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INTRODUCTION

During my studies of social and cultural anthropology in Vienna, I started working for the development non-governmental-organisation (NGO) HELP Austria in 2004, first as a student assistant and soon as assistant to the organisation's head. My main field of work was starting and maintaining ties to business corporations for fundraising purposes. From the beginning it was my intention to understanding the field I was working in from an anthropological perspective. In studying the field of my work ethnographically, I wanted to overcome the question of what appropriate ways of *doing good* meant and find out about the inner workings and mechanisms of contemporary non-governmental-organisations, their place within the political economy and their role in promoting values and social change. When the transnational jewellery manufacturing company BEAD and HELP Austria began to brainstorm about new ways of collaboration at the end of 2005, I grabbed the chance. In early 2006, I had a research permission for my thesis and started ethnographic fieldwork. I approached my research without concrete questions in mind, only with a vague idea of wanting to find out how the collaboration was working.

BEAD and HELP Austria decided to go for a joint fundraising product which should be designed in a jewellery design workshop held in eastern Ethiopia. A jewellery product would then be made out of the designs resulting from the workshop and sold in various countries. The revenues from the sale would be donated to the girls' education programmes of HELP in Ethiopia. So far so *good*.

As employee of the organisation working in this field, I was present in all but one meetings between the organisations and attended the workshop in Eliba, eastern Ethiopia, in September 2007. During the three years of my fieldwork in the collaboration, I chose a bundle of ethnographic methods to gather data. Beside participant observation in the meetings and face-to-face situations, I collected hundreds of eMails, documents, protocols, concept papers, and jotted notes during telephone calls and the workshop in Ethiopia. At times, my double role as employee and fieldworker was hard to play but helped me enourmeously in *being there,* where the collaboration happened.

Finally in 2009, I started to look for a theoretical background to explain my empirical case in anthropological terms. I came across anthropological theories of gift-exchange and ethical consumption which proved fascinating to apply on the collected data. To cover the social relations and transactions between the actors in the field of my study as well as their

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repercussions with the material qualities of the final fundraising product, I chose to ask two research questions to be discussed in my thesis:

QUESTION 1:

Can the relations between the actors in the HELP Austria-BEAD collaboration be framed as systems of gift exchange?

QUESTION 2:

How do the transactions influence the value and meaning of the objects in the collaboration?

In the analysis section, I want to discuss the diverse aspects of the way the actors in my field built relations in working together, engaged in gift-exchange, and brokered moral and economic capital. Through the distinct biography of the final fundraising product, at times being more gift, at times more commodity, the actors created an ethical product that was both. I will argue that the value and meaning of the objects of the collaboration were consciously altered by creating certain circumstances for the production of a giftified commodity/ commoditised gift - the fundraising keyring.

Structure of the Thesis

My thesis begins with a description of the field, the involved people as well as organisations. I will comment on the organisational cultures of HELP Austria and BEAD, their founding myths, spatial structuring and the self-conception of their activities, intending to provide the reader with sufficient context for understanding the field. After giving these entry points, I will go on in describing the chronology of the collaboration of HELP and BEAD. From its very beginning in the end of 2005 to early 2010 when I ended my fieldwork, I will follow the routes the collaboration took through various localities, from Tyrol to Vienna to Addis Abeba and Eliba. In describing the chronology of the collaborations, I will place special focus on the workshop situation in Ethiopia, as it was the most intense time of the collaboration and a time of both tensions and harmony which led to a better understanding of the ways the various actors related to each other and managed these relations. My description of the studied case will further include an account of the phase after the workshop, leading to the fundraising product and finally its sale.

The second chapter will bring forward methodological implications of my study, my role in the field as well as an overview about the various methods of data gathering I employed during my fieldwork. A short introduction into the anthropology of organisation will contextualise my methodology in this subfield of anthropology. Drawing on organisational

ethnographer Daniel Neyland, I will then go on explaining my ethnographic strategy and approach towards questions of knowledge. Then, the sections on the locations and access as well as field relation will be discussed alongside my double role as being employee and fieldworker in the HELP-BEAD collaboration. The methodological implications of the duration of my fieldwork as well as the various techniques of data gathering will be brought forward as central elements of my methodological approach. Furthermore, questions of ethics and the ending of my research round up the methodology chapter.

The theory chapter starts with an overview about anthropological approaches towards development relations and NGOs. In discussing instrumental, ideological and populist as well as critical and deconstructive approaches, I work my way towards my own standpoint, a case-focused and actor-oriented perspective. I will present the discussion of the various approaches and the explaining of my own standpoint as important for understanding the conclusions I have drawn. Then I will introduce anthropological theories of the gift as the main theoretical backdrop for my analysis. Starting with Marcel Mauss, I will explore anthropological theories on the gift and exchange and discuss them alongside anthropological work written on gift exchanges in development which will be of special interest also for the analysis.

In the analysis section, I bring together the various strands of my field, methodology and theory to show that the collaboration of HELP and BEAD is a systematic of gift exchange, situated and governed by certain rules. In comparing elements of gift exchange as described by anthropological authors and the systematics found in my field of study, I will give a detailed account of gifts being given, received and the various forms of reciprocation during the collaboration in various places at various times. Also in analysing my data set, the workshop situation will be of major importance as it proved to be the pivotal point around which the exchanges took place. During the workshop, questions came up that led me to trace if there were different systematics of exchanges at work.

After discussing the first research question to show the systematicity of exchanges, the discussion of the second one will show what transformations in value and meaning took place through the modes and implications of the transactions and the circumstances of its production. I will argue that such transformations do not only touch upon the material objects of the collaboration, but have an impact also with the exchanging actors.

In the last section of the analysis, I will show how its distinct biography altered the value and meaning of the raw materials and conferred special moral values on the product. In the end, the fundraising keyring is presented as the center of the collaboration and its materialisation as an ethical product created by the ongoing collaboration of a business corporation and a

development NGO that became possible by the systematicity of collaborating through exchanging gifts.

FIELD

A social field is defined by Pierre Bourdieu as a relatively autonomous social space (like literature, journalism, science...). It is relatively autonomous as it does not stand in isolation but in close connection to other social fields, whose boundaries are hard to determine, but Bourdieu gives a rule of thumb: "The limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 100). Fields by themselves cannot be observed, they become visible through the actions and relations of concrete social actors, who are emanations of this field and incorporate it (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 107, 136). The social actors making up a field are thus at the same time producers and products of the field.

Through the central notion of fieldwork, anthropology has a unique relation to the fields being studied. In anthropology, "...the single most significant factor determining whether a piece of research will be accepted as (that magical word) 'anthropological' is the extent to which it depends on experience 'in the field'." (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 1). An anthropologically understood social field never exists of its own, awaiting to be discovered by anthropologists: „It has to be laboriously constructed, prised apart from all the other possibilities for contextualisation to which its constituent relationships and connections could also be referred." (Amit 2000: 6). The work of constructing a field is not exclusively dependent on conditions external to the anthropologist, it also depends on "... the conceptual, professional, financial and relational opportunities and resources accessible to the ethnographer." (Amit 2000: 6). By the bundle of anthropological methods summarised in the term *participant observation*, the anthropologist is at the same time observant as well as interactant in this field (Rapport and Overing 2007: 346).

When I began to gather data in February 2007, only two meetings had taken place between HELP and BEAD and it was far from clear where the collaborative project would lead – both in temporal as well as spatial terms. As such, it was not an unusual design for an ethnographic study. In many anthropological studies, the process of researching is designed as circular and open-ended (Schwartzman 1993: 72). I understand this approach of following the paths of my field without limiting the scope of my studies through prefabricated research questions (Neyland 2008: 12).

As my knowledge about the actors and possible anthropological interpretations of their actions grew, I started to focus on concrete questions to investigate, namely the role of exchanges for the relations between the actors and the organisations (Sanjek 2004: 196).

Through the next pages, I want to discuss certain aspects of my field and my role in it. First, questions of access to the field and my role as an anthropologist and interactant in my field will be of consideration. Then I want to discuss the implications of studying a multi-sited field and how long fieldwork should be. Then, I will dive into a description of the organisations and the people associated with them and the chronology of their collaborations.

Access to the Field

As I was already working for the organisation HELP Austria when my studies formally began, I was not naive about "the field" as a neutral place, but an arena of power relations and differing interests. For accessing the field, the distribution of roles and statuses and the relationships between the actors and me as a potential researcher were of great importance. While doing my research, the organisation HELP refused a dozen of requests for expert interviews, argumenting about the scarcity of resources or fearing delicate questions. Through being closely associated with Livia Lank, the head of HELP Austria, I had access to the field, even for a study of several years. Not only did she grant me an unrestricted research permission (Research Permission HELP 5.2.2007, Vienna), she also encouraged BEAD and the other actors involved to support my study by introducing it as a special honour for the collaboration to be studied scientifically. Her protective stance towards my study surely made a difference in facilitating acceptance of my data collecting (Neyland 2008: 80).

This extraordinary formal as well as informal sponsorship should be the dream of every aspiring anthropologist. But Hammersley and Atkinson also point towards the problematic side of such a powerful figure acting as a patron. In focusing the attention towards the "relationsship between problems of access and the quality of data subsequently collected" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 61), they dive into the possible consequences of over-rapport:

"However, even the most friendly and co-operative of gatekeepers or sponsors will shape the conduct and development of the research. To one degree or another, the ethnographer will be channelled in line with existing networks of friendship and enmity, territory and equivalent 'boundaries'. Having been "taken up" by a sponsor, the ethnographer may find it difficult to achieve independence from such a person, discovering that his or her research is bounded by the social horizon of a sponsoring group or individual." (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 75).

Throughout the whole process, Livia and me chatted about the progress of my studies but there was no situation in which I would have been asked to show or recount parts of my notes

or writings. But still, the organisation controlled my time and spatial movement. During the workshop in eastern Ethiopia, I was only able to conduct short, sketchy interviews with the participants because my time was partly consumed by assisting the designers and having work assigned. It was also not possible conducting research with the participants in Eliba without organisational staff being around, because I was staff myself (Gellner and Hirsch 2001: 5).

Being at the same time in- and outsider in the field of study is a central factor in ethnographic fieldwork (Neyland 2008: 81). In my case I was at times struggling to be less insider and more outsider as the boundary between fieldwork and paid work was not easy to sustain. Managing my position as a fieldworker proved to be of great importance (Neyland 2008: 81).

For successfully managing my position and field relations, it was necessary to gain insight into workplaces and practices of the organisation. When was it appropriate to go in jeans and polo-shirt, suit, sneakers, shining shoes,... ? What kind of language is being used in informal talk, official meetings, what are the myths, legends and narratives that guide and govern the organisation's work and the understanding of its members of what they are actually part of? Being the only male in the organisation's Vienna office, how should I fit in? The methodological part of these questions point to what Hammersley and Atkinson call "impression management" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 83; Neyland 2008: 88f).

In my case, impression management was about wearing the right clothes, talking the right talk, reading the right reports and recalling them at the right times was what mattered and made me convincive as a member of the workplace setting under study (O´Reilly 2005: 95).

Apart from the possibilities to consciously position myself in the field, field relations were also influenced by a web of significant differences between the actors and their various interests, e.g. individual career strategies.

A reflection of my role in the field under study and its contribution to producing the 'reality' represented in my thesis must take several markers of difference into account: Age, Sex, Gender, Race, Nation/ Region, Ethnicity, Religion, Class, Status and Obligations. Not in all cases, I want to deliver a discussion of all the implications of these differences, but rather introduce the differences to provide the reader with a sense of the social landscape of my field.

At the beginning of the cooperation I was twenty-one years old and thus younger than the actors of HELP and BEAD, e.g. Livia and Lilian being around forty years old, whereas the workshop participants, ranging from fifteen to twenty-five, were closer to my age group.

In terms of sex, all the involved actors consisted of twenty female and ten male actors. The core team of HELP and BEAD travelling to Ethiopia consisted of three female and me as

male person. The participants in the workshop split in a group of fifteen female and four male people. Between the co-workers from BEAD and HELP Austria, the implications of this distribution were hidden most of the time, it was only when photographer Ian Rangley appeared with an accentuated masculine attitude in Eliba, talking big and frequently commented on what he thought were the differences between men and women, gender became visible. Especially the two female managers Livia and Lilian, both PhDs, felt offended by what they perceived as sexual innuendos of the fashion photographer and fought for their version of thinking about gender differences.

The distribution of skin color was paralleling regional backgrounds, the European actors were white (with the exception of Eyerus Wagner), whereas the Ethiopian actors were of black skin color (with the exception of Alex Langley).

The intersections between race and nation/ region provide another axis of differentiation in the field. The European, white actors differed in their urban (HELP) - rural (BEAD) rootings, a popular small talk topic among them throughout the fieldwork. Differences in region with the Ethiopian, black actors were also, as far as I could manage to find out, governed also by urban - rural differences. The status of the actors associated with the organisation HELP correlated with their regional situatedness. The most powerful actors were associated with the Central Coordinating Office in Addis Abeba, making up the organisational elite of HELP Ethiopia. As the development projects were implemented mostly in rural areas, these were the other end of the spectrum, with regional coordinating offices in the main towns of the respective region. The actual provenance of the actors was less important than their association with the center-periphery structure of the organisation. The European offices were not seen as residing over the central Project Coordinating Office, but rather as the financiers one must make happy but who cannot really intervene into internal structures. For the workshop participants, I will in a later section comment upon meaningful differences.

The actors in Ethiopia were of various ethnic affiliation, the managers were in most cases Amhara and the workshop participants Amhara and Oromo, although Teffera told me about three of the participants claiming to be Oromo to me but telling him they were Somali. When asked for possible causes, he could not figure out why (Teffera Waqimii, *personal communication*, 20.9.2007, Eliba). Although the actors being ethnically Oromo complained about discrimating behaviour against them by members of other ethnic groups, especially Tigray and Amhara, these complaints were in no cases related to other actors in my field.

Religion with the European actors was never mentioned, it was assumed that they were Christian or creedless, but no emphasis was made on it. The workshop was held during the

month of Ramadan and thus the seven Muslim participants fasted during the days whereas the Christian participants sang at various times religious songs during the workshop (Recording 20.9.2007 Eliba) or designed jewellery in the form of crosses or other Christian religious symbols. Although the participants denied that religion made any difference between them, they sat together in their respective religious groups and spent their breaks together in those groups.

In terms of class, I want to mention the backgrounds of the various actors, well aware that class difference and the importance of class in the various locations I studied cannot be easily compared to each other. For the Austrian actors it can be claimed that the operational staff of BEAD and HELP shared a common class background as employees of managerial and professional levels, higher education and a secure middle-class income but without significant wealth. Adele Temper Bead and Aaron Smith-Bead, as members of one of the most wealthy industrial families in Austria, were certainly upper class as well as Charles and Eyerus Wagner who had significant wealth from Charles Wagners career as a film star and his being the son of one of the most renown composers and conductors of classical music worldwide. In Ethiopia, the managers of Addis Abeba office were of the upper middle class in Ethiopia, whereas the participants were in most cases poor rural teenagers needing financial and material support for school attendance and in some cases for alimentation during periods of failing crops. Status distribution corresponded largely to the class background of the involved actors although it intersected with the organisational roles of the actors.

Obligations of the actors to other people than the organisational actors involved in the cooperation were not interfering with the working process, and it can be summarised that the obligations of people to their employers were of major importance within my field of study. With the workshop participants, the obligations and nature of relation to the organisation HELP will be of further investigation in the analysis section.

The goal of recalling the differences making up my field and my own position in it was to lay bare the viewpoint from which I am talking about the field, my situatedness in its social landscape.

The Places of Fieldwork

In my study, the field I was researching on was not locally bounded or in any way a stable face-to-face setting to observe. Through most of the time, "the field" arouse through long-distance communication such as telephone calls, internet based communication or fax. Throughout the collaborative process, the field as an assemblage of social actors, met in varying constellations and locales.

The locations of my field can be divided along organisational as well as geographical differences and grouped into three main sites of observation.

First, a general separation can be done by way of the organisational entities HELP and BEAD. The main site of my fieldwork was the Vienna office of HELP Austria. Here, four to seven colleagues made up the relevant actors for the site. The Addis Abeba Project Coordinating Office and the regional coordinating office in Eliba were other observational settings can be attributed to HELP, although in another organisational unit, HELP Ethiopia.

Second, the meetings between HELP Austria and BEAD in Landluft and Kirach were sites of fieldwork as up to six actors from BEAD as well as Livia and me from HELP Austria came together to discuss and design the collaboration. I took part in six of these business meetings in Western Austria.

Third, the design workshop held in September 2007 in Eliba, Ethiopia. Here, the greatest number of actors of my field came together in face-to-face situations: Livia Lank and me from HELP, Karin Peacock and Lilian Thompson of BEAD, Clyde Kohn, Teffera Waqimii and Samuel Getachew from HELP Ethiopia and the participants in the design workshop, fifteen girls and four boys from various regions in Ethiopia.

In geographical terms, the sites in Vienna, Tyrol, Addis Abeba and Eliba were quite distinguishable places, but such a perspective would be misleading as the sites were linked through the collaboration of HELP and BEAD. These places were sites of an interconnected space - the connecting being done by the actors of the collaboration in exchanging ideas, resources and people.

Traditionally, field sites in anthropology were more bounded and rooted in localities. Since the 1990s, there has been a significant rethinking of the spaces of fieldwork which lead to controversies about the units of research, the conception of fields and social relations (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 8; Hannerz 2006: 3; Pink 2006: 13f; Tsing 2000; Appadurai 1996).

For my fieldwork, I chose George Marcus' notion of "multi-sited-fieldwork" as the point of reference for discussing the spaces and locations of my field.

In his 1995 article, Marcus argues that

„Ethnography moves from its conventional single-site location, contextualized by macro-constructions of a larger social order, such as the capitalist world system, to multiple sites of observation and participation that cross-cut dichotomies such as the „local" and the „global", the „lifeworld" and the „system" (Marcus 1995: 95).

He claims that "...any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system..." (Marcus 1995: 99), thus collapsing the local - global dichotomy. He goes on in arguing that, "The global is an emergent dimension of arguing about the connection among sites in a multi-sited ethnography." (Marcus 1995: 99).

Marcus did not envision multi-sited fieldwork as a matter of the numbers of locations involved or a matter of scaling (Peterson 2009: 43) as conventional comparative ethnography did that already, but rather as a methodological necessity, given the transformations of the contemporary world (Marcus 1995: 97). Rather than simply studying more places, Marcus suggests his viewpoint:

„Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography." (Marcus 1995: 105)

In following the actors of my field through the routes linking various sites,I want to give priority to tracing the relations and interactions between actor, organisations and discourses (Hannerz 2006: 24) rather than comparing geographical settings or treating my field as a local version of a macro system.

The Duration of Fieldwork

Closely related to the discussion of the spaces of fieldwork is the question of time and ethnographic fieldwork. Here, I don't want to go into the questions of differing conceptions of time in my field but rather into the epistemological question how long anthropological fieldwork should be. This question was the starting point for a debate between George Marcus and Judith Okely (Marcus and Okely 2007). Both agreed that there is no way of prescribing a certain amount of time that has to be exclusively spent "in the field", although their arguments come from different directions. Marcus argues that the traditional conception of fieldwork in the Malinowskian sense is still haunting the discipline whereas almost all actual research projects of students pull against this norm. He thinks the traditional conception of fieldwork should be rearranged and refit to the contemporary practices and techniques already in heavy use, instead of sticking to the traditional aesthetic of fieldwork. No matter how long the time frame of a given study might be, incompleteness of data gathering and of the possibilities of observing and understanding should be the norm. By introducing the metaphor of fieldwork as a design process, he accentuates the open-endedness of anthropological inquiry, its need

for anticipation and keeping track of shifting foci and courses (Marcus and Okely 2007: 353-357). Judith Okely comes from another direction - she defends the traditional conception of fieldwork whereas she thinks "...it was never fully what it seemed." (Marcus and Okely 2007: 357). She sees the immediate danger to the long-term dimension of fieldwork as coming from short-term funding and an increasing tendency of essentialising anthropological practice into concrete "techniques" instead of treating it as living knowledge. She agrees on the traditional conception of fieldwork as imaginary, but still dichotomises heavily between anthropology and hard science or positivism.

Debates in the anthropology of organisations have also been committed to finding answers on the question of the duration of fieldwork. Often, these debates involve an ideological dimension assuming two antagonistic interests: long-term immersion wanted by anthropologists, rapid assessment techniques wanted by organisations (Neyland 2008: 8; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 46ff; Sridhar 2008: 9; Handwerker 2001: 3; Dresch et.al. 2000: 2). In contradiction to the notion of "thick description," organisational anthropologists have written about "quick description techniques", promising to incorporate anthropological methodology with the restrictions of rapid assessment requirements by organisations (Handwerker 2001: 3; Neyland 2008: 92). Basically, these notions reproduce a dichotomy of short/ incomplete/ thin and long/ rich/ thick ethnography. For my fieldwork, I cannot positively affirm this dichotomy, as short and intense phases of data gathering alternated with sustained phases of almost no time spent "in the field" as it did not exist permanently. The business meetings meant around two hours of intense observation besides taking part, jotting notes and trying to sponge up as much as possible. Similarly, the five days of the workshop in Ethiopia meant scribbling hundreds of pages in my notebooks, drawing seating arrangements, recording interviews and instructions, and writing field notes for hours after everybody else went to sleep. But most of the overall duration of fieldwork, "the field" was difficult to grasp in scattered phone calls and eMails and sometimes no contact at all for weeks, especially in 2006 and 2008. Marcus summarises for multi-sited-fieldwork: "In classic anthropology thickness was a virtue, thinness was not; in multi-sited fieldwork, both thickness and thinness are variably expected" (Marcus 2002: 196).

When it comes to the overall duration of my fieldwork, I approached the process as open-ended, but to step out of data gathering and find the right time of ending fieldwork I needed some sort of exit point. As I was positive about my gathered data being enough for analysing my case, I wanted the process to reach at a stage where the actors in my field felt a sense of completion. In the end of 2009, both organisations felt a sense of having accomplished the

aims of the process: having created a product via the workshop, chosen the winning design, produced it for sale, and sold it.

In the next sections, I want to give a detailed account of the organisations involved and the chronology of their collaboration, an overview of the processes the actors engaged in my field.

HELP and BEAD

The actors of my field were in various ways connected to the two organisations HELP and BEAD. From BEAD, two members of the board, seven employees and a photographer were playing a role in the cooperation and thus in my study. From HELP, two members of the board, eight employees in Austria (including myself) and four in Ethiopia were involved. The nineteen jewellery design workshop participants in Eliba/ Eastern Ethiopia were insofar connected to HELP as they had been into contact with the organisation prior to the cooperation.

I will now go on describing some of the findings of my study regarding the organisational culture of the two organisations and the contextualisation of the actors of my field within them as well as within wider contexts of development.

