at the level of three Roma groups from a rural setting of Western Romania. Housing and work are depicted as the main themes with which the group members self-identify through narratives and practice. The housing narratives reveal the shifting perceptions on worth, household economies or local state policies at individual and group level. The work narratives allow the examination of specific dimensions in a long-durée perspective, such as the itinerant working style and the locally-based one, or the "mythical" past in which the Roma have their settled place in the economies of the multi-ethnic village. In addition to the narrative analysis, the institutional ethnography conducted at the level of some state and non-state actors will provide various hetero-identifications of the three groups. This work argues that housing, work and institutions are barometers for measuring kinship relations, affordability or local policies more or less estranged from the needs and desires of the individuals.

Keywords: Roma, housing, work, institutions.

INTRODUCTION

The Roma in rural settings of socialist and post-socialist Romania were examined in terms of their understandings of work (Tesar, 2010), inter-cultural relations (Engebrigsten, 2007), or conversions to neoprotestantism (Gog, 2009). This work continues this study line and addresses the discursive and practical meanings attributed to housing and work at the level of one rural Roma population[1], in the longue durée perspective provided by narratives. Housing and work are tools for examining the dynamics of kinship, household-based economies, or living patterns. At the same time, the two themes reflect attachment forms to a

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[1] This work privileges Matei's (2012) perspective, in which no choice between the two ethnonyms – *Rom* and *țigan* – is made. The author starts from the premise that the truth is not imposed from above, but is re-created based on our interests. Thus, the study does not engage with establishing the "true" ethnonym, but with the identification of the contexts in which one label or another is privileged.

place, and senses of belonging to it. Attachment will be considered as an essential component of belonging (Theodosiou, 2003). The unity of analysis is the village and it will be understood in its local component, but, at the same time, as a reflection of regional, national or transnational entities. In the light of the above, the first research question that this work attempts to answer is – how do the members three rural Roma groups make sense of their work and housing practices, at key points in their life stories that they define themselves? Secondly, this work will examine the institutional policies targeted at the Roma population at the level of specific state and non-state institutions, based in the fieldwork villages: the school of the late 80s, the CAP[2], the Village Councils, one national Foundation and one transnational association. The institutions are examinedin terms of the language used for defining the Roma groups, and of the professional meanings, missions, or strategies mobilized by their members. The method used in this respect is institutional ethnography, which is built from the examination of work processes and study of how they are coordinated, typically through texts and discourses of various sorts. (Devault, 2006).

Villages S., E. and L.[3] are based in Western Romania and their main occupational activities are related to agriculture, vegetable growing, livestock breeding, craftmanship (building work, painting, and mechanics), trade, food industry, wood processing industry and oil extraction. At the agriculture level, the holding of land tenancies is paralelled with subsistence agriculture and livestock breeding. The Roma population inhabiting the three villages was present in agriculture-related activities as daily employees, all along the 1990s and the early 2000s. The gradual mechanization of agriculture excluded the need of daily work force – for example, in the previous cultivation of sorghum, the Roma participated in the daily work for manually cutting the sorghum with a knife, but now, as the sorghum harvest is harrowed, the dynamics of work shifted. A significant part of both the Romanian and Roma populations is engaged into permanent or seasonally based work-related migration in a wide range of countries in the Western part of the continent.

This work considers Barth's (1969) position, according to which the crucial concept in examining the phenomenon of ethnic groups are ethnic boundaries.The latter help to identify a person as an *insider* of a particular ethnic group, and at the same time, they stand out as the barriers to distinguish the others as *outsiders*, as members of another ethnic group. Certainly, these barriers are territorial, and/or psychological. In Cohen's (1985) understanding, people construct community mainly symbolically and the consciousness of community is, therefore, strictly related with the perception of these boundaries. For the institutional ethnography and not only,this work will benefit from Wimmer's (2008) outlook on ethnic

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[2] Collective cooperative entitled CAP (Cooperativa Agricolă de Producție) established at the end of the collectivization campaign, in place between 1962 and early 1990s.

[3] In order to protect the data obtained at both institutional and community level, this work chooses to anonymise the names of the three villages. The initials are not connected to the real names of the villages.

boundaries – these are said to be the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in a social field. This work will also benefit from Brubaker's (2002) refining of the ethnicity concept: considering the ethnic group as homogenous and defined by a culture well delimited from the outside is a non-critical way of interpreting ethnicity, which can be termed as *groupism*. The criticism of Brubaker is relevant for the groups constituting the Roma populations in present day Romania, from both an *emic* and *etic* perspective. In spite of some identifications used by the non-ethnics, the Roma are not a group, but rather an ethnic category in Brubaker's (2002) meaning, made up of various distinct groups.

The methodological apparatus informing this work consists of semi-structured interviews conducted with members of the elder generation (born between 1945 and 1955) from the three village groups. In addition, the local leaders (former and current Councilors, former village school teachers, pastors) were interviewed[4]. The other methods are participant observation, institutional ethnography and visual anthropology. The data was collected during the 2012–2015 time interval.

THE ROMA OF SOCIALIST ROMANIA IN POST-SOCIALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

The all-encompassing theme of post-socialist historiography is the non-recognition of the national minority status for the Romaat state level and the use of the Roma organizations in order to control them. Matei (2016) established three time intervals for the 1945–1989 period regarding the policies for the Roma adopted by the Romanian state: (1) 1945–1949 – the emerging of some organizations and the refusal of the minority status; the agrarian reform of 1945 viewed the Roma as a poor rural category while granting 20,000 Roma with around 35,000 ha. It is the time when the pre-war Roma associations start to re-emerge. The heads of these organizations considered to have bourgeois origin are removed and were replaced by new leaders manifesting their attachment to the communist power; (2) 1949–1977 – the existence of some non-concerted policies; the time interval is marked by the elaboration of a document at the level of CC of the PMR claiming to follow a Soviet model, targeted at the elimination of nomadism, at work placement and alphabetization. Two Decrees (nr. 10/1960 and nr. 244/1978) enforce the confiscation of privately owned gold and this confiscation represented for the Roma the equivalent of cooperativization for the peasants; (3) the 1977–1989, interval is marked by the central elaboration of some policies. One study conducted at state level shows that a high number of Roma apt for work were not employed in the so-called useful activity sectors for society, they lived in insalubrious conditions and had a worrying health state. The policies addressing education, work, and nomadism eradication were continued but abandoned in the early 80s, because of the economic problems that the

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[4] Narrators are referred either with their first name or its initial.

regime was confronted with. The authorities continued to view the Roma problem as a social problem, while some Roma intellectuals could, for a limited time, promote the organization of some festivals and events which legitimated the Roma ethnicity. (Matei, 2016) The tendency of the regime in seeing the Roma just as a socially deprived category while ignoring their ethnic component is regarded as an error. At the fall of the communist regime, the Roma were a vulnerable group with a lower level of education and training, and among them, the first victims of the transition are recruited, especially after the layoffs and the dismantling of the CAPs. (Matei, 2016) The economic strategies of Roma groups of Romania in the context of agricultural collectivization and industrialization is another post-socialist historiography theme. Necula (2012) shows that the land confiscation enforced within the collectivization campaign (1949–1963) had a similar effect in the social and cultural dynamic of the Roma communities with the one of the majority population. These were confronted with loss of tools, workshops and the need to re-define life paths, when the resource for a profession/skill is lost. A third historiography theme is the connectedness of the (rural) Roma with informal economy, which goes beyond the temporal frame of socialism. *Rüegg* (2013) argues that the visibility of new rich Roma in solid and ostentatious buildings, in Romania as in other Balkan countries, challenges the representation of their supposed informality and marginality. Toma (2008) examines the economic practices of Roma from the angle of informality and depicts three of these – the God parenthood, the informal credit and the trust between the Roma minority and the Romanian majority, which encompasses all social relations. A fourth theme is related to the understanding of *work*, in its transcendental meaning for the two political orders. For Stewart, (1990) the independent and secret work is a prestige resource and is more worthy economically, while formal work was accepted just because it was obligatory. The (gendered) work practice (e.g. work in metal, gleaning, iron collecting, begging or fortune telling) is a transversal theme embedded in specific ethnography. (Olivera, 2005; Hasdeu, 2004).

THE THREE ROMA GROUPS

Village S.

At the level of the commune to which S. belongs, the Roma represent 12,55% out of the 2.773 total population[5]. The first Roma family moved to village S. in the early 70s due to the opportunity to work as milkmen / milkmaids in the local CAP[6]. The CAP Chairman of that time opened job positions at the livestock unit as the

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[5] For the three villages, the Census of 2011 will be used.
[6] This trend of mobility in neighboring villages connected on the "richness" of the CAP as an employer was encountered throughout the flourishing period of the latter – the 70s and 80s.

youngsters of the village had moved away and the work to be done in the unit was too difficult for the elder employees. The eldest member of this first coming family claims that he had "brought" the other families, and states that the approximately one hundred families currently living in the village are "all related"[7]. (Ioan) They have no Councilor representing them in the Council of the commune, while numerically they would be enough to have one. This situation is connected to a lack of mobilization on the group's side. The group members are engaged in pendular migration in France, England and Italy. Before engaging into migration, men have been working temporarily at a cable factory from a neighboring town or as daily workers in agriculture, and women were housewives. They are Pentecostals, Baptists and Orthodox[8].

Village L.

The commune L. has a population of 7.793 (15.5% Roma, 18% Hungarians and 44% Romanians), being the second commune in the county with the highest number of Roma. In village L. which is the center of the commune, the Roma have been living for three generations. They inhabit a "corner" made of four streets in a separate part of the village, at one of its edges. Based on the specific housing policies enforced by the local state (in the 80s and early 90s), the families having lived in adobe huts on a field on the other side of the railway separating the field from the village were placed in new homes. Some Roma families of L. are identified by one community leader (ex-councilor and pastor) in relation to their practice of specific crafts (bricks, pipes, wooden spoons making) and the diminution of these practices, viewing the shifting demands of the market. Four people are currently employed as sweepers, while the rest are entitled to social aid[9]. Since the early 90s the group members engaged in migration to France, Belgium, England, and Scotland. Most of the Roma are Baptists, and then come the Pentecostals and the least number are Orthodox[10]. The group was represented in the Village Council by a Councilor for three legislatures, after which the latter lost his seat because of random voting. The ex-Councillor is also the pastor of the latest founded Baptist church. New institutional roles are present at the Council level to specifically address the problems of the group: sanitary mediator, community mediator[11].

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[7] The 100 families are here imagined by the narrator based on household unit.

[8] The members of the Baptist group attend the same Baptist church as the one of the majority population. The Pentecostal Roma have a temporary gathering space (the former Culture House), that they use for the church service when being back to the village from their migration destination. In parallel, a separate building for the Pentecostal group is in the making.

[9] In the context of latest national-level budget cutting policies, this help has been cut and they have no medical insurances.

[10] The members of the Baptist and Pentecostal groups founded their own churches in the early 90s and these are attended exclusively by the Roma population, even if the church self-identifies in many discursive contexts as inclusive. (Mateoc, 2016)

[11] In other Local Councils a single employee – the social worker (referee) – takes in charge the problems of the group. In addition to the two roles, a teacher of Romani language is affiliated to the work of

Village E.

The Roma population of the village makes up for 7.65% out of the total 2798 inhabitants. A family of two generations moved to the village in the late 90s, being the first Roma family to settle in the village. Now their married children live in three other houses. The elders of the family had worked in agriculture (CAP, cows herding) and now are involved, together with the youngest generation, in pendular migration to France. The rest of the group continuously moved to the village and settled on compact street corners. The members of the first moving family are Pentecostals and join the same Pentecostal church as the Romanian majority.

HOUSING AND WORK

On a synchronic level, this section will outline the specific housing types, in their *material* (financial resources, moving in patterns) and *symbolic* (locus for the family) dimensions. On a diachronic level, this analysis will also examine the shifting housing practices in the post-socialist transformation: the emergence of a new housing type, the rationalities of the houses owners in adopting a particular building type, and the housing-related policies adopted by the local state. This section will show that housing narratives are narratives of reinforcement of kinship connections, and of liberation through a transformation of material life.

Three types of housing display can be detected for the three villages: in S., the houses of the Roma families are mixed with the one of the majority population; in L. the group members have been living on four separate streets for three generations. The homes of the elder generation are placed on the first row. The garden plots behind the first row of houses were used for building new houses for the young generationalong the latest ten years.The first row in the four parallel streets is a mix of adobe and brick-made houses. Meanwhile, the pasture behind the four streets still hosts abode huts; in E., the first coming family claims to owe five houses – one house belongs to the elders, and the other four are the houses that the latter provided the four children and their families with. All houses were bought from members of the majority population and are spread over the village. This section will discuss the differential housing narratives and practices at the level of villages L. and S. The narratives in the two villages include a progress dimension brought by migration and the investment of related remittances in housing. In L., remittances are invested in new housing material as well as furniture and devices, while another part is used in trade-related activities

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one non-state actor, a Foundation conducting programs in the education and employment fields. The above-named institutional roles belong to a two-generational family: the father is the ex Councilor, his wife is the sanitary mediator, one son is the community mediator and the other one the teacher of Romani language.

(cars, bikes, electronic devices, or furniture trade). In S., the migration-related gains are connected to the emerging of a new housing type, and less to a "visible" trade form such as market stalls or shops. The five new houses are two storied, the roof is covered with styled towers, and the windows shape is innovative[12]. Narrators in L. contrast the housing style of their group with the style in village S. and other "landmark" villages in terms of their financial worth: *"In B. a house that was not worth 2 Lei now you buy it with 5000 or 6000 euros. The ones that come with money from somewhere else buy them. Last time, for a houseprice, someone asked 600 million Lei, someone came and offered 700. It was not about negotiating downward, but about offering more". (Ghiță)* The house-related transaction can thus be a performance of prestige.

Beyond the unifying dimension of migration, narrators in villages L. and S. display specific problems related to past and present housing policies and access to space at the level of their group. In L. in the early 90s, the Village Council enforced a housing policy based on transnational funding, and narrators adress it in terms of the careless way in which it was conducted: *"The Dutch made a housing project on the pasture, but a bad housing project – small space, like pigs in a pistry. If one house burns, the other one does too. And the Dutch did not even come to see how the project ended". (I.)* Twenty years after the housing project was accomplished, on the pasture behind the four streets stand some adobe huts with no windows, heating facilities or electricity. The houses of the second row are made of adobe, timberwood, and more and more bricks and concrete. *"Modernized. Made up of bricks and other things". (I.)* All four roads of the corner are currently unpaved. Some belongings which could stand as prestige objects are mobilized by narrators – a harness worth 500 euros brought by the son currently in Marsilia, stands on the vineyard. Or an embroidered apron, passed over by the sister, is safely kept. Meanwhile, *"the garden plot, we needed to sell for funeral money, this is our dear vilage L". (S.)* Together with the housing narrative, the problem of access to places in cemetery and land upon the dimsnatling of the CAP is adressed[13]. *"Not a single Roma received the 50 acres of land, as they shared it the ways they wished to, and then told that there is no more land. So, for the Roma, there is no more left. (…) The Roma cannot use the space in the Orthodox cemetery. The same in the Roman Catholic one. The arguments are that one has one's own land, bought by them, and the Roma have no place there, not even under the earth, imagine that". (G.)*

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[12] The progressive housing type (villa type) that some Roma rural groups adopt has been studied under the umbrella of Roma "palaces". However, this study points at the internal differences at the level of the houses architecture, in villages close geographically – in village S., the houses are built by the pavement, below the line of green, public space; in a close village, such villa type houses have a patio and an iron fence, sometimes with the name of the owner forged in the iron.

[13] In spite of not having been landowners, the former employees of the CAP were entitled to land from the amount not claimed back by former owners. This study, like others, confirms the local particularities of the restitution law. In the restitution process of the early 90s, narrators claim having received some livestock that they had quickly sold.

Photo 1. © Raluca Mateoc – Village L., the pasture.

In village S., the houses of the Roma families and those of the Romanian majority population are mixed – and this reflects a pattern of moving in in waves. Like it happened with work-related migrants at the CAP coming from other regions of Romania, these had sold their houses in the home village and settled in S., with loans offered by the CAP for the houses building. Then, in the early 90s, families continued to move in and buy houses from the majority population. Starting with the early 2000s, the first houses with the above-described new architectural style are raised in the village, on acquired garden plots. These houses are currently in the making, and building materialsare stocked inside while their owners are engaged into pendulary migration. The latter invested in expensive doors and window frames and proudly speak about the short deadlines in which the construction will be finished. When these houses are completed, a new living pattern might emerge, in which two or moregenerations will live together, just as they currently do. On the declarative level, one financial resource for the new houses comes from migration-related gains, ranging from work in the mines to begging. The other resource is related to the money coming from the practice of a ritual, namely the bridewealth,consisting of payments from the groom's family to that of the bride. In village S., the parents of the bride agree with the parents of the groom on a sum, and this sum seals the wedding. The sum value is said to be determined by the bride's beauty. Narrators talk about sums between 5000 and 10 000 Euros. According to one ritual rule, the money stays with the parents of the bride – for these, it can be a source of investment, a saving, or a way to secure the future life of the daughter. At the same time, the narrative on "villa" type of houses reflects the intercultural and trust-based relations between the population groups in the

village – the Romanian neighbors are entrusted with the house keys for looking over the stocked building materials or they use their garden plot, while the house owners are engaged in their migration-related activities.

Photo 2. © Raluca Mateoc – House in the making, village S.

The work narrative reveals the specific identification forms that group members of the elder generation mobilize in their stories. The work narratives are narratives of unworthiness, of family cohesiveness, of dichotomies between work at the state units and other kinds of work. For the group in L., the first work pattern is itinerant. In the 70s and 80s the two generational families were employed in the summer campaigns of the CAPs, a lot in Timişoara area – both women and men were in charge of planting, digging, or harvesting. Men were at livestock units, in vineyards, building sites, mending and painting. Work was not contract-based. Sleeping was in the barracks. After the CAPs were dismantled, they followed the same patterns, but went to "farms", in the same regions. In autumn, when back, they prepared bricks, in coal-fueled ovens: women moulded them and men were preparing the mix. Or, they made the mix for the adobe – straws and manure, mixed by hand, or with the foot or the hoe. All winter they lived from the summer work-based income, brick selling and adobe houses building or mending. The other work pattern is more stable geographically, as the group members work in the home village – women are at the CAP and men at the IAS[14], at the pig farm, GOSTAT[15]. The work opportunities provided by the state during socialism are

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[14] IAS (Întreprinderea Agricolă de Stat) – *State farms. These were usually established on state land that had usually been confiscated from large landowners after the 1945 land reform. They stand in contrast with the CAP based on "voluntary" donations of land from private owners.*

[15] One unit of the IAS.

opposed to the ones of today: "*it was a commune with many Roma, now there are around 2000, as the commune had all that it needed – work places, an IAS which had in charge cattle and pigs unit, and they were good at such things. Almost 50% of the Roma here worked before, now out of 1500 only 6 persons work. Some are street sweepers*". *(Ghiță)* Narrators remember the good relations they had with the CAP leaders, involving trust and money borrowing. In parallel with the work at state units, they do daily work for the majority population – sacks knitting, building, harvesting. Still, one narrator, a former CAP employee does not identify with his job at the livestock unit but with horse trade, the informal activity that financed the investment in nine houses in the village at a given moment. This employment time is also recalled in terms of forgetfullness – *who remembers any more how it was back then?* The story of present time, in which the elders praise their children involved in succcessful work activities in migration spaces is more meaningful than their own past employments.

Another work narrative is centered aroud the loss of inter-generationally transmitted skills and it will be illustrated with the example of a violin player *(lăutar) – the latter* recalls the time of practicing the inherited skill of playing an instrument ("*since the age of six, when my dad bought me the first violin*") in parallel with brute labor. Once per month, music, and the rest, building sites, vineyards, making bricks, "*all the bullshit. With Ceausescu we did all we now have*" *(Stefan, in a village neighboring E.)*. He learnt from the great violin players of his apprenticeship time, who had supremacy over a zone due to their music skills. Everybody knew and knows them, as they sang every Sunday back then, at weddings and baptism parties.But they went all over the country as well, the tandem with the harmonica and violin player, and the full band of keyboard, drum, guitar, harmonica and violin players[16]. The *lăutari* are now in the backstage, viewing the new patterns of producing music: *"yes, before they stopped you from singing in other zones, and there was a tax on music playing. (...). Back then there were no music players, now there are many. Then there were no tape recorders, Internet, or manele. Now there is everything, and they don't call us any more, now they just play the recorder, the CD". (Liviu, in a village neighboring E.)* Thus, the *lăutar profession failed two times: once, because of the communist policies of work force occupation, the lăutari were only eligible for unqualified work, viewing their low education level. These did not give up their inherited skills and practiced it in parallel with brute labor. Second, the profession failed because of the market economy and the lack for their demand in a time when everyone can produce music easily. Narrators show that the profession is partly re-invented, through the playing of "Christian music" within the Baptist church. Still, the music playing skills transcend the political orders: "the songs are played just based on their hearing, on the ear, as they don't know how to play based on notes, they sing even*

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[16] In the 70s and 80s, these bands were the full animators of wedding parties – in addition to singing, they improvised, for example, sketches related to the personalities of wedding participants.

in the dark, no problem at all… they adapted now, they took music from one place and adapted it with Christian words – you take it from the Internet and play from the negative. (…) The music players were always music players". (Ghiță)

The other work-related narrative places the Roma in a mythical past when they did daily work for the majority population, or they provided support for agriculture or household economy. They made and sold hoes, shovels, distillators, or copper pots. Some Romanian families in village L. each had one trustworthy family of Roma providing household help: women with cleaning, and men with field work. Their informal economy practices are recalled as such by the majority population: they carried wood from the forest – the dry branches above, and the green ones below – and sold it; they stole cereals from the Reception Base and pigs, and the watchmen were afraid to stop them; in the late 80s, when the ratios were applied, they sold some of the products they were entitled to, as one family with ten kids was entitled to ten kilos of oil, or sugar. Then, the group in L. is differentiated in terms of work-related practices – the Hungarian Roma are wealthier than the Romanan ones, they are involved with horses and feathers trade – they bought feathers from Romanians and sold them over. "*No Romanians in the village were as rich as them".*

Photo 3. © Alex Mara – pipe makers, village L.

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

This section examines the understandings of the Roma groups that some institutional actors mobilize on the discursive and practical levels, and depicts the various meanings of ethnicity that the institutions promote. The firstly discussed

institution is the school in village L.: between 1984 and 1989 this school applies the nationwide policy of placing the Roma students in separate classrooms. This classroom re-unites children of all ages, from 10–11 to 17. The village school teachers are assigned a curriculum for this class under the framework of "voluntary work", thus in addition to the regularly paid amount. They divide their tasks into teaching Romanian and Mathematics.The control for the functioning of "the Roma class" on the hierarchical level is formally done, and only at paperwork level. The interviewed teacher sees his mission in teaching the Roma students as something that had to be done, lacking the involvement for a meaningful change in their lives: "*We did go to their homes once a week, in teams made of two, and persuaded the parents to let them come to school, and they promised they would. (…) Teachers saw this mission as downgrading. No one believed in really helping them*". *(T.)* The teacher claims that this help was difficult to achieve: "*they did not know in what day of the week we were, they could not recognize a plane from an image. (…) They told that they wanted to learn how to write for two reasons: to write letters from the army and to do the driving school*". The attitude of the teachers is further explained in terms of some thinking stereotypes present at that time, and the delusion brought by the economic crisis of the late 80s: "*it was the daily life crisis; we did not have time for such fine things. We were badly paid and did supplementary work. We did not show our disinterest but did not do anything meaningful for them either*". This teacher thus identifies with a lack of engagement in the teaching mission, and with performing a job duty, bureaucratically, generated by the whole social and professional context. An elementary school teacher described the group in terms of its rebel behavior, referring to the 70s, when the classes were mixed: "*my mother (as an elementary school teacher) was penalized as the ţigani in her class skipped school a lot. Those in my class did not come to school either. The school books were free, and they told – my dad makes cigars out of them*".

The second institution addressed here is the CAP of village S., – as previously shown, in the early70s, the ex-Chairman offered the Roma of a neighboring village some open positions at the livestock unit, and looks back at his proposal with humor: "*I brought two families, now there are a hundred of them. They came here as in the CAP of their village the pay was lower – here the life level had increased, you would get incentives per calves, per livestock maintaining. (…) They bought a house here, they sold their homes there and bought others here, they told their brothers and who knows who and finally few Romanians remained with the cows… there were many who stole milk, took milk home as they needed it for the kids*". The ex-CAP Chairman sees the bringing of ţigani in the village as a way of helping them, as a move related to the CAP expansion and nostalgia for his institutional role.

The third set of examined institutions is made of the three Village Councils in S., E. and L. In S., the village council employees adopt a legitimating position related

to the group, claiming that they will soon control the status of the new houses building and the entitlement forms of the owners. In L., the Head of the Council points at the civilizing feature of conversion to neoprotestantism in the lives of the group members,and thus adopts the kind of good, "adequate" Roma for the village. One punctual action enforced by the Council and some transnational actors in the early 2000s aimed at setting up a business involving berries and mushroom picking and processing. The project was targeted at Roma of L. who had been engaged in migration to France and is presented as a post-migration, re-converted project. The action put into place instead is a "daily-centre" in the making, for education-related activities. In E., the former Council Head and former and current owner of a land tenancy claims that "*no, no Roma work on my tenancy but you can find some at the garbage collecting company… we reached the point that garbage is collected in the countryside as well*". Thus, the local authorities have a legitimizing, equalizing, or stigmatizing position in relation to the Roma group of inhabitants.

The third institution examined here is a national Foundationwhich targets the group in L. for education and employment related activities. The Foundation publicly designed its intervention as addressing not the Roma, but people from "*segregated communities, with a low access to education and health services*". Thus, ethnicity is absent from the public statements of the institution but present in its subsidiary. The education-related programs are aimed at helping children catch up with skills and save three years of discrepancy for pupils who never attended a kindergarten and were going to start school soon, discrepancy in writing, holding a pen, socializing, asking to go to the toilet[17]. The second target of the Foundation is employment, and this action is presented in terms of society's reaction at the interventions upon the Roma: "*in the early 2000s, after people knew about us that we are a Foundation changing things in the Roma communities, non-Roma people contacted us and were upset that we do so much for the Roma who do nothing, do not change, and we do nothing for the pensioners who raised Romania*". (F.) The institution builds its rhetoric on the awareness of the collective understandings of Roma individuals, and on having to work a lot in order to help the latter reach an equal access on the job market with the rest of the population. The members of the foundation have an interesting ethicizing and non-ethnicizing discourse. When referring to the Roma women targeted by their programs, the founder uses the label *romnițe*[18]. At the same time, the Foundation has an interesting position when referring to the possible marriage rituals, for example the bride wealth, which the targeted groups might practice. The founder denies the practice of this ritual at the level of the targeted groups, as if the ritual would place the groups in a backward position.

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[17] The success of such as approach is described by one founder in quantitative terms – "*7 to 45 pupils now attend the kindergarten, 6 years after the intervention. Now they are the best in the classrooms, the teachers say*".