HELP

HELP is a nongovernmental development organisation providing grassroots development assistance in nine rural regions of Ethiopia. Four legally separate organisations coordinate its workings in Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Ethiopia. Although not subsumed under a common governing body, the organisations share a common identity through the name, corporate design, brand identity as well as their positioning within the wider paradigm of development. The European offices are only peripherally involved in the development programmes, their main task in the division of labour are public relations and fundraising activities to fund the work of HELP Ethiopia, which is planning and implementing the projects.

Central to the understanding of the organisational culture I found with HELP was the shared founding narrative of the organisation.

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The Founding Narrative: Charles Wagner

Deeply affected by television coverage of the then drought-stricken Sahelian zone in the early 1980s, the famous cinema and theater actor Charles Wagner decided to "do something against the inequalities on the planet" and, in a dramatic performance on a TV show, aired a call for funds to make sure that "in the future, no child shall die from hunger" (Charles Wagner, *personal communication*, 19.3.2009, Vienna). Through the spontaneous call for funds in the TV appearance, Wagner had collected enough donations to start the organisation's work in Ethiopia (Charles Wagner, *personal communication*, 19.3.2009, Vienna). The Ethiopian government assigned a region in eastern Ethiopia for Wagner to start his work. He was proud of bypassing international aid organisations in the distribution of the raised funds - his antipathy rooting on accusations of inefficiency and the aid industries' place within the political economy of the 1980s. He went to the assigned region in Ethiopia "to find out about the people's needs" and how he could help in meeting them. The Ethiopian people that helped him in this phase of the organisational development are to a great part still involved with HELP, e.g. a then translator is today the head of HELP Ethiopia. In 1981, he formally founded the organisation HELP in Germany, 1986 in Austria and 1989 in Switzerland. From then on, Charles Wagner and his growing staff built up a professional development organisation, which is today operationally led by managers.

At the time of my fieldwork, the authority exerted by Charles Wagner and his Ethiopian wife Eyerus was visible through the formal as well as informal structuring of the organisation by the full name of "HELP. Charles Wagner's Relief Organisation for Ethiopia". Charles Wagner was chairperson of the boards in all four country organisations. In the course of 2009, Eyerus took over his operational involvement with the boards. Charles Wagner exerted considerable control over the work being done in the Austrian office through the notion of "approval". All direct mails, brochures, concepts for fundraising cooperations with companies etc. had to be put forward to find his approval. The informal organisation of HELP was dominantly shaped by the adoption of the major narratives provided by Wagner: the circumstances of HELP's founding, the refusal of being part of the 'aid industry' and his hands-on-mentality.

In the 1980s and 1990s, many Austrian development NGOs were funded to a large proportion by state agencies, which was refused by Wagner as corrupting his cause. HELP also shunned dependencies from any political, religious or other groups but nevertheless used possibilities in the points of contact to other interest groups strategically. To avoid state funding, the organisation chose to rely almost entirely on private donations. The great prominence of Charles Wagner certainly helped in attracting attention by private donors.

When I joined HELP in 2004, a representative market research conducted in Austria showed that HELP had a name recognition of 73% (Red Cross 95%, Amnesty International 82%, UNICEF 55%, World Vision 33%) (Neumayr and Schober 2008: 58).

HELP's brand identity is the result of both expectations of donors as well as the marketing and PR work done by its employees and centers on the figure of Charles Wagner. The activities of the organisation were communicated almost exclusively through either narratives about people from the project regions - so called 'human interest stories' or through narratives about Charles and - to a lesser amount - Eyerus Wagner. In diverse market researches, this appearance was approved of, especially with business organisations. Throughout my engagement with HELP the majority of companies donating to HELP stated that the sympathy and trust they attributed to Charles Wagner was a major reason for choosing the organisation as beneficiary. Especially corporate actors that were suspicious of the effectiveness of development projects and thus reluctant to donate money to development causes were affine to HELP. The central narrative of Wagners "conversion" from being a wealthy and prominent movie and theater actor to being "baptised" by the cognition of "unnecessary dying of millions of people" (Charles Wagner, *personal communication*, 19.3.2009, Vienna) and thus becoming an activist never drawing a salary from HELP while vigourously working day and night for the development of Ethiopia's rural regions left a deep impression with many business partners. HELP especially drew corporate partners from established family businesses of renowned Austrian entrepreneurial families, such as the Bead family. During my fieldwork it was Livia and me who acquired and maintained relations to these companies of which the collaboration with BEAD is one example.

The Development Projects of HELP Ethiopia
In Ethiopia, the Central Project Coordination Office in Addis Abeba channelled the flow of funds coming from the European organisations and distributed them to the nine regional offices in the intervention areas. In 2009, 792 employees were coordinated by the central office in Addis Abeba, only six of them being of European origin, which marks a difference to other foreign-funded nongovernmental organisations in Ethiopia who employ a significantly higher proportion of expatriate employees (HELP 2009: 5).

The organisation claims to have developed the approach of *Integrated Rural Development Programmes*, a holistic approach concerned with solutions to development problems worked out in close collaboration with the targeted populations. The organisation claims that the projects are designed as responses to the local populations' articulation of certain needs,

which are reported bottom-up through the project regions' management and administrational staff (organised around the major intervention thematics like health, education asf.) to the project coordinating office in Addis Abeba where projects are budgeted in close collaboration with the offices in Europe.

The interventions vary across the project regions, all in all consisting of agro-ecological interventions (farmer trainings, seed distribution, development of more productive methods), construction of water systems (hand dug wells, spring developments, and water reservoirs), the improvement of health care infrastructure in either renovating existing facilities or constructing new ones (from small health posts to hospitals with a catchment area of several 100.000 people), gendered development projects specially focusing on women's development, infrastructure projects (construction and maintaining of roads leading to the project regions) and finally, education programmes of various kind which accounted for 74% of project expenditure (HELP 2009: 10).

Throughout the projects implemented by HELP, so-called "clubs" play an important role in organising voluntary and other work done by members of local communities who are supporting the interventions of HELP. Some of the girls that took part in the workshop were active members of so-called "Anti HIV Clubs" which were made up of girls and boys who write poems, organise drama plays, distribute brochures about HIV prevention provided by HELP and other activities by which they voluntarily support HELP. The materials, brochures, information were provided for by HELP. The clubs seem to have other functions as well, as those workshop participants that stated they were engaged in clubs also had closer connections to HELP because of their parents working for HELP or because of their life history and the role of HELP in it.

For almost all the project activities of HELP, a long-term relation with the recipient population was part of the process. Since 1981, HELP had not changed its project sites, but expanded them and scaled down their acitivtes in areas were certain goals had been met. Their version of sustainability they attributed in their projects was the goal of making the population more independent of the help of aid organisations. A great number of trainings and workshops were held for "income generation", teaching from tailoring to metalwork to apple farming. A great variety of such trainings were a specialty of HELP in Ethiopia and very popular among the recipient populations. The goal of these trainings were that the participants learned skills to be able to earn a living by themselves.In 2009, the development projects benefitted around four million people in an area of 46.259 m2 (HELP 2009: 5).

HELP Austria

Half the HELP staff I met when joining the Vienna office in 2004 had joined the organisation early in its history and had stayed there, building up the organisation as it was in 2004, raising 2.725.000 Euro of which 92,7% (2.526.000 Euro) were private donations. Then head of HELP Austria was Dr. Livia Lank who started working for HELP in 1991 and thus was intrinsically connected with the development of the organisation in Austria. She was the driving force behind the Austrian office and successfully acted as intermediary between 'the team' and the board of executives in Austria as well as to the Wagners, translating and brokering interests and requirements between the various levels of the organisation.

One central imperative for the work of HELP Austria was a hands-on-mentality that searched for lowering expenses and increasing incomes by asking for donations of commodities, advertisement space in newspapers, radio and television, emphasising voluntary work and the increasing acquisition of private company donations. This approach was also visible in the office, where furniture was almost entirely made up of commodity contributions of renown furniture companies - from the fridge to the executive's office.

The office of HELP Vienna is located in an inner district of Vienna, and resembles a flat type well known in Vienna as *Altbau*, 19th century buildings with high ceilings and large windows, and selected by HELP as Vienna office considering its central location in Vienna as well as the low good-will-rent by the owner.

When I joined HELP Austria as full-time employee in 2005, it employed four other full-time employees. The spatial structuring of the office shows interesting repercussions of the formal and informal organisational structuring of HELP Austria: The office space consists of four offices of approximately the same size plus a kitchen and a storage room. One of the offices was used as working space for the voluntary workers that came to the office for simple assistance tasks like enveloping direct mail or data entry work, but was referred to as "Charly's office". Whenever Charles Wagner was coming to Vienna for appointments, all traces of other uses than as his office were removed, the room being then as if untrodden between his appearances in Vienna.

Livia's room, the head office, had a glass meeting table, bookshelves and her desktop. On the bookshelves, one could find books from Kofi Annan, reports from UNDP and other development institutions, books about Ethiopia and about the history of HELP, which were only used by her inspite of frequent attempts to excite her colleagues about it. She holds a Ph.D in Völkerkunde, written about the work of HELP in Ethiopia, and is a proud, educated

middle-class woman. Almost any meeting with outside persons were conducted in this room as it was conceived of providing the best facilities and atmosphere for meetings. From Livia's office, the offices of the public relations officer Agatha and the financial administrator Sonja were accessible.

Major shifts occured in 2009 when Henry and Paul joined HELP. They were chosen by Livia and the board for their experience in large (higher budgets and more employees) NGOs. When Livia left to become the head of a large international NGO in autumn 2009, Paul and Henry took over the management from her. The time of my fieldwork was further coined by the transition of power from Wagner to his younger Ethiopian wife Eyerus Wagner who was elected by the board as his successor, accomodating Wagner's request.

BEAD

BEAD is a transnationally operating group of companies held and operated mostly by the descendants of David Bead, credited with the development of the first crystal cutting-machine in 1892. This invention allowed a finer cutting of jewellery stones than earlier manual techniques. He formally founded BEAD in 1895 in Landluft, a small Tyrolean village he chose for its sufficient supply of alpine fresh water needed for the operation of the cutting machines.

The founding father David Bead bequested his three sons to equal shares with the company which was then built up in several operations: industrial machines (drilling, cut-off or grinding machines and tools, lighting elements), fashion and accessory (crystal beads and jewellery stones) and optical instruments (binoculars, range finders and optronic devices). The operational branch which contributed most to BEAD's brand identity certainly was the jewellery branch. In 1956, a special crystal finish was introduced by a collaboration between BEAD and the designer Christian Dior, further collaborations with famous fashion designers and artists helped creating today's glamorous brand identity. In 2009, the various operations evolving from the business ventures of David Bead and the succeeding generations, connected through the umbrella organisation BEAD, made an overall turnover of 2,25 billion Euro, employing 24.841 people in its worldwide operations, operating production locations in eighteen countries (BEAD 2010c).

The BEAD Group is operated largely by a clan structure of three "dynasties" in a complex array of financial interests and spread of investments that allows for a certain power balance. The families, well known in all of Austria but especially in the Western part, share a moved history of phases of harmony and fierce fighting, some of which became known as "succession wars" between clan and generational interests. Today, the number of family

members is estimated at around seventy descendants, a status that is often heavily contested with some kin of Bead families (Aaron Smith-Bead, *personal communication*, 27.10.2008, Landluft). The worldwide operations converge in the small Tyrolean town of Landluft, in 2008 counting just above 8.000 inhabitants, where David Bead founded the company. Today, Landluft is often referred to by locals and journalists alike as "crystal city", home to two out of three headquarters of BEAD, the other being in the nearby Kirach.

Traditionalist and Capitalist Configurations

In BEAD's organisational culture as well as brand identity the notions of "ancestry" and "rootedness" are as important as the capitalist configuration of operations. I will separate these two central notions into configurations, the former being traditionalist and the latter capitalist.

The traditionalist configuration is based upon the tracing of BEAD's history through the common founding father and the allocation of power and capital within the clan. The stress on "family" and "values" paired with a habitus of industrial aristocracy and certain marriage patterns are closely associated with the Bead family. In its traditionalist mode, BEAD constantly repeats the founding narrative of David Bead, telling the story of frontier masculinity, of the single pioneer who came to Landluft to find ideal ecological circumstances for his venture and thus settled to built an empire and establish a lineage (Connell 2005: 611f). His "true" vision is invoked in internal documents as well as the companies diverse homepages, in almost every press statement and in direct communication with its employees. In the figure of David Bead, central elements of the contemporary brand identity go together: the rootedness in Landluft; the responsible entrepreneurial family; economic success through innovation and the fascination with crystals (BEAD 2010a; BEAD 2010b). Also the corporate social responsibility programmes reflect the traditionalist configuration:

"Supporting employees and promoting the well-being of the community was extremely important to the company founder, (David Bead). The company carries on these traditions, remaining true to its policy of corporate social responsibility, one that is clearly apparent in its social responsibility programmes such as profit sharing, corporate pensions, housing projects and other voluntary benefits for its employees." (BEAD 2010e).

This engagement resembles the ways of 19th century corporate philanthropy which focused mainly on health, social security and housing projects for its own workers and employees, and further engaged in various charitable purposes within close proximity of its operational sites (Burchell 2008: 78; Fruin 1986: 187).

The other configuration which governs BEAD's operations is capitalist. Strongly embedded in capitalist commodity chains and capitalising on ever new markets, BEAD divides its operations and chooses its locations according to neoliberal considerations like, among others, taxation schemes and maintenance costs. The enourmeous investments in marketing and brand identity, compared to similar companies, reflect the central role of late-capitalist consumption schemes and material culture to the company (Miller 1995: 150f; Miller 1997). The capitalist way of corporate social responsibility programmes is resembled by the environmental projects of BEAD, dealing with environmental impact of operations and technological solutions for environmental problems:

"The company has always strived to live in harmony with nature and to give back to it more than what it takes. (BEAD's) success in research and development has made it possible to develop and realise pioneering technologies that significantly contribute to the protection of the environment. In addition, the company contributes to environmental protection projects, particularly those committed to the preservation and protection of water." (BEAD 2010e).

Both configurations of the company's brand and operations blend into each other in the high emphasis laid on marketing and branding activities. Through the strategical notion of the jewels as bearer of certain qualities, BEAD make its products ready for a certain kind of appropriation by its consumers. The actual circumstances of production and supply chains are hidden behind the fetish of the crystal. In recent years, the jewellery branch of BEAD got into economical pressure as its main product, the specially cut and grinded glass beads, were copied and sold to a much cheaper price by competing companies. The actors of BEAD saw the cooperation as a welcome possibility to blend a philanthropic cause with the goal of selling products and enriching them with unique qualities:

" The ... pieces would be enriched with a new sense: the collector does not only please himself visually by our sparkling products, but does also contribute in a valuable and sustainable way to the well being of children in need. The blaze of his collector's pieces symbolises from then on also the blaze of children's eyes." (Concept Paper Crystal Ray of Joy, 21.6.2006: 2, *translation by author*)

Chronology of the Cooperations

After a broad overview about the organisations in my field, the following chapter dives into the events during my fieldwork that stretched temporally from late 2005 to early 2010 and spatially from Vienna to Tyrol to Eastern Ethiopia and was concerned mainly with the cooperative project of HELP Austria and BEAD.

The chronology of events happened in three phases: the starting phase that was marked by establishing contacts between the diverse actors, negotiating and designing the cooperation. This phase ended with the jewellery design workshop held in Ethiopia in September 2007

where the main actors of HELP Austria and BEAD met in Ethiopia with the participants of the workshop. This second phase of the workshop was of crucial importance to the preceding as well as following phase. In the realisation phase, one design from the workshop was chosen, processed and appropriated for sale. The realisation phase finally ended with a donation of EUR 20.000 given by BEAD in early 2010.

Starting Phase: Establishing Contact and Planning the Cooperation

The six meetings that were held as central hubs of the cooperation between September 2005 and October 2008 all took place in the headquarters of BEAD, Landluft or Kirach.

The first direct partnering organisation of HELP was BEAD Optics, the branch manufacturing optical instruments. It is led by Mag. Adele Temper-Bead who was elected as chairwoman of its board in 2006. In the first meeting between BEAD Optics and HELP Austria, Livia Lank and I met Mag. Sandra Culham in September 2005 in the headquarter of the optical branch of BEAD in Kirach. Culham was a close employee of Temper-Bead and authorised to negotiate with HELP about a possible cooperation. Her office was located on the executive floor, characterised by dark wood and black stone furniture, transparent glass tables and a window front revealing the mountains surrounding the Landluft and Kirach area.

After having received various information brochures and dossiers about HELP and the development work in Ethiopia, Adele Temper-Bead announced that BEAD would make a donation of 100.000 - 150.000 Euro, available for supporting girls' education programmes in Ethiopia and that she was open to think about using her retail system to generate donations for HELP.

As HELP was heavily investing into educational programmes and buildings in Ethiopia, Livia Lank suggested to use the money to fund a lower primary school in the North Showa Zone, about 100km North-North-West from Addis Abeba, in a HELP project region financed by HELP Austria. The school would host several hundreds of students in two blocks of class rooms, one office block, one teacher residence block and sanitary facilities, the costs being estimated at 150.000 Euro. Temper-Bead accepted to use her donation to built this "BEAD school". It was planned that Temper-Bead would visit "her" school, but ultimately the visit cancelled because of scheduling difficulties. In April 2006, three friends of Temper-Bead visited Ethiopia and Temper-Bead wanted them to visit the school and other projects in place of her. Shortly after their visit, Livia received an enthusiastic mail from Culham, stating that Temper-Beads friends were "greatly impressed and enthusiastic. Their praise has only further

confirmed our impression of HELP" (eMail Sandra Culham to Livia Lank, 10.5.2006, *translation by author*).

Soon afterwards, Temper-Bead invited Livia and me to talks about a possible intensification of the relations between BEAD and HELP in a joint fundraising collaboration. To summarise the talks, a joint design workshop should be held in Ethiopia during which girls should learn jewellery beading techniques and hand in workpieces. Back in Austria, a jury of BEAD designers should judge a winning design which would be produced and sold, and all revenues donated to HELP Austria.

Three scenarios were discussed what the winning designer should get as price were discussed:

1) an education in Austria

2) money or similar compensation for the design

3) as the participants should design the product for other people in need, they should not receive any compensation but "donate" the creative work done on the design because they had already received support from HELP.

In the talks, a possible the remuneration of all participants was also touched upon. There were mainly two arguments: that they should at least get some kind of allowance for their creative work done in the workshop (BEAD) or that the participants take part in an income generating workshop that is in itself a donation and as participants should be selected among those already supported by HELP, it would be a chance for a kind of repayment of received support to help in supporting others (HELP).

On June 21st 2006 Culham send an e-mail to Lank and me, informing about the first bank-transfer of EUR 50.000 to HELP and attaching a preliminary concept about the possible fundraising collaboration which they named "Crystal Ray of Joy".

Some passages are of great interest for my research questions:

"Africa's creative spirit - expressed in our crystal's light of joy - for the good of the children."; "In the sense of our company's founder, we want to support present and future generations with sincerity and the means available to us. What do the crystals of (BEAD) and the joy in the hearts of the children have in common? The light! It is refracted in 1000 ways through our crystals. The light's reflection and the color of the rainbow bring joy and fascination. We bring joy to the hearts of the people. We are delighted to spark a light, bring joy and give children a chance in life!" (Concept Paper Crystal Ray of Joy, 21.6.2006: 1f; *translation by author*)

It states that, instead of "sober bank transactions", BEAD wants to help through its products and create a new product that brings together "the competence of (BEAD) and the creative spirit of Africa". The metaphor is clear and written out: "The light of our crystals brighten the dark continent Africa.". The internal document further adresses the need to engage with a

"competent, professional and trustworthy partner", all of which they see accomplished in HELP (Concept Paper Crystal Ray of Joy, 21.6.2006: 1; *translation by author*).

The paper emphasised the workshop as a good deed to the local girls: "The idea now is to organise a workshop with a designer, in which the girls would - for the first time in their life - have the possibility to independently design with beautiful raw materials." (Concept Paper Crystal Ray of Joy, 21.6.2006: 2; *translation by author*). Another crucial point brought forward by Livia Lank found resemblance in the concept: "Young people in Ethiopia campaign - with the help of BEAD - for other young people in their country to get the chance of an education and thus, a better life." (Concept Paper Crystal Ray of Joy, 21.6.2006: 2; *translation by author*). For her, the workshop in Ethiopia was intended to adress accusals of patronage and fostering dependency by development and so called "North-South cooperations" - in taking the recipient population into the fundraising cycle. In an informal meeting she said it this way:

"People in Ethiopia have the skills and the ideas and everything, but they lack the channels we have. They are no different than other people but they lack on infrastructure and market possibilities. With the help of (BEAD), we can provide the means for creating incomes almost by themselves. By designing the product, the girls that received support from (HELP) can themselves make fundraising for their fellows and so create possibilities for other girls too!" (Livia Lank, *personal communication, 30.8.2007* Vienna*; translation by author*).

After the initial meeting and BEAD's concept, both HELP and BEAD discussed the idea for the collaboration internally. Livia and I discussed the project mainly with Eyerus Wagner, who was enthusiastic about it and requested to get information about the further proceedings and also internally supported the idea. In discussing the collaboration concept with the management of the project coordination office in Addis Abeba, the support of Eyerus Wagner helped in convincing the management about the benefits of the project. Their main objections were the increased workload that the workshop would bring without knowing the benefits, and what they called the unpractical nature of the knowledge that would be passed to the participants, as jewellery making differed from the usual workshops of HELP that mainly included tailoring, HIV/ AIDS prevention, pottery, weaving, and other development assistance trainings.

Eyerus was actively engaged in finding suitable places for conducting the workshop. In the end of August 2006 she called the director of a student hostel built by HELP in Eliba, Oromia state, to introduce the project and ask for feedback as well as asking if the Eliba student hostel would host such a workshop. The director was excited, as Eyerus Wagner told me, and suggested the workshop should be held in September 2007, when school started, and sent some questions for clearance about who should attend the workshop, what the general idea

was and what the schedule would be (Eyerus Wagner, *personal communication*, 30.8.2006, Salzburg).

With BEAD, the concept and idea was also discussed internally. On the second meeting in Adele Temper-Beads office on January 31st 2007, she told Livia Lank and me about meeting two of her cousins, active BEAD board members. They were greatly interested, she recalled, but pointed to a problematic which could block its approval in the board. BEAD maintained a private foundation that administered the company's "corporate social responsibility" (CSR) projects. The foundation earmarks its funds for activities related to water, bioconservation and the protection of animals, whereas HELP wanted to fund development activities related to women and girls. The future fundraising cooperation would be, she made clear, established between the crystal branch of BEAD (not optics, where Temper-Bead was the chairwoman of the board) and had to have any connection to the foundation's areas of funding. In a short brainstorming, Livia Lank provided the linkage. She argumented for funding girls' educational programmes and linked them to the organisation's water projects: "Girls in Ethiopia often have to walk hours to fetch water from polluted water holes, as fetching water is girls' labour in Ethiopia. Our experience is that if a school is built in an area that has insufficient water supply, girls don't go to school because after walking long hours for the water, then bringing it back needs such a long time that school or education is not possible." (Livia Lank in Meeting 12.4.2007, Landluft; *translation by author*). Temper-Bead accepted and asked for a written statement on the interrelations between water infrastructure and girls' schooling in Ethiopia to discuss with Aaron Smith-Bead, her cousin and speaker of the board of BEAD crystal, who would from then on be the head of the BEAD organisation HELP would cooperate with. It also became clear in this meeting that the funds for the school that was considered "the BEAD school" were given by Adele Temper-Bead privately.

After the meeting between Temper-Bead and Smith-Bead on February 5th 2007, the collaboration was approved by BEAD and initiated on a meeting in Landluft hosted by Sandra Culham, who introduced Dr. Lilian Thompson, the new segment manager of BEAD Crystal Do It Yourself Segment, a newly introduced product field that featured jewelleries and kits of jewelleries for the consumer to self-assemble. Lilian Thompson holds a Ph.D. in political science and was working for BEAD for some years when she was announced the new segment manager. Lilian was from then on the direct contact person for me and the BEAD actor that was most involved with the operative side of the collaboration. Julia Mendez, an employee of BEAD crystal who was also dealing with the operative side of the cooperation, was also attending the meeting. From HELP Austria, Livia Lank and me took part.

In this third meeting, the design workshop in Ethiopia was fixed and BEAD and HELP Austria negotiated the roles and division of labour for the project. BEAD would pay for all costs that the workshop would cause, from sending the beads and tools to Ethiopia to the accomodation of its employees there. HELP would provide the local infrastructure, cars with drivers, the workshop venues and logistics. BEAD would pay and bring along the professional fashion photographer Ian Rangley who would photograph the workshop and provide the photos for product PR brochures, homepages and a documentation of the happenings.

In the next meeting on June 13th 2007 in Landluft, Lilian Thompson introduced the designer Karin Peacock - "the best designer BEAD has" - who would lead the workshop.

Livia Lank and I were attending the meeting for HELP and introduced Michael Todd who had joined HELP shortly before the meeting. He was a former logistics officer with the Red Cross and should supervise the shipping procedures of the materials for the workshop. On that meeting, further details were discussed to jointly formulate an agenda that would be sent to HELP in Addis Abeba to coordinate the arrangements for the workshop. It was suggested by HELP that the workshop team, now consisting of Lilian Thompson, Karin Peacock, Ian Rangley, Livia Lank and me should be accommodated in HELP's vocational training center in Rarah, one hour ride from Eliba, as it was considered safer and more comfortable for the guests by Livia Lank.

It was further discussed that participants should be no more that fifteen girls between fourteen and eighteen years old and gifted in drawing and handicraft. The age group was chosen for being coherent with the goal of raising funds for girls' education, as fears were that younger girls would be associated with child labour and older ones as being inconsistent with asking for donating to girls' education. Experience with handicraft or design was asked for by Karin Peacock to make the workshop more productive.

Out of personal choice and considerations of size and cost of the product, all meeting participants agreed that a necklace would make a good fundraising product. As BEAD's products range from upper midrange to luxury prices, HELP feared a negative reputation with consumers if the product was identified with luxury products, suggesting to keep the price for the product at a low level.

During the meeting, the schedule for the workshop was outlined. It should take place from Monday to Friday from 9am-12am and 1pm-5pm, interrupted by an hour lunch break. On the first day, Sep. 17th 2007, after a general introduction into the project, important techniques and materials should be introduced by Peacock, the second day devoted to finding and

choosing a design for the final workpiece, while the other days were scheduled for working on the final workpiece which should be handed in on the fifth day, Friday, 21st of September. For two half-days during the workshop, HELP would organise trips to show Lilian Thompson around its project sites. A detailed procedure for the time after the workshop was not found nor intended and left open by all meeting participants as it would depend on the success of the workshop, and the workpieces handed in at the end. After this fourth meeting, Livia sent the summary as an agenda to the management of HELP in Addis Abeba to discuss and forward to the project staff in Eliba.

The following weeks after the fourth meeting were filled with arrangements for the workshop, HELP Addis Abeba assigned Teffera Waquiimi, a PR officer of the Addis Abeba, himself being ethnically Oromo and able to translate Amharic and Oromo languages fluently. Amharic, Oromo and to a lesser extent Somali were the languages being mostly spoken in the area that was also ethnically mixed, Oromo being the biggest ethnic group, and to approximately the same extent Amharic and Somali languages as well as ethnic groups (Teffera Waquiimi, *personal communication*, 17.9.2007, Eliba).

On July 31st 2007, the last meeting between BEAD and HELP was held before the workshop. In Landluft, Lilian Thompson, Karin Peacock and Julia Mendez met with Livia Lank and Michael Todd to discuss the final matters relating to the logistics and schedule of the workshop in detail. It was the only meeting between HELP and BEAD I was not able to participate in. Possibilities for advertising the product were discussed and finally, the concept of my thesis was introduced to those present. According to Lank's account of the meeting, they were showing interest and were generally positive about the academic involvement with the cooperation. The request was passed on to Temper-Bead to approve of the allowance to use BEAD's name in the publication. As stated above, I chose to anonymise both the actors, individual as well as institutional, and locations of the collaboration in retrospect.

 On August 21st and 22nd, the two shipments with an overall weight of 124kg of tools, beads, sketch blocks, pencils etc. were collected from BEAD via DHL courier service and sent to Addis Abeba.

After the last arrangements for the travel and workshop, Livia Thompson, Karin Peacock, Livia Lank and me arrived on September 15th in Addis Abeba.

On a common breakfast the next day, we switched to first-name basis and exchanged travel experiences as well as went through the schedule again. On the same day we went by plane to Dire Dawa, from where a one and a half hour car drive brought us to Rarah.

After arriving at the guesthouse, built for visiting donors, employees from Europe or the families of the management, we had dinner. For the first time, a possible failure of the project was talked about. To Lilian and Karin, failure meant not bringing interesting workpieces back to Europe. Pressure and high expectations weighed on them as several members of the board of BEAD were following the course of events and expecting results from the project which brought along more workload, expenditures on arrangements, travels and materials and more uncertainty than other design projects BEAD engaged in. The main source of uncertainty was the workshop situation and the participants. At this time, nobody from BEAD or HELP Austria knew who would take part in the workshop, how gifted they were in designing and how the whole thing would work out. Doubts were raised about the commensurability of our and their ideas about creativity and design. As only the first day of the workshop would bring along answers, everybody went to sleep early on this day.

The Workshop

Before focusing on the workshop days as the most intense fieldwork setting, I will shortly present an overview on the participants of the workshop.

The Participants

The nineteen participants in the workshop were between fifteen and twenty-five years old, four of them male. While three of the participants were born in Eliba town, the location of the workshop, and eleven in Oromia state, the others come from regions more far afield. They migrated to Eliba to live with relatives or fled from family conflicts. Seven of the participants were either half or full orphans. Seven had never worked with jewellery or handicraft at all while three had some experience. The only participant with extensive experience in crafts was twenty-five year old tailor Dabir Berhanu.

The ethnic, religious and language background of the participants was far from being clear cut or easy to determine. In the interviews conducted with the participants, the complex language and ethnic constellation of this area in Oromia state was mirrored. Ethiopia is administered through federal states that are mainly governed through a principle of ethno-regional federalism, thus granting some autonomy to the federal states that are thought to resemble their ethnic composition. In Oromia state, the state of the ethnic group of the Oromos, Oromo language is predominant, but Amharic and Somali languages being almost equally widespread. Of the nineteen participants, six did not want to comment on their ethnic affiliations, while seven declared themselves Oromos, four Amharas and two said they are of

mixed origin, one of them, Kenedy Ahmed said "In blood, I am Somali but the place where I was born and grown up.. the culture all that I have is Oromo" (Interview Kenedy Ahmed 18.9.2007 Eliba). According to Teffera, referring to himself as of Oromo origin, three of those declaring themselves Oromo told him during the workshop week that they are Somalis. When he asked them why they had told me otherwise, they shrugged their shoulders.

Another structuring difference in the group of participants was religion. Ten of the participants declared themselves christians, protestant and ethiopian-orthodox, seven muslims and two did not comment on their religion. Religion seemed to be a more important marker of identity than ethnic group, as in various interviews, several of the christian participants drew or designed crosses and stated that it is important to show ones religion, e.g. Hadira Getu

"As a Christian I draw this cross. Most of the time we christians are known for these cross-necklaces, it could be from gold, diamond, other glass-made jewellery so we put this necklace on that has the cross on it. It is a bit different from other crosses you might have experienced. This is an Ethiopian Cross. As a Christian I should just somehow show to the people what Christianity looks like." (Interview Hadira Getu 18.9.2007 Eliba).

On Thursday, the fourth workshop day, seven of the christian participants sang christian songs for some two hours. The muslim participants were all from rural areas (while six out of ten christian participants came from towns), the girls wearing headscarves and were generally more reserved, which Teffera associated with the celebration of Ramadan that was underway during the workshop week. In the sitting arrangement it was obvious that the participants grouped according to religion. The correlation of religion to ethnicity, birth region and sex showed only vague tendencies:

Name	Sex	Birth Region	Religion	Ethnicity
Tanrit Desta	f	Rural	Christian	Amhara/Oromo
Tenagne Yohannes	f	Rural	Christian	
Anna Desta	f	Rural	Christian	
Wunetwork Mengistu	f	Town	Christian	Oromo
Makeda Hagos	f	Town	Christian	Amhara
Afework Yonas	f	Town	Christian	Amhara
Makeda Demissie	f	Town	Christian	
Hadira Getu	f		Christian	
Dabir Berhanu	m	Town	Protestant	Oromo
Assefa Geteye	f	Town	Protestant	Amhara
Kenedy Ahmed	f	Rural	Muslim	Somali/ Oromo
Abeba Getachew	f	Rural	Muslim	Oromo
Asmara Abdulah	f	Rural	Muslim	Oromo
Abebech Mohamed	f	Rural	Muslim	Oromo
Bereket Mohamed	f	Rural	Muslim	Oromo
Ayana Hussein	f	Rural	Muslim	Oromo
Mohamed Dabir	m		Muslim	
Bekele Geteye	m	Rural		Amhara
Michael Ahmed	m	Rural		

Illustration 1.1. Markers of Difference Workshop Participants

Chronology of the Workshop

First Day

The first day of the workshop began with breakfast in the guesthouse, and one hour ride to Eliba to the "Charles Wagner student hostel" where the workshop should be held. Some of the participants were already there when we arrived and started to fiddle with the boxes of materials sent to Eliba. When unpacking the shipments that were sent to Ethiopia and brought to Eliba by HELP, Karin discovered that something was missing from the shipments. It seemed that one box did not arrive. Throughout the day, Teffera was phoning Addis Abeba and talked to the people involved with getting the shipment from customs, checking the packaging lists and bringing them to the Addis office as well as driving them by car to Eliba. Karin and Lilian were trying to find out which box was missing but could not figure it out, Teffera also had to give in as it seemed that every box taken from customs did also arrive for the workshop as everybody dealing with the boxes had to check number and content of the boxes. The missing of the box was a constant source of discomfort for Karin and Lilian as it contributed to the general idea about Ethiopia as a corrupt country. For HELP's employees it was far from clear what had happened, they were reluctant to accept something was missing as Karin could not find out what and therefore took it as an outbreak of a latent and diffuse suspicion against them. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the box were not found out during the week or later.

When all nineteen participants were present, Livia and Teffera started introducing the workshop and the team. As this first day's introduction touches upon many of the already discussed points and those that would arise afterwards, I will cite a longer passage from the recording. Livia acted as a host both for the participants as well as for BEAD's staff and therefore held some introductory words about how the workshop came about, what will happen during the week and who the people are that planned and organised the workshop.

Livia told the participants:

"the training is not only for yourselves but to produce after the training and make money and to support your family, your people and your country too....
And they know what (BEAD) is? It is the leading company in the world for crystal glass jewels. This is all glass, colored glass. They are the main producers and main designers for glass jewels. And we have been working together for two years and we needed this time this idea. It is our common idea that we are here today. We are very happy that they all came. ... the first thing they did was they financed a school in Derra. Then we wanted to work together and the second step was that I went to their office and I showed them pieces from Rarah, pieces like this, and this, pieces I bought on my trips to Rarah. And I showed them.
And then (Ms Lilian) and (Ms Karin) were really astonished: "These are interesting pieces. We want to meet the people that designed these jewels!", that is why we are here today.
They want to meet you because they want to see how jewellery here is designed. They want the ideas that you have in your head and they want to participate in your fantasy, in your

creativity that all of us have. But we are here to share this idea with you in this week. This is why we are here in this week, to know how you think that a perfect necklace should look like. And the most beautiful pieces, we have to take away afterwards because they have to go to Austria and there, a famous photographer will make a shooting and then it is produced and it is going to be sold over the world. And the best pieces: we make a reproduction and we give it back to you. So really, we want to see what is in your head about jewels. And dont tell me you are not interested in it, every woman in this world likes necklaces. It is nice we are here to have an interesting week together, to play together and draw together and really: do what you feel and not what you think that we are expecting from you. Ok? ...

It is not only the first time for you that you make such a thing. It is also the first time for each of us - the first time for all of us. So we are also a bit nervous, but we are not shy. And we are going to see what we are going to create together. And don't forget: we are only here, all of us only here to be with you. With everybody sitting here. We made this enourmeous long trip only to be here with you and keep that in mind this week. And help us to make the best out of it, for all of us. And really don't forget: also for us it is the first time, it is a big experiment that we start here and I think in five days we will have a very good experience." (Livia Lank, First Introduction to the Workshop 18.9.2007 Eliba)

After discussing the time table and everydays working hours, Karin presented the tools and materials that would play a role in the training sessions. Teffera asked the participants, in which languages he should translate and it turned out that if he translated in both Amhara and Oromo language, everybody could follow.

For the different working steps that the participants should learn during the week, Karin and Lilian had brought along a differentiated set of tools, for which Teffera had to use auxiliary words for translating, e.g. for the various sets of pliers, which turned out to be a constant source of jokes during the workshop. Then, Karin started her first training session, stringing necklaces with BEAD's materials.

On the first day, simple necklaces and bracelets were produced, mainly consisting of a single line of beads stringed up on threads. After the workshop and preparations for the next days workshop, Lilian, Karin, Livia and me drove back to Rarah for dinner and were then picked up by Dr. Clyde Kohn, HELP's chief project coordinator in the Addis Abeba office. Clyde, originally from Switzerland, had been living and working in Ethiopia for some twenty years with several organisations and knew Charles Wagner from the very early days of HELP. He is married to an Ethiopian with whom he is living in Addis Abeba but most of the time he is travelling through the project sites of HELP. He met us at our guesthouse and drove us to the Rarah brewery in the evening, where we met the Eliba management team and were later joined by photographer Ian Rangley who arrived on the same day.

Clyde and Livia were engaging in conversations about the progress in various project regions and thematic areas while the others were, tired from the day, making small talk, only Ian being active and talkative. He just arrived from a landscape and documentary photography

assignment in Ecuador and eager to show his travel experiences. He was not collecting sympathy tokens on this first meeting with the other collaborative partners as he boasted with adventure stories, striking sweeping blows to everybody taking malaria prophylaxis and even tried to convince Clyde that Ethiopia has the most tender meat dishes. Especially Livia and Lilian, both holding Ph.D's and being female managing executives, did not laugh at his macho jokes. When everybody got tired, we drove back to our guesthouse in Rarah. On the way there, Ian decided to go out and took Teffera with him. Back at the compound, the atmosphere was loaded as Livia, Lilian and Karin felt disturbed by Ian's behavior at the brewery. As I shared my room with Ian, I noticed him coming back late after midnight.

The Second Day
On the second day of the workshop, Lilian, Livia and Ian were visiting HELP projects around the area of Eliba: a farming family who received assistance and some soil conservation areas where HELP is trying to prevent further soil erosion.

Karin, Teffera and me were staying with the workshop, Karin explaining in the morning that the workshop day was planned for drawing designs for the final workpiece. With lead and colored pencials as well as felt pens, the participants should conceptualise drafts for the next days' work on the final piece. As inspiration, Karin brought along workbooks featuring designs from Russia and Brasil (as these countries were the last BEAD workbook's focus). As this morning was generally more calm, I had the chance to interview six of the participants, and go on with observations. For the interviews, Teffera and I went outside the hostel and conducted the interviews on the hostel's patio. Teffera was eager for playing a part in conducting them because, as he said, it reminded him of his time as a journalist.

In between the interviews, Asmara Abdullah engaged in a discussion with Teffera after which he left the workshop room, waiting for me to join him. When I followed, he told me that Asmara and another girl was asking him if they could, after the workshop, found a "club" whose members can live off of jewellery production. They said they liked the workshop very much but are afraid to forget what they learned if they don't get the chance to apply this knowledge. The beads locally available were, according to Asmara, too small for the techniques of beading conveyed in the workshop. Teffera explained to me that "normally", trainings and workshops of HELP aim at conveying easily applicable knowledge intending to better the quality of life of the trainees. The people knowing HELP's trainings are used to this practical component and therefore, some of the participants think about various ways for generating an income to make a living out of what they have learned. He said that the two girls had asked for possibilities to import the beads used in the workshop, in order to

guarantee a constant inflow of raw materials that would help them to earn a living by producing jewellery. Teffera said that he did not know if that was possible and again explained the general idea about the participants designing the workpiece to support other girls in need (Teffera Waqimii, *personal communication* 18.9.2007, Eliba).

The drawings the participants made during the morning session were inspired by various sources, which I tried to figure out in the interviews. As the participants were asked to do "traditional" designs or designs "from the region", almost all said they used local (Oromo) culture as inspiration. Bekele Tesfaye designed a traditional Oromo container for milk or butter, Wunetwork Mengistu drew a cow's necklace with special meaning in Oromo festivities. Several of the designs made were inspired by television programmes about the ethnic groups of Ethiopia, some had a Christian component, featuring pendants in the shape of crosses, and some were designed according to individual taste.

For the lunch break, Karin, Teffera and me went to HELP's local office where a small restaurant was located which catered for employees and guests of HELP. Most of the participants stayed on the premises of the student hostel during lunch break, only few went somewhere to have lunch themselves.

While walking to the compound, I told Karin about the girls asking for possibilities to import the beads as I thought she would take it as a good sign that they were so interested and enthusiastic about jewellery production. But Karin was not pleased at all, and after she told Lilian during lunch, both were angry as they felt the participants showed a lack of gratitude and an attitude of wanting more and more. Livia and me tried to calm the argument down as the girls had not asked for unlimited donations, but for a way of importing and thus paying for the beads, in order to being able to make a living without being dependend on HELP or other organisations. Indeed, the amount of beads taken along for the workshop was great, the shipments having an overall weight of 124kg of which most was beads for the workshop and as donation to the participants as well as the student hostel. But still, it would not last for a sustained income by the participants, especially when taking into account that the local exchange value for the beads was low compared to the price they achieved in Europe. We decided to think about possibilities to import and rethink the production chain of the product in order to think through various options that would include income generation possibilites for the participants.

During lunch, Livia asked me if I could join Lilian, Ian and her in the afternoon for visiting development projects. Karin expressed her frustration about the huge workload the workshop meant for her and that nobody seemed to show empathy for her or thought about her wanting

to see the development projects too. In this situation, the hierarchical relation between Lilian and Karin became openly visible for the first time as Lilian told Karin to stop complaining and stick with what she is paid for. After that, Karin and Teffera left for the student hostel for the afternoon session, further drawing and learning techniques for creating earrings from the beads. Livia, Ian and I went to see hand dug wells, tanks for collecting rain water and other projects related to water preparation or conservation. When we all together met again in the evening on the premises of the technical training, we were taken on a tour through the vocational center by the department heads of the occupational fields (automotive, engineering, ...). After the tour, the planned visit to the Rarah brewery and Rarah's famous "hyena man" was cancelled as everybody was tired.

The Third Day
On Wednesday, only a morning session was scheduled as Teffera had planned an afternoon visit to Rarah for the guests. In the morning, Karin introduced the third day's goal - acquiring skills to bead rings. Ian was with the workshop for the first time, taking pictures of the participants while they were working on the design. He also took them outside to take pictures with the jewellery they had already finished in a variety of poses. On Wednesday, it became obvious and noticed independently by Teffera, Karin and me that the participants were dressing up more and more. Some had buttered their hair, which is usually done to beautify for festivities (Livia Lank and Teffera Waqimii, *personal communication*, 19.9.2007, Eliba), some wore high heels and spangled clothing in bright colors.

After lunch break, Lilian, Karin, Livia, Teffera and me drove to Rarah town for sightseeing and to visit shops for local jewellery and beads. Rarah is well renowned for its jewelleries made out of beads, which was one of the reasons why the area around Rarah was picked as site for the workshop. There, we talked with merchants and shops selling jewellery about the beads locally available.

The local jewellery is made with either very small beads of a diameter of about two millimeters or with larger ones which started from about two centimeters. In comparison to the beads available in Rarah, the beads brought along by BEAD were an estimated average of five millimeter, with larger and smaller ones of special designs or forms. After visiting some of the city's sights, we headed to the so-called "hyena man" who provides us with his gruesome show of feeding hyenas as tourist attraction. At night, we met Clyde at the Rarah brewery again, and spending the rest of the evening with small talk and beer.

The Fourth Day

On the fourth and last but one day of the workshop, Karin planned that the participants should start applying the learned techniques and preparing designs to begin with their final workpiece, giving directions about the workpiece: "For us its important to have something Ethiopian style with Ethiopian style or color or something that is traditional for this area." (Karin Peacock, Introduction to the fourth workshop day, 20.9.2007, Eliba). Some questions arouse with the participants: Assefa Geteye asked about the tools and equipment brought along by BEAD: "When we are going to finish our training then are you going to leave these equipments and some beads with us or simply you trained us and then taking the models away and that is all?" (Assefa Geteye, Introduction to the fourth workshop day, 20.9.2007, Eliba), which sparked confusion among Lilian, Karin and me (Livia was away holding talks with the project management) as we did not know what we had agreed upon before, either that the equipment should stay with the student hostel or the participants, and decided to answer the question on Friday. Dabir Berhanu, the tailor from Eliba town, brought up the question again if there was any possibility for them to supply themselves with similar beads as those used in the workshop in order not to be dependent on HELP or BEAD for their subsistence. Several participants joined in, asking for possibilities to earn an income with jewellery. We announced that we would again discuss these question and asked the participants to collect information about the local beads, their availability and pricing, so that the question could be tackled the next day.