[18] The label is also found in the manifesto „Frați romi și surori romnițe!" [Roma brothers and sisters!] used in the parliamentary elections of 1946 when the BPD addressed the Roma population as such, in order to attract it as electors. (Matei, 2016)

The fourth institution is a transnational, Texas-based organization self-defined as *a Christian, non-profit organization* (…) *established to reach children in various settings,* acting in village L. since 2015. The missionary acting in village L. describes her engagement as such: *"I'll never forget the visit to the L. village, with poverty surrounding me, and the scene of a people group that had been neglected by other Romanians, simply because they were «Gypsy». I noticed the sadness in the eyes of children and women that so desperately desired to belong. (…) I have travelled the globe over the last twenty years, experiencing new cultures, meeting the people who live in these cultures, seeing their needs, and trying to meet some of these needs. One thing that I had learnt in my mission work is that NEEDS ARE GREAT".(K.)* The Roma in village L. are thus described by the organization member as a population in need, deprived, and estranged from the majority. The actions of the organization are presented as multi-level and as targeting specific age and gender groups. The first structure that the organization put up in L. is a "women's ministry" offering lessons, luncheons and supplies to the women of the community. Viewing its success, an action targeted at men is planned for 2017. The other addressed category is the children *"meeting the physical, spiritual, emotional and educational needs of children."* The stated intervention includes an educational program, supply of meals, clothing, shoes. The feeding center and the medical center are the structures that the groups above use as meeting spaces. The plan of the organization for 2017 is to expand its intervention at the level of employment and the job market. In the language of the Foundation and Organization, the Roma are thus built as a bulk group in terms of their specific needs related to material and spiritual needs. The members of the community in L. internalize this unifying label – "the Roma" – and do not question it in terms of possible cultural differences. They adapt the actions of the above to their needs and struggles in the best possible ways.

CONCLUSION

This work aimed to reveal the meanings that the Roma individuals of three villages, born between 1935 and 1945 give to housing and work in their narratives. The material and symbolic meanings of housing could be depicted as well as the reinforcement of kinship relations. In the three villages, the house is a symbolic locus: the triumph of a family is measured by its possibility to secure four houses forthe four children and their families (E.); the family lives in geographical proximities, with newly built houses on the second row (L.); group members move to the village and buy houses based on kinship lines, and through gradual investments in a new housing type involving two generations. (S.) The group members either see the wrongs of the housing policies applied by the local state (L.), or question the delay in paving the streets of their corner. (L. and E.)

The work narrative drew a multi-level picture: work during the socialist years (at state units or in informal trade activities), the navigation through the socialist realities as a *lăutar*, daily work with well defined placed and tasks. The resources coming from state-based employment over the summer campaigns at the CAP or all along the year served at daily survival strategies. The ones coming from informal activities are directed at investments in housing. The informal economy of some socialist years (horse dealing) and the one of present-day migration are presented in a continuum by the narrators. In a transgressive way, the members of the three groups do not identify through lost possessions and badly paid work at the CAP, but through accumulation and navigation in local, regional or transnational realities.

The institutional ethnography offered an examination ground for the language, mind-sets or actions when addressing the population. The former school teacher does not see his meaningful as meaningful, blaming both the structure (the design of the education policy) as the wider social context (the economic crisis of the 80s which did not leave place for such involvements). The group is seen by the ex-Chairman of the CAP as part of the institutional dynamics of that time, and relates ironically to the present-day situation that he generated, when the Roma families are so numerous, in the view of the majority. The Councils have an interesting mix in empowering the Roma and at the same time measuring the possibly illegal status of their homes.The non-state institutions address the ethnic group as a whole, and do not refer to cultural traits which could divide the big group in various micro-groups. Their tone is progressive when referring to the education-related activities which enable the students catch up with skills. One interviewed group member in L., acknowledged as a leader (pastor and ex-Councilor) admits that some non-state actors are there just to reach their aims and are not interested with what is happening afterwards. Still, despite this criticism, the group in L. uses the interventions of these non-state institutions in meaningful ways for themselves and their families. The present-day institutions are thus reinventing their language and declared engagements in the context of the present day shifting economic and social status of the groups. The institutional analysis refines the understandings of the population, and shifts from an often-mobilized outlook on the "essentialisation" of the Roma groups to their empowerment.

This double outlook on past and present strategies on the micro (housing and work) and macro (institutional) levels first allows an understanding of these three specific-village based groups and offers a comparison base with micro-groups from other geographical settings. Second, the housing and work practices adopted or imagined by narrators always stand as a barometer in the understanding of past and present inter-cultural relations between the populations of the village and beyond. Last but not least, this work argues for the meaningful role of the narrative in ethnography, for providing an insight on thematic choices as well as on a story-telling culture.

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ACCOUNTS OF THE GYPSY TRADITIONAL COURT (KRIS) IN BRATEIU VILLAGE (SIBIU COUNTY, ROMANIA)

MARIN CONSTANTIN*

The article refers to the Gypsy/ Roma customary court (*Kris*) in accordance with contemporary accounts from the Kalderash (*Căldărari*) community in the village of Brateiu (Sibiu County, Romania). A series of aspects characterizing the Kalderash tribunal are presented in terms of local *Stabor* membership (participants and their ethnic background), cultural lifestyle, consuetudinary practice (location and case classification), and relation to public institutions in Romania, such as the police and municipality. Among the pieces of evidence of the traditional character of the Kalderash court are considered the unwritten-law tradition, the ethnic and gender bases of one's election in the *Stabor*, moral values, and lawsuit as economy. The field data are discussed in the context of several Kalderash and Roma / Gypsy groups in Romania and in Southeastern Europe.

Keywords: Kalderash, customary law, Kris, Stabor, Brateiu, Romania.

INTRODUCTION

In the June of 2010, as part of a broader fieldwork campaign in several ethnic groups in Romania, I travelled to the village community of Kalderash (*Căldărari*, in local terminology) from Brateiu (Sibiu County). According to the last Romanian census (2011), out of the 3415 inhabitants in Brateiu, 1215 are reported to be of Roma ethnicity. My basic ethnographic interest in Kalderash was related to their traditional coppersmith's craft (*cuprărie*, in Romanian), which the Bratei Căldărari continue to perform nowadays as they did in the past, also including the socialist history of Romania. Aside from the coppersmith's artisanhip, the Kalderash people in Brateiu provide a series of narrative evidences about another institution belonging to their ethno-cultural legacy, that is, the customary court.

Lawsuit was not initially included into the agenda of my interview themes in the field. As a result, my research on the *Kris* practice in Brateiu is not exhaustive, but it is rather an unanticipated development of dialogues I conducted with the local Gypsy craftsmen. With the assumption that the Kalderash court information could resonate with further case studies on the Gypsy judiciary system in Romania and Southeastern Europe, I decided to discuss it within a comparable framework, in relation to what (more or less thoroughly) is designed as *Kris* and *Stabor* in Romania (Hasdeu 2004; Preda *et al*. 2015) or *Meshere* or *Žudikate* in Bulgaria (Tomova 1995; Nunev 2010; Erolova 2013).

ASPECTS OF THE KALDERASH CONTEMPORARY ETHNOGRAPHY IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The Romani-speaking group of Kalderash (also locally named as *Kaldaraši, Kardaraši, Kelderari,* and *Căldărari*) is not individually referred to in the current census investigations in Southeastern Europe. Like many other Gypsy subgroups, in two main countries of the area – Romania and Bulgaria –, the Kalderash are practically recorded as "Roma", which might be seen as an exonym since it applies *from above* to the variety of Gypsy communities and their ethnographic peculiarities. As a result, estimations of the Kalderash demography remain fluctuant, in accordance with specific ethnographic information (for example, 40 families and 269 people in Săruleşti village (Paşca 1999: 90) and 100 families in "Căleni" village (actually a fictive toponym) in the Wallachian Plain (Hasdeu 2004: 292).

In Southeastern Romania, the Kalderash and their subgroups of *Pletoshi / Kalaydzii*, *Chori / Grebenari,* and *Pieptenari,* are reported in several locations from Dobroudzha (Constanţa, Cuza Vodă, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Murfatlar, Năvodari, Ovidiu, Palazu Mare, Tulcea, and Valu lui Traian). In Southern Dobroudzha (the Bulgarian part of province), Kalderash subgroups of *Militari, Tasmanari* and *Zhaplesh* live in Babuk, Donchevo, Kalipetrovo, Karapelit, Shabla, and Silistra (Erolova, 2013: 248). Isolate regional subgroups have also been identified in Southern Wallachia, among the *Chaudronnieres* in Săruleşti (Paşca 1999, in her French-written article) and the *Căldărari* in Căleni, as locally different from those of *Djambashi, Vatrashi,* and *Rudari* (Hasdeu 2003), as well as in Moldavia, in the town of Roman (Flenchea 2009), where the *Căldărari* keep themselves outside the *Zlatars* and *Muzikantsi*). Some dialectal marks have been outlined among those groups, such as the "Vlax II dialect of Romani" among the *Kaldaraši / Kardaraši* in Bulgaria (Marushiakova and Popov 2013) or the "Kade" *vs.* "Kide" differences between the South-Transylvanian Romani-speaking Căldărari and Gabori, respectively (Constantin 2014: 17).

In terms of their social organization, the *Coppersmiths* communities from Băileşti, Caracal, Craiova, Drăgăneşti-Olt, Târgu Jiu, and Strehaia are described as a "clan", which the authors (Preda *et al*. 2015: 64) explain to be "[…] a subgroup that shares a traditional craft as well as a series of cultural and economic features, shared by all members"; as such, "depending on the raw material used, their

traditional customs, and the language they speak" the Coppersmiths are seen to be distinct from subgroups like the *Silversmiths*, the *Tinsmiths,* the *Ironworkers*, the *Musicians,* etc. Endogamy and cross-cousin marriage are further conservative elements of the Kalderash sociality, mostly shown in Bulgarian contexts (Tomova 1995; Marushiakova, Popov 2013; Erolova 2013). Generally in Southeastern Europe, the Kalderash are continuously reported to strictly keep their marriages endogamous, with mixed marriages "forbidden" in Oltenia's Coppersmiths (as such marriages would provoke exclusion from local Gypsy groups) (Preda *et al*. 2015)[1]. Endogamy is clearly related to the preservation of Kalderash ethnic identity in Bulgaria as well (Marushiakova, Popov 2007: 97).

Likewise, the *Bulibasha* headship is described in Romania with its traditional prerogatives in the public representation of Căldărari subgroups as regards their contacts with non-Roma (Paşca 1999; Flenchea 2009). It is the *Bulibasha* who is recognized as a leader by all the members of his Coppersmiths community (Preda *et al*. 2015) and, as will be seen below, is he who also takes the chair of a *Kris* consuetudinary lawsuit.

The Kalderash material culture and its representational value is often mentioned with regard to the tinsmith and coppersmith craftsmanship, which is responsible for the technonym or "professionym" of the *Kalderashi / Kelderari / Căldărari* (as related to the making of cauldrons, from the Romanian word *căldare*), in Bulgaria and in Romania as well (Marushiakova and Popov 2013). Copper processing is a mark of social prestige among Căldărari in Căleni village, taken into account their contempt towards other Gypsy subgroups – the *Djambashi*, the *Rudari*, and the *Vatrashi* – since they do not perform such a craft (Hasdeu 2004: 294). The intergenerational character in the transmission of the copper artisanship is regularly emphasized as a cultural fact that contributes to the Kalderash ethnic continuity (see, for instance, Preda *et al*. 2015: 67–8).

In contemporary Romania and Bulgaria, the Kalderash way of life might be approximated as an uncertain negotiation between this ethno-cultural group's traditions (including recent nomadism, crafts, endogamy, customary law) and new exigencies – for instance, education – of the larger modernizing society within which, as a minority, they live. According to Paşca (1999: 93), the Chaudronniers from Săruleşti village simply "[…] refusent de suivre le system éducatif roumain" since "[…] l'éducation formelle n'est pas devenue obligatoire pour eux". Likewise, Preda et al.'s recent ethnography accurately show how the Coppersmiths from Oltenia still engage today into a sort of "social and cultural segregation", with particular implications on the local teenagers (boys and girls as well) and their schooling shortened at the seventh or the eighth grade, for reasons of early marriages or strategies of economic survival. Such elements of a Romani-speaking groups' sociality or artisanship are not simply to be taken for arguments in favor of a Kalderash unitary ethnicity across Southeastern

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[1] In the Căldărari subgroup of Săruleşti village, Călăraşi County (Southeastern Romania), engaging a marriage with a she-Romanian is considered a pollution for the Gypsy part (*Dacă un ţigan se ia cu o româncă, s-a spurcat!* "Marrying a Romanian woman makes a Gypsy man impure!") (Pârvu 2010).

Europe. A "real" or "original" Kelderari group is said to be "impossible to determine" among "small nomad communities" in Bulgaria (such as the Zlatari, Dudulani, Tasmanari, Lajneš, Njamci/Njamcurja, Kalajdži, etc.), which, as a result of mixed marriages, appear to have adopted a common ethnonym – Kaldaraši / Kardaraši –, even if some of them (the Lajneš and Njamci/Njamcurja) did not know it in the past (Marushiakova, Popov 2013: 67, 71). On the other hand, beyond the dialectal differences between the Roma subgroups, their regional vicinity comes to reveal important cultural similarities, such as between the structural and functional elements of Gypsy traditional court among the Căldărari and the Gabori in Southeastern Transylvania (Constantin 2013: 180; Sala undated paper).

BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LAWMAKING: CONCEPTUALIZING THE *KRIS*

Regular anthropological approaches of the Gypsy customary court – the *Kris* – generally situate this institution between two areas – private and public – of lawmaking in several Roma groups in Central and Eastern Europe, including the so-called "Vlach" *Kelderari, Lovari, Churari, Machavaya*, and the Muslim *Khorakhane* (Acton et al. 1997: 237, 245). Kris is locally reported in further Gypsy subgroups such as (alongside *Căldăraş*) the *Gaborea* and *Giambaş* in Deta region (Timiş County, Romania) (Kahn 2007) and the *Gabori* (Mureş County, Romania) (Sala, undated paper), etc.

According to a recent interpretation of what concerns the Kris occurrence in Central-East Europe, "All Gypsy groups who do not know the Gypsy court are permanently settled [i.e., not nomadic], while "[…] all groups who have a Gypsy court speak Romanes, but not all groups which speak Romanes have a Gypsy court" (Marushiakova, Popov 2007: 71–73). To the extent to which such classification is accurate, nomadism and vernacular language are key ethnographic elements associated with the persistence of customary law, in an institutionalized manner, in Gypsy groups. To follow a complementary argument, a "Gypsy legal culture" could not be dissociated from "law-sustaining" notions of sexuality, procreation, and marriage (with their gender-related taboos), nor from that "binding force of rules", irrationality (with its "divine" basis) (Weyrauch 2001: 3–6).

As a result, the Gypsies' court is basically related to a particular Gypsy lifestyle, one seen as archaic and conservative, which would therefore reflect the *Kris* representativeness for a Gypsy original, pre-European culture. What will be discussed below, the rest of aspects that make the ethnographic inventory of the *Kris* constitutive quorum, along with its modus operandi and the judges (*krisnatoria*), their decisional consensus, the men's quasi-exclusive participation, the forms of sanctions, etc. – are accordingly considered as characteristics of a Gypsy / Roma lawmaking tradition.

From a historical perspective, *Kris* is equated with the slavery condition of the Gypsies in Romanian late Middle-Ages, which would explain why, in the context of local feudalism, customary law eventually contributed to the preservation of Gypsy community autonomy (Acton *et al*. 1997: 247). Moreover, *Kris* is argued to have

developed from a "[…] prior civil law embodied in the norms of Gypsy groups regulating conflicts through the feud systems"; in such systems (as reported for the Finish Kaale Gypsies and the English Romanichals), it was not necessarily "violence and killing", but rather "enforced avoidance" that played the role of "conflict resolution" (Acton *et al*. 1997: 237).

On the other hand, in the historically-recent or contemporary forms in which it is accounted for, *Kris* is referred to the mainstream legal systems of modern states where Gypsies currently live in the world. Within its relative autonomy in pursuing cases associated with the internal community life in Gypsy subgroups, "The Kris comprises a highly advanced and formalistic type of civil law, in which the most frequent form of remedy – damages calculated in monetary terms – is highly similar to that existing in state-made law" (Kahn 2007/8: 108).

However, *Kris* as an "autonomous legal system" (Kahn 2007/8: 97) cannot be simply reduced to a private lawsuit – since the references for "private" and "public" are to be found inside as well as outside the system of Gypsy law. In accordance with existing historical and ethnographic evidences, and reflecting the stateless condition of Roma groups, *Kris* continues to be enacted "between-and-betwixt" traditional consuetudinary norms and modern legislation in Europe and worldwide. As clearly outlined by Acton *et al*. (1997: 247), *Kris* is a private lawsuit arena – but only in opposition to the judiciary systems of non-Gypsy states; if compared to the norms of conflict resolution in the feud systems, Kris becomes an exercise of public law.

KRIS AND *STABOR* IN BRATEIU:
ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF A GYPSY CUSTOMARY COURT

To the extent the *Kris* and *Stabor* are described in Căldărari's contemporary narratives, they represent a customary lawsuit which, while relying on traditional values, has to manage community issues related to one's marital status as well as public life. While the *Kris* is generally referred to as a Roma "tribunal", *Stabor* usually points to the membership of such a court (see, for example, the Stabor as a "panel of judges" among Oltenia Coppersmiths [Preda *et al*. 2015: 74], "peace judges" in Săruleşti Kalderash community [Pârvu (2010], and "Gypsy judges" in a Roma group from Iaşi County [Dumitraşcu 2005])[2].

In Romania, *Kris* appears to constantly be associated with Căldărari and further Romani-speaking groups, with no evidence of possible influence from non-Roma coexisting ethnicities. In a fairly vicinity with the Brateiu Căldărar community, in Mureş area, another Gypsy subgroup – that of the Gabori – is described to summon its traditional court that shares many of the Căldărar Stabor traits (among which the leading role of Bulibasha, the membership of up to 15 respected people, consensual decision, the ritual importance of oath, etc.) (Sala,

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[2] The Romani-language terminology itself makes a distinction between *Kris* ("court" as an institution) and *Stabor* ("court members") (Marushiakova, Popov 2007: 68, 70); instead, the *krisnitori/ krisitori* (Yugoslavia) and *krisinatori* (Transylvania) are said to be "court members" (Marushiakova, Popov 2007: 70).

undated paper). When mentioned, the majority nation of Romanians only play the complementary role of witness within such "trial" debates, with no more involvement or contribution to the decision making process.

As a matter of fact, *Kris* might be characterized as an institution auxiliary to the Căldărar family value-system, beginning with the very moment of one's betrothal, continuing with his / her family everyday life, and even (when needed) also dealing with the terms of divorce. In what follows, *Stabor* is presented from the viewpoints of local participants and their ethnic background, emphasizing the Căldărari's way of life, their consuetudinary practice (location and case classification), and relation to further public institutions in Romania (such as police and municipality).

In practice, Kris may take place at home, in a private context, as well as in a public framework, such as the village municipal hall, or simply the street. Local accounts such as NC's estimate a five-to-twenty participants' quorum[3] of respected aged men and younger family heads. In the Coppersmiths communities from Oltenia, such membership of the Stabor includes (alongside the local Bulibasha) "seven – eight members" (Preda *et al*. 2015: 74). In Mureș area, "depending on financial resources of both parties", the Gabor court consisted of a minimum of three members, with the possibility that the local Gypsy tribunal would also convene „ten to fifteen" judges, as hierarchized in accordance with their "rank, family, and the locality of their ancestors" (Sala, undated paper). In Iași town, mass media information refers to an uneven number of (five to eleven) elders established as judges in local Gypsy courts (Dumitrașcu 2005). Such a gathering basically undertook the function of establishing someone's guiltiness or innocence, with sanctions (fines) thus applied to those proved to be responsible for transgressing the collective rules and values of the Kalderash community.

In describing what could be called a "generic" *Kris* functioning, the Kalderash insist on the conciliatory mission (*împăciuire)* of their traditional court. It is a mission mainly related to a family's reproductive importance. In AC's words,

> [Divorce] was rarely adopted [by local *Stabor*], and only when the spouses in debate had no children… We the Căldărari are a nation that could not live without [the institution of] family! Once we accept our daughters-in-law, we expect them to give birth to one or two kids! Otherwise we want no more to keep them!

Apart from this matter, which is one deeply enrooted into the sense which the Kalderash give to their community's continuity through the generations, *Stabor* in Brateiu is not mentioned to debate the cases of economic relevance which have been reported for further enactments of Gypsy court in East-Central Europe (see, for instance, the role of *Kris* in judging "encroachments into the economic market, unfair competition, undercutting, taking away an order or a customer, unpaid debts, etc." [Marushiakova, Popov, 2007: 92]).

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[3] Across the Eastern European Gypsy courts, "The number of judges is not fixed, it depends on the complexity of the case, and during a case the number of judges can be changed. Various figures are known from a minimum of three, equally between 11 and 15, up to a maximum of 25 people." (Marushiakova, Popov, 2007: 80).

Likewise, no attributes of criminal law resolution in cases of homicides are assigned to the Brateiu *Kris*. One Căldărar informant (TC) claim that no murder legal pursuing has occurred within his group for 50 years, while other co-ethnics of him (AC, VC) strongly assert their determination to follow official legislation in those situations that exceed a domestic "state of affairs" (or what they think to have to do with their customary control of justice). In further Kalderash communities in Romania, accepting the mainstream law system is not always a simple matter, all the more that it is felt to transgress Gypsy lawmaking traditions and ethnic identity. Thus, in Săruleşti village, a local police officer is cited with his following comment about the relationships between the institution he represents and customary law of the local community of Chaudronniers: "Il est impossible de pénètrer leur loi" (Paşca 1999: 42). Among the Coppersmiths from Oltenia, the involvement of a non-Gypsy into a local Stabor debate is mentioned as "[…] leaving the issue to the [Romanian] state institutions" (Preda *et al*. 2015: 75)[4].

The normative character of the *Kris* is accurately expressed in what one of my informants (NC) cites as a Căldărar public expectation for the women's "obeisance" and the men's "diligence" – within their matrimonial unit. According to NC, marital arrangements are concluded within the *Kris*, as a recognized authority that sets up and scrutinizes the ethical framework of a new couple's conduct. Within such a "framework", wives are requested to follow their husbands' will in family and in society as well, while husbands should demonstrate commitment as heads and breadwinners of their families. A good example hereof is the very coppersmiths' craft, which continue to be one of the Brateiu Căldărari's main sources of income. Indeed, while the Căldărar men are specialized artisans with their handwork in home workshops, the Căldărar women accompany their husbands to open-air fairs (such as within the Sibiu Astra Museum of Folk Civilization), in order to help with the carriage and sale of copper-made artifacts (Constantin 2011). The mutual respect between a married couple and their lineages is one of the Kalderash group's core virtues, and it needs therefore to be defended through a *Stabor* consensus as well.

To a larger extent, the Căldărar *Stabor* is deemed to exert a moral weight among and over all members of local community. Indeed, the participants within a *Stabor* deliberation are expected to discern the "truth" from the "lie" of their co-villagers pursued in a case. Agreeing on truth is concomitantly the rational result of the *Stabor* as a collective deliberation and a sacred value as it is marked by one's oath[5]. Above all, the Kalderash in Brateiu uphold that, given their "belief in God", their *Kris* accordingly abides by the "Jesus' law" (PG).

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[4] In Bulgaria, since the Gypsy traditional lawsuit does not necessarily "overlap" with the State judiciary, a Roma regional public prosecutor happen to participate to his ethnic court, and various Gypsy groups avoid the official legislation and authorities in cases of conflicts with other Roma (Marushiakova, Popov, 2007: 84).

[5] From a broader perspective, taking an oath within Gypsy courts is mentioned to occur "[…] in a ritualized form […] on the spot, before a household or a church icon which is taken out in the churchyard" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2007: 89).

In the Gypsy customary law, the oath is a crucial element, formally meant to support justice in the cases when the parties lack their witnesses. Persistence of the oath, with its sacred significance, might be taken as an evidence of the archaic character in the *Kris* scenario. According to Gabriel Sala's account on the traditional lawsuit among Gabors in Mureş area, when taking an oath, "A wooden stick is implanted amidst the Gypsies. The oath is taken on one's knees, towards the sun. Taking the oath is made with one's four fingers crossed, two from his left hand and two from his right one, over the crossed stick. An oath is taken on behalf of one's family, grandsons, brothers, and parents… who are his beloved kin! It is the judges who ask him for what he needs to take his oath. Refusing to do it is to lie!" (Sala, undated paper)

The Căldărari refer to the consulting authority of their elders (Bătrâni), regularly seen as community leaders and public "voices" empowered by their intergenerational belongingness to the local Gypsy group (see Fig. 8). To follow NC (who is the son of such an elder from Brateiu), the elders in his village (even if "illiterate", cf. MC), acted as an "advisory" body; as a result, he found appropriate to compare this to a "prosecutors'" meeting during an official investigation. A copper-made artifact, belonging to EC, a local craftsman, would represent an elders' ritual congregation, hand in hand with each other, in a round dance suggesting their consensual agreement in a *Stabor* reunion (see figure no. 3).

However, it is the prominent personality of the *Bulibasha* (a community traditional headman) who is usually evoked with respect to his influential role in the course of a *Stabor* summoning. In Brateiu, according to one of my interlocutors (AC) who narrates an episode from the Căldărar nomadic life,

> Our *Bulibasha* was omnipresent in our lives, as he was our leader. It was the *Bulibasha* who went to a village's mayor to tell him, "Look, I would like that my Căldărari raise their tents… We intend to spend the winter here..." In spring, on the departure of his Căldărari, he also announced local mayors…

Among the Coppersmiths from Oltenia area, the *Bulibasha* is a chosen leader, while members of local *Stabor* are all recruited from the *Bulibasha's* "relatives or close friends" (Preda *et al*. 2015). In Săruleşti village, the *Bulibasha* and his co-ethnic "advisors" are referred to with their mediatory status between the local Chaudronnier subgroup and outsiders (such as the postman or the ethnographer) (Paşca 1999: 93–94, 99). In Brateiu, AC especially mentions the *Bulibasha's* "judging" position within local *Stabors*, with his prerogatives into establishing cash reimbursements or compensations in favor or one or another from the marriage partners and their families, when they decided to split up. Another informant (EC) remembers how the *Bulibasha* intervened among the community's elders, reviewed all the trial participants' statements, and made his conclusive decision – which everyone there consented on.

The Bulibasha's judiciary responsibilities are retrospectively situated in the ambiance of the Căldărar social-professional nomadism across Romania, generally combining their coppersmith's craft, family life as lived in tents, illiteracy, and – as regards the Stabor – the elders' meetings hidden from Romanian villagers (TC):

> We used to settle on the edge of villages, where there were not so many [foreign] people to see us…

Despite such caution, the same Căldărari claim they benefited from the approval of local authorities (including municipality and police) when the *Stabor* was going to be organized. In the Căldărar view, *Kris* is said to have represented an official court in the Romanian broader public sphere; the difference would thus consist of the Kalderash choice for debating at home issues felt to belong to their private life (NC). As such, *Kris* does perpetuate not only a customary-law procedure, but also an ethno-cultural value system.