On this day, I could interview another six of the participants but their willingness was low as they wanted to loose as little time as possible to work on their final pieces and other jewellery they were doing. After the workshop, as we arrived in the guesthouse in Rarah, we discussed hours about possibilities of providing the participants with beads and materials for them to buy at a low price, manufacture jewellery and then sell for making a living. The outcome: there was little possibility of providing supply for the participants that would make them more independent. Among Lilian, Karin, Livia, Teffera and me, there was ongoing involvement with the question during the next days and back in Europe.

The Fifth Day

Friday, the last day of the workshop, was mainly devoted to designing the final workpieces and finishing other pieces that were started earlier. On this last day, I wanted to conduct as many interviews as possible but again, it was very difficult to interrupt participants from working on their final pieces. When Livia announced that our lunch break would be from

12.30 to 2.30pm, Dabir and others protested with the argument that lunch break was scheduled to last only until 2pm and that they would need the time to finish their workpieces and prepare a surprise for Livia, Lilian, Karin, Ian, Teffera and me.

When every workpiece was finished with heavy collaborative work between the participants, Lilian, Karin, Livia, Teffera and me went on lunch break. When we came back at 2pm, the participants had already prepared a coffee ceremony. Some dressed in white folklore costumes, they brewed coffee in a traditional way, handed popcorn and a festive bread, traditionally baked for special occasions. They had organised that every participant brought something along and explained the meanings and sequence of the ceremony for us. Unfortunately, the muslim participants did not eat nor drink during the ceremony because of Ramadan and were rather passive in the ceremony.

Livia and I had brought along chocolate bonbons and Livia explained that in Vienna, people love going to coffee houses and that they take their coffee with a bonbon of chocolate, which raised laughter among the girls and boys. They took the chocolate bonbons to keep them for another occasion. During the ceremony, many of the participants stood up and held speeches of thanks and remembrance of the days of the workshop.

After the ceremony and long and tearful good byes, we drove off to visit the homes of Abeba Getachew and Assefa Geteye. The intention behind these visits were on the one hand public relations purposes, as Lilian, Livia and me wanted the collaborative product to convey a sense of attachment to the designers, thus we needed photos and information about their living situation. The other cause was my continued insisting on needing further data for my thesis. Abeba and Assefa were chosen because Lilian and Karin considered their workpieces exceptional and very likely that their workpieces were chosen for the final product. Choosing them for the "home stories" made it even more likely that their pieces were chosen as there was more information on them and their living conditions as with the others.

Abeba, a muslim Oromo girl from a rural area around seven kilometers from Eliba, lived on a traditional compound of two "tukuls", round huts, made from a mixture of cow dung and clay and reinforced with wooden sticks, the roof slated with boughs. The larger of these tukuls belonged to Abeba's aunt, the other one was being used as a kitchen and to store farming equipment. Two other houses were on the compound, one made of stone and featured a corrugated iron roof, the other was an "Ilfing", meaning "small house", and built from clay and woods and was also roofed with corrugated iron. In the stone house Abeba's brother was living with his family, while the other was used for guests or relatives coming to visit the

compound. The premises were surrounded by her brother's field, where maize, sorghum and sweet potatoes were planted.

After Abeba's mother had died when she was around six years old, her father remarried but his new wife did not get along with her and so expelled her from the household. Then she came to live with her elder brother who supported her and helped her attending school. But as his four children also needed schooling equipment and his support, he could not support her alone. Abeba said that HELP found out about the situation and helped her with a monthly support of 150 Birr (equalling 11,6 Euro) to rent a small room in Eliba where she attends school, and to buy exercise books and other goods (Abeba Getachew at her home 21.9.2007; Interview Abeba Getachew 21.9.2007, Eliba).

As there was a dinner arranged with the project management of Eliba project and some managers from Addis Abeba office who were in Eliba project at that time and it was considered dangerous driving the Eliba - Rarah road at night, Teffera was pushing us to leave for Eliba town, where we would visit Assefa's place before we would drive to Rarah.

Assefa Geteye, fifteen years old and ethnically Amhara, was living with her mother Kokobe, who was well known throughout Eliba as well as in other places in Ethiopia, in a stone house in Eliba town. Kokobe is a HIV positive woman who openly talked about the virus at a time when this was considered a great taboo. She was invited by the national broadcasting company to act in television commercials, funded by various development organisations, to raise awareness about the dangers of HIV infections and the prevention of the virus. When we entered the house, Assefa was presenting her mother full of expectations: "Come on, you know her, I am sure, think again!", she said in fluent English. Kokobe, as a prominent person, was frequently taking part in HELP's activities against HIV/ AIDS or awareness campaigns about harmful tradition practices. She has two daughters and one son, one of the daughters attends school in Addis Abeba, the son was given for adoption and is now living in Spain, and Assefa who is going to school in Eliba. Assefa did not contract the virus from which her father had died some years ago.

The house had various rooms, but we were asked to stay in the living room which featured a PVC floor coating, a stuccoed ceiling, a TV set with video and DVD recorder prominently arranged. They had provided another coffee ceremony for us which we could not turn down even if we had to leave for the dinner invitation.

When we left Assefa's and Kokobe's house it was already dark and Teffera was nervous and angry about us delaying the trip to Rarah because of ongoing questions and photos with the girls and families. The HELP management had forbidden night drives in the area, as there

were frequent attacks from "shiftas", gangs attacking and robbing car convoys. However, we were not only driving in the dark but also driving in the dark late for the arrangement with HELP's local management.

Luckily, we arrived in Rarah well but about two hours late for the official invitation dinner with the project management. Some of the local staff and management had already left, Clyde, Eliba project manager Samuel Getachew, Alex Langley who had arrived from Addis Abeba and others were still there and soon forgot their anger and we spent the evening together in a restaurant in Rarah town.

On the next day, we left early for Addis Abeba, Lilian, Karin, Ian and me going by car as Livia had recommended the ten hour ride to us because of the great landscape. Herself having made the trip several times, Livia went by plane with Alex and Teffera to meet us in the evening in an Addis Abeba hotel.

Everybody was relieved and happy about the proceedings of the workshop and the workpieces, and there was no long gathering in the evening, we were having a drink in the hotel bar, but soon everybody left to pack or sleep. On Sunday morning, Ian, Lilian and Karin left for Austria and London, where Ian was living.

Livia and me stayed for another two weeks in Ethiopia, travelling with corporate donors and visiting HELP projects in the central highlands.

After the Workshop: Realisation

On September 27th, four days after their departure from Ethiopia, Livia and I received an eMail that Thompson and Peacock sent to Adele Temper-Bead, stating: "we have reached our goal to create designs for the charity diy (do-it-yourself) kit. eventually, the other design could be the base for other projects... the land, the development projects of (HELP) and above all the commitment of the teenagers during the workshop and their enthusiasm for crystal was enourmeous and impressed us" (eMail Lilian Thompson and Karin Peacock to Adele Temper-Bead, 27.9.2007; *translation by author*) and announced an internal presentation by Lilian and Karin to summarise the workshop to the executives and board members involved in the project. Some weeks later, on October 17th, Karin mailed me that she "needed approximately two days to get accostumed to the abundance we are living in. A very strange feeling!" (eMail Karin Peacock to Andreas Streinzer, 17.10.2007; *translation by author*) and during the next months and even years recalled at several times the great impression that the days in Ethiopia and the meeting of the workshop participants has had on her.

After their internal presentation of the results of the workshop on December 12th 2007, Lilian and Karin announced that the board was pleased with the outcomes and asked for a meeting with Lilian, Aaron Bead-Smith, Livia and me.

During December 2007, BEAD and HELP produced information texts and reports about the workshop and BEAD began announcing the cooperation in newsletters and diverse articles in BEAD's internal as well as magazines for business partners they published during December 2007 and the first half of 2008.

In April 2008, BEAD began asking their retailers in the USA and Austria how many of the kits they would order to gain oversight about the demand. In April 2008, Thompson asked for further information about one participant, the fifteen year old Abeba Getachew because they "want to introduce her in a brochure as a sort of ambassador and use her story as a sort of "translation", i.e. to explain why your work is important and what can be accomplished by donating by means of her story" (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 24.4.2008, *translation by author*). Shortly afterwards, Abeba's design was chosen by a jury of BEAD designers as the winning design. As BEAD feared her design would make a necklace to expensive for consumers to buy extensively, the product was changed. As the designer jury liked one part of the necklace best, BEAD let us know that a keyring would make a great, handy product with a price low enough to be sold in high numbers.
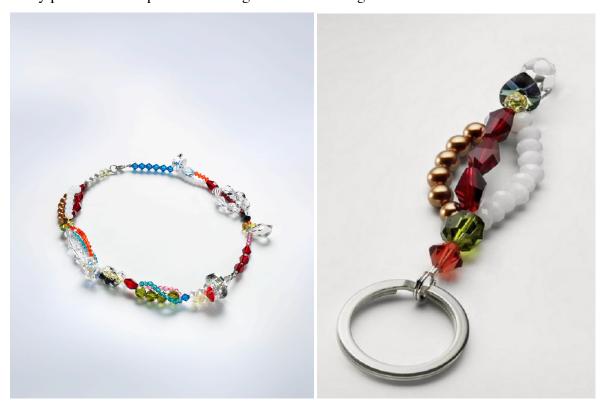

Photo 1: Original Workpiece by Abeba Getachew   Photo 2: Final Product as Keyring

On October 27th 2008 a meeting that brought together Aaron Smith-Bead, Lilian Thompson, Livia Lank and me was held in Landluft. Located in the office of Aaron-Smith Bead, where office walls were made from glass, adorned with dark wood bookshelves, the meeting room centering on a huge glass table. Lilian presented the ready dispensers with held thirty kits of the keyrings, information brochures and the final product to the participants. BEAD had set the price as twenty Euro for the kit, which had to be assembled by the costumers themselves, and twenty-five euro for the ready keyring. Livia and Aaron Bead-Smith arranged that 600 of the displays would be sent free of charge (their value deducted from the overall donation) to HELP in Vienna, to give away to business partners or high donors and to offer it to HELP's donors for a donation. Furthmore, it was arranged that in all cases, BEAD will donate around 25.000 Euro even if sales were low. BEAD would use the revenues on the product sale for covering their production and project costs, all that exceeds this sum will be further donated to fund HELP's education programmes.

On November 20th 2008, the final packaging of the product was finished and approved by HELP. In February 2009 Livia Thompson announced that sales would start in the US and retailers in Austria from June 2008.

In April, BEAD sent the materials for the manufacturing of the final product to their partner in India for wrapping. Lilian wrote in an e-Mail that the team working on the product was already in low spirits about the slow forthcomings with the product but now, they were fully enthusiastic again (eMail Livia Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 23.4.2009). Thompson was lucky to mention that she had successfully asked the cargo company for free shipment to India, as lower production costs would increase BEAD's donations to HELP.

In May 27th, I received a disappointed eMail of Thompson "Unluckily, I have bad news again, I just got the info that something in the production went wrong and it has to be remade. as soon as I know about the new timing, I'll inform you" (eMail Livia Thompson to Andreas Streinzer, 27.5.2009, *translation by author*).

In June 2009, the first displays with the final product were installed in shops in Austria and HELP received the 600 keyrings in August 2009.

In November 2009, one of the two CSR responsibles for BEAD, Lisa Bender, called me to talk about the sluggish sale numbers of the product, and announced that BEAD would transfer a donation of 20.000 Euro until the end of the year. Sale in the USA would start until the end of the year with them hoping that sale were better there. In January 2010, the 20.000 Euro donation was received by BEAD and I ended my research on the joint project, leaving HELP with the end of February 2010.

After providing a detailed account of the organisations collaborating, the individual actors involved in the collaboration and the chronology of events to give a sufficient background about my field, I now want to turn to the methodological questions that came up during my ethnographic study and then the methods used for gathering data.

METHODOLOGY

The Anthropology of Organisations

What are organisations? Borrowing the definition from Schwartzman: "... organizations are "formal" in the sense of having explicit tasks to accomplish and "informal" in the sense of the way members continually negotiate with one another in the interpretation and carrying out of such tasks." (Schwartzman 1993: vii). It can be added that "Organizations are many and various, but they all have explicit rules, a division of labour, and aims that involve acting on or changing everyday life." (Gellner and Hirsch 2001: 2). According to Gellner and Hirsch, organisations in this sense were almost absent from the traditional fields of anthropology (Gellner and Hirsch 2001: 3). But nevertheless, anthropology has engaged with formal organisations as a field of study since the 1930s when the famous Hawthorne studies brought ethnography to the workplaces of industrial organisations (Neyland 2008: 4; Gellner and Hirsch 2001: 3). These studies were conducted in the industrial Chicago of the 1930s, and involved anthropologists and their knowledge of social organisation. By way of participant observation in the factory, these anthropologists analysed the organisation of labour in industrial American of the interwar time. After the Hawthorne studies, anthropological engagement with organisations fell asleep (Schwartzman 1993: 2; Jordan 2003: 11) until the rise of "Culture" in the 1980s gave it a wake-up call when Deal and Kennedy's "Corporate Cultures" was published (Jordan 2003: 84). They gave a strong argument on the existence of organisations as cultures.

In the 1980s, "culture" became important both as a business buzzword and, in anthropology, because of the "Writing Culture" debate that began in the late 1970s and reached a peak with the publication of "Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Anthropology" (Clifford and Marcus 1986). In the edited volume, ethnography as a practice of describing culture, the culture of anthropological writing and the construction of culture by these practices were discussed and sent shockwaves to the discipline of anthropology, later labelled the crisis of representation. Meanwhile, in the business world, more and more companies got interested in knowing more about "Culture" and its business implications, owed partly to the *Zeitgeist* of

economic liberalisation and the 1980s style of economic globalisation and expansion, and being contrary to anthropology's turn away from traditional concepts of culture. But the new fields of "corporate culture" and "organisational culture" began to have an impact on the anthropology of organisations (Jordan 2003: 16). Pioneering in applied research, the Xerox Palo-Alto Research Centre (PARC) further developed anthropological engagement with organisations and business corporations (Neyland 2008: 4). Today studies of organisations have become a central field of anthropology with a wide array of research in various fields. The recent publication of the edited volume "Frontiers of Capital" where authors like George S. Marcus, Melissa S. Fisher, Saskia Sassen, Jean and John Comaroff and others reflect upon developments of financial globalisation and the institutional and organisational background of the recent financial crisis (Fisher and Downey 2006) gives a strong argument for the importance of the anthropology of organisations.

The anthropology of organisations is in various ways different than the engagement of other disciplines with the worlds of organisations. As in other fields of anthropology, the most significant specialty of anthropology lies in ethnography as a practice and product. Through participant observation, anthropologists try to get access to a viewpoint close to the interlocutors to learn about everyday practices from the inside out (Schwartzman 1993: 4). An ethnographer goes to the field instead of conducting laboratory behavioural experiments, and looks what people say and what they do, a major difference to questionaire based approaches of social analysis. Organisational ethnographers are sensitive for power relations and look for practices that structure practice in the organisation (Gellner and Hirsch 2001: 8). Through ethnography, anthropologists can study social and cultural fields where other disciplines lack access to, e.g. technology use at home or unusual environments like online organisations (Neyland 2008: 9).

As ethnography can be seen as privileged viewpoint to the everyday practice and experience of people, the question of how anthropological knowledge is used as had major importance especially in the second half of the 20th century. With debates about the use of anthropological knowledge in warfare, espionage and counterinsurgency, especially in the light of the Vietnam war, a code of ethics was brought forward by the American Anthropological Association in 1971 that forbid any professional anthropological studies which report solely to its sponsors and not to the general public (Jordan 2003: 14f), stopping a great number of organisational research projects in business and administration. Anthropology has, accidentally or not, predominantly focused on people with lower social statuses, muted groups and subalterns, and is at a certain unease with powerful institutions

(Gellner and Hirsch 2001: 1; Green 2006: 125; Jimenez 2007: xiii). In 1969, Laura Nader has called for anthropologists to begin "studying up", that is studying social contexts that involve people with a higher social status than the researchers' own. In 2007, Ulf Hannerz problematises Naders claim of "studying up" in asking what "up" could mean - local chiefs that rule over the territory one is researching? Cayman Islands political leaders? (Hannerz 2006: 27). He introduces the concepts of *studying sideways*, that is studying people of similar backgrounds and statuses as oneself (in his case, foreign correspondents) and *studying through* - meaning to study different statuses and their relation to each other. This approach would best fit my ethnographic fieldwork in the cooperative partnership between the institutional actors of my research.

As such, it can also be described as an institutional ethnography (Tucker 1996: 13). Escobar brought about the idea of institutional ethnographies as possibilities to use anthropological knowledge to further understanding about how practices of development come into being and are reinforced and connected to the lives of the people that encounter it:

"The purpose of institutional ethnography is to unpack the work of institutions and bureaucracies, to train ourselves to see what culturally we have been taught to overlook, namely, the participation of institutional practices in the making of the world. Institutional ethnography equips us to discern how we inevitably live and even produce ourselves within the conceptual and social spaces woven, as ever-so-fine spiderwebs, by the unglamorous but effective tasks that all types of institutions perform daily." (Escobar 1995: 113).

In the next sections, I will discuss the methods used for data gathering in my study.

During the cooperation, I collected data through participant observation in all but one meeting between the organisations in Austria and in the workshop in eastern Ethiopia, where I supplemented my observations with fourteen interviews with the participants. After leaving Ethiopia, Teffera Waqimii, HELP employee in Ethiopia and my main informant during the workshop conducted another five interviews with the remaining participants. In another trip to Ethiopia in 2009, I conducted two more interviews with employees of HELP Ethiopia. I furthermore collected hundreds of eMails, and several internal documents about the cooperation.

Methods

Participant Observation

The strength of anthropological fieldwork lies in the access it can provide to lived experiences (Amit 2000: 12). To reach the double goal of being able to look through the eyes of the researched and be a scientific researcher making sense out of it, anthropology has cultivated participant observation. As a researcher, I was not only present in my field of study as an observer, but I was also part of the activities of the subjects that made up my field.

At first, I had to apply a form of scepticism about the everyday practices I was then already used to perform as a member of the organisation. I tried not to take anything for granted and started to observe everything from the physical layout of the offices to the relations between the various actors in my field (Neyland 2008: 100). The creative tension that arouse out of this alienated stance and the obligation, as employee, to engage in reproducing discourses and modes of practices, provided a great instrument for collecting data (Neyland 2008: 16f; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 124f; Sridhar 2008: 101). Only as a participant in the collaboration, it was possible to observe in the official meetings between the organisations, and also the everyday of the collaboration, small remarks, telephone calls, conversations between Livia, me or others about the working process. At first, all sorts of questions popped up and I let myself follow them to make sense of my environment that I was about to experience in a new way through ethnography. In the first few months, questions popped up everywhere. Wherever I found a glimpse of an answer, complexity overrode it.

More and more, strategically separating times of observation with times of analysis got easier and I started to focus on questions I found increasingly crucial to the collaboration and thus was able to narrow observation to practices of exchange, creation of meaning and value, constructing moral capital and its transubstantiation through exchange and the creation and reproduction of relations and reciprocity.

My main field sites described above were also the main sites of participant observation:

The first and major field site was the Vienna headquarter of HELP where I spent most of my time "in the field" as a member of the organisation. My status as project assistant allowed me not only to take part in almost all relevant situations for the partnership (excluding holiday times asf.) but also to do a sort of "data triangulation" as I was also working in various other partnerships with business corporations. Other employees that were not closely associated to the cooperation with BEAD soon forgot about my involvement as a researcher. When reminded about it, they frequently referred to it as "Aha, the observation for your study paper.

Is it still not finished?" (Henry, *personal communication*, Vienna 14.12.2009; *translation by author*), treating it more like a homework to do than as a serious scientific study.

Secondly, I observed the meetings with BEAD, involving up to six people from BEAD in various constellations and mostly Livia and me from HELP. Six meetings took place in Landluft and Kirach. The meeting situation made it relatively easy to take down field notes as almost everybody was jotting notes. There were meetings were I was more of an employee and others were I could stay almost exclusively an observer, watching the architecture of the company's headquarter as well as the meeting rooms, how participants referred to each other in terms of space and seating arrangement, how they communicated verbally and non-verbally, the interplay between contents of discussions and aspects of relations between the co-workers. It must be taken into mind that, for BEAD actors, I was foremost an employee of HELP and thus an outsider to the actors of BEAD. My knowledge and observations about the working process with BEAD is therefore full of gaps between actual contacts with BEAD staff. I tried to sustain contact in phases where the work on the product was not actively pursued, but my data on BEAD did never reach the in-depth quality of the data collected in participant observation with HELP.

The third major site of observation was the design workshop in Ethiopia, which was by far the most intense time of participant observation. At times, I sat with the participants and performed the training exercises, but in almost all cases I was called to assist with the trainers. Another hurdle for gathering data from the participants were the language barriers. Only two girls could speak enough English for short conversations, every other conversation had to be translated by Teffera. As I could neither speak Amhara nor Oromo, Teffera helped me by continually summarising the conversations between the participants he considered interesting for my research. I chose not to rely on this data alone and supplemented the observations with interviews. My main core of data is made up of observational protocols in two forms: as fieldwork notes in one notebook and as a personal fieldwork diary in another to separate personal and anthropological accounts of the course of events. But as, not only with the workshop participants, not every setting or actions could be represented through the means of observation, I also gathered other forms of data to provide a balanced account of the situation under study and as a means to triangulate the data already gathered through observational research (Neyland 2008: 111; Flick 2006: 14).

Interviews

From September 18th to 21st, I interviewed fourteen of the nineteen workshop participants. Teffera translated during the interviews between English, Oromo and Amhara.

The interviews were designed to ask for biographical data as well as questions about the workshop, traditional material culture and jewellery. I chose the interviews to be conducted as semi-structured, with standard core questions for being able to compare the answers afterwards, and supplementary questions I used for being flexible enough to extend on some of the core issues (Silverman 2006: 110).

The core questions aimed at gaining insight into the personal circumstances of the participants, their ethnic and religious affiliations as well as family relations. Furthermore, the interviews included questions about their involvement with HELP and how they came to take part in the workshop. In addition, interviewees were asked about the role of jewellery and jewellery making in their everyday life, gender aspects of jewellery making and wearing and traditional designs known to them. In some interviews, additional questions supplemented observations made during the workshop (Neyland 2008: 113).

I recorded the interviews on Minidisc and transcribed them back in Vienna. As time was scarce during the days in Ethiopia, interviews proved to be the right tool to gather a sufficient amount of data in the short time available. As I was not able to conduct interviews with every participant during the workshop, the five remaining participants were interviewed by Teffera in the weeks after the workshop, using the same questions as in the interviews conducted together and recording them on audio tape.

Additionally, I conducted an expert interview with Clyde Kohn, the responsible project manager for the development projects in HELP Addis Abeba office, during a stay in Ethiopia in 2009 (Interview Clyde Kohn, 27.9.2007, Addis Abeba). The main topics were the HELP-BEAD collaboration from his point of view as project manager as well as about cooperations between NGOs and business corporations in general.