Like in other cases of Kalderash consuetudinary justice forums, *Kris* in Brateiu is nowadays seen rather as a part of Gypsy cultural heritage, than a practice still effective in the village. One interlocutor (TC) claims that, since the Căldărar community follows today the Romanian law, the local *Kris* is "going to disappear". Moreover, according to NC's argument, the *Bulibasha's* role as a leader in Brateiu is now on restricted within the limits of each one's family, with no further public recognition as a president of the *Stabor*:

> He [the old *Bulibasha*] is no longer able to judge based on his mind… In the past, indeed, he was [a leader] and used to say beautiful and intelligible words; today, he's no longer able to do so… Such an old man plays no role anymore! With the decease of our old relatives, each of us is "Bulibasha" on his behalf! [...] There's no *Bulibasha* as it was in the past. Such state of affairs is now gone, since each of us is now a "Bulibasha"! [...] Some of us still say, "We have our [community's] *Bulibasha*!" Actually there goes no longer so… *Bulibasha* is only what I do within my family! I am the head of my family, I have my wife and my children, I have my daughters-in-law, and my grandsons... I am responsible for my entire house! Similarly, my neighbor is responsible for his wife, his children, his house, and his living…! And everyone does it the same way.

Accounts such as above suggest that the issue of *Kris* "disappearance" in Brateiu has to be understood in the context of an ongoing process of individualization of local Căldărar families, which, with the role of Bulibasha accordingly weakened, leads to the decrease of convening a *Stabor* collectively-recognized. This could reflect a more general change in manner in which customary law is agreed on and enacted among Gypsy groups in contemporary Romania. Indeed, in the village of Căleni (Southern Romania), *Kris* as a local council of Căldărari family heads undergoes a process of devolution of power

(Hasdeu 2004: 308), while in Grajduri village (Moldavia), the Gypsy court would not have been convened "for more than 20 years" (Romeo 2008).

THE GYPSY CUSTOMARY COURT IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE:
SOME CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS

In what follows, in the attempt of verifying the correspondence in the lawsuit technicalities between the Kalderash culture and complementary Roma traditions, the Gypsy customary law will be assessed through a series of its constitutive traits, to the extent to which they are ethnographically and theoretically highlighted.

In Brateiu, while my interlocutors speak of their "Gypsy court" (*judecata țigănească*) (VC), they consider themselves to be "the true Roma people" (MC). On the other hand, they say not to be simply "Roma", but *Căldărari* (EC), and that they should not to be taken altogether with other Gypsy subgroups like the *Hungarian Gypsies*, the *Lăieți*, and the *Rudari* (NC). In Săruleşti village, from an intra-ethnic point of view with regard to the *Kris* local relevance, the Căldărari claim that "The *Stabor* is respected by all Roma, irrespective they are Căldărari, Ursari [...], Gabori, Zlatari... Instead, the 'assimilated' Roma, namely the *Lingurari*, the *Cărămidari*, and a part of the *Lăutari*, who are no longer Romani speakers, do no respect our [Roma] culture" (Pârvu 2010). Non-Roma (such as the Romanians) are not allowed to resort to *Kris*, whose ethnic content is clearly asserted through the principle that "It is *Gabori* only who can be judged by *Gabori*" (Sala [undated paper]).

As far as the *Stabor* is described in Brateiu village, it is a men's council; references to the women's participation in the local *Kris* are practically reduced to hearings of the litigant parties cum family members (among which one's mother, daughter, mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law [NC; EC]). In Săruleşti village, the only allowed involvement of Căldărar women in their community *Stabor* is that of some passive and silent observers (Pârvu 2010). The same applies among the Gabori from Mureş, where "it is the men only who can summon their Gypsy court", even if local wives asked to defend their own cases (Sala, undated paper). Further synopsis of Gypsy courts in Central-East Europe points equally to the "mandatory" nature of the *Stabor* male membership; when "some respected women" are reported (rather purportedly) to "have been invited" in the *Kris*, such a fact practically appears to be "against [Gypsy] tradition" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2013: 80).

One of the main marks of the *Kris* lawsuit is its oral form of expression. I have mentioned above the illiteracy of Brateiu Căldărar elders (in CM's testimony), which, as counterbalanced by their "wisdom" (NC), was not seen an impediment in exerting their *Stabor* attributes. In Romanian media reporting, the Gypsy court in Săruleşti village is depicted as an "unwritten law" of defending and

preserving values like honor, respect, and correctness among the local Căldărar community (Pârvu 2010). The Gypsy tribunals (whether they are Kalderash, or not) are held in Romani dialects, which represent the language support for the hearings in front of the Stabor, with anyone's right to speak, but also with "men speaking the most" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2007: 73, 87). Oath and the judgment decision are also verbally expressed among Căldărari as well as other Gypsy subgroups (for instance, the Gabori, with their conviction that "To enjoy Gypsies' respect, one has to know how to talk to them" [Sala, undated paper]).

As it has been already discussed, Kris essentially reflects the Kalderash and further Roma groups' moral worldview, with one's public reputation built upon his/her sense of truth and worthiness. In Brateiu, the Căldărar elders' discovery – "This is the truth!" (NC) – is based on their expertise in judging the cases and taking the right decision thereupon. Of course, appeals too are accepted in the Kalderash law (usually, for two times [Pârvu 2010]), even if they may be considered as a "contempt of the court" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2013: 88). However, "Judging belongs to the [Gabor] community, not to the judges" (Sala, undated paper) seems to be a principle arguably applicable to a more general functioning of Gypsy courts. As far as this principle still works among "lawmaking" Gypsies (including Kalderash), customary justice is to be respected by all the communities involved, or otherwise someone's public repudiation occurs (Pârvu 2010).

In the *Kris* process, the Căldărari in Brateiu are also concerned with what could be called the economy of their customary law. As the Gypsy lawsuit mainly deal with post-marital compensations between in-laws, in cases when marriage arrangements (*înţelegerea de căsătorie*) are broken (AC, TC), such reparatory payments and the "court expenses" are not arbitrarily imposed, but established as a consensual deduction of one's guilt within the local tribunal (NC). Beyond family-centered cases, the Căldărar court is also convened (in Săruleşti village) to find out solutions to problems like the "women's benefits from divination" and cauldron marketing (Pârvu 2010), as well as (in Oltenia area) the "failure to keep a financial promise and treachery" (Preda et al. 2015: 74). In their "classification of the cases heard before the Gypsy court", E. Marushiakova and V. Popov (2007: 92–93) take into their first account (even prior to "family issues") those "disputes about economic interests (e.g. encroachments into the economic market, unfair competition, undercutting, taking away an order or a customer, unpaid debts, etc.)" Gypsy court decisions or sanctions usually refer to the payment of a given amount, unless they are converted into gold (such as among Gabors, cf. Sala, undated paper)[6].

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[6] Mass media and ethnographic reports also mention non-monetary sanctions ranging from physical punishment (whipping among the Gypsies from the Moldavian Grajduri village [Romeo 2008]) to acts of social vengeance (kidnapping of a debtor's family member, among Gabors in Mureş area [Sala, undated paper]).

**AUTHORS' PHOTOHRAPHS WITH KALDERASH /
"CĂLDĂRAR" INTERLOCUTORS IN BRATEIU**

Fig. 1. AC doing coppersmith's craft,
at home (2010).

Fig. 2. MC and her traditional dress (2010).

Fig. 3. EC and one of his artifacts,
representing Kalderash ancestors in a *hora* dance,
during the *Stabor* (2008).

Fig. 4. PG and her traditional dress (2010).

Fig. 5. NC and his copper-made artifacts,
during a fair in Sibiu (2008).

Fig. 6. NC doing coppersmith's craft,
at home (2010).

Fig. 7. VC doing coppersmith's craft,
at home (2010).

Fig. 8. Engraved image of a Kalderash elder,
on a copper-made cup made by EC and
put on sale during a fair in Sibiu (2008).

NAMES OF INTERVIEWED ARTISANS
AC: Anton Căldărar
EC: Emilian Căldăraru
MC: Maria Căldăraru
NC: Nicolae Căldăraru
PG: Paraschiva Gabor
TC: Traian Căldărar
VC: Victor Căldărar

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TOWARDS A "DE-ETHNICIZATION"
OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH?

AN INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR FRANÇOIS RUEGG[*]

Interviewer:

MARIN CONSTANTIN

− Professor, it was in 1973 when you benefited of an exchange program of the University of Geneva, with the University of Bucharest. In 2000, you returned to Romania and (up to the present) you have pursued several scientific missions and fieldwork in cities like Timişoara and Cluj-Napoca, in Dobroudja as well as in the Republic of Moldova… My colleagues and I would be interested to know something of your choice for Romania and its ethnography. So why Romania and how would you broadly situate it in the cultural anthropology of Southeastern Europe?

– I obtained my MA in Ethnologie in Paris VII in 1972. For my dissertation, I had studied the organization of space and the built environment in an alpine valley in Switzerland, following a structuralist-symbolic approach. As it was the case for doctoral students then, I needed to find a field abroad to pursue a doctoral

research. One of my professors, Georges Charachidze – a disciple of Georges Dumézil – told me that Romania provided a very interesting corpus of rural architecture and put me in contact with the late Paul-Henry Stahl. Stahl had only recently arrived in Paris. He had obtained a "direction d'études" on the ethnology of South-East Europe and held a Seminar at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. I immediately enrolled in his Seminar with the intention of sustaining my doctoral thesis on Romanian rural architecture.

Since I had studied the History of Art at the University of Geneva, I still had contacts within the Faculté des Lettres there. I heard about the exchange program and applied for it. I realized later that the Romanian student with whom I (young student that I was) had exchanged places, was Adrian Marino, an already famous critique littéraire in Romania. In his "Viața unui om singur" (2010) he recalls his days in Geneva, with humor and a bit of sarcasm too. Paul-Henry Stahl recommended me to his old fellow Paul Petrescu, at the Institutul de Istoria Artei, then directed by Razvan Teodorescu. He also briefed me about how to act in a communist country. As you see, it was merely by chance that I chose Romania. No need to "cherchez la femme" or any ancestral link to explain this choice!

In South-Eastern Europe, social and cultural anthropology were nonexistent, strictly speaking. As everywhere in Eastern Europe, anthropology was either physical or limited to Ethnography and Folklore. In the vast majority of the cases, one would exclusively study one's own "folk". This has to do of course with history and cultural tradition. Social and cultural anthropology developed mainly in colonial countries or empires, like the British and the French. The focus was on indigenous people abroad, in the colonies. In North America the main object of anthropology was native Indians. In the USSR and its satellites, social anthropology was not considered since it could have brought forward some critical thinking! These countries followed the German (Herder) model for ethnography, considering first and foremost the Blut und Boden paradigm, i.e. ethnic descent and autochthony.

Rural sociology was, on the contrary, well developed in Romania under the Stahl & Gusti School. However the discipline was practiced almost exclusively at a national level, mainly because it was financed by national institutions like the Ethnographic and Folklore Institute or the Institute of History of Art. The situation was more or less the same in (then) Yugoslavia and Poland, where I spent some months during the following years to complete my research on rural architecture. I remember that during my first trip in the field, in Oltenia, my colleagues from the Ethnographic Institute were mainly preoccupied with the task of filling the questionnaires for the Ethnographic Atlas of Romania. In fact during my student job days, I also briefly participated to the Swiss Atlas. Actually, the study of national Folklore and Ethnography was also practiced in Western European countries, but in parallel to "exotic" ethnography and ethnology and in clearly different institutions including different museums.

Anyways, the year I spent in Romania remains an unforgettable human experience, far beyond ethnography. It was a total immersion in a completely

different setting, which allowed me to accomplish the old and necessary "rite de passage" for any anthropologist.

After 2000, with my colleague Christian Giordano, we introduced a program of social anthropology at the University of Timisoara (Vest). It worked for a while and then collapsed due to a lack of students and trained professors. Social sciences are in a crisis in Romania because students prefer to study business and management, where they think they will have more jobs opportunities. The situation of social sciences in Romania is also problematic, because in many cases the old guard still occupies the main academic positions and there is no locally trained succession.

Romania remains a fascinating field of observation, for many reasons, not only for the existence of minorities on its territory.

– Accounting for a larger approach of ethnic minorities in Southeastern Europe, you have constantly been committed to the study of Gypsy / Roma communities in Romania. After 1990, Romanians and further neighboring national majorities needed to discover the ethno-linguistic diversity of their own countries, which allowed the local native researches to experience the possibilities of doing anthropology at home… Are Gypsies (from this point of view) heuristic for the manner in which an *ethnologie du proche* is to be developed nowadays in Romania?

– The rise of the Gypsy question (not to say problem!) in Western Europe challenged the sleeping historian in me. Let us go back in time. After having observed the built environment in several South-Eastern European countries (1972–75), I realized that there is no such a thing as "genuine" (ethnic/national) rural architecture. History plays an important role in the built environment, be it war, colonization or political science which imposes its ideology and way of living and housing! Thanks to a Swiss scholarship, I spent some time in Vienna studying the history and the archives of the Austrian colonization in the Banat. Already in the late 18th Century, the Austrian administration imposed models to the villagers, not only for the construction of the houses but also for the organization of their entire life! With the Gypsy question I took the same approach and found out that "there is nothing new on the East front" (Title of my first book). The Austrian Emperors were faced with the same question as we are today: what to do with nomads, who do not want to work and are not productive? The proposed solutions were the same then as they are today: create a Romaland, expulse them or assimilate them by a process of education and of course sedentarization. My interest does not lie in finding solutions but in showing that, after all, we are not able to tolerate a different way of living. The problem is that those who study the question cannot avoid pity or envy, miserabilism or romantization. These two attitudes characterize 90% of the Roma studies!

To come, finally, to your question, I don't think that the Gypsies present an opportunity for native anthropologists to practice an ethnologie du proche. Why?

Because of they are far too exotic or at least considered as such! What I observed, in general, in European social and cultural anthropology, is that since the late 1970s, after the de-colonization process, frustrated anthropologists (deprived of "their tribe") have simply looked for new "savages" around them: the poor, the migrants, the minorities, the women, the children etc. In this sense, nothing has changed in the anthropological approach and we still tend to look for the most exotic group, with the same ambiguous attitude, a hesitation between pity and admiration. Why don't Romanian ethnologists study the new capitalists in the city? This would constitute an interesting "anthropologie du proche".

– A few years ago, you took part in a collective project of studying Roma lifestyle and culture in Romania[1]. In the report, you speak of the "ethnicization" of Roma, which (rather than a classical process of ethnogenesis) would equate the Gypsies (as a generic ethnicity) to poverty. Is *ethnicization* indeed relevant for Roma contemporary processes of (self)identification? If so, how to explain the cultural revitalization of the Roma cultural heritage in languages, traditions, customs, folklores, and arts?

– Ethnicization is the first (wrong) step! That is considering people not as people but as a homogeneous group sharing not only values but also characteristics, behavior etc. This is a well-known process that we use every day when speaking about (national/ethnic) groups and which is also reproduced constantly in sociological surveys: the Hungarians are "harnic", the Gypsies are lazy, all with a percentage of people who think so. This is what I call reinforcing stereotypes.

Ethnicization is in my view an unavoidable process in daily life but is not tenable in scientific research. The problem is that ethnicization brings along ethnogenesis. Because people are attributed specific characteristics, they start to believe they are essentially different and then start to claim specific rights! This is a secondary effect of the fascination for minorities and a late echo of the American way of dealing with their own minorities, i.e. positive discrimination. One can observe this process in Dobrudja where identities are reconstructed on the basis of this twofold process of ethnicization and the following ethnogenesis. It is true for the Roma but also for the Turks and Tatars and the Lipovens, which we simply hear less of in the media because they are less visible and did not emigrate to the West en masse.

The Gypsy cultural revival illustrates, in my view, another consequence of ethnicization and ethnogenesis, i.e. the romantization of ethnicity. The latter is intended to compensate for the negative stereotype of poverty and laziness attached to this "ethnic group". The process happens under the pressure of external forces,

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[1] Christian Giordano, Andrea Boscoboinik, Mihai Curelaru, Sorin Gog, Adrian Neculau, Teodor Niţu, François Ruegg, Daniela Tarnovschi, Daniela Zaharia, *Roma's Identities in Southeast Europe: Romania*, Ethnobarometer Working Paper Series, 2008.

like the national regulations on minorities, the European council policies and a series of activists and NGOs following the ethnicist trend.

– Alongside a series of themes that you take into account as regards the social representation of Gypsy (such as religion[2] and informality[3]), the materiality of their culture is referred to the issue of Gypsy palaces in Romania[4]. You argue that, instead of a "typical Roma/Gypsy architecture", the palaces would only be an "expression of recently acquired wealth and of the desire to belong to the new rich cosmopolitan élite". As a result (to cite you again), "a purely ethnic approach is not appropriate to tackle issues such as Roma/Gypsies and their housing, be it a tent or a palace". In this case, is the Roma's material culture an evidence of their continuous assimilation in rural and urban Romania?

– As you can understand from what precedes, I tried to reject the too obvious/natural concept of Gypsy Palaces as presented in nevertheless very good monographies. My point is to situate this new phenomenon in a broader social-historical context. I do not say there is nothing different in buildings constructed for new rich Gypsies or among different groups of them, in Timisoara or in Soroca for example. What I am saying is that looking at non-Gypsy new rich palaces, one can see a lot in common with so called Gypsy palaces, in the desire to show off one's wealth and capacity to imitate an aristocratic tradition. This is illustrated by examples in Romania, as well as in Armenia and Georgia or elsewhere in emergent countries. It has happened and is happening in a less criticized country like the USA, as brilliantly described by Umberto Ecco already in 1985 (La guerre du Faux) and as illustrated in many TV series today.

Roma material culture is also dependent on the evolution of the societies and cannot be treated as a tribal/primitive culture that does not change and that is everywhere the same. If you look at the images still attached to Gypsies you can easily understand what I am saying. Gypsy equals travel (wagon and horses), even if the majority of them has been long sedentarized.

In some circumstances, the anthropologist has to pinpoint the differences, in other, he shows the commonalities. His main objective remains to go against what is taken for granted. In our case, it is against the opinion that Roma/Gypsies are totally different and live in a specific, unique and common cultural setting, speak Romani, are poor and free and follow strange traditions!

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[2] François Ruegg, "Tsiganes musulmans de la Dobroudja. Entre ethnicité et religion: le mythe des origines écorné". In: *Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions, Mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud*, F. Prescendi & Y. Volokhine (éd.), Labor et Fides, Genève, 2011, pp. 175–192.

[3] François Ruegg, "Social Representations of Informality. The Roma Case". In: *Informality in Eastern Europe. Structures, Political Cultures and Social Practices.* C. Giordano & N. Hayoz eds. Peter Lang: Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt a.M., Ney York, Oxford, Wien, 2013, pp. 297–315.

[4] François Ruegg, "Gypsy Palaces: a new Visibility for Roma in Romania"? In: Urbanities, the Journal of the IUAES Commission on Urban Anthropology, Vol. 3. 1, 2013, pp. 3–21.

– In a study you published in 2005[5], relying again on your disciplinary experience in Romania, you propose a methodological shift "from multiculturalism to interculturalism". Do you argue for "de-ethnicization" of the research itself? In so doing, where to situate the anthropological quest for ethnographic particularities, cultural "wholes", "local knowledge", and so on?

– Yes basically so, de-ethnicization. I propose to challenge ethnic categories that are blindly applied to social groups. If you ethnically categorize the palaces that Gypsies have been erecting in the last decades, you miss an important anthropological aspect of this ethnographical object, that is, its symbolic purpose. In doing ethnic ethnography you just confirm that these palaces correspond to the Gypsy's cultural stereotype (i.e. buildings are out of proportion, not used, kitsch etc.). If you base your interpretation on social strategies like the imitation of aristocratic architecture to be recognized and respected (as may be even a social revenge), you get a much richer outcome, strategies that are common to a non-ethnic group, which are the new-rich. However what is missing in an only etic interpretation of this phenomenon is the actual meaning that these constructions have for the owners. To obtain this information you have to be able to enter in their circle, which is generally rather difficult. I actually did interview some Roma palaces owners in the Republic of Moldavia and got rather interesting information: the wealth of the owner followed his conversion to Pentecostalism and was interpreted by himself as the result of conducting a moral life in business and in his family. With this example you can see that Gypsies are not isolated in a Gypsy world but interact with the rest of the society, compete with it, develop identity (religious) strategies in view of gaining a better social status. This also allows the anthropologist to get a better view on the evolution of groups which are too often considered as static, if not retrograde. One can do the same exercise with religions and show that in the region, there are many common practices among "Christian" and "Muslims" regarding particularly healing rituals (another more recent research I did). In the Balkans and beyond, the cult of sacred trees, the use holy water, lighting candles, pilgrimages to the tombs of Saints are but some examples of similar religious practices under the name of different "confessions". This may be an example of common (transethnic or intercultural) "local knowledge" as opposed to official religious and political discourses affirming the incompatibility of these two religions and the need for "religious cleansing" and segregation. But this is another story for another day.

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[5] François Ruegg, "From Multiculturalism to Interculturalism, Using Local Experience in Romania". In: Intercultural Relations in Bulgaria, C. Giordano et D. Kostova ed., Sofia: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences, M. Drinov, 2005, pp. 65–89.

RELATING SOCIAL STRUCTURES TO THE PLANET: RADICAL ECOLOGICAL ECONOMICS

DAVID BARKIN[*]

Ecological Economics (EE) poses a challenge to heterodox economists and a threat to orthodox economists. Born as an interdisciplinary field of analysis, it seeks to overcome the limitations of a single methodology or discipline, bringing together knowledge from various social and natural sciences to understand the social metabolism (Gonzalez de Molina and Toledo, 2014)[1]. On that basis, perhaps it would be better to call EE an "undisciplined" field of study, further extending its paradigmatic challenge to economics, social sciences, and natural science. But it is not only this complex amalgam that poses the challenge; rather it also involves a deliberate questioning of some of the fundamental tenets of economics, requiring a reconsideration of the basic paradigms of the field: methodological individualism and the supremacy of the market. Moving beyond these fundamental matters, EE obliges us to reexamine our understanding of social relations along with the connections between the economy, society and nature, placing power at the center of our analysis. While some would have us believe that EE can provide a blueprint for "sustainable development," many of us would prefer to understand it as an approach for empowering peoples, generating a diversity of strategies for improving the quality of life and conserving the ecosystems on which we all depend. In this essay, I integrate EE and political ecology along with an understanding of the relationship of society to the planet, moving beyond the "economistic" analysis that now dominates the problem of the environmental impact of human activity.

Keywords: ecological economy, political ecology, social justice.

THE PARADIGMATIC CHALLENGE

As a field of study, economics is firmly rooted in the idea of methodological individualism. Most of its theories, and the models based on them, assume that individuals make autonomous decisions about their needs and formulate demands

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[1] The German agricultural chemist, Justus von Leibig (1863), first introduced the concept, analyzing the break in the process of recycling; the food use in urban societies broke the chain by which the nutrients return to the fields. This evolved into the present-day concept of Social Metabolism and the analysis of the metabolic rift introduced by John Bellamy Forster (1999); see also Foster et al. (2010).

on that basis, constrained only by their incomes. Similarly, entrepreneurs shape their programs on the basis of existing technologies and information about the markets for their products, with incentives to increase productivity through innovation that will permit them to gain greater market shares in an environment in which all compete on an "even playing field." In theory, markets are constructed on the basis of the ordinal summation of individual demands for goods and available offers for these products. Although economists have long recognized the significance of market failures, most teaching and analysis is firmly grounded in the presumption that a smoothly operating market system will produce equilibrium solutions that will assure maximum levels of efficiency and welfare, given the existing distribution of wealth and control over resources.

In the short life of EE, many practitioners have moved beyond this abstraction to embrace a collective approach that envisions consumers and producers making decisions with reference to the social groups of which they a part. This change in focus has profound implications for our understanding of the way in which societies function and the decisions they make about their organizations, including relationships among their members and within their groups,as well as the allocation of their resources. The alternative paradigm was strengthened with the path-breaking work of Elinor Ostrom who received a Nobel Prize for her analysis of the ability of communities to manage effectively their common resources for their own welfare while assuring their conservation (e.g., 1990). Other practitioners are showing that collective decision-making is not limited to common-pool resources, as they are called, but in fact encompasses a much broader part of humanity's activities than is currently acknowledged by economists.

Questioning the supremacy of the marketpresents an even more fundamental challenge.Most economists, be they orthodox or heterodox, do not question the possibility of reducing all transactions and resources to a common denominator-prices – that reflects their relative worth and scarcity; of course, most textbooks begin with the old trope comparing the high price of diamonds with the low cost or free availability of water (a little outdated in today's neoliberalized world), highlighting the difference between exchange and use values. This facet of economics, however, is quite complex, involving a fundamental shift in our thinking about the nature of society: Karl Polanyi (2001[1944]) clearly pointed to a structural change that occurred with the emergence of capitalism, one that was also at the heart of Marx's analysis: in contrast to earlier societies in which productive activities and market transactions were firmly embedded in the social fabric of which they were a part, the economy was violently wrenched from its social institutions, creating alienated workers, private property of land and natural resources, and a different form of money that could serve as a means of dominion over society itself. In their own ways, both Marx and Polanyi forcefully argued that it would not be possible to confront the powerful forces that were leading to the degradation of human society, and the planet along with it, unless we could find means to integrate production once again within society and nature. In the same vein, Georgescu-Roegen's, a Romanian

Economist who gained world renown for his seminal contribution (1971), highlighting the centrality of increasing entropy, remains a cornerstone of EE and a constant reminder of the inability of market processes to respond to the challenges facing us. But this would not be sufficient unless society can redesign production itself to preserve its renewable resources while also caring for its non-renewable treasure trove while assuring a healthy environment.

EE is confronting this challenge, struggling with the complex chore of forging a new field of study to fulfill the expectations we have generated. It is emphasizing the need for limits to be placed on human activities, raising ethical questions of respect for people and the environment as well as responsibility of producers to ensure the appropriate and wholesome availability of products. It is also immersed in a profound contradiction, because most of our profession has come to believe that our welfare, indeed our very existence, is contingent on promoting growth; our present institutions are designed to foster growth,and therefore their very integrity is threatened when its pace declines. Although this contradiction was highlighted generations ago, it was dramatically thrust onto the international stage by the Club of Rome in 1972 (Meadows, et al., 1972) and became a magnet for an arrayof attacks, from scientific to religious. Today, another group is questioning this imperative; centered in Europe, the Degrowth 'movement' has generated a great deal of activity and some analysis by social scientists, but has failed to gain traction in the U.S.A (D'Alisa, et al. 2014). It is now clear that society will have to place limits on itself, but conventional science is proving incapable of defining those limits or the reducing the profound social inequities that today's economy is exacerbating. EE must become the discipline with which to address these challenges.

THE ETHICAL IMPERATIVE

Many practitioners of EE consider that the search for balance between society and nature also requires a measure of social justice which is not possible in today's integrated capitalist world (i.e., *www.ejolt.org*; Barkin and Lemus 2016). As long as the concentration of wealth continues, promoting poverty in its wake (Barkin, 1998), society will encourage the extremes of luxury consumption, on the one hand, and extreme poverty on the other, with the concomitant abuse of the environment by both groups. Social Justice now commands an important place in EE (Martínez-Alier, et al., 2014).

The matter of social justice is, in fact, a topic of great contention. With the dramatic increase in extractivism in many countries in the Global South along with ever broadening impacts, there is an intensification of conflicts occasioned by the proliferation of mining, land and water grabbing, plantation, and other natural resource exploitation initiatives (White, *et al.*, 2012; Scoones, et al., 2013; Svampa, 2015). In most cases, these capitalist initiatives propose to displace peoples with traditional claims to thespaces as part of programs to promote economic "growth" or "development". Frequently, the resistance to these policies is transforming itself

into innovative movements for asserting their rights and forging alternative societies, with differing degrees of autonomy or self-governance and social and economic structures that offer more opportunities for their members as well as greater liberty to ensure the sustainable conservations of their ecosystems.