Other Methods of Data Collection

I collected three additional types of data: virtual and visual data as well as documents. An increasing amount of organisational activity is done online, especially via eMail and homepages. Over months, eMail and scattered phone calls were the only means of communication that took place between the collaborative partners of HELP and BEAD. I gathered hundreds of eMail related to the collaboration, which provided the most important set of data in the phases of no face-to-face contact between the actors of the collaboration.

Additionally, for marketing the product, homepages were set up which I will include as data as they are representations of the project and the roles of the partners in it.

My field was rich in visual data, especially photographies, being used for illustrating stories on homepages, for product packaging, brochures, direct mailings, photo essays in the corporate magazine and other ways. Especially the use of photography by the organisations provided an important role in translating the course of events during the workshop week in a marketable chronology and acted as a means of prolonging the *being there*, becoming a marker of "image as evidence" (Banks 2001: 37). The importance of these aspects of visual documents was reflected in BEAD paying fashion photographer Ian Rangley to fly first class from London to Eliba to cover the workshop and provide pictures for further use in marketing and promotion of the products.

Furthermore, a great number of documents was produced by the actors of the field. On the one hand I collected documents that were an inherent part *of* the collaboration, like protocols of meetings sent via eMail to all participants. These documents formed an integral part of the ongoing collaboration as the involved actors referred to them as the written manifestations of what was agreed upon verbally. Another form of documents I gathered were internal documents of HELP that were documents *about* the collaboration. These are meeting protocols dealing with the course of the collaborative efforts from HELP's perspective, and documentation about the trip to Ethiopia including the workshop. Unfortunately, I could not get internal documents from BEAD, except for freight papers about the worth of the materials sent for the workshop in Eliba (beads, tools, pencils asf.) (Documents "Shipping Details Lieferung 1" 21.8.2007: 1; "Shipping Details Lieferung 2" 22.8.2007: 1). Further documents collected are magazine articles about the collaboration, advertisements in newspapers and information letters sent to HELP's donors for information about the collaborative effort and promotion of the final product, personal travel accounts by BEADs workshop participants published in BEADs internal magazines and promotion of the final product in these magazines.

After having showed the methods of data gathering and the types of data I used in my ethnographical account of the events in my field, I regard it as important to mention issues of consent to my study and comment on anonymising the actors and organisations in my thesis.

Informed Consent and Anonymity

In a short section concluding the methodology chapter, I want to comment upon some major issues of ethics in my field, consent and anonymity.

Informed consent, the need to communicate one's research to the researched, was an important issue in my study. Broadly, three layers of informed consent could be found:

First, the executives and managers of HELP and BEAD were at all times informed about my research and granted written permission to do so (Research Permission HELP 5.2.2007, Vienna; Research Permission BEAD 5.2.2007, Vienna). Although they did not at all times know what I was doing or asking, this group consented most formally to my research. Secondly, the people involved in the operative side of the collaboration who knew about my research and gave their verbal consent. This group had the most contact with me as a researcher, providing information, answering questions or discussing about central topics of the collaboration.

The third group is made up of the workshop participants from the Eliba area in Ethiopia where consent took on a special form. HELP Ethiopia suggested that written contracts are of no special meaning in this area of Ethiopia and thus culturally inappropriate to get consent in written form. On September 19th 2007, before the jewellery design workshop in Eliba started, Teffera explained my research to the participants after introducing Livia, Lilian, Karin and me as those who provide the funds and precious materials for the workshop as well as for the development projects in Eliba area. In this situation, nobody objected to taking part in the study. I am fully aware of the circumstances of power in which consent was given. In writing up, I will consider these circumstances especially in anonymising the girls and boys with special care.

Although I was allowed to use the names of the organisations and the involved actors in my thesis, I chose to anonymise them after leaving HELP Austria in early 2010 without being asked to do so. When informing the organisations about this step, they reacted positively. The decision for anonymity reduced the possibility of harm to involved individuals and left me with more data to use, as I would have had to leave out some data in order not to conflict with the image or brand of the organisations. As making people and organisations fully unrecognisable would mean to manipulate the data about their features, statements and life situations, so I chose to anonymise only the names of the organisations and individuals without altering further data about them.

After having discussed several aspects of my methodological approach as well as the means of data gathering, I now want to present the theoretical background guiding my thesis.

THEORY

My research design did not involve research questions or theory from the beginning. From an early stage on, I was searching for a theoretical approach towards my field and thus began to occupy myself with theories in the anthropology of development, and especially the different viewpoints of anthropology on development like debates about pure vs. academic anthropological work.

In the post-workshop phase, I could not come to grips with certain elements of the collaboration: the value of goods and services given by both organisations were relatively high against what could be achieved in terms of donations or revenue. Furthermore, the money and effort put into collaborating was not in any way secured by contracts. Although none of the actors considered a defection of the other actors as probable, there was nevertheless no legal obligation to stick to what was agreed upon. So what was the bond that made so sure that everything would turn out fine?

Another open question was why the organisations took the effort of holding a workshop in Ethiopia? If the collaboration had had the goal of creating as much funds as possible for the development projects, why didn't BEAD Ethiopia collect jewellery pieces from Eliba and elsewhere for the designers of BEAD to adapt for the product. Such a variant was never discussed although it would have brought a presumably similar design at considerably lower costs.

Such were the questions that lead me, thanks to the advice of Dr. Herta Nöbauer, to theories of the gift. After three years in the field, the anthropological engagement with gifts turned out to be a revelation. Suddenly the course of events made anthropological sense. I mainly focused on two strands of anthropological gift theory: the classics from Mauss to Weiner and Godelier as well as on the involvement of scholars in the anthropology of development with gift theory. The HELP - BEAD partnership could not be entirely explained with gift theories as the cause for collaborating was outspokenly the creation of a commodity so I used literature on ethical consumption as a supplement to understand the complex boundaries of gifts and commodities within my field.

In the theory chapter, I want to first lay out a short history of anthropological engagement with development as I consider it important for tracking contemporary viewpoints on business-NGO collaborations and contextualise the process I was researching. After showing several approaches, I will present the approach I am going to use as theoretical backdrop for

my analysis. Then I will present cornerstones of anthropological theories on the gift, both classical works as well as the rich literature on gifts in development. Gift theory in general and in the special field of development is the main theoretical frame for my research questions. I will shortly summarise in a concluding section on what will guide my analysis.

Anthropological approaches towards development

The history of anthropological engagement with development can be summarised under three paradigms, from which a contemporary, actor-oriented approach can draw a number of insights. For sketching out the various anthropological approaches, I will use mainly the works of Ralph Grillo (Grillo 1997), David Mosse and David Lewis (Mosse and Lewis 2006; Lewis 2001) and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan (Sardan 2005).

There is a widespread notion that approaches should be divided into such that follow an "anthropology *for* development" against an "anthropology *of* development" approach. Only recently a third version came up: "anthropology through development", an inverted version claiming anthropology can learn a lot from practitioners of development (Pollard and Street 2010: 1; Campregher 2010: 3f).

Escobar characterise the knowledge production of anthropologists *for* development as attached to a development rationality, being "overly optimistic and unproblematic" about development (Escobar 1991: 671). "Anthropologists of development" are defined in contrast as being not institutionally connected to development, working on revealing the discoursive and historically specific nature of development, which they see as rooted in colonialist political economy and stressing the massive differences of development aims and outcomes (Escobar 1991: 676, 677; Escobar 1992: 21; Crewe and Harrison 1998: 16). Maia Green has been noted that this dichotomy is missing the point: development is not to anthropology what applied is to academic research (Green 2006: 116). This dichotomy roots on an unrealistic notion about the boundaries of anthropological knowledge (Green 2006: 119). Crewe and Harrison further elaborate on this point:

"Anthropologists of development *hope* to stand outside and comment on the discourses and practices of the 'machine' (Ferguson 1990), usually as analysts rather than developers. There are some anthropologists, of course, who swing from one role to the other at different times or in different contexts." (Crewe and Harrison 1998: 16, *my emphasis*).

Mosse and Lewis bring forward a more useful structuring of anthropological approaches to development into being intrumental, populist and deconstructivist (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 2). For argumenting my way towards the approach I am using in my thesis, I will now shortly present these approaches.

Instrumental Approaches

From the early days of development and NGOs, anthropologists have worked for or in development institutions (Green 2006: 117), at first as regional experts in NGOs but increasingly taking on key roles in NGOs and development institutions as managers and administrators. This partly led to development knowledge being "anthropologised" by concepts such as "social capital" or "empowerment", not only with civil society organisations but also with large transnational actors such as the World Bank (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 3). Dissatisfaction with this form of engagement led more radical anthropologists to fall into the dichotomy described above, collapsing instrumental approaches into applied or "development anthropology".

Ideological and Populist Approaches

Mosse and Lewis' second cohort of anthropologists in and around development were also active actors in development, but outside the development mainstream, longing for "alternative development". Critical towards large scale and state actors and their growing hegemony in development, alternative development seemed a solution. They demanded priority to be given to "indigenous knowledge" and "local capabilities", defined against western and scientific knowledge. Today, these approaches still account for the core concepts of grassroots organisations but are increasingly used not only at the grassroots but also on the treetops: the World Bank, IMF and similarly powerful actors have taken up the rhetoric of alternative development. For Mosse and Lewis, the reliance on an "unqualified valuation of indigenous knowledge and community tradition" (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 3; c.f. Olivier de Sardan 2005: 9) made these aproaches ideologically populist. Furthermore, the dichotomisation of indigenous and western/ scientific knowledge (often in singular) "contributes to the essentialisation of what anthropologists think anthropologists do, can, or should do, which seems to hinge on an obligation to represent the interests of fieldwork populations, as if these were unitary and unproblematic." (Green 2006: 118).

Critical and Deconstructive Approaches

The third cluster of anthropological engagement is influenced by Foucault and poststructuralism and frames development "... as a historically specific discourse of power of the West over the 'developing' world." (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 4). Development for these scholars is too much a part of the contemporary political economy, so alternatives *to* development are needed instead of trying to advance what is by definition flawed: "Development was - and continues to be for the most part - a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated peoples and cultures as abstracts concepts, statistical

figures to be moved up and down in the charts of 'progress'." (Escobar 1995: 44). Contemporary anthropological understanding of development as being made up of discursive relations owes much to critical and deconstructive approaches. Arturo Escobar has mainstreamed a discursive approach concerned "how the 'Third World' has been produced by the discourse and practices of development since their inception in the early post-World War II period" (Escobar 1995: 4; c.f. Grillo 1997: 12). Mark Hobart has shown how the difference between 'local' and 'scientific' knowledge systems has been a blind spot in development, leading to a growing ignorance of development (anthropologists) towards their subjects (Hobart 1993: xi). James Ferguson has, by way of an institutional ethnography of World Bank projects in Lesotho, has "... that the institutionalised production of certain kinds of ideas about Lesotho has important effects" (Ferguson 1994: xv). Framing development as a "dominant problematic" and as "interpretative grid" (Grillo 1997: 16), he argues that what he calls the "development apparatus" in Lesotho is not intended to eliminate poverty through the means of state bureaucracy but an "anti-politics machine" with the ultimate goal of expanding and exerting bureaucratic state control over its citizens (Ferguson 1994).

However, they did not succeed in overcoming the oversimplified account of development as being a single, fatal discourse that gives power to "the West" to rule over passive, helpless beneficiaries/ victims completely derived of agency (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 5; Crewe and Harrison 1998: 4).

Grillo calls this simple dichotomy as the "development myth" which "proposes that there are 'developers' and 'victims of development'" (Grillo 1997: 21) and fails to take into account the various discourses of development and the great diversity of actors, interests and power relations involved in development. Insofar, these deconstructivist approaches to development are no less ideological than those they criticise. Instead of trying to understand contemporary processes of the production and negotiation of development discourses by concrete actors, they trap themselves in ever new legitimations of their own credibility (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 4f).

A Syntheses: Actor Centered Approaches
Mosse and Lewis bring forward a syntheses of these approaches which proved useful for the approach towards my field. I will present it and take in the multi-sited approach I was following with my fieldwork.

It is a "nonnormative, empirical, and ethnographic approach" (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 8), turning away from the moralistic and value-laden undertone of former debates. It seeks "an ethnographic understanding of the 'social life' of development projects - from conception to

realization" (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 14f), across the whole institutional process from donors to recipients. The point of departure is an actor-oriented perspective, focusing on the actions of concrete actors as well as their relations and interactions. Intellectually, this approach owes much to the work of the Manchester School of Anthropology, pulling away from the "formal, society-centered paradigms ... towards more individual and action-centered ones." (Barnard 2000: 80).

In my study, I largely followed this perspective, leaving behind the question whether it is a study *of* or *for* development, but rather taking my role as a fieldworker with Marcus:

„In conducting multi-sited research, one finds oneself with all sorts of cross-cutting and contradictory personal commitments. These conflicts are resolved, perhaps ambivalently, not by refuge in being a detached anthropological scholar, but in being a sort of ethnographer-activist, renegotiating identities in different sites as one learns more about a slice of the world system.“ (Marcus 1995: 113).

As I follow the cross-sector collaboration of HELP and BEAD through the actions of the actors associated with them, I try to blend micro and macro levels, the local and the global into each other and „pursue the more open-ended and speculative course of constructing subjects by simultaneaously constructing the discontinuous contexts in which they act and are acted upon.“ (Marcus 1995: 98).

Eric Wolf, in his 1956 publication on the relations between communities and the state in Mexico, introduced the notion of "brokers". In analysing the relations between societal subfields in complex societies, Wolf stresses the role of individual social actors engaging into manipulative behavior to advance their status. For his example, these actors are "able to operate both in terms of community-oriented and nation-oriented expectations" and thus become "economic and political "brokers" of nation-community relations" (Wolf 1956: 1072). For my case of social actors brokering business and NGO aspects of their structural role, Wolf's Mexican case proves illuminating as he shows how individual actors play an active role in integrating their sub-systems into larger societal fields (Wolf 1956: 1075). He emphasis the active role of social actors as innovative interpretators, or "brokers", of social circumstances rather than explaining their actions as simple performances of structural enforcements. For my study, I want to take up this viewpoint on social actors as creative brokers acting on the intersections of individual choice and structural necessities (c.f. Long 2001: 13).

Similar interactionist perspectives already have a history in the anthropology of development (Nauta 2006; Mosse 2001; Perwez 2008; Olivier de Sardan 2005; Long 2001; Arce and Long 2000) and picked up the notion of "brokers" as an important tool for understanding contemporary processes of development (Bierschenk et.al 2002: 9f). Bierschenk, Chauveau

and Olivier de Sardan focus on the role of what they call 'local development brokers' that go between NGOs and recipient populations, diverting and concentrating aid flows, providing contacts, networks and knowledge to both sides and thus, negotiating development at the very interface of more or less local populations and more or less international NGOs (Bierschenk et.al 2002: 11f). These new social actors can built "brokerage chains" that might span "from a Malian 'village leader' to the headquarters of a multinational NGO like CARE in Atlanta or from a European charismatic community to the president of a 6S group in Burkina Faso." (Bierschenk et.al. 2002: 25). Other scholars point to brokerage processes between donors and states (Matsutake Worlds Research Group 2009: 394f). David Lewis and David Mosse argument about processes of brokerage as "social spaces that exist between aid funders and recipients.", and are thus situated within existing configurations of development (Lewis and Mosse 2006: 12) and can be found through institutional ethnography. In my case, the brokerage chain reached from Aaron Smith Bead and Adele Temper Bead to Livia Lank and Eyerus Wagner to the managers of HELP Ethiopia and, through the regional project officers ultimately to the participants of the jewellery design workshop. For the full picture, the brokerage chain further includes the production chain of BEAD, from the processing factory in India to the retail stores, and finally the consumers of the fundraising product.

To get to the theoretical and empirical question of how coherent sets of development activities come into being, Mosse and Lewis take in the concept of "translation" which "refers to mutual enrollment and the interlocking of interests that produces project realities." (Lewis and Mosse 2006: 13). Through the notion of "translation", they examine "the production and protection of unified fields of development" (Mosse and Lewis 2006: 14).

After discussing my general approach towards development as rooted in distinct anthropological concepts, I will now focus my attention on theories of gift-exchanges. First I will introduce Marcel Mauss' theory on the gift as well as more recent anthropological works to find a working definition of the gift for my analysis. Then I will narrow the general theory on the gift to discuss gift-exchanges in the field of development. The goal is to provide a theoretical backdrop for the analysis of my empirical material in order not only to describe the collaboration of actors in the studied fundraising cooperation but also to enrich anthropological theory in this regard with a case study.

Theories of the Gift

Throughout the process of my fieldwork, I sought theories that could provide a framework for both the relations between the actors in my case study as well as an explanation for the manner in which things, ideas, and people circulated. In the following sections, I want to bring forward an overview about anthropological theories of the gift which will guide the discussion of my research questions in the following chapter.

Gift relations were for long time in the anthropological literature treated from a romantic angle - people exchanging gifts they think are voluntary and weave the web of their relations by the lasting cycle of giving and returning (Graeber 2001: 160f). There is also a tendency in the literature on gift exchanges to view gratitude as well as reciprocity as positive solidarity in a world where interested market relations are absent whereas the world of the gift makes relations more personal and ultimatively humane (Adloff 2006: 421; Caillé 2008: 54, 60).

Some authors even see in gift relations a positive alternative to contemporary global economic relations (Caillé 2008: 25; Bennholdt-Thompson et.al. 2001). Empirical cases have shown that gift relations are in no way alternatives to existing power relations, but are heavily entangled in them and contribute in veiling, or even reinforcing them (Marcoux 2009; Narotzky and Moreno 2002; Sherry et.al. 1993; Rajak 2008: 308; Bowie 1998: 476; Nöbauer 2002). In discussing theories of the gift, I want to include these insights from the beginning.

Starting with Marcel Mauss, I will bring forward a summary of his theory of the gift and his distinction of societies based on gifts as total services and such based on market and commodity exchange. Through introducing ideas from David Graeber, Maurice Godelier and James Carrier, I will extend on this point to find a working definition of the gift. In the second part, I want to focus on the qualities of people and objects in gift theory, following Mauss' introduction of the notions of *hau* and *mana*. By relating the discussion of subject - object qualities in gifts to my empirical study, I bring forward an adaption of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital and some anthropological thoughts on ethical consumption as important cornerstones for the discussion in the analysis section.

To bring general gift theory closer to my field, I then introduce the work of anthropologists like Stirrat and Henkel (Stirrat and Henkel 1997) or Benedikt Korf (Korf et.al. 2010) who already applied gift theory to development relations.

The theory of the Gift - Marcel Mauss
The text that marks the beginning of systematic anthropological involvement with the gift was Marcel Mauss 1923 "L'Essai sur le don" (Mauss 2002) - some even argue that "Mauss'

theoretical corpus is the single most important in the history of anthropology." (Graeber 2001: 152).

In his comparative essay, Mauss compared a broad range of societies and found "the gift, the present generously given even when really there is obligation and economic self-interest" (Mauss 2002: 4) as a recurring structuring principles of societies. In tracing numerous ethnographic examples, Mauss argued that the gift relies on a set of three interconnected obligations: to give, to receive and to return (Mauss 2002: 16f, 50ff; Davis 2004: 331).

In theory, giving gifts is voluntary but in societies held together by the principles of the gift, there is an obligation to give. Seen in the light of Mauss' argumentation of gift exchange as a 'total' phenomena, the obligatory nature of the gift rests on the principle that to give (goods, people, banquets, immaterial values,...) is to impose obligations on another. These are social contracts and thus make up the glue that ties society together (Mauss 2002: 3, 6, 7, 59; Graeber 2001: 153). If they are failed to be given, it is done "on pain of private or public warfare." (Mauss 2002: 7).

The second obligation, to receive a gift given, is

"no less constraining. One has no right to refuse a gift... But, by accepting it one knows that one is committing oneself. A gift is received 'with a burden attached'. One does more than derive benefit from a thing or a festival: one has accepted a challenge, and has been able to do so because of being certain to be able to reciprocate, to prove one is not unequal." (Mauss 2002: 52).

As I will show later on, this point is of major importance for the gift nature of development relations, as the gift given is said to be given disinterested but nevertheless creates a tension for symbolic reciprocity.

The third obligation is to reciprocate on gifts received. Gifts given in return of gifts received open another cycle of giving as the return gift again has to be received and reciprocated. For Mauss, a reciprocating gift follows a rule: it has to be given with interest (Mauss 2002: 53).

If the receiver of a gift is unable to reciprocate it in a bigger fashion than the one received, he or she will suffer from a loss of status and, in some societies, even can become enslaved (Mauss 2002: 54).

The differences between societies based on gift relations and such based on market or commodity relations is for Mauss an evolutionary one. In the former, "societies that we lump together somewhat awkwardly as primitive or inferior" (Mauss 2002: 6), the gifts are all-encompassing and make up a social contract:

"In these 'total' social phenomena, as we propose calling them, all kinds of institutions are given expression at one and the same time - religious, juridical, and moral, which relate to both politics and the family; likewise economic ones, which suppose special forms of production and consumption, or rather, of performing total services and of distribution." (Mauss 2002: 3f).

But on Mauss evolutionary scale, there are more nuances of the role of gifts:

"These phenomena allow us to think that this *principle of the exchange-gift must have been that of all societies that have gone beyond the phase of 'total services'* (from clan to clan, and from family to family) *but have not yet reached that of purely individual contract*, of the market where money circulates, of sale proper, and above all *of the notion of price reckoned in coinage weighed and stamped with its value*." (Mauss 2002: 59)

However,this separation of gift societies and market societies is not absolute as he states that even in gift-societies elements of commodity exchange exist, "since the market is a human phenomenon that in our view, is not foreign to any known society" (Mauss 2002: 5). As Anette Weiner remarked in a later criticism of Mauss, even in the example of the *kula* trade, there are elements of gift exchange that dominated in Malinowksis view but aside the exchange of gifts, a thriving commodity market has been brought along by the boats carrying the gifts. But what are the differences then between gift-societies and such based on a capitalist market ideology?

I will try to find a working definition in the tension between giving and reciprocating and the causality that links them. For Mauss, the causality is at the same time utilitarist and disinterested: "...gifts are not freely given, they are also not really disinterested." (Mauss 2002: 94). As an example, he argues that the Trobrianders use gifts as a sort of mobile capital: They give when they have and initiate their reciprocation when they are in need (Mauss 2002: 94). Here, a causality between giving and extracting the debt from the receiver is consciously calculated whereas with alms and charitable contributions, the giving does not seem to lead to reciprocation (Mauss 2002: 22f).

Sahlings has brought forward three ways of reciprocation that brings us near to the point I want to make: generalised, balanced and negative reciprocity (Sahlins 1972).