The drive for social justice has assumed greater complexity in recent years as the peoples seeking opportunities for their own realization have become part of international coalitions or networks whose demands are now being recognized and supported by the international community. Perhaps the most significant developments in this regard are the Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (169) of the International Labour Organization, adopted in 1989, and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) that recognized their autonomy and established the obligation to seek "free, informed, prior consent" with regard to development projects affecting their territories[2]. EE has become an integral part of this dynamic as we have learned to appreciate the contribution that their proposals can make to our attempts to promote the integration of social, productive and environment objectives. In this process we are learning about the central role of women in the restructuring of their societies and contributing effectively to the integration of society, production and nature, something that still has to be better incorporated into our models.

Another ethical dimension in which EE is exercising an influence regards the treatment of time in economic analysis. There is a growing recognition that the present practice to penalize future generations by applying a discount rate to the flow of future benefits is not an appropriate way to balance the solution of today's problems with provisions for the coming generations. In this light, we are obliged to reconsider the notion that protecting the environment or providing for the well-being of others in the future should be considered as a sacrifice for, rather than a responsibility of present generations.

Of course, perhaps the most over-reaching ethical consideration is the very notion of sustainability. At present, this involves heated debates as to its significance and implications; the once widely celebrated definition of 1987 from the World Commission on Environment and Development has become almost a cliché: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". It raises fundamental questions about who decides if we should be given free rein to make individual decisions about the way in which we are to live, or areallowed to live. But the original report and subsequent discussions have not contributed sufficiently to resolving the contradictions between current patterns of accumulation and the need to rethink societies' relationships to our planet. EE is contributing to this discussion, but the underlying dilemmas will not be resolved until we move beyond capitalism itself.

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[2] The concept of territory itself is a complex amalgam of rights to occupy a space imbued with cultural and often spiritual significance combined with a productive history and ecosystem features that played significant roles in shaping society.

EE IN PRACTICE

Today EE is being taken in many different directions. As in many other fields of heterodox analysis, a large segment of practitioners dedicates its efforts to attempt to find ways to improve the functioning of our existing institutions; much of this activity involves work to design international agreements to limit the contaminating behaviors of actors, private and public. These efforts to "internalize the externalities" are inherently limited as effective rules obliging the polluters to cease using not only their surroundings, but also the planet itself as waste disposal sites would probably force the system to break down (Kapp, 1963[1950]).

Another important group of professionals is promoting myriad schemes for economic valuation and payments schemes for environmental services, including the cap and trade systems for trading rights to emit carbon dioxide or the programs to commercialize benefits generated in forests (REDD). Although this focus on ecosystem services is welcome, as it draws attention to the many ways in which ecosystems contribute to humanity's (along with most other living creatures) ability to survive and thrive (Jax, et al., 2013), the absurdity of reducing them to commodities is central to the critique of those concerned with conserving the diversity of the "web of life" (cf. *http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk*). Furthermore, in the process of commodification the intended beneficiaries often lose control over their resources, provoking conflicts with their governments (Barkin and Fuente, 2013).

In a more progressive direction, EE provides guidelines for collaborating with peoples trying to move beyond the confines of their existing relations with the capitalist societies. In many parts of the world communities are realizing that they can be better off by devising ways to avoid workplaces organized along proletarian lines and life styles that contribute to their alienation and ill health. In order to advance in this direction, they generally must seek control over their territories and organize themselves collectively to assure the production of their needs and the conservation of their environments. This capacity for autonomous self-government, guided by communal principles of direct democracy, is crucial for consolidating alternative ways of living; generally, implementing this approach is not possible without an underlying set of beliefs to guide the community in its search for its own process for local advance. EE promotes alternative rights-based approaches to defending territories and promoting local strategies for well-being, in contrast to the market-based solutions offered by economists and the international community[3].

A unique feature of the approach of many of these societies is an explicit recognition of the centrality of surplus in their strategies. By focusing on the control of the various sources of surplus produced by, and available to them, they are able to effectively distribute it for individual and collective purposes while avoiding the concentration of income and power characteristic of the structures of

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[3] In many institutional and political spaces, EE supports their claims for recognition (and the efforts to negotiate their rights under existing international law), and contributes to their resolve to implement alternative productive, social and environmental strategies (e.g., *www.ejolt.org*).

the society they are trying to replace. This offers an important lesson, highlighted by Paul Baran many years ago (1957), which we are incorporating into EE: eliminating capitalist market tethers, societies can identify important reserves of untapped resources available for collective benefit. It is remarkable how many communities are implementing mechanisms to identify them, while also organizing activities that generate additional surplus(Barkin and Lemus, 2016).

A growing segment of professionals involved with EE, especially in the Global South, is involved in efforts to support peoples attempting to avoid their insertion into global markets on disadvantageous terms. Many have suffered as workers and were defrauded in local or regional markets. This integration is also pushing peoples from their traditional territories, separating them from theircommunities, and disarticulating their societies and cultural networks.EE obliges us to combine our theoretical concerns of integrating analysis with empirical studies of the dynamics of capitalist expansion to improve their abilities to forge alternatives.

Of course, the aggressive insertion of international capital into the interstices of societies around the world does not go unchallenged. Local struggles and international alliances are continually springing up to attempt to stem its spread. More recently, however, these resistance movements are transforming themselves into creative and powerful initiatives,designingalternative strategies for social and productive organization consistent with assuring ecosystem conservation and balance. This is where EE is making a particularly important contribution, collaborating to understand the environmental processes and participate in developing new productive activities. There are numerous examples of these activities. In this final section we offer examples of the areas in which communities are moving, individually and in collaboration with others (Barkin and Lemus, 2016).

The Via Campesina (VC) is the largest social organization proposing an alternative organization of production around the principle of Food Sovereignty. It brings together affiliates in more than 70 countries with more than 200 million members, creating local systems for sustainable food production. Since itsfounding in 1996, it has moved to generate new ways of disseminating information and strengthening its commitment to peasant based production oriented to supplying local markets, using agroecological farming systems suitably adapted to local environmental conditions. The VC also sponsors a network of peasant-to-peasant schools where people exchange information and teach about different farming techniques, while also trading seeds and information about markets, credit systems, and outside assistance (Desmarais, et al., 2014). A similar organization developed in China, the New Rural Reconstruction Movement, about which much less in known (Wen, 2012; van der Ploeg and Ye, 2016).

Communities living in forest areas are also creating new ways of managing their resources to assure the long term health of their ecosystems, while also generating employment and income to sustain themselves. There are numerous accounts of successful examples in which communities have organized to recuperate and then protect degraded or overcut systems while creating productive activities (Borrini-Feyerabend, et al. 2007; Barkin and Fuente, 2013). Community

control of water resources and costal fisheries also contribute to local well-being, generating new productive activities and sources of income (Laird, et al., 2010; Sepúlveda-Machado and Aguilar-González, 2015).

These specific areas of activity in which EE has become important can only offer an introduction to the contribution that the field can make to escaping from the strait jacket of mainstream analysis. It is significant, however, that this work now involves us in understanding and participating in the dynamic efforts to build new forms of society. These include the important example of the Zapatistas in southern Mexico, who are consolidating an experience of almost a quarter-century, consolidating their unique approach to economic and ecosystem management that has improved the material well-being of the more than one-half million people living in its territory, while assuring privileged opportunities for women and schooling for all (Vergara-Camus, 2009). In other parts of Latin America, communities are also moving from "resistance" to "r-existence", as some have recently described this transformation (Escobar, 2008; Porto-Goncalves and Leff, 2015).

EE is clearly a contested field of work for social science. Many still insist on simply transferring mainstream paradigms to the problems of the relationship between society, economy and nature. But the most exciting work is being done by those who are informed by many imaginative and generous contributions (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Healy, et al., 2012).

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THE ANTHROPOCENE AND RUDOLF BAHRO'S MEGAMACHINE: A PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION OF SOME KEY RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MARCUSE'S CONCEPT OF TECHNOLOGY AS IDEOLOGY AND BAHRO'S DISCOURSE ON THE DECOMPOSITION OF LATE INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES[1]

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The aim of this text is to propose that the naming of the current geological period of the planet as "The Anthropocene," and the international recognition and responses associated with that naming, may be creating political spaces at both planetary and local levels, within a late-industrial politics, that can be employed to help liberate humans throughout the world from new forms of oppression that have arisen with late-industrial, globalised economic production and consumption.

Keywords: anthropocene, technology, ideology, late-industrial societies.

INTRODUCTION

The recent tragedy in Bangladesh, where no less than 1,127 garment workers (mostly young women) died, when the Rana Plaza building collapsed (Guardian, 2013), serves as a grim reminder that the globalised process of financing future production through the exploitative accumulation of surplus value continues to exhibit some of its most widely discussed and offensive characteristics. However, in pausing for a moment to mourn the tragic deaths of these factory workers, the scale and historical position of this building collapse, have a second story to tell. In 1911, in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire in New York City, no less than 141 garment workers (mostly young women) died (New York Times, 1911). Roughly 100 years after the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, which became a rallying point for the rise

of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the collapse of Rana Plaza has brought a tenfold increase in the loss of human life. This is the historical progress observable in the garment industry in the current period of late-industrial globalised production and consumption. Remarkably little has changed, with two exceptions: the scale of the impact and the manner in which the news has spread. The tenfold increased in number of deaths and the rapid circulation (and obsolescence) of information about the tragedy can both be understood to reflect basic features of what has of late come to be referred to as "The Anthropocene." The scale of this disaster illustrates that globalisation is not only characterized by unprecedented networking of commercial and social relationships, and the integration and incorporation of local and international markets, but that it also reflects a game change in the basic structure of human/environment relations. The political economy of the 21st century is, as has been argued on many grounds, from many perspectives throughout the last two decades, clearly different from the political economy that accompanied the commencement and establishment of modern industrialised economic activity. While the origins and implications of this substantive difference may be subjected to debate, one thing that appears clearly established is that the speed and magnitude of ecological impacts associated with this period of late-industrial globalised production are unprecedented in human history and have, at the very least, the potential to render the planet earth unsuitable for human habitation, as we know it today. The now normalised threat of nuclear war, foreshadowed in the grotesque consequences of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and echoed in the festering subconscious reminders afforded by disasters such as those in Chernobyl and Fukushima, is perhaps the most succinct illustration of this situation. On balance, Carson's (1963) *Silent Spring* has illustrated the insidious side of this dynamic, revealing links between pesticide use in agricultural production and severe degradation of ecosystems, illustrating the breadth and complexity of this potential by detailing its unforeseen, slow to emerge, long-term consequences. The question of how this march toward self-obliteration might be arrested is, I propose, the most pressing political question facing humanity at the start of the 21st century: the persistent and increasing presence of conventional warfare based conflicts and straightforward acts of direct exploitations, such as seen in Syria, Colombia, Bangladesh and elsewhere across the planet, notwithstanding.

The scale of coordinated human activities and associated impacts that helped to give rise to the Rana Plaza disaster is now comparable with long established planet-level phenomena such as the carbon and nitrogen cycles, and the hydrogeology of the planets major river systems: as was discussed by Lovelock and Margulis (1974; Lovelock 1972; 1979), and as reflected in the current scientific discourse, regarding the potential technical appropriateness of naming now "The Anthropocene" (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Zalasiewicz *et al.*, 2011).

In much the same way that the massive scale of the ecological impacts of industrialised human activity can be understood as a game changer, so too can the globalisation of awareness of internationalised modes of human and environmental

exploitation, facilitated by the recent invention and popularisation of television, communications satellites, mobile telephony and the World Wide Web. The question as to if, and if so how such globalised awareness can be translated into effective purposive political action is my main point of interest here. While the upwelling of consumer consciousness in the cash rich world, following the collapse of Rana Plaza, suggests that international solidarity with the workers of Bangladesh exists, such latent solidarity has been awakened before (e.g. the 1998 uproar surrounding worker conditions and child labour in Nike® sneaker production; the 1999 Seattle Protests against the policies of the World Trade Organisation, or more recently with the international Occupy Movement). It has, however, consistently failed to convert indignation into compelling pressure for the implementation of substantive changes in the globalised process of economic production. While there are myriad potential explanations for why this may be the case, I would like to propose, following Marcuse (1991[1964]; 1969), that one contributing factor is the pacifying influence of the late-industrial human condition, which militates against refusal, silencing precisely the working poor of late-industrial societies who are most similarly positioned, with respect to the globalised production system, and so most capable of engaging in complementary direct actions of solidarity. As the world slowly (in current time measures) begins to forget the deaths of Rana Plaza, the human and ecological devastation of primary resource extraction, large scale industrial production and the industrialisation of agricultural production continue, seemly un-phased. In attempting here, to trace some of the links between arguments presented by Marcuse (1991[1964]; 1969) and Bahro (1977; 1989) I would like to suggest that environmental scientists and scholars have a critical role to play in creating a late-industrial political discourse that can speak to and practically address this situation. This is because they too are now positioned, with respect to globalised late-industrial economic production, to share the same forms of direct alienation from the products of their labour as the factory workers of Rana Plaza, and so to engage in direct actions of solidarity.

THEORETICAL ASPIRATIONS AND ORIENTATION

This is a preliminary theory text, intended to help give further structure and orientation to my ongoing research concerning the co-evolution of human and non-human nature (Farrell, 2009[2005]; 2007) and the possibilities for the combined achievement of (i) human liberation from oppression associated with late-industrial economic exploitation and (ii) the implementation of social-ecologically ethical economics in the early 21st century (Farrell, 2009[2005]; Farrell, 2008; 2011a; 2011b; Ariza-Montobbio and Farrell, 2012). The specific theory development project addressed here is the weaving together and writing forward of selected political economy arguments developed by Rosa Luxemburg, Herbert Marcuse and Rudolf Bahro. Since that is a monumental, if not foolhardy, task, I limit myself

here to a first step of exploring some key links between two works – Marcuse's (1991[1964]) *One-dimensional Man: studies in the ideology of advanced industrial societies* and Bahro's (1977) *Die Alternative: zur Kritik des real existierenden Socialismus*,[1] which I believe can help to explain the resolute inefficacy of increasingly common attempts to organise a globalised ethical responses to the blatantly unjust and ecologically unsustainable consequences of the contemporary system of globalised economic production and consumption. As all three of these theorists had classic Marxian approaches to the study of political economy, oppression and the potential for human liberation, a systematic cross-referencing of their contributions is a reasonable proposition, on first principles (Kellner, 1984; Marcuse, 1978). However, I believe that the advent of The Anthropocene, both phenomenal and noumenal, provides compelling new grounds for carefully exploring how their theoretical positions are related to one another, to the idea of technological progress and to the project of achieving human liberation from the forms of oppression that accompany industrialised economic production.

MORE IS LESS

The Anthropocene, both as an epoch and as an idea, is a concrete empirical situation, historically determined by the political economy conditions that have occupied the attentions of Luxemburg, Marcuse, Bahro and many others over the past century. It is characterized by a historically embedded contradiction, described by Rittel and Webber (1973) as "Wicked Problems", by Funtowicz and Ravetz (1990; 1991) as "post-normal science" situations, by Marcuse (1991[1964]) as "technology as ideology" and by Bahro (1989) as the "mega machine": the western European project to achieve liberation from the vagaries of non-human nature through the development and employment of industrial technologies has brought about a situation where the consequences of that project, i.e. the anthropogenically transformed   human environment of late industrial societies, has become the new point of external reference against which the further progress of this same project is judged.

Following Marcuse (1991[1964]), it is presumed here that this technology based system of economic production militates against resistance because it has become the point of reference, against which the appropriateness of purposive rational actions is to be judged (Farrell, 2011a). This can be understood as a performative tautology, where the original purpose of technological innovation – to liberate humans from their dependence upon the reproductive potential and limitations of the non-human environment – has been replaced by the logically sequential purpose of adapting new technological innovation to respond to criteria that have themselves been determined by the concrete material characteristics of previous technological innovations.

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[1] The Alternative: toward a critique of real, existing socialism.

At the surface, this tautology of late-industrial societies is related in many respects to the phenomenon of technological "lock-in" discussed within neo-liberal economics in terms of whether or not it compromises market efficiency (Liebowitz and Margolis, 1990) and more recently within the 21st century environmental sciences discourses concerned with fostering technological transitions to a low carbon economy (e.g. Foxon, 2007). However, what I wish to explore here is not only the implications of this phenomenon but also it's historical position as a stage in the process of industrialisation, and its consequences for the project of liberating exploited humans and non-human nature from the systematic forms of oppression that have accompanied that process. There are, of course, also strong similarities between this topic and Beck's (1992; 1999) discussion of the conditions and challenges associated with what he calls the "risk-society", and reflexive modernisation. Without getting drawn too far off track, I would like to note here briefly two key distinctions, on the basis of which I find it acceptable to leave Beck aside, at least for the moment. Firstly, while Beck is concerned with the same systematic phenomenon, his main orientation is, similarly to those of neo-liberal economics and environmental sciences, to explore its implications, as opposed to its place within the history of western industrialisation. Secondly, while his position regarding the historical place of this phenomenon shares much in common with that advanced by Marcuse, Beck interprets the historical step from what he refers to as "modernity" to "late modernity", or reflexive modernization, as a break with the logic of 19th century industrialised social organisation, rather than as a continuation. Whereas Beck then turns his attentions to exploring the dynamics of this completely new form of globalized political economy, which he presumes to be oriented around and hopes will eventually be directed by, a world of universally inter-changeable cosmopolitical global citizens, Marcuse, while also presuming the emergence of a new form of internationalised standardization that renders the conventional communism / capitalism distinction in some way obsolete, presents technology as ideology as a historical continuity, which, as a consequence of its structure, obscures and inhibits the possibility of its own negation. Where Beck receives the techno-logic of reflexive modernization as a *fait accompli* that has rendered earlier forms of power obsolete, leading to a new post-political politics, Marcuse, more in keeping with Mouffe's (2005) critique of Beck, interprets the imposition of technological rationality onto the late-industrial political subject as a new manifestation of the same social-material complex of phenomena through which power could be accessed in the preceding period of early industrialisation and before.

NEW FORMS OF LATE-INDUSTRIAL OPPRESSION

A key point made by Luxemburg (1951[1913]), and echoed by Marcuse (1991[1964]) and Bahro (1977), helps to illustrate the orientation of the enquiry that I wish to open out here: that the social context within which the globalised

reproduction of capital takes place, in particular the dissociated and fractured social relations that accompany both the up-scaling of volume and expanded spatial distribution of advanced industrial production, are meaningfully and systematically related to its relentless and ruthless capacity, as a system, to starve, exploit and disregard those individuals whose demand is either superfluous or inadequate to the needs of the process of capital accumulation. Without wishing to dismiss the material factors and dynamics associated with this process, Marcuse and Bahro, like Luxemburg, have called for greater attention to be given to the ways in which the social consequences of industrialisation, taken up for consideration as historical phenomena in their own right, serve to perpetuate, reinforce and even transform the means of exploitation and oppression in industrialised societies.

In his text *One-Dimensional Man* Marcuse (1991[1964]) argues that one of the central characteristics of late-industrial human societies is the emergence of a new modality of social oppression, which he refers to as "technology as ideology". His justification for this proposition is deeply embedded in earlier arguments developed in his text *Eros and Civilization* (Marcuse, 1972[1955]) and involves an argumentation that it is neither possible, nor necessary to recount here in detail. What I wish to draw out and build upon is his explicit positioning of technology as ideology as a logical step in the progression of the western European project of modern industrialisation. Reflecting on the sheep-like cultural homogeneity and conformism that typified the culture of the United States of America in the 1950s, Marcuse (1991[1964]:9) proposes that "[t]he distinguishing feature of advanced industrial society is its effective suffocation of those needs which demand liberation…" Thanks to the enormous increases in labour and capital productivity afforded by the use of industrial technologies, the basic survival needs of the general population in late-industrial societies, can, as a rule, be met. The very material facts of late industrial life – the washing machine, the television, the computer – have become positive values, liberating humans from oppression by "nature" but they are also negative values, because they subjugate "nature" and create new dependences.

In a situation described by Marcuse as "pacified existence" (Marcuse, 1991[1964]:254), the physical task of achieving liberation from the vagaries of nature has been replaced by the intellectual task of achieving liberation from a social system that was created to conquer nature. Working from a presumption that the scientific method of reduction and falsification, as practiced in the laboratories of the 19th and 20th centuries, was intimately bound up with the development of industrial manufacture processes and their products, Marcuse proposed that the reductive, linear logic of this method has been reified in the technologies to which it gave rise. He argued that, due to its ubiquitous and fundamental presence in such societies, technology achieves an ideological status, asserting what is and what is not appropriate to think and to do; although the basic daily needs of water, shelter and food are met for almost all members of a late-industrial society, the insidious

regularity of technology obstructs fulfilment of the basic human needs for intellectual freedom of thought and self-determination. In the spirit of critical theory and dialectical reasoning, Marcuse concludes his text by proposing that a path out of the intellectual prison of one-dimensional thinking might be found through reference to its origins: that is to say, through a reformulation of the scientific methods that originally created this late-industrial form of passive oppression[2].

While Bahro's detailed discussion of what he calls the "Megamachine" of late-industrialisation is to be found in his later text, *Logik der Rettung* (1989), his arguments concerning its historical position with respect to the political economy of industrialisation are laid out in *Die Alternative*, which serves as my main point of reference here. In *Die Alternative* Bahro (1977) argued that the idea of the working class no longer contained any substantive meaning in the German Democratic Republic, in part, because the class of proprietors had been ostensibly eliminated though the establishment of state socialism, but also, in part, because of the ways in which massive industrialisation had change the basic relationship of all members of the "real existing socialism" society, and of corresponding late-capitalist societies, to the system of industrial production. It is this second point, which is closely related to his later arguments concerning identifying means for escaping the oppression of the Megamachine, upon which I wish to pick up here. In Chapter 7 of *Die Alternative* Bahro presents two arguments that suggest his position is both logically and historically compatible with Marcuse's: (i) that a basic characteristic of what Bahro calls late-capitalism and Marcuse advanced industrial society is the intervention of the state, the managerial class and the technical expert, in the maintenance of sufficient conditions for the ongoing accumulation of capital though late-industrial production; and (ii) that this restructuring of relationships between the classes of capitalist production, changes the places of both the worker and the technical expert in a relation to the economic process of industrialised production, and does so in a way that can be understood as a new modality of late-industrial oppression, where both are subordinated, not to a simple drive for accumulation of surplus value, in which technical experts may be understood to serve as facilitators of exploitation, but to a second order drive for technological innovation as a end in itself, in which the technical expert can be understood to be engaged in the direct production of use value that is accumulated and invested not to serve the requirements of the worker but rather those of the overall system of economic reproduction.

With respect to the latter of these two points, Marcuse (1978) himself brought attention to this link, in reflecting on the contribution of Bahro's position to the advance of critical social theory. Summarising Bahro's position in similar terms, he observed that the technological character of late-industrial production, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, had diminished the distinction between white and blue collar

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[2] This paragraph is an excerpt from an earlier draft of Farrell, 2008:69.

workers, leading to a situation where the conventional idea of a working class has been superseded by a situation in which the "*expanded* working class [of late-industrial production] incorporates the vast majority of the population" (Marcuse, 1978:104).[3] Marcuse's interpretation of this shift in the relations of white and blue collar workers, to each other and to the modalities of oppression in late-industrial societies, is then clearly linked, in this same text, to his own position, regarding the liberating potential associated with direct actions of resistance to technology as ideology *within* the workplace of scientific knowledge production (Ibid: 107).

With respect to the first of these two points, Bahro's position is arguably more immediately oriented around the problem of exploitative accumulation, highlighting that state interventions in the regulation of capital-accumulation based production, to the west of the Iron Curtain, during and after World War II, could be understood as a political response to worker mobilisations, in many respects historically comparable with the institution of state socialism to the east. However, both Marcuse and Bahro take the position that the massive production volumes and technological complexity typical of late-industrial production, being historically embedded features of the logic of the industrialised accumulation of capital, have changed the basic political economy relationships between (a) individuals involved in the immediate production of use value, (b) those involved in the maintenance of the productive system, (c) and the reproduction of this exploitation. With regard to this final point – that late-industrial society brings with it a basic, and historically determined, change in the relationship of blue collar worker, bourgeois, and white collar expert, to the reproduction of capitalist exploitation – the position common to Marcuse and Bahro is close to that expressed by Hornborg (1992) and elaborated in different ways, more recently, by Moore (2000) and Martinez-Alier (2002): that the driving force behind the production of surplus value in late-industrial societies is "the metabolism of industrial technology itself. Viewed as in some respects analogous to living biomass, the suprahuman 'technomass' of industrial society must be fed specific kinds of substances in order to grow" (Hornborg, 1992: 6). This proposition is based on the presumption that the compulsion to grow is a material phenomenon, directly related to the historically and materially embedded character of late-industrial production, in which processes of economic production are understood as biologically living systems, subject to the laws of thermodynamics, and in particular to the far-from-equilibrium thermodynamics of open systems, which depend upon inputs of 'negentropy,' as Hornborg, following Schrödinger (1948[1944]), describes it, and energetic throughput, in order to achieve the self-organisation that makes it possible to be and to continue being alive[4]. The momentum of this dynamic is discussed by Raine et al. (2006), also in

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[3] Translated by the current author from Marcuse's original German language text.

[4] As Hornborg (1992) notes, there are clear links here to the work of Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen (1971). However, giving attention to these links, which concern the structure of processes of economic production, would bring me to other points of argument, which I believe can best be made in a subsequent

terms of the second law of thermodynamics, as an explanation for the persistence of capital accumulation based production, in spite of clear indications that this modality of production is currently destroying the material basis for future economic reproduction. Within this context, technological innovation, in making possible "new [energetic pathways of] transformations not previously accessible" (Raine et al., 2006:359), can be understood as a basic structural feature of the dynamics of late-industrial accumulation. This is because the effective exploitation of novelty is systematically relevant to the manner in which thermodynamically open systems are able to consistently reassert their identities: to stay alive. The role of scientific novelty creation is inextricable from and historically embedded within this process.

THE POLITICS OF LATE-INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE

In seeking to unpack the liberating potential to be found in the alienation of late-industrial scientists from the products of their labours, through their subjugation to technology as ideology, we may return once again to Marcuse's *One-dimensional Man*, in order to develop a clearer picture of the historical logic within which this potential is unfolding. There, he argues that, in late industrial societies, the material battle between humanity and nature, the daily struggle to secure the basic requirements for survival, is ostensibly won. Facts and figures, the material product of scientific knowledge production, are the heroes in man's (and I do mean here man's) struggle with nature. In their purest form, they have become, as a consequence, the greatest good and the ultimate measure of value in late-industrial societies. Their rise is accompanied by the banishment of non-factual values from political discourse (sic Ariza-Montobbio and Farrell, 2012), which are associated with superstition, irrationality and subjugation to nature. The reification of the status of facts as "highest value" constitutes a step in the progression of their alienation from the non-factual values that are their dialectical companions (sic Farrell, 2011b). The distinction between desirable and undesirable is replaced by a distinction between rational and irrational. Rational is associated with the production of facts, the success of science and the conquest of nature and is implicitly treated as good and desirable. Irrational, defined only through negation, is the absence of rationality and is associated with subjugation to the forces of nature. It is implicitly treated as "other" from good and not desirable.

In a world where scientist are the arbiters of facts and facts are the measure of the Good, scientist have the power to determine what constitutes the Good. This is

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step of analysis. On that basis, I leave aside, for the moment, that discussion. However, it should be noted that Georgescu-Roegen, like Luxemburg, Marcuse and Bahro, was particularly concerned with how social organisation, and perhaps more importantly epistemology and materially positioned perspectives concerning the perception of time and the purposes of economic production are related to the actual structure of processes of economic production (sic Farrell and Mayumi, 2009).

political power. As such, it merits direct consideration as a potential point of resistance, in so far as one is of the opinion, as was Marcuse (1969:82), and as am I, that "[t]he chain of exploitation must break at its strongest link". However, if we follow through the logic presented by Marcuse and Bahro, regarding the historical and intellectual position of the technical expert, within the process of late-industrial economic production, the potential for breaking this chain must be actively cultivated, in conscious acts of resistance that actively oppose continued reliance upon methods of scientific knowledge production that are favoured by and favourable to the continued persistence of the technomass, Megamachine of technology as ideology. This begs the questions as to what type of alternative methods might that imply: a point I will return to below. However, before moving on to the question of how such resistance might be mounted, I would like to consider here in a bit more detail, the relationship between these observations from Marcuse and Bahro and the idea and reality of The Anthropocene.

While Marcuse and Bahro would both have been familiar with television and at least the potential of popularised satellite based communications, we are left to explore for ourselves what they might have made of the recent massive popularisation of information technologies over the last 20 years. Since this appears to me to be both a characteristic of The Anthropocene and a key political context for mounting resistance to technology as ideology, it seems necessary that the place of this phenomenon is specifically addressed before I proceed. Taking a somewhat prudent approach to the conjecture of such an extrapolation, I would like to suggest that the place of this popularisation, within late-industrial societies, can be understood through reference to Marcuse and Bahro's shared position that the critical social distinction in late-industrial societies is between those who serve the requirements of the Mega-machine and those who confront its demands with acts of resistance. While this invites exploration of the place of activist initiatives such as the hacker network Anonymous, I would like to remain focused here on the somewhat more mundane question of how the circulation of information is related to the diminished distinction between blue and white collar workers, discussed by Marcuse in his reflections on the work of Bahro. Here it seems to me that massive popularisation of access to the World Wide Web, which has its origins in the late-industrial pure science work of CERN (Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire) carries with it all the ambivalences and all the possibilities suggested in Marcuse's propositions concerning the potential for a New Science to make possible new forms of resistance that directly confront the late-industrial oppression of technology as ideology. That is to say, I do not see this popularisation as automatically liberating. In the first instance, I see it as simply one more avenue through which technology as ideology can exert pressure on the imaginations and actions of late-industrial political subjects.

In its early form, as a more or less freely accessible and largely uncensored platform for long-distance real time discourse, created by scientists for their own use

and made available at large, it would seem to have had the greatest potential as a new political forum. However, as access has extended over the past 20 years, achieving, of late, what can reasonably be called massive popularisation, this has been accompanied by increasing direct censorship and is increasingly regulated, in what may be understood as a manifestation of technology as ideology, by a largely untransparent combination of accumulated search algorithms and paid advertisements that filter and prioritise what is encountered by whom, when and where.

Where a community of humans, a society, is able to freely choose for itself, who and how it wishes to be, what and how it will produce in order to provide what Marshall (1920[1890]:1) has called "the material requisites of wellbeing", it has achieved a great degree of autonomy from the whimsy and associated evolutionary pressures of its non-human nature based environmental context. However, it is immediately faced with a new challenge: to correctly specify, for itself, what criteria it should use to judge the desirability and efficacy of the practices that its choices foster. There is ample precedent that human beings are capable of making such decisions with reasonable efficacy, as evidenced in anthropological studies of the co-evolution of socio-ecological systems inhabited by people who we may refer to, following Salleh (2004; 2009), as meta-industrial subjects, directly, bodily engaged in the acquisition of the low entropy materials required to stay alive (see, for example, Haller et al, 2013; Trosper, 2002; Ichiyo, 1998). However, in the era of The Anthropocene the context within which such work must be undertaken, both materially and intellectually, confronts human society with new challenges that require direct and formal consideration of how human / environment co-evolution operates at the planetary scale.

Materially, this context is characterised by chains of effects and feedbacks operating at the planetary level. Supercomputers, earth observation networks and the World Wide Web can lend some help toward mastering the cognitive task of simply comprehending what is going on and ideas such as Planetary Boundaries, proposed by Rockström et al. (2009) go some way toward providing coherent points of material reference. However, the scale and complexity of the planetary dynamics now being affected by organized human activity make the adoption of any firm convictions regarding the concrete reality of what is likely to happen next, in the absence or indeed in the presence of systematic modifications in globalised human activity, little more than a very expensive guessing game. For example, the relationships between physical possibilities and intended outcomes of geo-engineering are poorly understood, because the internal dynamics and operating logic of the target of the performative act of its deployment are, themselves, poorly understood. Without wishing to take anything away from the careful and methodologically rigorous work being carried out by climate scientists across the planet, the challenge of comprehending what is happening in The Anthropocene is confronted by the epistemological limits of modern science (sic Allen et al. 2001; Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1990). The uncertainties surrounding the potential

implications of proceeding with geo-engineering responses to the problem of climate change illustrate this, in the immediate frame of The Anthropocene. For example, Schmidt et al. (2012), in a large and rigorous study of possible unintended consequences of geo-engineering deployments, conclude that there are a large number of potentially relevant factors for which no clear indications of expected consequences can be discerned, based on their use of state-of-the-art climate models. However, in spite of the epistemologically underdetermined character of available information regarding what is actually going on in The Anthropocene, the intellectual and political climate is characterised by what Marcuse (1991[1964]:98) has described as a condition of "overwhelming concreteness", where a new mode of auto-oppression, historically anchored in late-industrial human society, limits the purposive discourse regarding where to next, to a series of factual references regarding where are we now. I would like to propose that the work of escaping this conundrum is a late-industrial political project in which blue and white collar workers, and meta-industrial subjects, by formally taking up the task of designing and operating democratically legitimatable trans-disciplinary collaborations, may be able to create and make use of new avenues for realising the human liberation from the modality of repression and oppression operationalised through what Marcuse has called technology as ideology and Bahro the Meamachine.

CONCLUSIONS
TRANSDISCIPLINARY METHODOLOGY AS AN ACT OF RESISTANCE

At the start of this text I proposed that the naming of the current planetary epoch as "The Anthropocene", and the international recognition and responses associated with that name giving, might reflect an opportunity to advance the project of seeking to achieve human liberation from the material and intellectual modes of oppression that typify late-industrial societies. Above I have argued that The Anthropocene can be understood as a historical stage in the progression of the internal logical of industrialisation and that, on this basis, its characteristics and dynamics, as an anthropogenic phenomenon, can be theorised in terms of Marcuse and Bahro's positions concerning the nature of late-industrial oppression. In an effort to write forward their respective studies in a manner that is immediately relevant to political struggles for human liberation in the early 21st century, I would like to suggest here that the project of theorising and operationalizing democratic methods for conducting what Funtowicz and Ravetz (1994) have called "extended peer review", may constitute a form of political resistance to the oppression associated with technology as ideology. By implication, and in as many words, I would also like to propose that failure to undertake such acts of resistance, once confronted with this analysis, can only be interpreted as an act of complicity with that oppression. This is because the discourse on post-normal science (Funtowicz

and Ravetz, 1990; 1992; 1993), within which the practice of democratising expertise (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1990) and the idea of extended peer review (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1994) have been proposed, can be understood as a manifestation Marcuse's New Science, based in "holistic descriptions of late industrial problems, conducting explicit discussions of substantive universals, and giving attention to the dialectical rapport between facts and values" (Farrell, 2008: 81), which he proposed might eventually constitute a plausible means through which it could be possible to resist technology as ideology. This methodology discourse and related collection of techno-politically ambiguous positions, can be understood as a realization of the new modality of science that Marcuse (1991[1964]:239) predicted in *One-Dimensional Man*, where: "pacified existence… the repressed final cause behind the scientific enterprise… were [it] to materialize and become effective, [is accompanied by a situation where] the Logos of technics would open a universe of qualitatively different relations between man and man, and man and nature". In order to deploy this power responsibly, in democratic society, scientists are ethically obliged to problematize it.

The terms "extended" and "peer review" have a significant history in Ravetz's (1971) earlier study of *Scientific Knowledge and its Social Problems*, which helps clarify their meaning in his later collaborations with Funtowicz. There, in Ravetz's (1971) description of "facts and their evolution", we find an explicit definition of extended facts and of the extended communities of individuals responsible for the evolution and reification of those facts, where He argues that:

> "[t]hose facts which continue in being long enough to become knowledge must do so by a process of extension analogous to that of tools: they must be seen to be relevant to problems in other fields of enquiry" (Ravetz 1971:199). "Indeed, its [(scientific knowledge's)] special character results from the complexity and interconnectedness of its materials [scientific facts], as they evolve through the complex and fallible social processes of their use and *adaptation*" (Ibid: 209, *emphasis added*).

Recalling this early description of extended facts, it seems reasonable to propose that what is "extended" under extended peer review is the community of individuals with a role to play in describing and deciding what does or does not constitute a scientific "fact". That is to say, the community of individuals with the internal authority to judge a piece of scientific work based on adequacy criteria (is it right?) is extended to include individuals who are normally responsible for making external quality judgements based on value criteria (is it useful?)[5].

Elsewhere I have argued that extended peer review is most appropriately understood, in the first instance, as an empirical phenomenon (Farrell, 2011b), in which circumstance, rather than intention, extends the community of individuals responsible for determining what constitutes the facts of a matter. However, there

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[5] This description of extended peer-review and extended facts is excerpted from Farrell, 2011b: 343.

are, particularly within the scope of science concerning The Anthropocene, many examples of the proactive creation of extended peer review discourses large and small, ranging from participatory modelling and mapping approaches and participatory rural appraisal, across to major planetary science initiatives such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and more recently the Intergovernmental Panel on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services.[6] Where extended peer review processes are phenomenological, it would seem to me that critical assessment of their democratic accountability is the common responsibility of all democratic political theorists concerned with the problematique of the Anthropocene. Where they are created, with purpose, it would seem to me that both the scientists and other actors involved in their creation have a responsibility to ask themselves not only whether or not the results of these collaborations are empirically reliable but also whether or not the procedures employed to generate these results are democratically legitimatable. I would even go so far as to claim that, where the former of these two criteria is met and the latter is not, the extended peer review process in question, whether phenomenological or intentional, can be understood to be reinforcing the late-industrial oppression of technology as ideology.

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[6] It should be noted here that the IPCC, in particular, is generally discussed as a phenomenon of what Gibbons et al. 1994 and Nowotny et al. 2000 have called Mode II Science. While I would argue that the descriptions offered by Gibbons et al. and Nowotny et al. do not extend to the point where they can be logically related to those of Marcuse and Bahro presented here, it seems to me that they are concerned with the same historical phenomenon as Funtowicz and Ravetz, although employing a different language and theoretical position as regards to understanding and explaining it.

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Review by Sebastian Ştefănucă[*]

"[…] How easy would it really be for a Greek to self-define himself in terms of ethnicity, when one of his grandfathers had changed his national convictions two or three times in the space of ten years and the other had left for Bulgaria in '25, when his relations had seen active service in the Greek and Bulgarian armies in equal measure and successively, when he himself had voted for the monarchy but had fought in the Democratic Army, when one of his brothers is a member of the Slavo-Macedonian organisation in Australia, another is a political refugee and public official in Skopje, and the third is a passionate supporter of the Greek Pan-Macedonian organisation in Canada, and when at the same time any one of his own three children is equally likely to vote Ν.Δ. as ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ. as Ουράνιο Τόξο[1] at any given election?" (p. 24).

This excerpt – found at the end of the "Introductory Comments" [Εισαγωγικές παρατηρήσεις] (pp. 11–25) by Vasílis K. Gúnaris, one of the editors of the work and also a contributor to it – convey the very specific social atmosphere, linked here with political events and electoral options, in the context of which the book as a whole is written. Political polarisation as indicated by voting behaviour, along with linguistic differences and social segregation, are for many scholars clear and sufficient evidence for the existence of a Macedonian ethnicity and arguments for an ethnically grounded Macedonian nationalism. The only problem is that, as the excerpt quoted shows, careful examination of these arguments brings to light a series of contradictions that the contributing authors proceed, directly or indirectly, to lay bare. They also bring to light the manipulation of these arguments to serve contemporary political interests; at the time when the book was written, these were interests concerned with the recognition of a Macedonian minority on Greek soil. The nine authors entrusted with this task do not deny the phenomenon of a Macedonian ethnogenesis, even if it becomes clear that at times this is made to conform to a Macedonian nationalism (as emerges from the way in which Vasílis K. Gúnaris introduces the contribution of Vlásis Vlasídis [p. 18]), which would mean that it came into being later than the nationalism in question. A far more systematic theoretical understanding of this ethnogenesis becomes possible if we take into

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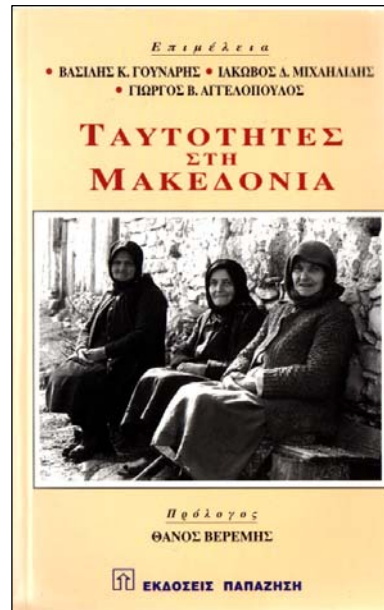
[*] Independent researcher (*seb_filozof@yahoo.com*).

[1] Political parties in Greece. "New Democracy", a liberal-conservative party, constituted in 1974; ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ [PA.SO.K.], the "Panhellenic Socialist Movement", also constituted in 1974; "ΟυράνιοΤόξο", "The Rainbow", an electoral alliance put forward at the European Parliamentary elections of 1994 by the Macedonian Movement for Balkan Prosperity (ΜΑ.ΚΙ.Β.Ε.), in cooperation with the Rainbow grouping in the European Parliament. The "Ουράνιο Τόξο" is a political organisation active in support of the Macedonian "minority" in Greece. Despite having taken part in a number of Europarliamentary elections, it has never won a seat in the European Parliament.

consideration "the *personal* and *individual* factor as we set out to comprehend the development of Macedonian nationalism" (p. 15, our emphasis). Taking this factor into account has been facilitated by the current climate of liberal thinking, with its concern for the issue of human rights, in central and Eastern Europe; in Greece it only really became possible after the end of the Cold War[2]. This, according to V. Ghúnaris, ought to have the effect of "the adoption [*by the Greek state*] of a new political strategy in dealing with otherness, in whatever form this presents itself" (p. 23), after a lengthy period characterised by a policy of homogenising identity. This, however, does not necessarily imply, in liberal theory at least, the granting of "minority" status to "the other". The new political strategy would be designed to lead to a "more *xeno-tolerant* identity"[3] (our emphasis) for the Greek *people*, "the distinguishing mark of Greek civilisation down the centuries" (Th. Verémis, p. 9).

However, the stimulus for the writing of *Identities in Macedonia*[4] arose from a different direction; it is a response to the "avalanche of reports, articles and books on the theme of the celebrated (…) Macedonian minority in Greece" that appeared in the first half of the 1990s, many of which "adopting a superficial approach to a number of extremely important subjects" (Ghúnaris, p. 11). The primary institutional context for the publication of this volume is the Thessaloniki Museum of the Battle for Macedonia, together with the Foundation for Research into the Haemus [Balkan] Peninsula. The approach adopted is synthetic and anthropological in nature; the nine authors bring to their task a range of academic backgrounds and perspectives (history, philology, sociology, and anthropology). As V. K Ghúnaris comments, the common denominator of their research is its "high academic level and solid empirical basis"; only thus can the "fundamental weaknesses of recent writing about Macedonia" be corrected (*ibidem*, p. 12).

In addition to his Introductory Comments, Vasílis K. Ghúnaris has also contributed the first article, "The Recycling of Traditions: Ethnic Identities and Minority Rights in Macedonia" [Ανακυκλώνοντας τις παραδόσεις: Εθνοτικές ταυτότητες και μειονοτικά δικαιώματα στη Μακεδονία] (pp. 27–61). The text opens with a case study. In 1993, a Slavo-Macedonian[5] student at Cornell University requested, via an online discussion network, as full as possible a bibliography regarding the people of "Aegean and Pirin Macedonia" who were killed, exiled and imprisoned from the time of the Balkan Wars onwards. The student's intentions were perfectly easy to understand: to find *historical evidence* to support the *rights* of his "non-liberated brothers" living in Greece and Bulgaria, beyond the borders of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.O.M.). Nor was his initiative a new one; rather, it came in a context in which "The massacres of the variously-named groups of komitadji [των κομιτάτων] [revolutionary bands who fought for the liberation of Macedonia] and the cleansing operations carried out by the Turkish army at the beginning of the twentieth century, the deaths during the campaigns of the Balkan Wars, the driving of people out of the region during the inter-war period, and the massacres that took place during the [German]

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[2] At around the same time, the Finnish anthropologist Fredrik Barth (p. 21), the originator of the interactionist-constructivist theory in the conceptualising of ethnicity, with its huge implications for future research into this subject, recognised the importance of a personal level in the analysis of ethnicity (a so-called "micro" level, alongside an "intermediate" one corresponding to the community and a "macro" one represented by the state [Barth, Fredrik, "Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethncity", in Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity. Beyond "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries"*, Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994, pp. 11–32]).

[3] In the words of Konstantínos Paparrigópoulos, adopted by Thános Verémis in the Foreword to the book.

[4] When we use the term Macedonia we are referring to the whole of the historical region of Macedonia, the greater part of which today forms part not of the Republic of Macedonia (which, however, is internationally recognised as the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" [F.Y.R.O.M.]) but of Greece.

[5] "Slavo-Macedonian", that is, a citizen of the F.Y.R.O.M.

occupation and the [Greek] Civil War[6] had been readily-available and inexhaustible arguments for use by generations of Balkan politicians of all camps in their attempts to influence the future of Macedonia in a way that would benefit their respective countries" (p. 28). For use by politicians, but also by a number of initiatives and non-governmental organisations, in the context created by the United Nations' special emphasis on the protection of minority rights at the beginning of the 1990s. Nevertheless, "Does government oppression and extermination of persons and population groups (including cultural ones) *have as itsautomatic effect the existence of minority groups*,and which in particular?" (p. 35, emphasis ours). In the view of V. K. Ghúnaris, if one may speak of a Macedonian ethnicity, in the form of the crystallising of a "Macedonian local" (εντόπιος Μακεδόνας) identity, this took place no earlier than the inter-war period. Any attempt to find academically valid historical proof for the existence of a Macedonian ethnic group cannot but be erroneous, and the purpose of Ghúnaris' article is to demonstrate just this point.

In the first place, the unqualified use of terminology constructed around the adjective "ethnic" fails to take proper account of the social and cultural realities of the Balkan peninsula in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. V. K. Ghúnaris reviews research by a number of writers who share this conviction. One example would be Hans Vermeulen, who in a 1984 study[7] observed that descriptors such as "Roman", "Bulgarian" and "Vlach/Wallachian" characterised occupational rather than ethnic identities. Other research studied by the author establishes the irrelevance of the linguistic criterion for the period under consideration, with the consequence that we are left with religion as the sole relevant criterion. This gives only two identitary categories: Christian[8] and Muslim. Likewise, by making use of a three-level (individual, community and state) analytical schema suggested by Fredrik Barth, V. K. Ghúnaris reaches the conclusion that "At least up to the time of the French Revolution, at the individual level, any feeling of differentness within post-Byzantine "common Orthodox society" was non-existent" (p. 42). Ghúnaris is thus one of a number of writers (he himself mentions Geórgios Agelópoulos, Piero Vereni and Keith Brown) for whom such concepts as "ethnic identity" and "ethnicity" still need to be used with great caution when speaking about the case in question or similar ones.

In the second place, if this terminology does have to be used, it can be applied with some degree of legitimacy only to the social situation that came into existence after the post-First World War exchanges and transfers of Balkan populations had taken place. When this happened, an impoverished local (εντόπιοι) population, existing at the bottom of the economic pyramid, was faced with a new economic threat: a wave of "refugees" (πρόσφυγες), with acknowledged economic skills, coming to take over the land and buildings of the departed Muslims – property which the "locals" were equally keen to make their own. However, there is a need to investigate whether these two ethnicities, "Macedonian locals" and "refugees", have resulted in a normal way from natural processes of ethnogenesis or (and) are the effect of political and electoral manipulation, and V. K. Ghúnaris in fact undertakes this task in the third and longest section of his study, "Refugees and locals: issues in the actualisation, assimilation and transformation of ethnic identities".

Vlásis Vlasídis' paper, "Macedonian autonomy: from theory to fact" [Η αυτονόμηση της Μακεδονίας: Από τη θεωρία στην πράξη] (pp. 63–87) provides historical justification for the statement that "the setting-up of a multi-ethnic Macedonian state is not something new" (p. 85).

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[6] The war that took place in the years 1946–1949, between Government forces, who wanted to commit Greece to a democratic future, and Communist partisans.

[7] "Greek Cultural Dominance among the Orthodox Population of Macedonia during the Last Period of Ottoman Rule" in A. Block and H. Driessen (eds), *Cultural Dominance in the Mediterranean Area*, Nijmegen, pp. 225–246.

[8] Religious identity that can be equated with an ethnic identity to the extent that "the collective name 'Roum', the myth of a common origin in (…) the great Byzantine world, the shared tradition of having been persecuted by the Ottoman dynasty, solidarity among Orthodox Christians and a shared mentality (…) fulfil all the conditions laid down by Smith for characterising a given group as an ethnic one" (p. 43).

The proclamation of an independent "Republic of Macedonia" in autumn 1991 might create such an impression. Although the initial idea of an independent Macedonia can be traced back to the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef, who advanced it in the course of a discussion with the Russian Tsar Alexander II in 1876, it was an organisation formed six years later in Thessaloniki that was to fight single-mindedly to make it a reality. This was the Internal [Εσωτερική] Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (hereafter E.M.E.O.). However, the final architect of the implementing of the ideal of an autonomous Macedonia was the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which in 1942, at the second congress of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, drew up a plan for a federal post-war state made up of six states, Macedonia being one of them. This plan was to be implemented on 2 August 1944, but with a Macedonia that did not, as originally intended, include parts of Greece and Bulgaria.

The ideal of an autonomous Macedonia inspired the E.M.E.O. throughout its existence, right up to its disbanding in 1934. The vision of a Macedonia that was not merely autonomous but actually independent seemed utopian in the political context of the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, but it was one which the E.M.E.O. espoused for a time. The issue of what political structure an autonomous Macedonia would form part of was to cause constant debate within the E.M.E.O, with consequent tendencies, splits and in 1924 even a "civil war" (p. 76) in which a number of people lost their lives. All these tendencies, splits, regroupings and so forth are reviewed in the different sections of V. Vlasídis' study. In essence, however, we can discern two tendencies: 1) a *conservative* one, dating from the time the E.M.E.O. was founded: the ideal of an autonomous Macedonia, in the first phase as a constituent part of the Ottoman Empire, and then with a close link to Bulgaria – there being several versions of this, ranging from effective union with Bulgaria to that in favour during the final stage of existence of the conservative E.M.E.O., namely the creation in Macedonia of a second Bulgarian state that was independent of Sofia (p. 77), and 2) a *federalist* one, with an autonomous Macedonia existing within a federation of Balkan states. As we know, it was this federalist tendency that was to triumph, but within a Yugoslav federation and via an assertive taking-over of the initiative for the autonomy of Macedonia by the Balkan Communist parties, among which the final word belonged to the Yugoslav Communist Party.

One of the factors that led to the disbanding of the E.M.E.O. was the support given – by the version of the organisation that was formed in Vienna in 1925 – to the idea of "Macedonian ethnicity" that the Soviet Union put forward in 1934. This idea did not please the Balkan states, which would have found themselves being summarily compelled to give up those parts of their territory that were inhabited by Macedonian ethnic groups to a new autonomous Macedonia. This resulted in the E.M.E.O. being declared illegal by the governments of these states and led to the demise of the organisation. However, the idea of "Macedonian ethnicity" was to be exploited by the Yugoslav Communists when they formed the Yugoslav Federation, in which the Macedonians were recognised as a distinct people with their specific ethnic characteristics. Which means, as V. Vlasídis writes in one of the concluding sentences of his paper, that "The idea of a Macedonian autonomy had finally been justified". But "All that remained to be achieved was the retrospective strengthening of Macedonian ethnicity, so that history and politics would be brought into harmony with each other" (p. 87).

Alexándra Ioannídou's interests lie with the nature of the Slav dialects of Greece, the so-called "ντόπια", *local languages*, which are spoken particularly in the western part of Macedonia but also in its central region. Do these form an independent dialectal group, or are they "derivations" from the official languages of the neighbouring Slav countries and especially from Bulgarian? Her paper, "Slav Dialects in Greece: Linguistic Similarities and Political Derivations" [Τα σλαβικά ιδιώματα στην Ελλάδα: Γλωσσολογικές προσεγγίσεις και πολιτικές αποκλίσεις] (pp. 89–101), gives, in its six sections, a bird's eye view of the countless attempts that have been made by linguists everywhere to give a clear answer to the above question – attempts the political neutrality of which is often open to question. The first section introduces several foundational

studies by Greek writers of the first half of the twentieth century. Although there are some tendencies to regard these dialects as having an origin[9] in ancient Greek, the shared conclusion of all the studies appears to be that the ντόπια of Macedonia are a "'mixture'" of languages with so many Greek elements that it would be hard for anyone to assign them to one linguistic group or another" (p. 91). The second section foregrounds the disagreement between the philological schools of Sofia and Skopje over the existence of a genuine Slavo-Macedonian language, distinct from Bulgarian – a dispute not without its effect on political relations, diplomatic negotiations, trade agreements etc. between Bulgaria and the F.Y.R.O.M. Linguistically speaking, the disagreement is justified, given that "in the area that stretches from the eastern border of Albania to the Black Sea and from the southern border of Serbia to Kastoriá and Drama [in Greece], the Slav dialects display major and significant resemblances, which makes any attempt to distinguish between them in a precise way extremely difficult" (p. 93). Despite this, linguistic theory does not rule out a situation in which one language diverges from another to a point at which it becomes an official language, even if extra-linguistic factors too, such as the political factor, become involved in this process. However, what connection has "the issue debated above with the Slav dialects of Greece?" (p. 95). In the third section, the conclusion drawn from the development of an argument connected with the different ways a diphthong has evolved within the above-mentioned linguistic area is that we can speak of at least two dialectal groups, a western one and an eastern one, the line separating which does not run along political borders; this is exemplified by the fact that this line divides Bulgaria in two. Employing this division, we may say that the majority of the Slav dialects of Greece belong to the western group. Despite this, these dialects find themselves "subjected to the proprietorial claims of both the Bulgarian school of linguistics and the Slavo-Macedonian one" (p. 96). Against this background, the International Linguistic Committee decided to exclude the terms "Bulgarian dialects" and "Slavo-Macedonian dialects" from being used to describe the Slav dialects of Greece, approving instead the single term of "Slav dialects" for use. The fourth section sets out the general conclusions of Slav studies regarding the Slav dialects of Greece, without entering into the issue of their appropriation. They are described as belonging within the South Slav dialect group and specifically within the group of Macedonian dialects, and a number of lexical and grammatical criteria for establishing this classification system are provided. Rigorous application of these criteria leads to a further sub-classification of the Slav dialects of Greece into seven dialectal groups, five in western Macedonia and two in central and eastern Macedonia, with differences between them that do not prevent speakers from different groups from understanding each other. It is however possible that due to certain methodological weaknesses presented in the fifth section this picture may not be a fully accurate one. The fact is that these conclusions drawn by the international linguistic community are based in large part on research carried out among political refugees in the countries of the former Communist bloc at the end of the 1940s and among economic migrants, in Australia in particular. These groups of people can have had no way of keeping up to date with the later evolution of their dialects in their places of origin, or of the dialects and official languages of the neighbouring Slav-speaking countries.