Generalised reciprocity is the principle among close kin who give to each other regardless of receiving gifts in return. Who needs gets and who has gives. The worth of individual gifts are not counted or calculated, the system of gift-exchanges makes a sort of social contract in the sense of Mauss' "total social facts".

Balanced Reciprocity takes place among people not that close to each other, but "close enough that they feel obliged to deal with each other on a moral basis" (Graeber 2001: 219). An element of calculation is involved but the emphasis is still on the social relations and not on the exchange value of the objects as commodities like in alienated market transactions.

Sahlins third way of reciprocating is negative reciprocity: the recipient has no possibility to reciprocate, either because the gift is "too unique", too valuable or given from a too large social distance.

In discussing Sahlins model, David Graeber suggested that it might be better to take a more processual approach towards reciprocities:

"Rather than "generalized" or "balanced" recirpocity then, it might be better to think of reciprocity as relatively "open" and "closed": open reciprocity keeps no accounts, because it implies a relation of permanent mutual commitment; it becomes closed reciprocity when a balancing of accounts closes the relationship off, or at least maintains the constant possibility of doing so. Phrasing it this way also makes it easier to see the relation as a matter of degree and not of kind: closed relations can become more open, open ones more closed." (Graeber 2001: 220)

Instead of putting gifts and commodities against each other, he shows the boundaries between these analytical concepts are rather open - as reciprocities can become more closed, they can at times closely resemble barter or even commodity transactions whereas open reciprocity relations have a tendency of slipping into clientelism and patron relations (Graeber 2001: 220f). The sharp division that was drawn between the inalienable gift given out of pure generosity and the interested and impersonal, alienated commodity is, as Graeber arguments with Mauss, "largely an illusion thrown up by the market" (Graeber 2002: 221; Mauss 2002: 98).

Graebers argument suggests that the difference between gifts and commodities is rather one of degree than of kind. The differences in kind can thus be seen as two opposite poles of a spectrum: one pole would be the pure gift in open exchange - there is no causal relation between gift and counter gifts, they are given entirely disinterested and without claims to any benefits from the debts arising from giving or any other self-interested economic calculation. On the other side of the spectrum lies the ultimate commodity - the closest form of exchange as there is no relationship through the transaction, it is purely the exchange value of the objects that is of importance to the transactants. When the transaction is completed, the actors are more independent from each other than before as no debts or obligations tie them to each other (Carrier 1991: 123ff; Kopytoff 1986: 69f). I will leave that argument to bring about another element of exchange theories: the existence of spheres of exchange.

Spheres of Exchange

In 1959 Raymond Firth introduced the concept of "spheres of exchange", clusters of goods and services with distinct systematics of transactions (Firth 1959: 69). The notion of spheres of exchanges originated in ethnographic accounts on Oceania, but is not restricted to it, as they are to be found in a great number of societies (Kopytoff 1986: 71). Sillitoe provides a comparison of some ethnographic examples, which I want to use to convey a general sense about what these spheres are.

In 2006, Sillitoe defined "spheres of exchange" as

"an arrangement where material objects are assigned to differents spheres for transactional purposes. People freely exchange items within the same sphere and readily calculate their comparative values. But things in different spheres are not immediately exchangeable against one another, such that between spheres there is no ready conversion." (Sillitoe 2006: 1).

According to Sillitoe, the most widespread model is made up of three such spheres:

One sphere consists of foodstuffs for everyday use, which can be randomly exchanged, bought, or given. A second sphere consisting of objects of higher value which can not be exchanged for simple foodstuffs (except for extreme situations like drought). This spheres do not only consist of material objects, but can also inhibit people (slaves, workers), labour, or non-material values. A third sphere is often made up of ceremonial items which can not be easily transferred (Sillitoe 2006: 4ff).

The crucial point for my study is that there are clusters of objects in which objects can be bought or given according to certain principles. Between objects of differing spheres, no "ready" conversion is possible. For my study, I want to merge the notion of "spheres of exchange" with Graeber's spectrum between open and closed exchange and argue that the actor in the BEAD - HELP collaboration have operated in several such spheres of exchange that also affected the objects of the collaboration as gifts/ commodities. By way of using Igor Kopytoff's "Biography of Things" approach, I will argue that by tracing the history of the objects in the collaboration, one is also finding out about the spheres of exchange existing in a field and how and why they become more gift or more commodity in certain situations (Kopytoff 1986: 66)

Whether spheres of exchange are constructed by social structure or actors' agency has been debated by Marylin Strathern and Nancy Munn. Marilyn Strathern wrote in her famous "The Gender of the Gift" (1988) that it is the social preconditions that bring along the spheres of exchange and the activities under which they are produced and reproduced. Nancy Munn on the other hand emphasised the importance of actions on the actor level and social practice for the production of the spheres (Graeber 2001: 43f). In framing the actors of my field as brokers, I want to show how they are both products and producers of the spheres of their actions. Through closely examining to what extent reciprocities between the actors of my field are open or closed, I want to find out the structural relations between the sites of my field, in which the actors operate and especially look at hints that indicate an interface where "ready" conversion of qualities or material objects meets difficulties.

The Mana and the Hau of Gifts

Mauss devoted large sections of his book to the question why a gift has to be returned and why it has to be done so with interest (Mauss 2002: 4). He found an answer for himself in the Maori notion of the *hau*, a sort of spiritual entity of the giver residing in the gift and pushing it back to the original giver. Maurice Godelier criticises Mauss heavily for his introducing a spiritual answer to a scientific question. He goes another way in answering the same question: "...why is the debt created by a gift not cancelled or erased by an identical counter-gift?" (Godelier 1999: 42). He arguments that, through being given, the gift is not alienated from the original giver. He gives the example of the *kula* trade, in which the valuables exchanged in gift exchanges on certain routes, inhibit the circumstances of their production. If person A invests labour and material to create a *kula* valuable, these circumstances of its production become inherent in the valuable itself, it is its *kitoum*. When passed on to person B, who again passes it to person C, the gift giving is qualitatively different in the B-C transaction than between A and C. B only passed on the gift received by A, inhibiting A's *kitoum*. The same would be for a further passing on of the gift, now in the hands of C to another person D. Again, the recipients of it receive rights in the use of the gift but no ownership as it is still tied to person A, through its *kitoum* (Godelier 1999: 48, 88-91), the gift given is not completely detached from the giver, as it would be in commodity relations (Godelier 1999: 42). What happens is that person A has little interest in establishing reciprocity by receiving a *kula* with a *kitoum* and so close the gift-exchange:

"People are not concerned with getting their kitoum back as quickly as possible except in unusual circumstances. Nor are they interested in replacing it as rapidly as possible with a kitoum of equal rank. What interests them is to send them as far as possible, so that it carries forth the name of the original giver and enhances it, and so that the object becomes charged with more and more life and "value" as it picks up all the gifts and all the debts it has engendered or cancelled by its circulation." (Godelier 1999: 91f)

Maurice Godelier has extensively commented that Mauss' reason for introducing the idea of *hau* and *mana* is thus rooted on his alleged misconception of the causal relations between gifts and counter gifts (Godelier 1999: 6ff). However, I will leave aside this discussion and take up Mauss' point for theoretising the relations between persons and things.

The idea of the *hau* of a gift points to the fact that qualities of persons can become resident in gifts (Graeber 2001: 155). *Mana* is a kind of spiritual quality persons can inhibit, and *hau* is a concept of qualities inherent in objects of objects (Mauss 2002: 13ff). When gifts are given, the *mana* of giver and receiver as well as the *hau* of the things being given become tied to each other. As the gift being given creates a bond between giver and receiver, the gift itself is

loaded with elements of both transactants as well as their relation (Mauss 2002: 15f). This is a serious point, as it suggests that social qualities can be embodied both in persons as well as in objects (c.f. Buchli 2002).

The strength of this bond between the *hau*, the gift and the giver/ receiver can be somehow assessed with what Annette Weiner (1992) has called alienable and inalienable. Whereas alienable objects are more neutral, not bearing much qualities of the givers, inalienable objects embody reminders of givers or receivers and the need for reciprocation (Weiner 1992; Straight 2002: 8; Carrier 1995: 25). Again, the differences between alienable and inalienable objects can be located in a spectrum between what is absolutely alienable as it does not bear any qualities of the givers or their relations at all whereas the more inalienable objects are, the more they are held out of exchange at all because of their uniqueness (Godelier 1999: 19; Graeber 2001: 83; Carrier 1991: 127).

In order to make the notion of the *hau* operable for my analysis, I want to connect it with two theoretical insights that help me to apply gift theory to my empirical fieldwork: Bourdieu's theory of capital and Bryant's notion of "moral capital" (Bryant 2005), an adaption that makes Bourdieu's capital theory applicable to contemporary NGOs, and works applying the notion of the *hau* on commodities in capitalist societies.

Moral Capital

Pierre Bourdieu formulated his theory about different forms of capital in various works. Here, I will take up his 1986 article "The Forms of Capital", which argues that there are -besides economical capital - also forms of social and cultural capital operating in social fields (Bourdieu 1986: 242). Actors can have little economic capital while being rich in other forms of capital, but under specific circumstances, conversions between capital forms is possible,

"the transformation of economic capital into social capital presupposes a specific labor, i.e., and apparently gratuitous expenditure of times, attention, care, concern, which, as is seen in the endeavor to personalize a gift, has the effect of transfiguring the purely monetary import of the exchange and, by the same token, the very meaning of the exchange. From a narrowly economic standpoint, this effort is bound to be seen as pure wastage, but in the terms of the logic of social exchanges, it is a solid investment, the profits of which will appear, in the long run, in monetary or other form." (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

But the transformatory work is far from easy to accomplish:

"Everything which helps to disguise the economic aspect also tends to increase the risk of loss (...). Thus the (apparent) incommensurability of the different types of capital introduces a high degree of uncertainty into all transactions between holders of different types. Similarly, the declared refusal of calculation and of guarantees which characterizes exchanges tending to produce a social capital in the form of a capital of obligations that are usable in the more or less long term (exchanges of gifts, services, visits, etc.) necessarily entails the risk of ingratitude, the refusal of that recognition of nonguaranteed debts which such exchanges aim to produce." (Bourdieu 1986: 250).

In his article, Bourdieu suggests that a conversion of economic into social capital can be done through disguising the utilitaristic conversion of capital forms through the notion of disinterested gifts.

Bryant has appropriated these insights for the NGO world with his concept of "moral capital" (Bryant 2005): NGOs can attract legitimacy and trust through acquiring and using "moral capital". By actively creating up a perception of a NGO as inhibiting certain moral qualities the NGO can build up trust and legitimacy which in turn attracts donations and funds:

"The NGO with moral capital may be in a good position to acquire funding, earn media respect, win public support, enjoy policy influence, and receive local community backing. None of these benefits come automatically, but they are often attainable with moral capital. In short, there is an incentive to think like a moral entrepreneur." (Bryant 2005: 6)

NGOs can thus acquire moral capital by engaging in certain activities and translations as well as through its partners and social networks (c.f. Putnam 1993: 163-185). When applied to contemporary Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) practices, the notion of conversion between economic and symbolic forms of capital is today mainstream in anthropology as well as business or consumer studies (Bryant 2005; Burchell 2008; Crowe and Hopkins 2008; McWilliams and Siegel 2000; 2001; Varadarajan and Menon 1988; Lewis 2001: 47).

Nevertheless, the relation between attaining moral capital and its conversion into economic one is fragile and thus not readily exchangeable without the careful work of social actors acting as brokers and controlling the circumstances of conversion - imposing sanctions on unfinished or wrongly done exchanges, setting norms for reciprocity and act as gatekeepers about the trustworthiness of individuals or organisations (c.f. Putnam 1993: 173f).

In the theoretical section about general gift theory, I have shown what gifts are, what defines them against commodities and that the differences between them are not in kind but in degree. Whether by their place on the spectrum between open and closed systematics of exchange, or by tracing the biography of things through various spheres of exchange, I argue that an assessment of the status of objects as more commodity or more gift can be made.

Furthermore, gift exchanges build relations between the givers and recipients, which in turn influence the objects given. By introducing Bourdieu's theory of capital forms and Bryant's term "moral capital", I try to theoretically frame the distribution of capital sorts with the actors and organisations of my field and argue about their actions as interest for exchanging these capital sorts.

For giving a picture of gift exchanges nearer to my field of study, I will now give an overview about anthropological gift theory applied to development settings and introduce two broad

versions of gifts between corporate actors and NGOs - one being general gift giving in development, the other being ethical consumption.

Gifts in Development

In discussing anthropological engagement with gifts in development relations, especially between donors, NGOs and recipient populations, I want to bring forward a selection of scholarly works that help in locating my case study in theoretical discussions already underway.

A common theme in the application of gift theory to development is the debate of whether gifts (donations) can be given free of interest and if so, do they nevertheless create the obligation to reciprocate? The complex relations between gifts and commodities, interested and disinterested exchange and ultimately, whether reciprocation has to be done more open or more closed are of special importance in the field of development.

NGOs can actively alter the conditions for receiving gifts, as shown above through the notion of moral capital. In the most disinterested form, donors give anonymous donations, making even symbolic reciprocation by the NGO impossible. A very interested form of giving donations is the direct sponsorship, in most cases of a child, by a European donor (Bornstein 2001: 600). By receiving frequent letters, photographs and updates from "his/ her" sponsored child, symbolic reciprocity includes not only statements of gratitude by the receiver but the need to fulfill expectations about the use of the gift given as donations. In between lie various forms of symbolic reciprocity from donors receiving thank-you-letters from the organisation or various forms of earmarking gifts e.g. by putting a nameplate on donated items.

In every case, whether donors intend their gifts to charitable foundations to be free of obligations or not, as Stirrat and Henkel argument, debts and obligations are imposed on the receivers. "Pure gifts", they conclude, "become, in the end, the currency of systems of patronage." (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 74).

Drawing on Mauss, they argue

"that what starts out as a seemingly free gift is transformed into a heavily conditional gift when it reaches the ultimate recipient. Despite the apparent one-way flow of goods, there are in practice symbolic forms of reciprocity that tie together the Northern donors and Southern receivers. While the complexities of this relationship do not make partnerships between North and South impossible, they certainly make them problematic: there is no such thing as a free gift." (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 66).

While donations may be meant as free gifts, they nevertheless create obligations on the recipients - the constant inflow of gifts one can not or should not reciprocate leaves the ultimate recipients of donations in a subaltern position of indebtedness and powerlessness (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 72f), or, in the words of Mauss: "Charity is still wounding for him

who has accepted it." (Mauss 2002: 83). The problematic Stirrat and Henkel see with the notion of "disinterested humanitarianism" is that the donation is given in a way "that attempts to deny difference and assert identity between the rich giver and the poor receiver, a gift in practice reinforces or even reinvents these differences." (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 69). Various authors repeat their argument for other analysis of gift relations in development (Eyben 2006: 89; Korf 2010: 60; Rajak 2008: 298, 208).

In bringing back David Graeber's thoughts on open and closed exchanges, development gifts can slip into systems of patronage. Rosalind Eyben shows how new rhetorics of development cooperation or partnerships try to veil exactly these processes of patronage as the material expressions of social relationships (Eyben 2006: 90). Borrowing from Mosse, she shows how the gratitude of recipients reveal an imbalance in discoursive power: recipients are framed as receivers and have to show gratitude whereas the aid staff draws much more economic benefit (salary) out of the relation than the individual villager from the well or school building (Eyben 2006: 90). By receiving the gift, they are also confirming the relationship in which they are caught.

In regards to the policial economy in which charitable donations from business corporations to NGOs take place in the 21st century, Tomohisa Hattori gives a broader contextualisation frame for the gift relations fostered by development cooperation in her 2003 article "Giving as a Mechanism of Consent: International Aid Organizations and the Ethical Hegemony of Capitalism". She argues that "the extension and acceptance of the gifts of multilateral and non-governmental IAOs is a mechanism of consent to the capitalist order." (Hattori 2003: 153). The unreciprocated gifts of donations leads to a situation of symbolic domination of the recipient populations by the givers. In framing development as generalised gift exchange between states she shows how relations between Northern and Southern states remain in a sort of patron - client relation: "The bulk of what can be called 'foreign aid' falls into this sociological category of an unreciprocated gift: it is a direct extension of a gift from one country to the next that indefinitely suspends the obligation to reciprocate." (Hattori 2003: 156).

Escobar reminds us that statistical operations carried out in the 1940s led to the perception of "poverty" on a global scale. All of a sudden, two thirds of the world population became "poor" and an apparatus started to work on them to develop and increase their living standard (Escobar 1995: 23f). The notion of development is thus used by states to maintain control over the newly independent states of the 1950s and 60s, now constructed as being "the third world". In the name of the economic development of these countries, structural adjustement

policies were imposed on them for being able to lend money from international actors such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. In the name of development, large amounts of surplus grain from Europe and the US were brought to Africa and destroyed local prices and made the countries even more dependent on receiving gifts. The givers go on describing their involvement with these countries as voluntary and guided by their humanitarian ideals and so hold them in a constant situation of symbolic domination as the givers could stop their giving at any time. (Sidaway 2007; Crewe and Harrison 1998: 16).

In the global economic system, capitalist market relations and aspects of gift economies work together. The debts created by international aid are a very real part of capitalist economic relations. Thus, fierce criticism has been voiced about the blurring of capitalist and gift relations in the international system. It is undeniable that international trade regulations and taxing schemes prefer rich regions as the European Union or the United States, and reproduce their dominant position in global market relations. These same regions are the biggest donors in development cooperation, using a rhetoric of good will and supporting the poor and vulnerable populations of other world regions while at the same time denying any obligation to give development assistance, stressing it as being disinterested humanism. Whereas the frontstage performance of official aid rhetoric is directed towards ending the dependance of recipient populations on aid, whereas the backstage performance shows that they are actually acting against this claim (e.g. Eyben 2006: 89).

Benedikt Korf and his colleagues show in their 2010 article "The gift of disasters" how the problematic of reciprocity and unequal relations in gift exchanges contributed to social tensions in the aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami in Sri Lanka. The huge amount of donations given for the victims of the catastrophe were seen as a global form of compassion and empathy:

"In many cases, these gifts were given with the 'pure' intention of helping the victims. Yet several reports concluded that many recipients of such charity were not so happy with the process and outcomes of aid, or even felt humiliated and reduced to being passive 'victims'" (Korf et.al. 2010: 60).

They conclude in their paper that

"the altruistic gift implied by the humanitarian discourse—which materialised in the form of post-tsunami aid—inevitably collides with divergent discourses, practices, and expectations associated with 'gift' when it enters a local domain. Aid becomes a culturally charged, political commodity. In other words, post-tsunami gifts—seemingly altruistic acts of generosity—became entangled in the economy of charity and reciprocal obligations in the political economy of aid (Bastian, 2005; Korf, 2007)." (Korf et.al. 2010: 61).

Korf et.al. argument in a manner close to Stirrat and Henkel:

"We conceptualise the 'biography' of the gift (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997, p. 68) as a process of increasing commodification whereby the ideal of the gift as an ethical, disinterested act of generosity

becomes polluted by the worldly practices of the mundane and interested world." (Korf et.al. 2010: 61).

To conclude the discussion of whether development gifts can be free of interest, I want to return to the conclusion of Graeber and Mauss: As Graeber shows in his discussion of contemporary exchange theories, Mauss wrote "the modern ideal of the pure selfless gift is simply an impossible mirror image" of the notion that pure self-interest can only be imagined in connection to market economies (Graeber 2001: 155). In being that, it is trapped between scholars that up and foremost see utilitarian motives in every gift giving, or gift systems as ideal alternatives to an inhumane market. One reason for the ongoing moral discourse about gift relations is to be found in Mauss' socialist political agenda that saw solidarity of gift economies against inhumane but "free" market systems:

"Mauss emphasized that our accustomed sharp division between freedom and obligation is, like that between interest and generosity, largely an illusion thrown up by the market, whose anonymity makes it possible to ignore the fact that we rely on other people for just anything. In its absence, one must necessarily be aware that, unless one wishes to live a solitary life, freedom largely means the freedom to choose what sort of obligations one wishes to enter into, and with whom." (Graeber 2001: 220f).

However, the conclusion that pure gifts are theoretically not possible does not lessen their appeal in practice. Especially when it comes to charitable donations of time, money or commodities, notions of selfless charity come up with donors as well as organisations - precisely because of the tensions between the theoretical impossibility and the claims to being able to do so in practice.

As giving in Western societies can be "identified as an expression of virtue, or the qualities of excellence in an individual's character" (Hattori 2003: 157), especially in the realm of development, invokations of the idea of the pure gift are frequent and often find repercussions in scholarly literature. Elizabeth Tonkin, in her article asking "Is Charity a Gift?", is providing examples for supposedly free gifts in the West - "from volunteering to family care, as well as direct and indirect support of charities and voluntary organisations" (Tonkin 2009: 181). Though she argues alongside Parry's account of Mauss' gift being "a combination of interest and disinterest, freedom and constraint" (Parry 1986: 456), she frequently slips into only an abstract category of disinterested gifts. Erica Bornstein, in her 2009 article "The Impulse of Philanthropy" also slips into the Western morality of dividing disinterested and interested gifts:

"Even alms given with the aim of receiving merit from the gods fulfill qualities of a regulating and distributing principle that counters the purity of the gift. Once the gift contains the expectation of a return, it remains in the realm of debt and credit, and is no longer a gift." (Bornstein 2009: 626).

She differentiates instrumental and impulsive giving to charitable purposes:

"Impulsive giving to beggars is not typically placed in the same category as giving to institutions such as NGOs, despite the fact that both forms of donation respond to human suffering." (Bornstein 2009: 626).

Bornstein goes on to include an important argument into the discussion that corresponds to findings in my empirical work: some actors can prove to be worthy of being given more freely than others:

"The anxiety over the worthiness of an NGO, and whether or not the donation will reach its intended beneficiary and not be squandered by the NGO, echoes the case of Parry's funeral priests. It is in this sense that the significance of giving to worthy recipients structures the gift, and enters into the equation of whether one gives with immediacy, impulsively, or through more regulated forms." (Bornstein 2009: 630; also Bryant 2005: 5).

For religious organisations in Sweden, anthropologist Simon Coleman has found a similar tendency, although from the other direction. In this context it is not the gift being more or less "polluted" through being interested but the commodity being constructed as more or less disinterested:

"Money is central to transactions between believers and the Word of Life. It is used to purchase Faith merchandise. It is donated in large buckets that are passed around during services in Uppsala. Even the most apparently commoditized of these transactions partakes of a sacralized quality in that it contributes to the global Faith nexus of production, distribution, and associated missionary activities." (Coleman 2004: 431).

Coleman shows that, as often in NGOs or other organisations engaging in development work, boundaries between commodities and gifts is somewhat veiled to attain qualities of almost religious virtue. Again, it seems to not be being a matter of quality but of scale - some gifts can resemble the ideal of the pure and disinterested gift more than others.

NGOs engage in a variety of practices of making donations more probable or investing in their moral capital to be more "pure" than others and thus giving the illusion of being itself disinterested. I argue that NGOs invest in this kind of superficial innocence as neutral administrator of the selfless gifts they receive. The moral capital of NGOs partly relies on this notion of being neutral and disinterested while longing for concrete economical values.

For being able to assess the brokering of elements of gifts and commodities in their collaboration, I want to add another dimension from the other viewpoint: those of commodities resembling gifts in the capitalist market, that of ethical commodities.

Ethical Consumption

Also for capitalist market relations, commodities are to be placed on a spectrum of a continuum between gifts and commodities. If there is no such thing as a free gift, is there such thing as the disinterested commodity?

Graburn argues that in capitalist societies, there is a distinction between mass commodities that are commensurable only through their exchange value, derived of any relations between consumers and producers and such commodities that indeed invoke a certain relation between producers and consumers. For "arts of the fourth world", art produced by indigenous people solely for the purpose of being sold in capitalist markets, Graburn assesses their worth in being hand-made items in a world of mass culture (Graburn 2006: 413). Graburn sees the differences in consuming such commodities as rooting in mechanisms of social distinction.

In an article about foodchains, Pratt elaborates on the point that commodity relations can be either impersonal - as in mass commodities dividing producers and consumers - or such that at least pretend to reconnect the personal relation between them:

"This reconnection is conceived in terms of an opposition between first, a personalised set of economic relations as opposed to the impersonality of the market, and secondly, in terms of a contrast between food, which is artificial or adulterated, and the genuine or authentic. Culturally, this reconnection takes place in a kind of pre-set discursive field, that of the natural, the organic, the local, the rooted, the distinctive, the authentic, this field being precisely that of the romantic tradition. This field is established in opposition to 'modernity', it opposes quality to quantity, diversity to singularity, favours metaphors of the timeless, of the circular and recycling to those of innovation and progress." (Pratt 2008: 56)

As commodities reside still on the other side of the spectrum, the central anthropological problem that arises out of this conclusion is: "How and why do consumers in a capitalist society attempt to gain access to values, which are defined in opposition to monetary value precisely through the spending of money?" (Pratt 2008: 54).

A preliminary answer can lie in the spectrum between pure gifts and pure commodities, which is used not only by NGOs to capitalise on the moral capital accumulated but also by corporate actors who seek ways of attributing a certain value on their product which rests not exclusively on their exchange value on the market but also on elements of gift exchange (Graeber 2001: 257). For Graeber, market principles and the notion of the free gift are "really just two sides of the same false coin." (Graeber 2001: 257).

Through the brokering of images of economic relations, morality and responsibility, capitalist corporations can indeed profit from both sides of the coin (DeNeve et.al. 2008: 25). Especially in a consumer culture, where little of what people possess is produced by them, people are living through objects and images by way of consumption (Miller 1995: 1). In

assuming that commodities can store moral qualities resembling Mauss notion of the *hau* of a gift, the circumstances of its coming into being become resident in them as products of these circumstances. Carrier wrote: "the object's setting can bestow upon it an authenticity, a valuable historical and cultural identity, and so facilitate the buyer's appropriating it" and further that "authenticity elevates the object beyond the mass of indifferent commodities by giving it a distinctive identity" (Carrier 1995: 113). In purchasing a product knowing about its history the consumer is also confirming the circumstances of its production. For ethical products, Pratt wrote: "Such items gain their meanings and their value, from being simultaneously inside and outside the commodity form." (Pratt 2008: 60).

DeNeve et.al. have shown how this *hau* of commodities can also bear negative qualities, in an example of a T-shirt producing company finding out about child labour in its production sites. To get rid of the "sweat of the children" on the T-shirts, the company removed the whole series of shirts, not only those produced by children (DeNeve et.al. 2008: 10). If they do not assume that the T-shirts have contracted a negative quality from the circumstances of their production, why would they destroy the whole series?

On the other hand, a positive moral quality of gifts can also lead to a higher exchange value of these items on the market, as Peter Luetchford has shown in the example of fair-trade coffee: "higher profits can be generated by advertising qualities, such as fair trade and organic, and converting them into quantities, measured in money." (Luetchford 2008: 146).

The positive repercussions on economic performance can also be related to Bryants notion of moral capital - capitalist companies as social actors can also attract moral capital and thus load their brand with a positive image in the hope of being able to convert the moral into economic capital. This topic is continously discussed in economic studies on the correlation between a company's engagement in ethical trade or other forms of corporate social responsibility measures and its financial performance (Davis 1973; Burchell 2008; Sugden 1982; Silver 1998; Crowe and Hopkins 2008; McWilliams and Siegel 2000, 2001). Through cause-related-marketing, Varadarajan and Menon argue, companies can actively work on their financial performance through including moral images in their marketing activities (Varadarajan and Menon 1988). Whether their actions have actual positive effects for the beneficiaries of their actions is debated heavily (Prahalad 2004; Bendell 2000).

For my case study, it is important to have shown that companies in capitalist systems are also not pure market actors but, under specific circumstances, can act both as gift and commodity transactants. As background for the discussion of my research questions in the analysis section, I have shown that gifts and commodities are two poles on a spectrum. For NGOs, the

question of how interested their contributions are, and how their chains of giving gifts can give rise and reinforce power relations. From the other side of the spectrum come commodities that are charged with a moral attitude of being ethical. Thus, they are more further on the gift side than commodities jugded only on their price or exchange value. In the analysis, I will take up these theoretical insights and discuss them with the data collected in my fieldwork.

ANALYSIS

In the following chapter, the case study of the BEAD - HELP cooperation will be discussed around my research questions. My intention is to provide a non-normative and ethnographic discussion about the transactions and relations of the actors involved in my case study. In arguing about gifts and commodities, I do not fall prey to all too romantic notions of the gift as something more social, personal, or generally better than money or other market transactions. By discussing findings of my institutional ethnography of the HELP-BEAD collaboration, I trace the coming into being of an ethical product - a consumer segment strongly on the rise.

First, I will discuss the gift nature of the things and services being given in the collaboration by retelling the chronology of the process as gift exchanges and show an example of the gift in development and in capitalist commodity markets. In my case two systematics, in which gifts play a central role of exchanges were overlapping.

By exchanging gifts the actors built relations between them as persons, their organisations and their brands. I will argue that, being the main transactants of gifts in the collaboration, the actors of HELP Austria and BEAD constructed the tightest relations in terms of the collaboration and were dominant in brokering their interests. For discussing these power relations, I will present a debate central to the collaboration, concerning possibilities for reciprocating on the side of the workshop participants.

The relations and exchanges between the actors and the organisations did also have repercussions on the value and quality of the final product, inhibiting values that go beyond mere exchange value. Through the social biography of the objects in the collaborative process, I secondly want to discuss the use of holding a design workshop in Ethiopia for the actors as well as objects.

I want to explore the difference between gifts and commodities with the final product that is whether pure commodity nor pure gift and thus, an empirical example of the differences being in degree and not in kind.

The two major questions guiding my analysis are:

QUESTION 1:

Can the relations between the actors in the HELP Austria-BEAD collaboration be framed as systems of gift exchange?

QUESTION 2:

How do the transactions influence the value and meaning of the objects in the collaboration?

Gift Giving in the Development Mode

For the first mode of transacting, I will draw on the theoretical model given by Stirrat and Henkel (1997). As shown in the theory chapter, they trace the biography of gifts given as seemingly free donations to NGOs. Through the chains linking donors, organisations and recipients, they are turned into conditional gifts that tie the receivers to the donors and establish forms of symbolic reciprocity reproducing the differences between the givers and reeivers of these development gifts.

The clearest example for giving in the development mode to be found in my case was the opening gift given by Adele Temper-Bead. By recalling it, I will not argue for her gifts as being seemingly disinterested from the beginning as Stirrat and Henkel did.

At the end of 2005, Adele Temper-Bead was looking for a NGO she would donate a large sum of money to. Her gift would come with certain conditions. She would give the money to the organisation she considered trustworthy and which could assure her of the right usage of her money, earmarking it to a concrete project and give detailed reporting about the use of the money (Bryant 2005: 5). By taking the gift, the recipient NGO would be commiting itself to fulfill these conditions (Mauss 2002: 53). The gift given was thus given at the same time voluntarily and interested. Temper-Bead was not forced or obliged to give the money to a development NGO but did not give without interest in the use of her money. Speaking in Godelier's words, she did not cease her ownership of the money while giving it for the use by others (Godelier 1999: 49).

Livia Lank and me were invited to present the cause of HELP Austria as one of the potential recipients of the money (Meeting 28.9.2005 Landluft) and could convince Temper-Bead to give the donation to HELP Austria as the right administrator of her gift. After the meeting on September 28th 2005, Livia Lank wrote an email to the Addis Abeba office, asking to name a school which could be constructed with the donation of 150.000 Euro in the project areas financed by HELP Austria. On January 31st 2006 Livia wrote to Sandra Culham, Temper-Bead's assistant, that the donation could be earmarked to a school in the north shoa zone which would be called "BEAD school". The donors were invited to take part in an

inauguration ceremony when the school was finished (eMail Livia Lank to Adele Temper-Bead 25.6.2007). The construction of the school was planned to start in the first quarter of 2006 with an assumed construction time of about one year.

On 10.4.2006, Sandra Culham announced to me that family friends of Temper-Bead would travel to Ethiopia on a private trip and that Temper-Bead proposed they should visit HELP projects in Ethiopia to report her about the development work being done by HELP (eMail Sandra Culham to Andreas Streinzer 10.4.2006). In the end of April, the three people visited project sites of HELP. As the school was just starting to be constructed, HELP Ethiopia showed them other project sites, representing the work of HELP. After their coming back to Austria, they reported on the projects enthusiastically as Sandra Culham sent an eMail to Livia and me stating that they were deeply impressed by the work done in Ethiopia and that BEAD was now even more sure than before that HELP was the right partner to envisage also a long-term cooperation with (eMail Sandra Culham to Andreas Streinzer 10.5.2006).

The opening gift was thus given to HELP Austria, the gatekeeper to the actual recipients of the gift, channeling the flow of funds to a certain area in Ethiopia and used according to the criteria of the giver and ultimate owner of the money. Accountability to this right usage was provided in two ways: through HELP Austria who sent financial statements, reports about the progress in the construction of the school, its inauguration and numbers of children benefitting from her gift as students in the "Bead school". The second statement of accounts came from the eyewitness accounts of Temper-Beads friends, which ultimately lead to her offering a long-term perspective of the relations between BEAD and HELP Austria. Interestingly, Temper-Beads friends were aware that they were not visiting the "Bead school" but other project sites of the organisation. Insofar, they could not legitimately make any statements about her gift and its usage. Stirrat and Henkel write: "Whereas the Maussian gift is between known people or groups of people, donors to NGOs give to a generalized impoverished other." (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 72). Although certainly not applicable to every contribution made to NGOs, it seems to strike a point with Temper-Beads donation. Her friends visited an anonymous recipient population and deduced from their observations a general judgement of HELP's usage of gifts given as donations. Both ways of verifying proper use of donations being given had a positive effect on the relations between HELP and BEAD. With the opening gift these actors were in a rather closed reciprocity relation, maintaining the possibility of closing off the relationship (Graeber 2001: 220). The power to decide whether accounts are balanced or not, whether gifts should be given again, was concentrated in Adele

Temper-Bead who was the one to open a new cycle of giving. With the decision to enter into long-term relations, the actors decided to enter into more open gift relations.

After the opening gift cycle, the fundraising collaboration was starting. While focusing on the givers and administrators of the development gift and the forms of reciprocity on the side of the ultimate recipients, I will show these processes in the discussion of the second mode of giving in my field.

Gift Giving in the Fundraising Collaboration

The actors of BEAD perceived the former model of giving in the development mode as too impersonal and alienated, and so a new mode of giving was sought that would include BEAD's actors in persona. Also, the Ethiopian recipients of gifts should be included in what was perceived as personal and direct relations. Through the jewellery workshop they should be included as designers and thus also as active agents of the collaboration (Concept Paper "Crystal Ray of Joy" 21.6.2006: 2). Instead of being passive recipients of aid, they would be able to enter into the cycle of raising money and supporting their peers.

For a meeting on January 31st 2007, Livia Lank and me drove to Landluft to further work on the concept for the fundraising collaboration and show jewellery from Ethiopia we brought along. In this meeting, Temper-Bead told about the difficulties she faced in aligning the project with the strategy of BEAD's foundation to fund only water projects. Lank and me in turn proposed to find a solution in the interrelation of water and education in the highlands of Ethiopia. Some days later, I sent a dossier to Temper-Bead stating the close relation of the construction of water fetching facilities and the possibility for girls to attend school. Temper-Bead used the dossier to convince her cousin Smith-Bead in a meeting on February 5th to join in the cooperation. At the same time, HELP Austria was negotiating with HELP Ethiopia for the provision of premises, accommodation, cars and drivers, translators and the participants for the workshop. HELP Ethiopia was not sure of the benefit to them as it seemed to be more work for less donations. In various phone calls, faxes and eMails Livia Lank, helped by Eyerus Wagner, convinced the management of HELP Ethiopia that the cooperation would benefit all the actors involved.

These initial steps of *stringing the beads* for creating the jewellery product can be described as gifts: Livia and me drove hundreds of kilometers to meet BEAD representatives who could stay at their workplaces to meet us (Meetings 28.5.2005 Kirach; also Meetings 31.1.2007; 12.4.2007; 13.6.2007; 31.7.2007; 27.10.2008). As Temper-Bead had openend a new cycle of exchange, it was obligatory to "come their way" for the meetings. BEAD "received" us in Landluft and Kirach in premises inhibiting great symbolic value, to which some BEAD

employees themselves had no right to enter: meeting rooms at the executive or board levels of the corporation (Meeting 31.1.2007 Landluft; Meeting 27.10.2008 Landluft).

The first gifts in the second cycle were thus: driving to meetings (HELP Austria), providing access to powerful places (BEAD), writing concept papers (BEAD) and dossiers (HELP Austria), lobbying internally for the collaboration (both), bringing jewellery pieces as samples for Ethiopian jewellery (Livia Lank and Andreas Streinzer in Meeting 31.1.2007 Landluft).

These gifts were reciprocated with interest which became obvious in a meeting on April 12th 2007, when Lank and me drove to Tyrol to meet Sandra Culham and Lilian Thompson. The meeting turned out to be a heavy exchange of gifts: BEAD would cover the bigger part of the costs of the workshop in Ethiopia. The company would pay for the travels and working time of their employees in Ethiopia as well as for the photographer Ian Rangley. The copyrights for the photos of Ian should be extended for free use to HELP Austria. Furthermore, BEAD would provide the materials for the workshop, an overall 124kg of beads, strings and pliers for the workshop (Documents "Shipping Details Lieferung 1" 21.8.2007: 1; "Shipping Details Lieferung 2" 22.8.2007: 1). They would pay for the transportation of the materials to Addis Abeba and provide its production chain, distribution channels and marketing efforts for creating the product. The sale of the product should first cover their costs, then every revenue would be donated to HELP Austria. No contract was drawn up to safeguard adherence to what was agreed upon at any time in the collaboration.

HELP Austria had also gifts to offer: they would account for visa procedures and costums clearance of the materials in Addis Abeba, and transport it safely to Eliba for the workshop. The workshop premises as well as the accommodation for the employees of BEAD would be provided in Eliba and Rarah, as well as two Land Rovers with drivers and one translator for the whole time of the workshop. Know-how and safety would be provided by HELP Ethiopia as well as participants for the workshop (Meeting 12.4.2007 Landluft).

Here, it becomes clear that the efforts and gifts by the actors in the collaboration becomes bigger by reciprocating with interest. In the first cycle of Temper-Beads donation, reports and a short visit of three friends who were already in Ethiopia, were given as return gifts. Now the amount of people involved, logistics and material employed for the collaboration exceeded the first cycle of the fundraising collaboration by far. This is not only visible in the amount and value of the gifts being given, received and given in turn, but also on the tightening of relations between the actors in the collaboration. In the initial opening gift in the development mode, Temper-Bead chose HELP Austria from several other possible recipient organisations. After working collaboratively on a way of collaborating in a joint process, the gifts being

given are accodomation and cars, crystal beads and distribution channels - in this case gifts that were less alienable than the opening gifts, directed towards a joint process.

On June 13th 2007, the next meeting brought together the people who would conduct the workshop in Ethiopia together: Lilian Thompson, Karin Peacock, Livia Lank and me. In this meeting, the profile for the participants was fixed (Meeting 13.6.2007 Landluft). HELP Ethiopia would find and select the participants. The recruitment and selection of the participants was thus also given as a gift. Several requirements were agreed upon: BEAD wanted them to have experience in handicraft or drawing and being old enough to follow the instructions and producing a workpiece that would fit their ideas of quality and design. HELP Austria wanted them to be young as their experience showed donors reacted much more positively to images of younger recipients. Sales were expected to be higher if the package showed a young girl. The aim of the selection was clear: the priority for the workshop was to produce workpieces for the fundraising product (Meeting 13.6.2007 Landluft), not as an income generating development activity.

Shortly after the meeting, Livia Lank sent the logistic and personnel requirements for the workshop to the management of HELP Ethiopia together with the profile for the participants. In announcing the workshop to the local staff in Eliba, it was requested that the schedule for the workshop planned project visits for the BEAD employees to see projects against female genital mutilation, women's empowerment projects, small credit activities, a technical training center and model farmers (eMail 26.7.2007 Alex Langley to Eliba staff). The intention for these project visits was again a gift, in showing them the development gifts were bearing fruit, that the work financed was showing results and on the other hand to offer unique experiences that would be recalled again and again (Godelier 1999: 44).

In this second "round" of giving, it was clear that the gifts were getting even bigger, and now included providing access to people in a region well-known for its jewellery traditions (HELP), know-how, manpower, transportation, accommodation, translators, drivers and assistance in Ethiopia (HELP), one assistant and the organisation's executive manager for the time of the workshop (HELP), high priced beads and materials for the workshop (BEAD), covering costs for sending the materials (BEAD), a trainer and a segment manager to lead the workshop (BEAD) and one photographer to cover the workshop (BEAD).

The Workshop
On September 16th, Lilian, Karin, Livia and me met in a hotel in Addis Abeba. HELP Ethiopia had arranged flights from Addis Abeba to Dire Dawa (Eastern Ethiopia), where we would be picked up by HELP staff and brought to our accommodation in Rarah.

The workshop started on September 17th in the morning. The introduction given by Livia Lank, head of HELP Austria, recalls the collaboration as a series of gifts given to HELP and thus to the people receiving support by HELP:

 "And (BEAD), the first thing they did was they financed a school in Derra... Then we wanted to work together and the second step was that I went to their office and I showed them pieces from Rarah, pieces like this, and this, pieces I bought on my trips to Rarah. And I showed them.... This is why we are here in this week, to know how you think that a perfect necklace should look like... And don't forget: we are only here, all of us only here to be with you. With everybody sitting here. We made this enourmeous long trip only to be here with you and keep that in mind this week. And help us to make the best out of it, for all of us.... And for working, Lisa and Andrea brought you many many beautiful things from Austria. All these things you are going to need during this week and afterwards you can keep them.... Also in Austria, these would be very beautiful things. As I told you, (BEAD) is the crystal company, crystals are made of glass. They look beautiful and they are decoration. And as you saw, everything that you got is decorated with (BEAD) crystals, really something special. Also in my country, the students would appreciate it. It is really nice that they brought it." (Introduction to First Worshop Day, Livia Lank , 17.9.2007 Eliba)

The crystal beads are presented as a gift to the workshop participants. In the workshop, the development mode of giving was overlapping with a second mode of giving, those of the production of a commodity. Several interviews with participants have shown that they were, at the beginning of the workshop, not aware of the cause of the workshop as creating a product design but rather as a training like other trainings organised by HELP Ethiopia. They wanted to use the trainings for being able to support themselves, and thus "make something out of the training" (Teffera Waqimii, *personal communication*, 17.9.2007 Eliba). The participants in the workshop referred to these expectations in assuring that HELP was right in choosing them as receivers of the support: "I won't throw your support to the ground. It will be visible what I will make out of it. Nothing is going to be wasted!" (Bereket Mohamed, *personal communication*, 21.9.2007 Eliba).

The interviews showed that HELP Ethiopia used the trainings as gifts. Whereas the frontstage performance stated that people must become more independent after the trainings, the backstage performance showed that the trainings were also a way of maintaining relations between people of the Eliba area and HELP Ethiopia and/or reward behaviour aligned with HELP's interests. Almost all of the participants maintained relations with HELP, e.g. Abeba "Everybody who is working with (HELP) knows me, and I have good relations with (HELP)." (Interview Abeba Getachew 21.9.2007 Eliba).Wheras seven girls of the nineteen participants did not mention any other trainings by HELP they had attended, six stated that they attended trainings regularly. Some of them were voluntary workers for HELP to teach other communities about HIV/ AIDS precention and care, harmful traditional practices or family planning.

Four of them said that they were chosen for the training because they are uncircumcised and thus could be a role model for other girls because its them who get the training and not girls whose parents stayed with the tradition.

"People from (HELP) were looking for trainees, especially those girls who are not circumcised just to promote the elimination of circumcision for the girls around Eliba. So most of the time (HELP) arranges trainings just for uncircumcised girls so that the rest of the community can follow the example. So: I am not circumcised and I got the chance for this and this is the way I came here." (Interview Hadira Getu 18.9.2007, Eliba).

The mother of one of the girls attending was an employee of HELP herself and had thus invited her daughter and two of her friends to take part in the workshop. One male participant actually was a credit officer of HELP in Eliba.

While HELP Austria and BEAD thought of the nineteen participants as being selected for their skills in handicraft, their involvement with HELP Ethiopia was more important for their selection than the profile submitted by the European actors. Of nineteen participants, only three of the attendees said they had any experience in beading or other handicrafts. Sixteen said they got notice about the workshop directly from either HELP social workers or other employees of HELP because they knew them. The tailor Dabir Berhanu explained how the HELP social worker told him about the workshop:

"she asked me whether I want to go for training or not - so I said this is really nice from you, so I stopped my work and I came. " (Interview Dabir Berhanu 18.9.2007, Eliba).

The selection of the workshop participants shows thus the embedding of the workshop in schemes of relations and reciprocities in Eliba, where HELP Ethiopia was implementing development projects since 1981 and hence was there before the workshop participants had been born. Between HELP in Eliba and the workshop participants, there seem to be open exchange relations as described in the development mode of gift giving. Development gifts like the trainings are given and received with a rhetoric of sustainability whereas the practice, at least in my case, shows that they are used as a token of maintaining relations and rewarding desired behaviour.