Alexándra Ioannídou's study concludes with a final paragraph which describes the possible lines of development of the Slav dialects of Greece. The ντόπια are still spoken in domestic settings by adults. Their children, however, are tending to speak and understand them less and less. There is a range of cognitive, subjective and emotional attitudes to their use: a fear that this will be interpreted as a sign of an anti-Greek attitude, a link with tradition, ancestors and popular culture, an interest in comparing the ντόπια – never referred to as "Macedonian" or "Macedonitian" – with the languages of

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[9] Particularly in Konstantínos Tsioúlkas' 1907 work, *Considerations regarding Macedonian bilingualism through a comparison of the Slav languages of Macedonia with Greek.*

the neighbouring states, Bulgarian and Slavo-Macedonian. There is also another view[10] according to which it is incorrect to use these dialects, which ought to be replaced by official Slavo-Macedonian. To conclude, a last question that might be posed is connected to the degree to which these dialects would be in use today if they had not been, over the decades, an important criterion through which to differentiate between "locals" and "refugees". But the final answer should not be sought in the political solution of identifying language with ethnic group.

"Intermarriages in culturally diverse farming communities in Macedonia: their importance for defining and delimiting population categories" [Γαμήλιες ανταλλαγές σε πολιτισμικά μεικτές αγροτικές κοινότητες της Μακεδονίας: Η σημασία τους για τον ορισμό και τη διάκριση των πληθυσμιακών κατηγοριών] is the title of the following text (pp. 103–122). Its author, Geórgios Agelópoulos, draws attention to the extremely complex process of delimiting what he terms "population categories"[11] in Macedonia, both in the past and at the end of the 1990s. In the past, the countless quantitative "ethnological" studies that were carried out – all in a context in which, with the imminent collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it was clear that the dividing-up of Macedonia among the newly-formed states would follow ethnological criteria – despite being well designed from a mathematical point of view, failed to reach agreement regarding the criteria in accordance with which the populations of Macedonia should be shared out and defined. In spite of this, "the fact remains that their common denominator is an acceptance of the existence of distinct and countable population groups" (p. 104). The research studies that date from the close of the 1990s, stimulated by a rebirth of interest in the identities of the populations of Greek Macedonia, come up against the same impasse: the impossibility of finding criteria for dividing Macedonia into cultural and ethnic groups. The problem has in fact become even more complicated; whereas in the past the farming communities of Macedonia displayed only limited population mixing, which might have provided fair grounds for a strict delimitation, studies carried out in the 1990s have established that "in Macedonia today, cultural and ethnic marrying out is the norm" (p. 107). This conclusion represents at the same time a "point of departure for new and more important questions connected with ways of defining and delimiting local populations" (p. 120). All the same, "We frequently hear and read about local people [ντόπιους], Vlachs, Sarakatsani, Pontians, Thracians, people from Asia Minor, Bulgarians-refugees and others, as if these populations were groups that had reproduced in a hermetically isolated manner down the ages" (p. 105).

The mixing of population groups is without doubt the most significant factor to take into consideration when making any attempt to delimit populations in Macedonia in the 1990s[12]. The blending of population groups through intermarriage generates new identities in which any hermetic sealing of identities disappears. Geórgios Agelópoulos provides anthropological anchoring and grounding[13] for this truth in the next part of his study by devoting two sections to the case of a place near the city of Thessaloniki called Nea Krasiá[14], a village formed in the mid-1920s by the coming-together of five different cultural population groups: ντόπιοι and Sarakatsani as the base population, with the addition of Thracians, Pontians and Krasiots (from Bulgaria) as a result of the exchanges of population that took place at that time. Agelópoulos' analysis makes use of two coordinates, demographic and ethnographic. Demographically speaking, he discovered that the percentage of marriages involving partners belonging to the same population group fell from 90% in 1890–1922 to

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[10] Which we may regard as "cultured" or "literary".

[11] Note 30, in the context of referring to the populations of the village that forms the subject of his research study: "I prefer to call these populations categories and not groups [meaning ethnic or cultural ones, my note], following the conceptual schema given by Keesing, see Roger M. Keesing, *Kin Groups and Social Structure*, London, 1975, pp. 9–11".

[12] And how much more in the Macedonia of today, twenty years after the book was written.

[13] By means of a long-term (fourteen-month) ethnograpic project.

[14] Name changed.

40% in 1950–1960. In terms of ethnography, studying the way mixed marriages were lived out and interpreted by people allowed him to observe an evolution from initial antagonism between the population categories towards a general acceptance of the fact that they made up "one village".

Nevertheless, "To a certain extent the new situation coexists with the previous ones" (p. 118). The end of hermetically isolated groups does not automatically also imply the disappearance of the initial collective identities. The key to understanding this – in the author's view, which also accords with developments in the Barth's theory of ethnicity – lies in the *person*. This implies the appearance of a new criterion, that of *personal choice*, and "the creation of different levels of participation in pre-existing population categories", a participation that depends on the exchange value these identities have within the framework formed by "broader social structures and power relations" (p. 119). In other words, the assertion/claiming of alternative identities, depending on the circumstances.

Given the realities described here, any analysis that, as a consequence of the renewal of international interest in minorities and in their rights being protected, works with tightly sealed collectivities, groups or populations, is inappropriate (p. 120). This is the case even when people themselves appear to uphold such a view. For "To believe that the way people describe-represent their world is identical with the way they actually organise their behaviour is by definition incorrect" (p. 121).

The work continues with a study by Iákovos D. Michailídis, "Slavophones and refugees: the political components of an economic conflict" [Σλαβόφωνοι και Πρόσφυγες: Πολιτικές συνιστώσες μιας οικονομικής διαμάχης] (pp. 123–141). This polarity between Slavophones and refugees, in the form of locals (εντόπιοι) versus refugees, is one we have already encountered in the article by Vasílis K. Ghúnaris, where it was advanced as being the only difference that could justify (up to a point) our speaking of the crystallisation of ethnicities in Macedonia in the inter-war period. For the prefectures of Flórina, Kastoriá and Pélla, in western Macedonia, the primary meaning of "local" was "Slavophone". In I. D. Michailídis' view, the confrontation between locals/Slavophones and refugees created "the most significant axes of the economic, social and political history of inter-war Macedonia" (p. 123). The causes of this conflict were principally economic in nature, that is, rival claims to areas of land that had belonged to Muslims and that both locals and refugees regarded themselves as having a right to receive. I. D. Michailídis focuses on the impact of this conflict on voting behaviour and, in the second place, on the way in which the various political groupings have exploited it[15]. However, even if the Slavophone vote in the above prefectures can be historically described as a protest vote – it retained this character even after the economic motivation had disappeared – only to a minor extent can it be interpreted as a sign of a specific ethnic consciousness.

Michailídis gives an analysis of voting behaviour in each of these three prefectures separately and in three periods: inter-war, post-war up to the end of the dictatorship of the Colonels[16] (1974), and from 1974 to the European elections of June 1994, with this final period including a special discussion of its last four years. According to the percentages given, the general conclusion to be drawn is that in the inter-war period more than two-thirds of the Slavophone population of the three prefectures supported the Popular Party [a party with a conservative orientation]. (p. 132). Voting for this party, the author believes, can be interpreted as voting against the "country of refugees" that the Slavophones thought the Liberals and Elefthérios Venizélos[17] wanted to introduce. But other parties too whose political platforms could be regarded as anti-Greek and/or pro-autonomist benefited (though to an incomparably lesser degree) from their vote: the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.), and the Macedonian Union, which had been formed by Sotírios Gotzamánis, previously a leading

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[15] "In this region, and in fact in other parts of Greece too, the strategy of political parties has been based not so much on putting across a political ideology as on adjusting and 'tweaking' it in a micropolitical way so that it takes account of specific local features, weaknesses, and differences and disputes of all kinds" (p. 140).

[16] The name commonly used to describe the army-led political regime that held power in Greece from 1967 to 1974.

[17] Greek Prime Minister 1910–1920 and 1928–1932.

member of the Popular Party. The fact that the other side, the refugees, voted for the Liberals is regarded by the author as much more clear-cut, since "it was a practical expression of [their] confidence that Venizélos' candidates were their best guarantee of being swiftly, definitively and fully settled and compensated" (p. 133).

Events during the [German] Occupation and the Civil War, with the Slavophones generally on the side of the forces that were ultimately defeated, caused a large part of this population group to shift to the centre-left (where the K.K.E. is to be found) in their post-war voting behaviour. These votes may also be interpreted as a protest against the police-dominated climate of that time, which regarded bilingual groups with suspicion. However, a smaller number of Slavophones voted differently: 1) those who had stayed as supporters of the Conservative cause, preferring the security that this part of the political spectrum offered as a consequence of its hesitation during the events of the 1940s, and 2) Slavophones who, in contrast to the majority, had always been loyal supporters of Greece. The refugees continued to be loyal to "the Greek state", although not necessarily to the Liberals, who gradually lost popularity among refugees after the signing of the Greco-Turkish friendship pact during the 1930s. Analysis of their voting behaviour during this period no longer shows up any significant difference between them and the population in general.

The post-1974 period saw a continuing tendency for the Slavophones of these three prefectures to shift towards the left, the difference being the appearance on the scene of a new player, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PA.SO.K.). However, significant changes were underway among this population group: Slav dialects were no longer used exclusively anywhere, the proportion of mixed marriages was growing considerably, and the economic motivation had disappeared. Against this background, the appearance at the 1994 European elections of "the Macedonian locals of Greece" under the banner of the Rainbow (Ουράνιο Τόξο) Alliance was a little unexpected. Study of the electoral history of the villages in which the Rainbow obtained the highest percentages reveals that they had always voted against the regime, "whether that regime had been philo-refugee, Athenocentric or police-style" (p. 139). These last events give rise to a fundamental question with which the article ends: "Does a vote for the Rainbow represent a demonstration of Slavophone differentness and discontent, even for some of them a display of ethnic differentiation, or is it a mere "sign of the times", that is, yet another ramification of an already-existing political system that is aided by the current state of international affairs and by the fertile ground provided by conventions on the protection of minority differences?" (p. 140).

The circumstances surrounding the forming of the Rainbow Alliance are explained in detail in the next chapter, "The articulation and structure of minority discourse: the examples of [the publications] *Moglená* and *Zóra*" [Άρθρωση και δομή του μειονοτικού λόγου: Το παράδειγμα των *Μογλενών* και της *Zóρα*] (pp. 143–170), by Ánghelos A. Chotzídis. The Rainbow was designed to be the political expression of a civic society grouping called the Macedonian Movement for Balkan Prosperity (MA.KI.B.E.), formed in 1991 by the "locals" of western Macedonia as a means for laying claim to and promoting a Macedonian ethnic identity[18]. Chotzídis sets out to examine both the way in which "(…) the ethnic identity promoted differs from Greek ethnic identity" and "the degree to which [this] is connected with the national identity of the inhabitants of the F.Y.R.O.M." (p. 144). To this end he makes use of articles that appeared in several numbers of the Movement's publications, *Moglená* and *Zóra* ("Dawn"), and also of a range of other indirect sources. *Moglená* had first seen the light in 1978 in Aridaia[19] as a journal dealing with regional issues. In 1989 its orientation changed, with a succession of editors beginning to handle these issues by linking them with a different "ethnic identity". In 1993 *Moglená* was succeeded by *Zóra*, a review destined to leave behind any purely regional character. The symbolic meaning of this change is that "MA.KI.B.E was emerging from the

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[18] In a situation in which there existed an international political and civil groundswell favourable to this initiative, with a similar grouping (the Rainbow) in the European Parliament – a conjuncture also discussed in detail by A. A. Chotzídis.

[19] A town in the prefecture of Pélla, currently the capital of Almopía district.

morning mist (*mángla>Moglená*) and reaching the dawn (*Zóra*), in order later to meet the atmosphere of the Rainbow" (p. 148).

The authors of the above-mentioned publications articulate the minority discourse in a multi-dimensional way. Firstly, there is the issue of *nomenclature*, with the observation being made that they are speaking in the name of an ethnic group and not of a "Macedonian" national minority, which implies that they do not accept national identification with the inhabitants of the neighbouring country. However, during this same period (the mid-1990s) there were six NGOs asking that the Greek government recognise a "Macedonian" national minority, in addition to other initiatives aimed at upholding the existence of such a minority. Secondly, in *historical terms* there is a serious attempt to rewrite Macedonian history, particularly in the contributions of Dimítris Papadimitríou. The historical reference points appealed to are two in number: antiquity, and the beginning of the twentieth century. Papadimitríou appeals to the stands taken by the Greek orator Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon and also to Philip's expedition against the Greek city-states. He then moves on to the heroic deeds performed by the Macedonians against the Ottomans and the Greeks during what has become known as the "Struggle for Macedonia" (judged by one contributor to *Zóra* to have been a "struggle against Macedonia"), with Ílinden's revolt particularly standing out. Thirdly, in terms of *culture*, the journals in question set out to highlight the Macedonian cultural heritage as expressed in songs, stories, dance, costume etc. and to promote them at various patronal festivals and folk celebrations. Songs about the Bulgarian partisans at the time of the Struggle for Macedonia feature prominently in *Zóra*. Fourthly, on the issue of *language* we find no clear line regarding the use (or not) of the Cyrillic alphabet for writing Slavo-Macedonian, with a final coming-down on the side of the official one employed in the F.Y.R.O.M. At the same time, there is a focus on the ill-judged involvement of the Greek government in the matter of the spoken use, propagating and teaching in schools of Slavo-Macedonian. Fifthly and finally, the *community differentiation* and *delimitation on the basis of political choices*. The settling of refugees from Pontus in the "ancestral" home areas of Macedonian locals is interpreted as "the Greek government regarding the locals as non-Hellenes" and as "an attempt to drive them out, particularly from western Macedonia" (p. 161). As for delimitation based on voting patterns, we are of course talking about adherence to the Rainbow Alliance, although the poor electoral showing of this political grouping does not work to the advantage of those who might wish to use it as their sole criterion for calculating the numbers of "ethnic Macedonians". In addition, the supporters of other parties are accused of trying to exclude the locals from power in order to benefit the refugees.

However, it is Ánghelos A. Chotzídis' view that these issues are handled in a way that makes only a poor case for the existence of genuine differences. The rewriting of *history* is achieved by a process of laying claim to significant events in the region and promoting local heroes to form a historical narrative that is designed to create an impression of unity and continuity. A history that might take the form of a chronicle. A distinct local *culture* and the recording of it are not necessarily indications of a different ethnicity. Then, to take the next argument, although things are clearer at the *linguistic* level (with the similarity to the official language of the F.Y.R.O.M., and here we find a betrayal of identity-related intentions that are less evident at the other levels), the question arises as to why the minority press does not circulate exclusively in Slavo-Macedonian. As for the final dimension, "Regarding the refugees as 'others' is the cornerstone of the identity of the local" (p. 165), yet the theory according to which the Rainbow is a centripetal force for the population of western Macedonia, in competition with other political groupings, has yet to be confirmed. All this generates an impression of confusion. In fact the only thing that emerges with any clarity from all the arguments advanced by the activist-editors concerned (and not by them alone) is the way the Greek government denies and rebuts these claims. But the editors do not manage to couple this with explaining with equal clarity "what their own position is in regard to current issues and in particular to what extent they follow the official line of the F.Y.R.O.M." (p. 168). To conclude, "the Movement, the Rainbow

and its leaders have yet to demonstrate that they are living in "Zóra" [dawn] and not in "Mángla" [the morning mists]" (p. 169).

The next author, Keith Brown, is the only non-Greek contributor to the work. As is the case with Vlásis Vlasídis' article, the political referent of his "Between state and village [ύπαιθρο]: Kruševo from 1903 onwards"[20] [Ανάμεσα στο κράτος και την ύπαιθρο: Το Κρούσοβο από το 1903 και εφεξής] (pp. 171–195) is "Macedonia" that is a neighbour to Greek "Macedonia", particularly the western part of the latter, following the focus seen in the other contributions. That is, a referent instantiated by the F.Y.R.O.M.

Keith Brown's study uses the methodology and conceptual framework of social anthropology. We learn at the outset that Kruševo is a small town in the mountains of the south-western F.Y.R.O.M. and that it was founded at the close of the eighteenth century by "a closely-knit group of Vlach refugees" (p. 171). Drawing both on observations and data gathered during a four-month stay in Kruševo in 1993 and on historical and bibliographical sources dealing with this town, the author sets out his theme as "the continuing existence of a particular ethnic community for more than two hundred years, along with [some] opinions regarding its future" (*ibidem*). As the title makes clear, the main focus of the article is on the twentieth century.

The subject is covered and structured in three stages, with the writer moving "from a table in a café, to a town, to a people" (p. 194), as he himself suggestively observes when drawing his conclusions in the final section. The first and longest stage (six sections) highlights the significance, in terms of cultural values, of an apparently ordinary statement made during an evening's conversation in a café. A discussion of historical subjects between the anthropologist, a young man from Skopje (the capital of the F.Y.R.O.M.), a middle-aged public official and the café owner. At a point at which the young man was maintaining that since two of the Krusovite heroes of the revolution of 1903 had been fighting for Macedonia as a whole, Kruševo had no right to make any exclusive claim to them, the public official replied – and this is what set the researcher off on a new scientific quest[21] – "I am a *makedonas* in my national identity, but in my convictions I am a Krusovite". Krusovite or Vlach, with no contradiction between the two terms (p. 182). A statement calculated to disturb theoreticians of nationalism. The central meaning of this statement, as may be gathered from a reading of the ensuing sections, is that the Vlachs of Kruševo and of other neighbouring towns such as Bitola have assimilated the (higher) values of the town, which are antithetical to those of the other *makedones*, who have stayed connected to the (lower) rural culture. This is the case irrespective of whether these other *makedones* actually live in villages or in the capital Skopje, the population of which grew to half a million in only three decades precisely because of a massive influx of people from rural areas. This explains the title, between "state and village", that is, in an in-between place in terms of the values of civilisation. It also explains people's feeling of regret/dissatisfaction at the loss of the decencies of town life as a consequence of the migration into Kruševo too of rural Slav-speakers.

The second stage of the study sheds light on the way this socio-identitary phenomenon arose. The author sets out a number of the major landmarks in the history of the town, one and the same thing as the history of the Vlach-speaking population ("cincari" as they are called in Serbo-Croat). Having arrived here at the end of the eighteenth century as refugees from Moscopole, the main Vlach centre in those days, as a consequence of repeated Turkish raids, they created in Kruševo an economically flourishing settlement whose prosperity was initially based on their traditional occupation of animal husbandry, to which were later added various crafts and trading activities. This was the context for the forming of an upper class of townspeople (we might add, with "select manners") with a specific culture, the members of which were identified as Greeks, not only for reasons of religion and because they used the Greek language in their public dealings but also –

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[20] Translated into Greek by Gioúla Goulimí.

[21] He had gone there to carry out a quite different piece of research, relating to the events of August 1903.

as Traian Stoianovich[22] remarks – as a consequence of the practice of these categories of society in the Balkans being regarded as Greek in that period. Ílinden's 1903 rebellion against Ottoman rule, a significant landmark in the history of the F.Y.R.O.M., marked the beginning of a decline in the seemingly higher level of civilisation attained in Kruševo. But, as has been mentioned, this cultural decline was connected far more with migration than with the persecution to which the Vlachs were subjected by successive Bulgarian, Serb and Yugoslav governments during the twentieth century. In fact, these people were always successful in overcoming hostile political environments – a demonstration of a specific mentality and a particular kind of national consciousness on their part.

These characteristics are the focus of the final part of the study. We are dealing with a mentality capable of adapting to any situation and free of attachment to any political regime, in the conviction that all regimes are transitory. This is what makes their approach to "problems of nationhood" completely different from that of the *makedones* of Skopje or of anywhere else (that statement made in the café now becomes fully intelligible). One example would be an inclination towards maintaining good relations with the Albanian community, regarded as problematical by Macedonian nationalists. But this kind of attitude arouses suspicion. For a Skopje nationalist, "a lack of rootedness in the [national] soil" and an interest "not in politics, but only in money" are signs of Vlach cunning and perfidiousness. But this reputation of belonging to a class of rootless townsmen "is not only accepted by many of the Vlachs of Kruševo but makes them feel proud" (p. 192). Their native ability to carry on a successful dialogue with any ethnic group and the way they avoid any ostentatious demonstration at the collective level leads Keith Brown to write, towards the close of his study, that "if any one of the peoples [λαούς] of the Balkans deserves to be characterised as super-national [υπερεθνικός], that people is the Vlachs of Kruševo." And, in consequence, "Their identity appears to have its roots in the most restricted of local levels – that of a small town" (p. 193).

Greek Macedonia, and especially its western part, is once again the centre of interest in the penultimate article in the book, "Emigration and Identity: the Case of the Macedonian Greek Emigrants" [Μετανάστευση και ταυτότητα: Η περίπτωση των Μακεδόνων Ελλήνων μεταναστών] (pp. 197–228), by Hrístos M. Mandatzís. This time it is studied via the experience of the many Slavophone locals who, from the fifteenth century onwards, chose the path of emigration. The author concentrates on the national and political identitary options open to these migrants once they had reached and settled in the places to which they emigrated, but deals only with the period from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. We are talking about options to which, with only rare exceptions, the emigrants could not remain indifferent, exposed as they were to all kinds of pressures that reflected political tensions that appeared both before and after the incorporation of a large part of Macedonia into Greece as one of the results of the Balkan Wars. And these options in their turn were to feed the tensions from which they had originated. The study draws on numerous reports on the phenomenon of migration produced both by the domestic Greek authorities and by Greece's consular representatives in such countries as the USA, Canada and Australia, the preferred destinations of emigrants.

Emigration from Macedonia while it was still under the Ottomans, in the context of antagonism between the Balkan nations, "was fundamentally an economic phenomenon" but one which "gradually took on a political nature" (p. 198). This can be seen most clearly in the case of those migrants who went to the newly-formed neighbouring countries of the Principality of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Greece; the former became supporters of the Bulgarian liberationist policy in Macedonia, while the latter sympathised with the Greek resistance policy in Macedonia. The author's conclusion aptly sums up the origin of the emigrants' national-identitary options, no matter where

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[22] In "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *Journal of Economic History*, 20 (1960), pp. 234–313.

they settled: "The place to which the Macedonian emigrants emigrated was fated to determine to a large extent their continuing political identities and choices" (p. 199). The place, because of the conditions and influences received there. This conclusion is illustrated in detail, particularly for the Macedonians who emigrated to the USA during the inter-war period. Exposure to the influence of Bulgarian propaganda, delivered in any different ways (offers of help with settling in and finding work, emotional support provided through Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations, threats that migrants who had entered the country illegally would be reported to the authorities etc.), and this with the Greek consular and church authorities for their part doing little to win their allegiance, led many Macedonian immigrants to change their convictions about their nationality. These people might return to the villages of Greek Macedonia from which they had come, but this time as agents of Bulgarian propaganda. H. M. Mandatzís' article suggests that during this period the Greek authorities were really more concerned with countering this phenomenon via measures such as encouraging the setting-up of Greco-Macedonian organisations in the diaspora, or drawing up lists of emigrants who had Bulgarophile convictions and were regarded as a threat to public security. The plan was that these people would be refused the right to return to Greece and would be stripped of their Greek citizenship. However, it was soon realised that measures of this kind would have precisely the opposite effect to that intended.

In the post-war period the epicentre of confrontations within the Macedonian diaspora gradually shifted to Australia. This time the initiative was taken by communist Yugoslavia, which had the sympathies of a large proportion of the Bulgarophile Macedonian immigrants. For "The position this country adopted towards Macedonia during the Civil War and the close relations it had with the political refugees[23] who arrived in Australia in the early 1950s led on the one hand to the shrinking of the purely conservative Bulgarian grouping and on the other to an intensification of confrontation with the Greco-Macedonian grouping" (p. 223). Disagreements between "Slavo-Macedonians" and "Greco-Macedonians" continued for the next four decades as well, with "a false and anachronistic image of their native country" still " being perpetuated and transmitted" (p. 224).

At the end of the article the author introduces the issue of analysing a third factor in addition to "the two fundamental factors that determine the identity of migrants, i.e. the two native countries" (p. 227). Equally important, perhaps even more important, is the *personal* factor. It may be that taking this into account is exactly what is needed if we are "to understand and interpret the final product of reciprocal influences, the new identity, which sometimes shocks us, strikes us as strange or frightens us" (p. 228).

The final text, "Egalitarian liberalism and the protection of minorities" [Εξισωτικός φιλελευθερισμός και προστασία των μειονοτήτων] (pp. 229–260), by Filímon Paionídis, is a study in political philosophy. From a liberal standpoint, the writer challenges current (that is, at the time the book was written) convictions regarding the protection of minority groups. According to these relativist views, groups who wish to be different and to separate themselves from the rest of the citizens of a country must "be accorded special privileges that will allow them to realise their objectives, which involve the expression and strengthening of their tradition and separate identity" (p. 231).

The conception of "minority" employed by F. Paionídis is that defined in Article 2 of the 1991 Proposal for a European Convention on the Protection of Minorities, i.e. a group of citizens fewer in number than the remainder of the population of the country who possess particular ethnic, religious and linguistic features and who wish to preserve their culture, traditions, religion and language. As the author points out, the discussion is also relevant to the case of other kinds of minority groups defined on different grounds (people with special needs, sexual minorities etc.).The fundamental thesis of this

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[23] As a consequence of the war referred to (see also note 6).

study is that in the theory of egalitarian liberalism there is no special collective right that cannot be traced back to universal human rights (a position that in fact existed in the immediate post-war period in international relations and international law). These rights include the principle of personal autonomy as formulated by John Stuart Mill, one of the foremost figures in liberal thought. But Mill seemingly would not have agreed with a right to autonomy in choosing and promoting one's cultural identity in situations in which several ethnic groups coexist, believing that representative government cannot really function except in ethnically homogeneous states. Irrespective of the objections that could be advanced if one took this observation as one's starting-point, Paionídis considers that it is precisely "Mill's conception of the protection of personal convictions and goals that do not constitute a threat to others that can lead liberal theory to entertain a more favourable attitude towards minorities than that held by Mill himself" (p. 237).

But "How is liberalism understood *today* (our emphasis) as a theory of political justice [πολιτική δικαιοσύνη]?" (*ibidem*). The author distinguishes four principles of contemporary so-called egalitarian liberalism as found in the works of such thinkers as Rawls, Dworkin, Habermas, Kymlicka *et al.*, or of their opponents, Taylor, MacIntyre *et al.* :1) "Citizens should enjoy the same personal moral rights and freedoms"; 2) "In addition, citizens have the right to be equally respected by the government" through the implementation of policies directed at reducing unjust economic and social disparities; 3) "It is the duty of government to be impartial towards different conceptions of the good" so long as these are not directed at eliminating other, competing conceptions, and to make available a basic level of practical opportunities for their implementation; and 4) "It is the duty of citizens to accept or at least not to reject the fundamental principles of political justice described above" and to "play an active part in the taking of political decisions that will affect them" (p. 238). After describing these principles, the author goes on to expand his thesis, which is that "the moral principle [ηθική] of autonomy, in conjunction with the four principles set out, forms a standard template that can function as a starting-point for the development of a modern liberal theory regarding minorities" (p. 240).

In his demonstration of this thesis, Paionídis takes as his referent the ethnic group understood as a cultural group. After analysing the possible directions minority cultural groups can take in their relationship with the majority and with the state, he concludes that "a person who belongs to a minority frequently experiences unjustified limitations on his autonomy" (p. 245). At this point the egalitarian-minded liberal is confronted with the issue of the protection of minorities. But "what form should this protection take such that it remains compatible with the template of the four principles of political justice (…)? (*ibidem*). The answer, which is at the same time the demonstration of the thesis, comes in the sixth section, the longest of the seven sections of the article. It involves an analysis of the third principle. For a government to maintain its neutrality does not presuppose non-intervention in a case in which one group is in a position of clear disadvantage vis-à-vis a majority with regard to its opportunities to implement its conception of the good. But the question arises of "how these opportunities are to be delivered to the members of minority groups" (p. 246). The answer first takes account of the ways this should *not* be done. Not through protecting the minority from all kinds of change; not by the government intervening to put right all injustices experienced by the minority in the past. Naturally, the author gives examples to support his position. In this section we also find the idea that with regard to political rights, the allocation of special seats in parliament to representatives of minorities can be justified only in absolutely unique situations, where this is the only way to ensure a basic level or opportunity. To apply such a measure in an unthinking way constitutes a threat to the principle of the majority. It could mean that someone who represented a minority could have a seat in parliament irrespective of the results of an election.

As for the actual *measures* to be taken, these should be along the lines of defending everyone's individual moral rights against abuses by a majority with a different conception of the good. The first

example would be measures dealing with the right to self-expression in a minority language. A language, be it majority or minority, represents a primary and the most important factor in the conveying of cultural tradition. For this reason, a minority language – with those who speak it – deserves to be as fully respected as the majority language, which implies that its speakers should have the opportunity to provide education through its medium, to cultivate it, etc. Next comes the duty to make available opportunities for non-verbal expression through such means as dance. The practice of a minority religion needs to be safeguarded so that it is not dependent on the decisions of representatives of the religion of the majority – and so on. Even such rights as those to medical care or to equal treatment before the law, although have no connection with the group to which we belong, are to be upheld, where necessary, by special provisions. However, the precise form of these measures, whether temporary or permanent, is something no theory can lay down, since they will depend on the particular situation of each minority group.

All the same, is there a need for collective rights too to be recognised? The author's reply to this question is a constant negative. Among the reasons he gives the most pregnant has to do with the *moral* nature of right in liberal theory. Collective rights, unlike human rights, cannot be of this nature, since they do not possess a validity that holds irrespective of the situation. They are not *a priori* in nature, and many of them become inapplicable as soon as the rationale for their being appealed to – reducing unjustified disadvantages vis-a-vis a majority – ceases to exist.

In his concluding section the author gives it as his opinion that an auspicious future for minorities depends on two basic parameters: 1) "(…) countries which believe that they have minorities in neighbouring countries refraining from using them as a Trojan horse to satisfy expansionist and liberationist ambitions, and from setting up regimes that are non-democratic in character" (p. 258), and 2) "(…) a general acceptance by majority and minorities alike of the fundamental *modern* liberal principles of political governance" [πολιτική διακυβέρνηση]" (p. 259).

The work is brought to a close with an annex giving brief accounts of the formation and professional careers of the nine contributors and lists of their most important publications.

All the articles include an impressive number of bibliographical references both to works published over the years that have earned a well-deserved respect among researchers in the human sciences and to recent studies; they exhibit a systematic approach enriched through in-depth dialogue with specialists concerned with similar fields of enquiry. The same may be said of the historical articles, which make reference to documents and reports of every kind. Again, the bibliographies do not confine themselves to works in Greek and/or English. We find, for example, numerous works in Bulgarian and Slavo-Macedonian. A readiness to also consult works written in the language of the country within whose historical and/or territorial borders events later subjected to processes of evaluation and re-evaluation took place – this, in our view, is a *sine qua non* for any specialist, from the Balkans or from anywhere else.

"Identities in Macedonia" is beyond doubt a standard work of reference for the development of a "Balkan anthropology", a project we support. Because there is little chance of a socio-cultural anthropologist knowing all the languages of the Balkan region – even if one takes into account only the official ones – I have chosen in this review to deal with the texts *in extenso*, so that, when necessary, researchers not familiar with modern Greek can make indirect reference to the work. With this in mind I have in fact "told the story" of the book, the risk being that the standard review form may be lost from view (the reader will surely have noticed that I have not focused on aspects of the work that might be open to criticism).

We will end with a passage that appears on the back cover. These lines, presumably by Vasílis K. Gúnaris, summarise the central theme of the volume as a whole: "This study takes an original academic approach to the subject [χώρος] of the once Slavophone and now bilingual inhabitants of western Macedonia from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. Its aim is on the one hand to

demonstrate that the historical, ethnographic, political and linguistic criteria used up to now have no particular light to shed on the process of Macedonian ethnogenesis, and on the other to highlight the individual and his personal choices as being the factor that most determines differentiation".

Ion H. Ciubotaru, *Folclor din Bistriţa-Năsăud* [Folklore de Bistriţa-Năsăud], Editura Presa Bună, Iaşi, 2017, p. 507.

Compte rendu par Marin Constantin[*]

En 1958, lorsque Claude Lévi-Strauss situait le folklore dans un voisinage épistémologique immédiat de l'anthropologie, il y aurait probablement difficile d'en anticiper le destin de telle «interdisciplinarité surtout en Roumanie où des « pères fondateurs » comme Simeon Florea Marian, Tudor Pamfile ou Petru Caraman – avaient déjà marqué une autonomie respectable et fructueuse des études folkloriques. Tel comme l'on sait, l'anthropologue français faisait remarquer (1978 : pp. 435–436) trois phases du développement disciplinaire du folklore: soit à partir d'un intérêt académique originaire pour les cultures populaires autochtones (le cas des pays scandinaves), soit par la «reconversion» des chercheurs qui avaient d'abord étudié «l'humanité» avant de revenir chez leurs propres sociétés (en France), soit (enfin) dans une «simultanéité» de la recherche des traditions natives et étrangers (en Allemagne et dans la Grande Bretagne)[1].

Le beau volume que le Professeur Ion H. Ciubotaru vient de dédier au Folklore de Bistriţa-Năsăud fait démontrer – dans ces années de prolifération des spécialités dites «anthropologiques» la vitalité discrète mais pérenne du champ ethno-folklorique de réflexion sur la culture populaire. L'auteur (un connaisseur profond des traditions roumaines, grâce au dévouement professionnel qu'il dèmontre dès plusieurs decennies pour l'ethnographie et le folklore de notre pays) commence son anthologie de textes populaires de Bistriţa-Năsăud par des confessions concernant son travail de terrain dans la région (Décembre 1977 – Janvier 1978), plaines de sensibilité pour les paysans locaux (auxquels il adresse ses remerciements affectueux) de même que pour son métier ethnologique comme tel. La recherche «hibernale» du Professeur Ciubotaru se passa dans 14 villages dont les communautés prouvent un apparentage transcarpatique par rapport à la zone de Valea Şomuzului Mare (Département de Suceava), en

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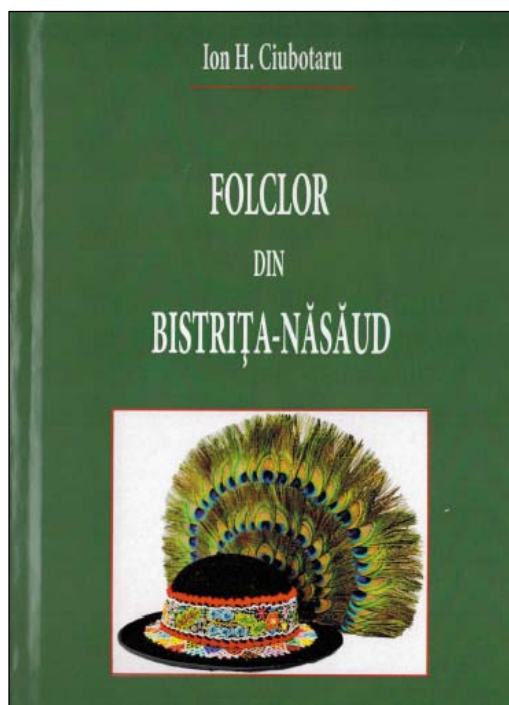
[*] L'Institut d'Anthropologie Bucarest «Francisc Rainer» (marconstant2015@gmail.com).
[1] Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1978. *Antropologia structurală*, Editura Politică, Bucureşti [orig. 1958], pp. 435–436.

Moldavie[2]. C'est à cet égard que l'auteur identifie toute une série de traces toponymiques et anthroponymiques (p. 11). Selon le Professeur Ciubotaru, la poésie populaire de ces localités relève non pas tellement des «faits» ou des «événements», que des «états spirituels» dans la manière d'un «lyrisme optimiste, lumineux, contemplatif, [et] romantique» (p. 17).

En parcourant le contenu de ce fonds documentaire lyrique, l'auteur mentionne la catégorie de soi-disant *versuri funebre* (verses funéraires), pratiquement des textes personnalisés avec les noms, les âges et les dates du décès des défunts. Telle forme poétique exprime (parmi d'autres) le motif de *deus otiosus* dans des diverses hypostases de la relation d'entre les paysans de Bistriţa-Năsăud et un Dieu qu'ils voient parfois «retiré» du monde, ce qui n'exclut pas du tout la spiritualité chrétienne locale; le Professeur Ciubotaru y reconnaît des similitudes fascinantes entre le folklore de Bistriţa Năsăud et celui de Bucovina et de Mehedinţi (pp. 18–22). L'auteur se réfère également à d'autres thèmes stylistiques de son corpus de traditions orales, comme par exemple la *formula adynaton* (un thème des «oxymorons» dans la lyrique d'amour), l'occurrence des motifs dits «de la vie nouvelle» en leur inspiration idéologique socialiste, aussi bien que les récits glorifiant les parrains durant les noces (pp. 24–30). Des genres particuliers par leur contenu ou forme d'expression chez les villageois dans la région en discussion s'avèrent d'être les formules «de mouvais augure» dans les récitations nuptiales et «les cris sur des collines» (pp. 31–35).

Ion H. Ciubotaru met en évidence le caractère archaïque de la langue vernaculaire dans les communautés rurales de Bistriţa-Năsăud, par l'intermédiaire de laquelle «le miraculeux païen et celui chrétien s'entrelacent partout» (p. 36). Les documents publiés dans le volume sont conservés auprès des Archives de Folklore de la Moldavie et de Bucovine, dans le cadre de l'Académie Roumaine (le Département de Jassy). La transcription des textes et rendue par l'auteur selon les règles phonétiques de la prononciation locale.

L'anthologie ainsi recueillie et rédigée est divisée en sept chapitres principaux, alors que chacun d'eux, à leur tour, consiste en des sous-genres spécifiques. Le premier chapitre – «Le Répertoire [folklorique] du calendrier» contient des (a) Chansons de Noël, et (b) Chansons de la couronne maritale (pp. 39–91). Le chapitre suivant s'intitule «Le Répertoire familial» (pp. 91–222), y comprenant (a) Les chansons de la marie, (b) Oraisons des noces, (c) Cries maritaux, et (d) Chansons funéraires. «Les chansons proprement-dites» (en représentant le troisième chapitre) inclue des chansons sur (a) L'amour et le désir, (b) Le malheur et le chagrin, (c) L'aliénation, (d) L'Armée et la guerre, (e) La fortune, (f) Méditations, et (g) Satires (pp. 272–270). Le quatrième chapitre est dédié aux «Chansons de veillée» (pp. 270–272), alors que le chapitre cinquième traite sur des «Cris rituels» performés sur les collines et pendant la ronde dans de *hora* (pp. 272–302). Le volume est achevé par «Les chansons épiques» (pp. 303–374) et «Des pièces musicales» (pp. 375–469), ces derniers étant subdivisée en (a) Chansons de Noël, (b) Danses aux masques, (c) Chansons agraires, (d) Chansons musicales, (e) Lamentations funéraires, (d) Chansons proprement-dites, (e) Chansons vocales dansantes, (h) Cris folkloriques sur les collines, (i) Cris pendant la ronde dans, (j) Mélodies dansantes, et (k) Pièces musicales sans d'occasion spéciale.

Le volume est complété par un index des interlocuteurs du terrain (pp. 470–472), de même que par un index thématique des régionalismes de Bistriţa-Năsăud (pp. 473–478), une liste des pièces musicales enregistrées sur le compact-disc de la fin du livre, et des illustrations merveilleuses, en décor d'hiver transylvain, des villages visités par l'auteur en 1977–1978.

Le livre que le Professeur Ion H. Ciubotaru offre au lecteur ne relève pas seulement d'une collection de textes du folklore transylvain d'« autrefois » . L'effort de cueillir de tels documents, de les transcrire et de les faire accessible au public fait sans doute la prouve d'une conscience professionnelle exemplaire à nos jours. Ce corpus ethno-folklorique attire l'attention surtout sur les

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[2] Il s'agit des villages suivants: Arcalia, Blăjenii de Jos, Caila, Chintelnic, Dumitra, Leşu Ilvei, Lunca-Şicuţ, Mintiu, Suplai, Şieu-Măgheruş, Şieuţ, Şintereag, Tăure et Zagra.

ressources spirituelles incalculables des cultures narratives contemporaines – à la mesure qu'elles puissent être découvertes et mises en valeur par et pour les spécialistes des sciences socio-humaines. Il reste aux générations présentes de chercheurs de continue telle noble mission.

Adina Hulubaş and Ioana Repciuc (eds.), *Riturile de trecere în actualitate / The Rites of Passage Time after Time*, **Editura Universiţăţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Iaşi, 2016, p. 394.**

Review by Marin Constantin[*]

As a remarkable result of the initiative of Adina Hulubaş and Ioana Repciuc, two researchers from "Al. Philippide" Institute of Romanian Philology in Iaşi, the present book is intended to bring about "a contribution into strengthening folkloristics' ties with a broader theoretical and methodological framework provided by social and anthropological sciences". The two editors and their collaborators make such a contribution with respect to the perennial "viability and adequacy" of the theory of *rites of passage* as it was documented, elaborated, and published in a 1909 homonymous book by the well-known French ethnographer and folklorist Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957).

In their "Foreword and acknowledgments" (pp. 7–22), the editors outline the great influence of A. van Gennep's book in the international folklore research methodology and (despite the late 1996 translation in Romanian[1], by Lucia Berdan and Nora Vasilescu) in the Romanian folkloristics and ethnology. Simeon Florea Marian "trilogy of life", published in 1890 ([wedding] *Nunta la Români*) and 1892 ([birth] *Naşterea la Români* şi [burial] *Înmormântarea la Români*) is thus acknowledged to "display a similar structure with the one used by van Gennep" in 1909, as "traditional acts and beliefs associated with the three sequences universally known today as preliminary, liminary and postliminary stages" (p. 8). An important source in the understanding of van Gennep's influence on the study of folk traditions in Romania is mentioned to be his interwar correspondence with Mihai Vulpescu, a Romanian musician and folklorist living in Paris (the author of *Les coutumes roumaines périodiques*, with a foreword by A. van Gennep, in 1927). A number of 21 letters written by van Gennep to M. Vulpescu and Ovid Densusianu (a professor of philology at the University of Bucharest), some of which published by

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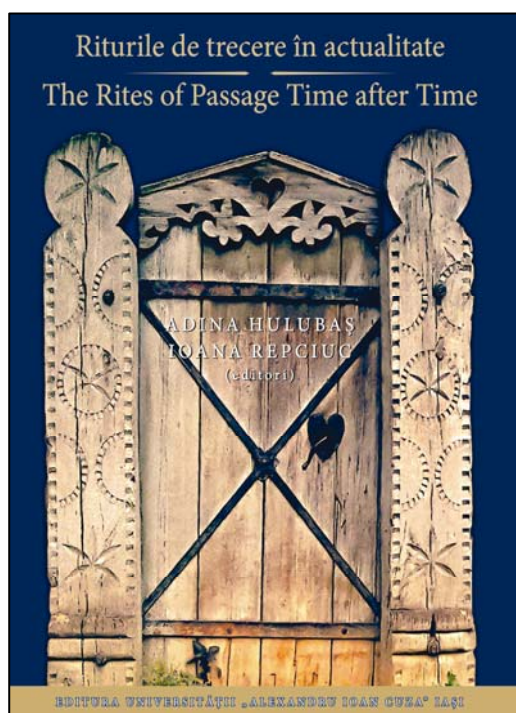
[*] L'Institut d'Anthropologie «Francisc Rainer» Bucarest (marconstant2015@gmail.com).
[1] Arnold van Gennep, *Riturile de trecere* (Romanian translation by Lucia Berdan and Nora Vasilescu), Polirom Publisher, Iaşi, 1996 [orig. 1909].

Gheorghiță Geană[2], reflect the French scholar's interest in becoming a professor of ethnography at the University of Bucharest.

Accounting for A. van Gennep's persistent project of transferring "the concept of rites of passage from anthropology of exotic societies to modern ones" (which is mainly illustrated in his *Manuel de folklore français contemporain* (1937–1958), the editors ground the current volume on their "belief in the the possibility of cross-cultural and cross-ages dialogue", in this case: as a "meeting […] of different epistemologies [folklore studies, sociology, literature, archeology…], scholarly traditions, and cultures" (p. 12–13). As such, the book is introduced as a "celebration […] of enduring relevance of van Gennep'schema in today's scholarship", based on "scholarly traditions of Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, England, Hungary, Israel, and Romania" (pp. 13–14). In developing such enterprise, three distinct and complementary sections are proposed in order "to cast light on van Gennep's theory from different angles", that is, Rites of passage over time (dealing with the echo of rites of passage in various humanities and social sciences) (pp. 43–139), Rites of Passage in Life (as a scrutiny of rites of passage in their ethnological usage) (pp. 143–330), and Rites of Passage beyond Frames (which takes into account the significance the rites of passage bear in interdisciplinary contexts) (pp. 333–389).

The section of Rites of Passage in Life firstincludes the article "Arnold van Gennep: Fragmente ale unei vieți trăite luminal [Arnold van Gennep: Fragments of a Life-Work at the Thresholds]" (pp. 43–78), written (and initially published as a book chapter in 2014) by the Danish anthropologist Bjørn Thomassen[3]. The author refers to the academic context in which van Gennep, in order to ground his interpretive scheme, needed to struggle with the theoretical and institutional framework of French sociology in the early twentieth century. A. van Gennep's (unsuccessful) attempts to get a position within the French academia (especially at the College de France, in 1907, 1909, and 1911) are paralleled by his critique to the E. Durkheim's Elementary Forms of Religious Life, especially in terms of van Gennep's opposition to the Durkhemian comparativism. In A. van Gennep's argument, the "faites naissants", in their social developments – rather than Durkheim's "faits sociaux" – are basic for the anthropological theory. Reflecting on this interweaving of such biographic and intellectual data, and dwelling on the Gennepian influential concept of limen, threshold, Thomassen discusses the relevance of liminality for the life destiny of van Gennep himself (pp. 45, 74).

In her text "Riturile de trecere în context internațional [Rites of Passage in an International Context]" (pp. 79–92), Ioana Repciuc reviews various and contradictory reading of A. van Gennep's 1909 work. On the one hand, there is a series of critical perspectives, emphasizing either van Gennep's choice for an endless comparativism in lieu of a deeper holism (review by M. Mauss, in 1910[4]), or his "ignorance" of the social statuses in ritual performance (M. Gluckman, 1962[5]), up to the attempt of refining the Gennepian concept with another one, that of "rites d'institution" (P. Bourdieu, 1981[6]). On the other hand, there are authors who rediscover the heuristic value of van

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[2] Gheorghiță Geană, "Les projets roumains d'Arnold Van Gennep", *Ethnologica* (3), pp. 33–44, 1983; Gheorghiță Geană, „*Proiectele româneşti ale lui Arnold Van Gennep"* în *Studii şi comunicări de etnologie*, Sibiu, Vol. IX, pp. 111–122.

[3] Bjørn Thomassen, Liminality and the Modern. Living Through the In-Between, Farnham & Burlington, Ashgate Publishing, 2014.

[4] Marcel Mauss, *Compte-rendu Les Rites de passage d'Arnold van Gennep*, dans „L'Année sociologique", 11, Paris, 1910, pp. 200–202.

[5] Max Gluckman, *Les Rites de Passage*, în Max Gluckman (ed.), *Essays on the Ritual and Social Relations*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962, pp. 1–52.

[6] Pierre Bourdieu, *Les rites comme actes d'institution*, in „Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales", Vol. 43: pp. 58–63.

Gennep's theory, in terms of its accuracy in explaining the relationship between magic and religion (S. Kimball, 1960[7]), the capacity of avoiding discrimination between "modern" and "primitive" societies (R. F. Spencer, 1961[8]), and the highlight of the liminality notion (V. Turner, 1967[9]). The applicability of rites of passage to the contemporary world is perhaps the best answer to such a debate, as when liminality is used to explain communist regimes (A. Szakolczai, 2000[10]) as well as post-communist realities in East-Central Europe (Z. Bauman, 1994[11]). I. Repciuc does identify, in this way, a link between what she calls "[…] van Gennep's lifelong project to provide world with order and explanation, on empirical bases", and "the potential of van-gennepian's scheme of brightly fit with the needs of studying the present" (pp. 79, 88).

Another contribution, entitled „Trecerea timpului peste riturile de trecere. O analiză socio–antropologică [*The Passing of Time over the Rites of Passage. A Socio-anthropological Analysis*]", and signed by Cristina Gavriluță (pp. 93–111) – takes the rites in their historical process from traditional to modern societies. Following Mircea Eliade's conceptualization, the author generally regards tradition and modernity through the sacred vs. profane antithesis, which (in the present article) is not intended as a discontinuity, however. While folk ceremonies in Romania (with examples cited from scholars like S. Fl. Marian [1890, 1992][12], E. Niculiță-Voronca [1903][13], L. Berdan [1999][14], S. Ciobotaru [2000][15], etc.) generally enlighten authenticity of peasantry, facts characterizing urban or modernized social life suggest an adaptation of rites of passage (rather than their dissolution). According to the author, family life in Romania is shown to keep important traits of ceremonial behavior associated with one's birth (and baptism), wedding, and death, in the context of tolerance from the Orthodox Church vis-à-vis the traditional folklore. Besides, many other experiences like the school exams, birthday celebrations, professional clubs… are incontestable evidences of "[human] need of re-signifying existence" [as] "a phenomenon of re-charming world" (p. 108).

Adina Şandru's study – „Rit şi ritual. O perspectivă antropologică [Rite and Ritual. An Anthropological Perspective]" (pp. 112–139) – is practically an extended review of international and Romanian literature on rite and ritual, with the aim of clarifying the contemporary meaning of rites of passage. While in socio-anthropological bibliography, rite and ritual appear to have been used indistinctly (A. van Gennep) as well as preferentially (ritual rather than rite, V. Turner), certain differences are formulated between the two notions by authors like P. Lardellier (2000, in terms of the

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[7] Solon T. Kimball, *Introduction*, în Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom, Gabrielle L. Caffee, Chicago University Press, II–XIX.

[8] Robert F. Spencer, recenzie la Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago, 1960, în „American Anthropologist", 63: pp. 598–599.

[9] Victor W. Turner, *Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in the Rites of Passage*, în *The Forest of Symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca & London, Cornell University Press, pp. 93–111.

[10] Arpad Szakolczai, *Reflexive Historical Sociology*, London, Routledge.

[11] Zygmunt Bauman, *After the patronage state*: *A model in search of class interests*, în Cristopher Bryant and Edmund Mokrzycki (eds.), *The New Great Transformation*, Routledge, pp. 14–35.

[12] Simeon Florea Marian, *Nunta la români. Studiu istorico-etnografic comparativ*, Bucureşti, Ediţiunea Academiei Române, Lito-Tipografia Carol Göbl, 1890; Simeon Florea Marian, *Înmormântarea la români. Studiu etnografic*, Bucureşti, Ediţiunea Academiei Române, Lito-Tipografia Carol Göbl., 1892; Simeon Florea Marian, *Naşterea la români. Studiu etnografic*, Bucureşti, Ediţiunea Academiei Române, Lito-Tipografia Carol Göbl, 1892.

[13] Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinile şi credinţele poporului român aşezate într-o ordine mitologică*, vol. I, Cernăuţi, Tipografia Wiegler.

[14] Lucia Berdan, *Feţele destinului*, Iaşi, Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza".

[15] Silvia Ciubotaru, *Nunta în Moldova*, Iaşi, Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza".

[traditional] "authority" of ritual in relation to rite as an act) and N. Frigioiu (2009, with rites as norms and rituals as enacting of them[16]). Şandru, in her turn, emphasizes the rite character as a "formally pre-established behavior […]" of a "strongly symbolical weight" which is not "totally decoded by performers" (p. 121). After discussing several typologies of rites (belonging to scholars like E. Durkheim[17], C. Bell[18], and M. Coman[19]), the author makes an important distinction between rites of passage she calls to be "fundamental" (in association with one's birth, initiation into adulthood, marriage, and funeral), unlike the "contextual / circumstantial" ones (including seasonal-cycles rites, secret-societies rites, and ceremonial rites of a profession-based identity) (pp. 128, 131). The crucial argument of such distinction consists (following R. Grimmes, 2000[20]) of the idea of [ritual] transformation of an individual status through the "fundamental" rites of passage, in contrast to the "performative" meaning of the "contextual" ones.

The next subdivision of the book – *Rites of Passage in Life* – opens by an analysis that Adina Hulubaş conducts on the "Rites of Passage in the Folklore Archive of Moldova and Bucovina" (pp. 143–162), enlightening the high relevance of A. van Gennep's theoretical framework for the methodology of collecting and archiving the folkloric and ethnographic documents in Moldova and Bucovina. Van Gennep's 1909 book (practically, stemming „from the structure of ceremonies themselves" [B. Thomassen 2013]), as well as S. Fl. Marian's contribution from 1890–1892, were to conceptually nourish the impressive work of gathering, processing, and interpreting the 300,000 documents that make today the Folklore Archive of Moldova and Bucovina (p. 147). Questionnaire templates, folkloric typologies, introductory studies, and synthesis volumes written by researchers like Sivia Ciubotaru and Ion H. Ciubotaru – are all indebted to the Gennepian interpretive system to such an extent that it sounds now "virtually absorbed by the [Romanian] ethnologic thinking" (N. Constantinescu [1996[21]], p. 149). In lieu of conclusion, the author rightly wonders (p. 157) on "how the typologies of death, wedding and childbirth practices in Moldova would have looked without van Gennep's schema".

Galin Georgiev's article is mainly concerned with the gift bestowal in several life-cycle rites of passage in Bulgaria ("Gift Bestowal in the Rites traced to the Life Cycle with the Bulgarians: General Findings and Formulations", pp. 163–191). Birth-associated customs (emphasizing the sponsorship role of godparents), seasonal ceremonies (especially, Christmas carol singing parties and St. Lazar's Day dances), as well as bethrodal and wedding – all contextualize, one way or another, the ritual process of social integration – based on gift exchange between individuals and their social groups. Among such traditions, some show an obvious pan-Balkan character, including (for example), the zestra, which the author explains to be "an amount of money or real estate given to the bride by her father before, or, at the wedding" (p. 174). Drawing on rich theoretical references (such as A. van Gennep, M. Mauss[22], Cl. Lévi-Strauss[23], M. Godelier[24], etc.), G. Georgiev's conclusion is that gift

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[16] Nicolae Frigioiu, *Antropologie politică*, Bucureşti, Editura Tritonic.
[17] Emile Durkheim, *Formele elementare ale vieţii religioase* [orig. 1912], Translation by Magda Jeanrenaud and Silviu Vulpescu, foreword by Gilles Ferreol, Iaşi, Editura Polirom.
[18] Catherine Bell, *Ritual. Perspectives and Dimensions,* New York, Oxford University Press.
[19] Mihai Coman, *Introducere în antropologia culturală. Mitul şi ritul,* Iaşi, Polirom Publisher.
[20] Ronald L. Grimes, *Ritual*, în Willi Braun, Russell T. McCutcheon (editors), *Guide to the Study of Religion*, T&T Clark.
[21] Nicolae Constantinescu, "Studiu introductiv", Arnold van Gennep, *Riturile de trecere*, Polirom Publisher, Iaşi, 1996, pp. 5–11.
[22] Marcel Mauss, *Une forme ancienne de contrat chez les Thraces*, in Marcel Mauss, *Oeuvres*. 3. Cohésion sociale et division de la sociologie, Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, pp. 35–43.
[23] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, Mouton & Cie/Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1971 [orig. 1949].

bestowal plays "the role of a socially regulating and uniting factor for various communities and individuals", as a "a major device for initiation", and as "'the combination' of status roles and relationships" (pp. 178–179).

The following text is similar in its thematic and ethno-geographic focus (Milena Marinova, "Transition Rites in Bulgarian Weddings: Mid 20th – Early 21th Centuries", pp. 192–202). In Marinova's article, it is the weddings that are especially referred to, in the attempt of describing the ritual transformations occurred in the modern period of Bulgarian history (after 1878). Thus, the authorities' control and atheistic policies, together with the diminution of Church's influence in public life, were to induce important changes in the wedding ritual process (officially depending on civil marriage, p. 194). With the 1950s, in towns and in villages as well, wedding groups became narrowing and ritual clothes began to lose from their ceremonial role; similarly, gift bestowals were criticized by officials (p. 195). However, what the author calls the "bride's [ritual] leading away from native home" and „welcoming the bride to her husband's home" continued to preserve their traditional solemnity. Civic marriage (in municipality halls) maintained their prominence also religious revitalization, after 1989, while the wedding celebration takes place both at the bridegroom's home and in the restaurant.

Gabriela Boangiu takes into account "Imaginarul simbolic al ritualurilor de trecere specific nunții în zona Olteniei [The Symbolic Imaginary of Rites of Passage Specific to the Wedding in Oltenia Region]" (pp. 203–214). The author points out the density of nuptial symbolism in villages like Bărboi and Busulețul, both in the phase of bethrodal and during the wedding ceremony as such, as well as in comparison with data from other Romanian areas (Maramureș and Vaslui). Perspectives from classical and contemporary Romanian ethnologists (S. Fl. Marian and Ion Ghinoiu, respectively) are followed, while the moments of traditional weddings in Oltenia are framed into A. van Gennep's terminology (rites de separation, rites de marge, and rites d'aggregation).

Marin Constantin contributes the volume with a text on the "Experiența liminală a căsătoriei interetnice în culturile etnografice contemporane din România [The Liminal Experience of Ethnic Intermarriage within the Contemporary Ethnographic cultures in Romania]" (pp. 215–236). The study aims to discuss the relevance of the rites of passage (according to the classical conceptualization of them by Arnold van Gennep, in 1909) for the mixed marriages from several ethnographic cultures in contemporary Romania. In the author's argument, social, economic, and cultural implications of such matrimonial behavior may be examined through A. Van Gennep's "scheme" of preliminary rites (the rites of separation), liminal rites (the rites of "threshold"), and postliminary rites (the rites of aggregation). His hypothesis is that the ethnic intermarriage does confer to the wedded pair (and their companions as well) the "interstructural" condition of liminality (in Victor Turner's interpretation, 1970 [1967], based on the abovementioned book of A. van Gennep), accounting for a condition external to the "structure of [social] positions" in which the participants usually undertake their way of life in the community. Thus, among groups of Romanians, Aromanians, Bulgarians, Orthodox and Roman-Catholics, Roma, Rudars, and Russian-Lipovans, the passage of grooms and brides from their endogamy to exogamy could be compared to the ritual journey of individuals and communities in other cultural contexts, from a "state of separation" to a "state of aggregation" in relation to their belonging society. The author is also interested in the theoretical development of the rites of passage and liminality towards clarifying the customary coordinates of ethnic exogamy, as well as in the heuristics of heterogamy for the study of the origin and evolution of ethnicity.

In his article "Sărbători, obiceiuri, credințe la românii din Osnić, municipalitatea Boljevać (Serbia) [Holidays, Customs, Beliefs of the Romanians from Osnić, Boljevać Municipality (Serbia)]", Emil Țârcomnicu looks at the major events of family life (birth, marriage, and funeral) and at the calendar of folk customs in a village community from Eastern Serbia (pp. 237–265).

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[24] Maurice Godelier, *L'enigme du don*, Fayard, Paris.

Filip Paunjelović, a local (former) school teacher and folk artistic group instructor, is thus approached as a key-informant as regards the traditions of Romanian-speaking population from the Timoc region. The ethnic self-identification in Osnić is Romanian, unlike other denominative terms for Romanians in Serbia, such as Țăreni or Ungureni (pp. 238–239). As a matter of fact, in Osnić live together Timocean Romanians (Pădureni) from Bulgaria, Romanians from Romania (Țăreni), Aromanians from Southern Serbia, Bulgarians (Bugari), and very probably an autochthonous Romanic population (p. 239). The local community is presented with its ceremonials and beliefs of birth (guessing the gender of newborn, the midwife role, baptism and godparenthood, ritual brotherhood…), marriage (the "preliminary" phase of match-making, bride dowry, the groom suite, godparents' role…), and funeral (death premonition, decease announcement, the wake, the burial, commemorative offerings…) Annual-cycle customs and holidays are also mentioned, in relation to the calendar of seasonal works in the area. The article is completed with a glossary of the vernacular terminology as well as several photographs taken by the author during his fieldwork in Osnić.

        Kalliopi Protopapa takes into account what is calls the "apotropaic" function in the "Rites of Passage: Childbirth, Marriage, Death in Traditional Cypriot Society" (pp. 266–286). To follow the author's reasoning, a major drive in the rites of passage is "to protect [community] against evil spirits", by means of a plethora of folk customs (many of which enrooted into Antiquity). Thus, "wheat into baby's basin to guard against evil spirits" (p. 269), the bride and groom "kept from spending their wedding night alone as a way of misleading the spirits lurking to harm them" (p. 273), water "interjected between the dead and the living so that the soul could not return, as water stands in the way of spirits" (p. 281) – are among such rituals and beliefs proving that "the transition from one stage to another must be guarded by means of appropriate action" (p. 284). The author also makes evidence of the "special resemblance between the customs of birth and those of death", in the case of "the use of oil upon the newborn, during baptism but also in death" and with regard to "the first clothes worn on the infant had the same features as the shroud intended for the dead", pointing out how, in traditional societies, "death is seen as rebirth, renewal of life" (pp. 283–284).

        In her extended study, "From Birth to Baptism. An Examination of Rite of Passage Phenomenon at Gyimesközéplok" (pp. 287–330), Eszter Csonka-Takács refers to the "belief system functioning around the mother and the newborn during the period between birth and baptism, as well as the changing character of church baptism and the rite of aggregation of the mother after the confinement period". Relying on a fieldwork she conducted in the Hungarian-speaking village of Gyimesközéplok (Harghita County), the author makes an in-depth analysis of the "liminal" character that, after childbirth, appears to characterize the childbed period of several week (traditionally, six) (p. 291). A series of traits are outlined to circumscribe the "circles" of the "inside world" and the "outside world" that surrounds the newborn, including the mother, relatives, visitors…, in respect to which various "preventive methods" (ritual prohibitions) are enacted "against the forces of bad or evil" potentially endangering the unbaptised baby (pp. 292–298). The mother's "initiation" and the baby's baptism take place within the same mass ceremony; the mother and the child follow such "postliminal" acts in the presence of the father, the godparents, and the priesst (p. 316). The author enlightens the important "social function" that, within this context, the custom of „asking for the baptism" is proven in the making of "the network of godparents (p. 319), a tradition she mentions to occur among further Hungarian-speaking populations in Romania, such as the Csángós of Moldavia (Klézse/ Cleja), the Hétfalusi Csángó population and the Székely of Bukovina (p. 321).

        The third part of the book – "Rites of Passage beyond Frames" – begins with an interpretation of a text belonging to English late fourteenth-centurychivalric literature, in the key of Arnold van Gennep's theoretical schema (Jon S. Mackley, "Sir Gawain and the Ritual Process", pp. 333–349). According to the author, Gawain (a nephew of King Arthur) lives a series of experiences (ritual fraternity, attitude towards the stranger, vegetation rites…) in association to "pre-liminal testing in

hostile terrains", while the Green Knight (Sir Gawain's opponent) suggests some "liminal testing and transition"; last but not least, Sir Gawain's return to Camelot is seen as "a postliminary rite of incorporation". In J.S. Mackley's own words, "Gawain's rite of transition is most particularly seen in the pre-liminal tests (separation from Camelot), the liminal process demonstrated by Gawain's purgatorial journey through the wilderness […]. The final stage is the postliminary acceptance at Camelot." (p. 347). The author regularly compares this Middle English Romance with themes or notions from an already classicized anthropological bibliography including (among others) Arnold van Gennep's "magico-religious fraternity" (p. 333), "arrival of the stranger (p. 335), and rites of separation (p. 336), James George Frazer's "fertility rites" (pp. 335, 337), and Victor Turner's idea of "time and place of withdrawal from normal modes of social action" (p. 341).

Brian Hoggard's "Threshold Guardians" (pp. 350–362) is an investigation of the ethnographic meanings of animal (cats and horses) mural sacrifices in Britain, in relation to the particular relevance of threshold in Arnold van Gennep's approach. In the author's argument, both "dried cats and horse skulls" served "to protect the threshold in its extended form which wrapped right around the whole home" (p. 360). While in the case of cats, their ritual killing took place "in order that their heightened senses and acute hunting skills could persist on a more spiritual plane, protecting the household from more minor sources of evil such as the witch's familiar and spells" (p. 354), horse skulls were related to the horses' role in "transport and work", as well as to their ability to be "highly alert"", as they "[…] sleep with their eyes open and can also sleep standing up - thus they are ever watchful" (p. 359). The author provides with many examples of animal sacrifice in Britain Islas, disccusing them within a rich theoretical background represened by Keith Thomas (1983), Ralph Merrifield (1987), John Sheehan (1990), etc.

Another contribution to the current applicability of rites of passage, this time within a religious and gender-related context different from Europe, is that of Hadas Hirsch, "Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca: Personal Appearance and Gender in Medieval Islam" (pp. 363–375). In describing the pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj), the author does identify "three typical stages: separation, liminality and incorporation", each of them marked by important ritual ascriptions for the pilgrims' wearing behavior in order to comply with the sacred status of ihram. Thus (for instance), in the course of separation, "Men are prohibited from covering their heads during ḥajj, shedding their traditional symbolic piece of cloth; women are prohibited from covering their faces, too" (p. 366). With the liminal phase of ihram, "all pilgrims wear the same simple clothing, signifying their equality and humility before God", both in the case of men whose "[…] dress (ihram) […] represents the unity of Islam", and in that of the women's "simple white clothing" (p. 370). Lastly, during incorporation, men ""take off the dress of ihram, cutting off […] hair, [and] shave […] beard", while women "change their clothing […] cut their head hair […] in a symbolic manner" (p. 372). The author concludes (among others) that "hajj ceremonies, which are identical for men and women and performed together, reflect Muslim jurists' tendency to reduce, although temporarily, gender differentiation" (p. 373).

The volume ends with Valeria Fol's discussion on "Masks and the World Beyond" (pp. 376–389). The author draws on series of golden masks from ancient graves, such as in Archontiko (Greece, middle of 6th century BC), Trebeništa (FYR Macedonia, end of 6th century BC), and Shipka (Bulgaria, late 5th – early 4th century BC). Artifacts of this sort are believed as have been ritual accessories for a "neophyte" soul to attain a desired state in his passage to the afterlife. Fol upholds the idea that "gold masks found in burials should not be attributed ethnically, but should be studied and analysed as a sign of faith and rites […as] a manifestation of the relation between the living and the deceased who had acquired a new essence after crossing to the World Beyond" (p. 378). Such a "change in the quality of the deceased through the mask" is related to "Orphic mystery rituals and autochthonous beliefs" from a large Mediterranean area including Western Asia and Egypt, Crete, Boeotia, Thessaly, Phokis with Delphi, Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace (pp. 380–381).

The book constantly argues for the congruence of Arnold van Gennep's interpretive system with the later theoretical developments in anthropology. A major achievement of this collective work is to reassert the van Gennepian "adequacy" in the understanding of the rites structure and process from a variety of disciplinary and geographic perspectives. This broad thematic array consists of A. van Gennep's intellectual biography itself (in France), the academic destiny of the rites de passage notion, the rites of passage in contemporary social life and life-cycle ceremonies (in Romania and Bulgaria), typology of rites, archiving folklore based on the rites of passage schema, intermarriage as a liminal experience of ethnicity in Southeastern Europe, customs and beliefs among Romanians in Serbia, apotropaic functions in the rites of passage in Cyprus, Britain, and Romania, the gender-related relevance of rites of passage in Muslim pilgrimage, the ancient masks' symbolism in Southeastern Europe… It is particularly worth mentioning the effectiveness of Romania's presence within such epistemological "archipelago", beginning (as seen before) with Simeon Florea Marian's "trilogy of life", continuing with the ethnological projects of A. van Gennep himself vis-à-vis the University of Bucharest, until the contemporary agenda of Romanian researchers belonging to different generations and "republics of letters", but obviously joining due to their interest in the heuristics of rites of passage in explaining ceremonial facts and processes.

Sebastian Ştefănucă, *Pe drumul către o antropologie balcanică. Repere de antropologie socio-culturală în nordul Greciei* [Towards a Balkan Anthropology. Landmarks of Social and Cultural Anthropolgy in Northern Greece], Eikon, Bucureşti, 2016, p. 270.
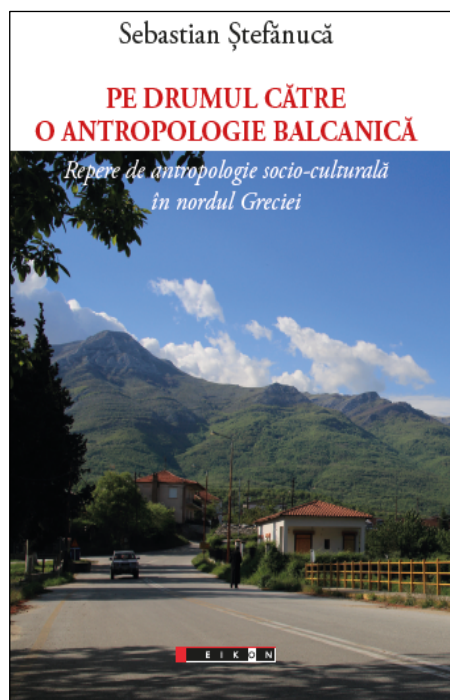
Review by Stelu Şerban[*]

With its puzzled ethnic and religious populations and the intersected histories of several empires as well, the Southeast Europe region represents today an open air laboratory for social anthropologists and ethnologists. The book that Sebastian Ştefănucă authors fully illustrates this statement.

The volume grounds on the fieldwork research Ştefănucă has made in Northern Greece in two villages, Skra and Evzoni, very close to the Greek state border with Republic of Macedonia/ FYROM. During seven months, from September 2011 to April 2012, he uninterruptedly stayed here doing participant observation, learning the Greek, and becoming familiar with the people and their culture. Thereafter he came back several times in short field trips, up to one month, to continue the research.

At the first sight, Ştefănucă's endeavour looks really adventurous. A native Southeast European anthropologist doing fieldwork in a

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country of this region which is different to his/her country is very rare. Then, it is noteworthy that Ştefănucă has deliberately chosen the statute of independent researcher. He did not seek the financial support of the national or international donors. He hired instead as an agricultural worker in the local vineyards. Thus he has earned one modest amount of money, whichallowed him to spend the first seven months of the fieldwork (pp. 31–50).

In the last chapter of the book and sparsely in the other chapters, Ştefănucă emphasizes the reasons of this kind of choice. In his opinion, after 1990 the anthropological and ethnological research projects in Southeastern Europe's countries were misled by the western international academia. The leverages to do this included the policies of projects' financing, the influence on academic formation of the native anthropologists, the import of theoretical perspectives inaccurate to the Balkan region. Against this bias, Ştefănucă launches the ideas of a "Balkan anthropology" (pp. 217–230). On the one side, the "methodological and theoretical formalism" of the "core nations" in the international academia should be criticized, whereas, on the other side, one dense network of south east European anthropologists who do researches mainly in this region, has to be built. In this sense, Ştefănucă largely quotes the Michael Herzfeld's works, especially Herzfeld's argument for a non euro-centric social anthropology (p. 220).

The content of the volume revolves around the four chapters that reproduce articles previously published in different academic journals from Romania (pp. 51–144). The topics in these articles widely vary from *kerasma* practice (one collective practice to pay beverages for the persons either familiar, or not, but who are incidentally met in the public spaces as the pubs), to ritual of "sacred tree" in the funeral ceremonies, ethnicity, and communal property. The two villages of the fieldwork, Skra and Evzoni, offer one expressive scene to approach such topics. Whereas both of them are located near the Greek – Macedonian border, having thus a cross-border and multiple local identity, their populations are quite marginal in the frame of the Greek majority of the country: the people in Skra village are Vlachs/Meglenites, while in Evzoni there are living the Ponts (Greco-phone people who were colonized from the Black Sea region after the First World War in exchange with the Turkish population from Greece). In one chapter only, that approaching the communal property, the place of the fieldwork is Kupa, in fact a neighbour settlement to Skra and Evzoni.

In regard to their conceptual frame, these four chapters are fragmented, as they were included in the book without changes. Thus the reader, even one who is familiar with the anthropological literature, is a little bit disappointed. One common theoretical perspective for these chapters would have illuminated both the place of fieldwork, really challenging as I outlined above, as well the way Ştefănucă envisages what he himself calls one "Balkan anthropology".

The rest of the book covers personal notes and comments about the fieldwork experience (pp. 31–50, 145–205), one short essay tackling the "ethnography" of the Greek crisis in 2015 (pp. 205–216), the above mentioned chapter on "Balkan anthropology". One review of the Judith Okely book, *Anthropological Practice Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Method*, which was also published previously and included in the volume without changes, aims to put on the fore the importance that the fieldwork subjectivity has on the anthropological research (pp. 18–30).

Ştefănucă's volume gives a glimpse of the Southeast Europe's rich and beautiful ethnographic world. Furthermore, his idea to unify in a common network the native anthropologists in this region for creating a Southeast European native anthropology challenges the globalist development of the international academia and inscribes in the currents of intellectual decolonization, as well. Unfortunately, these ideas are packed badly. The volume has any internal coherence, as the chapters were previously published and taken without changes by there. Also, it feels here and there some exaggerate interpretations, as for instance the comparing the abovementioned book of Judith Okely with a volume about methodology of social monograph that the Romanian sociologist Henri H. Stahl authored in the interwar period (p. 30). Obviously, in this latter case it is not about ranking or hierarchy, but simply about different contexts, research traditions, and intellectual mentalities.

Thomas Sikor, Stefan Dorondel, Johannes Stahl and Phuc Xuan To, *When Things Become* *Property. Land Reform, Authority, and Value in Postsocialist Europe and Asia,* **Berghahn, New** **York, Oxford, 2017, p. 250.**

Review by Stelu Șerban*

  The above volume gathers the ethno-graphical fieldworks that the authors made in eight villages from Albania, Romania, and Vietnam on the topic of post-1990 land and forest reforms, together with two theoretical chapters (*Introduction*, pp. 1–34, and *Conclusion*, pp. 198–217) that revolve around the property and state concepts. The research has unfolded as a part of the program *Junior* *Research Group on Postsocialist Land* *Relations* at Humboldt University, Berlin, where between 2003 and 2007 Dorondel, Stahl, and Xuan To have pursued their PhD studies under the Sikor's supervision.

  In the volume the fieldwork cases are divided in two parts. As the authors state this dividing reflect the theoretical analysis of the main concepts, property and state (p. 21). Thus, while in the first part (pp. 35–116) the process of land restitution and the wider change of the rural life suggest that one complex negotiations of the land value unfolded, in the second part (pp. 117–197), the forests' return unveils the power struggle of the involved actors with an emphasis on the state bureaucrats grabbing the larger part of the forest property.

  I will not go in the details of the fieldworks cases. Still noteworthy is emphasizing that land and forest restitution intersect with ethnicity and transnational networks, as in the all three cases of Albanian villages, or in one Romanian village, while the national state is represented through its local agents who implement the legislation the central government issues. This latter approach induces the idea of one weak central state, which is not conceptualized though.

  In fact, the very weight of the volume stands in its theoretical analysis that focuses on the critique of the "propertizing projects" (pp. 209–213). In order to do that at the very beginning of the volume the authors announce their attempt to shift out two dominant paradigms: 1. to leave the post-socialist perspective for one more inclusive post-colonial frame. On the one hand, the Vietnam case which along with its socialist period, unfinished yet, as the authors outline (p. 20), has experienced one period of colonial belonging too, while on the other hand, taking into account the impact of the transnational institutions as World Bank and International Monetary Fund, with powerful programs in post-socialist and post-colonial countries, both would make easier the shift to the post-colonial studies. 2. the criticism of the neoliberal policies of privatization the public goods

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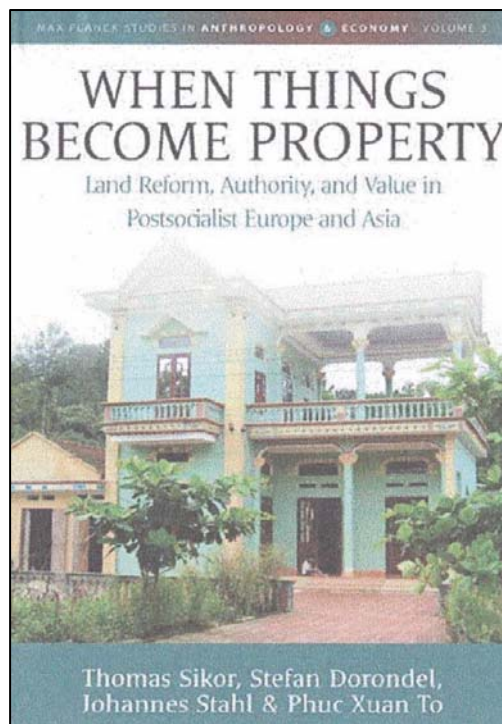
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and natural resources in post-socialist countries. In this respect, it took place one subtle process of "propertizing" these common goods, whose main actors were the central governments and transnational institutions. On the one hand, they aimed to indulge the idea that in order to be transacted the value of these common goods is measurable on a long time period. On the other hand, the state/central government was presented as sole authority entitled to designate and enforce the property rights over these goods (p. 5).

Against this perspective the authors argue for "a dynamic understanding of property". Firstly, they stop on the "land restitution" as the literature related to this topic is very rich and coherent. Thus they outline that behind the social philosophy of property rights and free market what really mattered was "the struggles over value" of the land and connected means that eased land exploitation like machineries, granaries, office buildings (pp.7ff, 12ff, 200ff). The monetary transformation of the rendered land was much lesser than the political designers of the reforms had hoped, while symbolical, emotional, and identity incentives were consistent. Secondly, the state is conceptualized as a corporate, complex, and multileveled body of bureaucrats that locate in the central government, but also at the local level where in fact through one special micro-politics the value of the transacted objects was established. Still, this intricate configuration of the state actors let room for a large contestation from the side of the common citizens. It is about the same struggle for value as in the case of the landed property, but with an emphasis on the power sharing and political involvement (pp.10, 14ff, 205ff).

Sikor, Dorondel, Stahl, and Xuan To's volume brings one important contribution to the theoretical body of post-socialist and post-colonial studies. In spite of its apparent global frame of comparison, the authors demonstrate that the concepts like property and state are bound to the local understanding, balance of power, and social interactions. It is a way to turn the global into local, but also illustrates the "return of the peasant" (Andrew Cartwright) in one uneven, transnational world (pp. 214–215). Still, some question marks could be put at the very end of reading the book. Firstly, the choice of micro-cases as villages, from very distant areas as Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia could embarrass the reader. The authors are aware of this fact pointing out the reasons of their choice, i.e. the socialist past and the commonalities of reform legislation (pp.19, 35–38, 120). One second point could be seen like a shortcoming. It is about the references that the authors make to the peasant/peasantry, but without the problematization to which extent the peasants from these three countries could be an object of one accurate comparison. In this respect, the literature on peasant/rural studies would illuminate differences and commonalities of Southeast Europe peasantries and Southeast Asia. This literature misses in the volume content and in its bibliography as well. And thirdly, the promising idea to moving the perspective from post-socialist to post-colonial studies, one of the basic premise in the Introduction, is somehow lost on the way. In the volume's Conclusion this is barely mentioned few times, while the emphasis remains on the post-socialist perspective.

LEXICON
DE ANATOMIE A OMULUI
ETIMOLOGIA TERMENILOR ANATOMICI

Alexandru T. **ISPAS**

Laura Oana **STROICĂ**　　　　　Adin-Daniel **ROBE**

LEXICON
DE ANATOMIE A OMULUI
ETIMOLOGIA TERMENILOR ANATOMICI

Adamkiewicz • Aschoff •
Bartholin • Bellini •
Broca • Brodmann •
Cajal • Corti • Deiters •

Cartea de față încearcă în mod unic în sfera editorială națională și internațională să abordeze vocabularul anatomiei umane din punct de vedere etimologic. Oricine este interesat își poate dezvolta cunoștințele prin înțelegerea originii cuvântului !

Etimologia este nucleul cărții, iar istoria medicală și definițiile anatomice completează întreaga structură.

Dicționarul are menirea de a face lumină asupra terminologiei anatomice, uneori fragmentar înțeleasă, și poziționează substanța fiecărui termen anatomic ca ADN al cunoașterii medicale.

Odată ce ați început cartea, veți fi nerăbdători să citiți pagina următoare! Dezvoltarea profesională medicală este scopul acestui volum care țintește rădăcinile procesului de învățare și cunoaștere, adresîndu-se în special tinerilor care se formează în domeniul științelor medicale.

Eustachio • Falloppio • Gerota • Glisson • Golgi • Galen •
Harvey • Henle • Hipocrate • Kupffer • Langerhans • Leydig •
Lieberkühn • McBurney • Malpighi • Meckel • Meissner • Merkel •
Morgagni • Müller • Nissl • Oddi • Pacini • Palade • Peyer •
Purkinje • Ranvier • Rathke • Rokitansky • Santorini • Sertoli •
Stensen • Sylvius • Traube • Treitz • Valsalva • Vater •
Vesalius • Virchow • Waldeyer • Wernicke • Willis • Zinn •