HELP Austria and BEAD tried to establish a second mode of giving through the workshop: to tap on the open exchanges of development gifts and extract debt from the participants through establishing the more closed reciprocity scheme involving a) debts from previous development gifts from HELP Ethiopia (schools, wells, trainings....), b) debts from receiving the training by one of the best designers of BEAD and c) debts from receiving precious beads and materials from BEAD. Their expectation of an adaequate reciprocation was to get designs for their jewellery product, no more no less.

Through one debate that was coming up during the workshop and lasted until the selling of

the product, I became aware of these differing expectations on the use of the gift of the training and the materials. Resembling the gift systematics in development described above with the Temper-Bead donation and the findings of Stirrat and Henkel (1997), Rosalind Eyben (2006) and Benedict Korf et.al. (2010), the participants' outlook was less the workpieces to hand in at the end of the workshop but the way income generating trainings were normally held by HELP Ethiopia - by attending such a training one is consenting to the expectation that one will use the skills conveyed to generate an income (Tefferra Waquimii, *personal communication*, 17.9.2007 Eliba), as Abebech Mohamed tells in an interview:

"I don't want to sit simply and continue education. Besides my education, I want to do something out of this (training). I have to produce some jewellery either from the local equipment from beads and threads and so on and to help to sell those products for the market or to contribute it to my friend or relatives as gifts. Or to expand it in some sort of association or business and then create good money for myself, my parents and my community too." (Interview Abebech Mohamed 21.9.2007).

The problem with generating an income after the jewellery design workshop was simple: beads similar in shape and size to those employed in the workshop could not be found in the Eliba area. The techniques learned were almost impossible to apply to the local beads, being either much smaller or much bigger:

"In my village, with my neighbours I used to make this jewellery from beads but they are very small and not such beads I am training on now." (Interview Makeda Hagos, 21.9.2007 Eliba)

"The beads are really very different in type, in color, in everything, in size, and the beads we are training with. The local beads are very small and have few colors and the size is also different... If I can get the chance to work, to have access to these beads or some kind of organisation that works with these beads, then I can work and create and make money out of it." (Interview Anna Desta, date unknown, Eliba)

So the participants started to ask for ways of getting access to the beads employed in the workshop. On the second day of the workshop, Asmara Abdullah asked about possibilities to import the special beads to build an association that would manifacture jewellery to sell in the region. Without further support in accessing the beads, the participants were pessimistic about the impact on their economic situation:

"The only thing thing I might ask is what you think we should do on this training in the future. You came here, you trained us here and invested a lot of money, organising, transportation, everything. This means you are tired, you wasted your time, energy and money, everything. This must stay long, lifelong. We have to at least practice and learn for the future. It is better if you think for us about the continuity of this training, this making jewellery to stay with us and do something out of it." (Interview Bereket Mohamed 21.9.2007 Eliba).

Others joined in (Interviews Mohamed Dabir; Makeda Dimissie; Michael Ahmed; Anna Desta; Dabir Berhanu; Makeda Hagos) and there was heavy discussion on part of BEAD and HELP as well as on the participants' side.

Lilian and Karin of BEAD were angried about the ongoing discussion as they interpreted the asking for further beads as ingratitude towards their gifts and became angry on the participants. "If you offer them a small piece, they demand everything you have!" (Lilian Thompson, Karin Peacock, *personal communication*, 18.9.2007 Eliba).

During the workshop, no solution was found, as BEAD's materials were far too expensive to be profitably imported and sold in the region, from their pricing as well as the costs for transportation and costums (Interview Clyde Kohn, 27.9.2007 Addis Abeba). Nevertheless, some of the participants could get hold of possibilities to get, string and sell jewellery. Michael Ahmed and his friends collected beads from the local market as well as from clothes and manufactured jewellery they sold after the workshop was over (Interview Michael Ahmed, unknown date, Eliba). Makeda Hagos used the beads donated by BEAD to manufacture jewellery and sell it (Interview Makeda Hagos, unknown date, Eliba).

The amount of materials sent by BEAD to Ethiopia exceeded the need for the workshop by far, in terms of the amount and value of the beads. BEAD had sent more materials knowingly as the rest would be left as gifts to the participants. BEAD had chosen to send expensive beads from the newest collection and accordingly expected gratitude for this gift (Lilian Thompson, *personal communication*, 18.9.2007 Eliba).

I want to pick out the notion of being grateful to discuss for a moment to comment on reciprocity during the workshop and show two further strategies the participants used for confronting this situation.

The participants receiving the gift of training and the materials sent by BEAD were not able to reciprocate with interest in terms of absolute value. Thus, they were in a situation of receiving "with a burden attached" (Mauss 2002: 53) that placed them in a situation of indebtedness (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 73). The relation between the participants and HELP Ethiopia is by definition an unequal one of donors and recipients, thus the expectation of development gifts being reciprocated with interest in a rather closed reciprocity situation can be ruled out (Tevenar 2006: 188). As shown above, the right use of the development gifts also do not close the relationship off but rather reinforces unequal relations as givers and receivers. Through remunerating the participants for their labour as designers, at least for the workshop, a balanced account of giving and taking would have been at hand. But HELP Austria was opposed to paying the participants out of various reasons, the most tangible was: NGOs in Ethiopia were subject to a increasing number of restrictions and regulations, one being a prohibition of engaging in commercial activities. NGOs found engaging in any kind of commercial activities were banned from working in Ethiopia, which had already happened

various times, as Alex Langley, German born PR officer in the Addis Abeba office of HELP, informed upon request. Thus, HELP's fear was getting troubles with the Ethiopian administration if somebody found out about it. If the whole process in Ethiopia was framed like an usual workshop, benefitting the participants in developing skills to generate an income, no problems would arise (Memo Jewellery Manufacturing in Ethiopia, 14.9.2007).

As HELP Austria wanted the workshop to be embedded in the open exchanges of development, the relations between HELP, BEAD and the participants were also embedded in these relations.

Contrary to positive reciprocity, the one most often invoked with gift exchange, they were in a situation of negative reciprocity (Narotzky and Moreno 2002: 281). The relations being woven by gift exchanges cannot be solely understood as social-contract-like solidary systems and stability. If, before an exchange of gifts, the relation between the transactants is already hierarchical (Godelier 1999: 12) and the gifts cannot be reciprocated, the debt for counter-gifts and symbolic testimonies like gratitude and homage is not cancelled but prolonged, reinforcing the hierarchical relation (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 66; Eyben 2006: 89; Marcoux 2009: 673). The idea of extracting debts amassed by the unequal reciprocity situation in Eliba by letting young girls design a jewellery piece without remuneration or claims to intellectual ownership is another example for such a process.

For encountering this situation, the strategies of the workshop participants were threefold: 1) searching for ways to "use" the gift of workshop in an appropriate way 2) giving smaller counter gifts and 3) expressing gratitude.

As discussed above, the first strategy the participants used was not successful.The second strategy involved counter gifts not comparable to the gifts received through the workshop in total value but still continually gave signs of respect and indebtedness. My empirical examples are necklaces, rings and other small items produced in the workshop. On 17.9.2007 between 2.30 to 4pm, I noted six such gifts given to Livia (1), Lilian (2), Karin (1) and me (2) (Diary 17.9.2007 Eliba). Furthermore, a coffee ceremony was organised by the participants on the last day of the workshop. Some participants dressed in traditional festive costumes, roasted fresh green coffee, crushed it and boiled it three times in traditional pots. Everyone of the participants had brought something special along: bread baked only for festive occasions, popcorn to go with the coffee, spices, and sugar.

The third strategy - expressions of gratitude for the workshop - was exemplified by speeches by some workshop participants on the last day:

"Actually I just told this to Andreas, but I want to repeat in the presence of all of you: you came here from ", you have everything, you have the money, you have the technology, you have good life in

your country, in your village, in your home. Everything, the infrastructure, is fulfilled for you. But you came here, to the country were you can not find good roads, in a country were you couldn't find nice food, in a country were you face different weather condition from your country and in a country generally where you face different challenges. Just share what you have for us, for us, for those who are really poor. So really, for this good thing, for this good act, for this good deed, I thank you in the name of our colleagues and in the name of god. Thank you very much!... May God bless you in your way, every way, every direction in your life in your job, everywhere you go, everywhere you stay, may God bless you, may God be with you! " (Tenagne Yohannes, Recording 21.9.2007 Eliba).

"On the behalf of the trainees, we would like to extend many many thanks to you for the fact that you belived and you heard and you decided that there are youth, there are girls, there are groups in Babile who need really training, who need really this jewellery making, who really need job and how to create job. Then you decided it and you travelled long long distance from other continent to Africa and then in Africa from the top to the Horn of Africa and to Ethiopia so you came here and you trained here and we learned a lot from you and we will create, I assure you we will create, some sort of job for ourselves here in Babile. This is the biggest thank we would like to extend for you. In addition, not only the training, not only how to make jewellery is what we learned from you. We also learned from you nice exchange of ideas, behaviours, nice communications, your smile, the trainers especially, your smile is more than the training you gave us. Really not only the training, the job we learned but also the traditions, the culture of communication, we also learned this. We love you really, thank you very much!" (Abebech Mohamed, Recording 21.9.2007 Eliba)

But what significance can being grateful have in the gift systematics of the development mode in general as well as the specific situation of the workshop?

Tomohisa Hattori saw unequal gift exchanges as "a means of transforming the powerful into the generous and the weak into the grateful" (Hattori 2003: 156). Korf et. al. add for the receivers of gifts in the aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami that their being "grateful" was central to their being passive receivers (Korf et. al. 2010: 72).

The way Tenagne Yohannes expressed his gratefulness is a narrative of self-humiliation and can thus be seen in consenting to the hierarchy that was from the beginning inherent to the relation to the European donors (Godelier 1999: 12; Hattori 2003). People from a "good country" who "have everything" leave this great condition to come to a country without good roads and nice food just to be there with the poor and help them. In Abebch Mohamed's account these people decided that the poor girls of Eliba needed training and so travelled there to train them. But it is not only the skills that were generously given to them, they also learned how to exchange ideas, communication and friendliness. Gratitude in my case is not a gift nor a reciprocation mechanism but rather a testimony of the impossibility of reciprocation, a sign of the negative reciprocity situation (Tevenar 2006: 188; Rajak 2009: 219).

However, the power of defining appropriate ways of reciprocating were in the hands of BEAD and HELP Austria. In their conception of the collaboration, BEAD and HELP Austria were providing the mechanism to generate donations that would benefit girls in Ethiopia. They thought of it as the least thing the participants had to do - to take the beads and design

jewellery. Everthing else would be provided for them and even more, funds will be generated they could benefit from. What was largely absent from the collaboration of BEAD and HELP Austria was that the European actors involved drew more salary and prestige out of the collaboration than any other of the Ethiopian actors (Eyben 2006: 90), some of them being at the brink like Bereket Mohamed:

"Now my parents are paying me some 50 Birr per month for my room but for the rest, there is serious problem coming for me. My rank is coming down, not like the previous were, most of the time I feel hungry. When I am hungry, I cant read, I would prefer to ly in my bed or just to got out and to sit somewhere just to forget my starvation, so I am not sure whether I will continue this year (in school) or not because I am really in a serious problem." (Interview Bereket Mohamed 21.9.2007 Eliba)

After the workshop

HELP Austria and BEAD were happy with the outcomes of the workshop as their common aim was to bring back good photos, workpieces and "stories" for the fundraising product. The fact that the workshop was held in Ethiopia and the product should be designed by "students from Ethiopia" was the pivotal point around which the systematics of giving, receiving and reciprocating unfolded in their perspective. What would happen in Eliba after the workshop was not their priority concern as the focus was on the further proceedings in Austria and the way to the final product and to the funds that would result from them.

Four days after the workshop, back in Austria, Lilian and Karin sent a mail to Temper-Bead:

"We have reached our goal to create designs for the charity diy (do-it-yourself) kit. eventually, the other designs could be the base for other projects... the land, the development projects of (HELP) and above all the commitment of the teenagers during the workshop and their enthusiasm for crystal was enourmeous and impressed us" (eMail Lilian Thompson and Karin Peacock to Adele Temper-Bead, 27.9.2007; *translation by author*)

During the months after the workshop, the work on the final product and its marketing were dominant in the collaboration. On November 20th 2007, Lilian announced in an email that they were working on a homepage about the project, for presentation as well as marketing purposes for the product. On December 3rd 2007, Lilian and Karin presented the outcomes of the workshop in an internal meeting with "all CSR deciders of the company" (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 3.12.2007; *translation by author*). The meeting went well, and immediately afterwards, Lilian sent an email asking for a meeting with Aaron Smith-Bead, the managing director and board member of BEAD Crystal to discuss further steps.

Lilian Thompson continually worked on finding possibilities of communicating the project to the target groups of BEAD: the product was announced in the electronic newsletter for the Austrian business partners (BEAD Electronic Newsletter 12.12.2007: n.p.), in the worldwide employee magazine of BEAD (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 7.4.2008) and in a workbook edited by the DIY segment of BEAD (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas

Streinzer 19.3.2009). HELP Austria was developing plans for presenting the final product in an event, or organising exhibitions with photographs by Ian Rangley made during the workshop (eMail Andreas Streinzer to Lilian Thompson, 1.8.2009) which should be discussed in a meeting with Smith-Bead and Lilian Thompson on September 27th 2008.

In the meeting, taking place in Smith-Beads board member office in Landluft, Dr. Dean Donovan took part, a senior manager of BEAD, responsible for some of the most lucrative companies of the BEAD corporation, Lilian Thompson, Livia Lank and me. In the meeting, the final product, a keyring made out of a necklace designed by Abeba Getachew, was introduced by Lilian Thompson. She announced that 18.000 of the keyrings would be produced by BEAD in two versions: one third would be ready keyrings and two thirds will be sold as Do-It-Yourself Kits, coming with a manual how to be beaded. Smith-Bead was very happy with the outcome of the workshop and told the participants in the meeting that BEAD had already tried to hold a similar workshop before in South Africa. As the Bead family held property and companies there, they thought they had enough local contacts and infrastructure to carry out such a workshop. However, he said, it turned out to be a disaster. No useful working pieces were produced and a large amount of the materials disappeared (Aaron Smith-Bead in Meeting 27.9.2008 Landluft). This remark provides a backdrop for the significance of the local infrastructure and know-how in Ethiopia which HELP brought into the gift exchange. Indeed it was a hint at an underlying cause for entering into gift exchange at all: Trust and a stable relation to an organisation that could guarantee workshop participants and outcomes were more important than the overall costs.

BEAD offered some more gifts in the meeting: 600 of the keyrings would be donated to HELP Austria for their engagement in the collaboration and it was promised that, even if sales were low, HELP would receive a donation of 25.000 Euro. Smith-Bead announced that BEAD wanted to hold workshops like the one in Eliba every year, the next should be organised for autumn 2009. HELP Austria offered to organise presentations, fashion shows with the workpieces handed in, exhibitions and other public events to support the marketing of the product and to send a mailing to 80.000 donors in Austria for promoting the product and collaboration. Again, reciprocation was done with interest. The gifts given were not only given as return gifts for the workshop but also led to the plan to organise similar workshops every year from then on, trying to turn the cooperation into a long-lasting relationship.

However, the timing for the presentation of the keyring were postponed due to different reasons: the first date was intended to be June 2009 (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 26.2.2009), the production should be done in a BEAD company in India. Lilian

Thompson arranged the transport of the beads free of charge, thus lowering the costs for the production, which meant more revenue would be donated (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 24.4.2009). When asked about the presentations and events HELP Austria wanted to organise, Lilian Thompson wrote

"I presume that there will be a sort of handover of a cheque, nothing is fixed in terms of dates. Naturally, it depends on the commercial success and the speed of sales." (eMail Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 25.6.2009 *translation by author*). HELP Austria decided after this mail to stay passive in the presentation of the product, as Lilian's statement was interpreted as a sort of refusal to receive their gift of organising elaborate presentations. In October 2009, HELP Austria announced the collaboration in their donor's magazine, reaching approximately 80.000 donors.

On November 11th 2009, Lisa Bender, BEAD's brand and CSR manager, called me to announce that sales were regretfully low in Austria, only 97 keyrings had been sold so far. Sales in the US would start from the end of the year. She said that BEAD would nevertheless donate 20.000 Euro at the turn of the year. With HELP Austria receiving this gift, I ended my fieldwork.

Value, Meaning and Gift Giving in the BEAD-HELP collaboration

For the discussion of my second research question, I start in describing the biography of the keyring. I want to discuss transformations of the value and meaning of the objects through the transactions in the system of exchange. Recalling Mauss' writings about the *hau* and the *mana* of gifts, I assume that the exchanges have effects on the objects and subjects of the transactions, their value and meaning. In considering effects also on the actors and their relations, I will then describe the features and qualities of BEAD and HELP Austria at the beginning of the collaboration and the features and qualities of the fundraising keyring as an ethical product to discuss changes in the value and meaning of the objects in the collaboration.

The Biography of the Keyring

In my thesis I have repeatedly brought in the metaphor of *stringing the beads* to explain the gift exchanges as not only happening between HELP, BEAD or other human actors but also as transformatory work being done on the object qualities of the beads. In providing a biography of the keyring and how its material switched from being a commodity to being a gift and back to being a commodity but without loosing gift elements, I want to look at the

collaboration from another point of view: from those of the beads and what changed with them.

At first, the beads used in the workshop were produced in a capitalist production chain, produced in India for selling them in the stores or retail partners of BEAD or to be again used in the production process of new commodities. Those for use in the workshop became gifts in the HELP-BEAD collaboration. The conditions for their travels were arranged in the meetings between HELP Austria and BEAD, as well as who would use them in the workshop.

For shipment, the boxes containing the beads were packed with packing tape with the logos of HELP on it to protect them from unwanted access by costums officials as it was presumed that the probability for such an unintended end of their travel was lower with the packing tape. On August 21st and 22nd, the two shipments were collected from BEAD via DHL, carrying papers classifying them as donated items. The managers from HELP Ethiopia chose a trusted driver, working for HELP for several years, to pick up the shipments from costums. Then, the driver, accompagnied by Teffera Waquimii, drove the materials to Eliba for the workshop. There, they were locked into a room in the Charles Wagner student hostel and, as the HELP Ethiopia managers had ordered, had to stay there unopened until the arrival of Livia, Lilian, Karin or me. The gifts in the shipments were thus conceived as gifts of BEAD and HELP Austria to the workshop participants, the actors of HELP Ethiopia were only allowed to bring the packages to the place of their use. Nevertheless, one box was, according to Lilian, missing on the first workshop day. After one day of quarrels about the missing box, it was never mentioned again.

During the workshop, the materials were designed into a great variety of shapes, from necklaces, colliers, rings, earrings, to the traditional ambarka (headband), traditional Oromo milk containers and a variety of other objects or adornments. Rings, necklaces and other items were given as gifts between the participants and the actors of HELP and BEAD. When photographer Ian Rangley began to take pictures of the participants with the jewellery they had already designed, it soon looked like a competition for the biggest and most sparkling adornments. Sometimes, quarrels arouse out of accusations between the participants that they had been stolen from.

At the end of the workshop, the procedure of handing over the remaining materials was not clear for Lilian, Karin and me and we waited for Livia to come back from a field visit to decide whether the beads, pliers, mats and wires had to be handed over to the local school or the participants and how to distribute them. In the end, we tried to make packages as similar as possible containing more or less the same amount of beads and other materials to apply the

techniques learnt to the participants of the workshop. The workpieces handed in by them were collected by Lilian and Karin who had carried along extra suitcases were they were stowed away, then travelled back with me and Teffera to Addis Abeba and finally flew in Lilian's and Karin's suitcase to Western Austria. On December 12th, 2007, they were shown to the executives and board members of BEAD crystal, who reacted positively on them. From then on, what had been gifts before, entered again into the sphere of commodity production.

A BEAD designer jury judged on which design to choose, and agreed upon producing a keyring from a necklace designed by Abeba Getachew. The decision was, as Lilian told me afterwards, was based on the fear that the necklace would have been too expensive to be sold in large numbers, so they took only part of the original design. This parallels what Graburn wrote about pieces of art produced by indigenous people for being sold for others to consume: "Raw forces of unit costs" are most important, often implying a simplification of the actual products in size and decoration as the consumers did not know about the initial meaning and so could not judge its authenticity (Graburn 2006: 422f). The production was done in India and started in late 2008. In June 2009, the keyrings were in shops in Austria, ready to be sold.

The purpose of recalling the biography of the beads as the main objects in my field was to show their transformation in their position in the gift - commodity spectrum. The announcement that BEAD would give a large amount of beads and materials for the workshop was first a gift given by BEAD to HELP Austria, whose actors arranged the travel of their gift to Eliba. In the workshop, the participants could keep anything they designed from the beads, and in the end received what was left as gifts. Throughout the week, the participants learned various techniques and styles but the ultimate cause of this learning was the production of a sort of masterpiece which was, in the end, claimed by BEAD and HELP Austria. From 124kg of beads and materials, nineteen workpieces were taken back, containing the intellectual labour on the material. In them, the cumulative effort of the workshop was contained, the intellectual work of the participants, the place of the workshop and the whole circumstances of its coming into being.

When the beads re-entered a realm that made them more commodities than gifts, the circumstances of its being designed was still with them. The final package of the keyring hanging in stores showed a picture of Abeba Getachew, smiling, bejewelled as a testimonial to the slogan "designed by students in Ethiopia" and stating that an amount of the purchasing price would be donated to the efforts of HELP, a commodity that at the moment of purchase would trigger a gift to "girls like Abeba".

After this broadly outlined biography of the keyring, I want to take a look at the features and

qualities of the organisations between which the exchanges took place.

Features and Qualities

BEAD

The brand image of the BEAD corporation arises out of the two configurations in which it operates: as a family clan corporation, with traditionalist values and strong local roots in the Western part of Austria, invoked by the founding myth of David Bead searching for the ideal place for cutting crystals which he found in the pittoresque village of Landluft. From the early days, he wanted his business to have a positive impact on both the ecological as well as social surrounding of his operations. In the founding narrative of the Bead family as "good capitalists", they shared a history of connecting economic success with humanistic values, paying higher wages and implementing insurance programmes for its employees than other companies.

The jewellery of BEAD is manufactured entirely from glass, a rather cheap raw material with little exchange value, a rather basic commodity valued on its exchange value (Foster 2008: 16; Appadurai 1986: 40). The value of the products being sold by BEAD depend largely on establishing meaningful differences to other, cheaper glass bead products, by the transformatory work and branding being done on the materials (Foster 2008: 11, 97). Finding ever new shapes, colours and finishes, complicated polishing and grinding techniques, and designs by international star designers are important features of the worth of BEAD's products. Another is the fetish of the crystal, as symbol as exemplified by statements of Bead family members on the BEAD homepage:

"Today I am convinced that there will come a time in which humanity as a whole will be more mature and more enlightened. The hectic life we lead today will be left behind and constancy will hold sway. (...) Then we will know again what our ancestors knew and the indigenous tribes still know today, namely, that jewellery - based on true feeling and correct use - is just as important for the inner being as food is for the body." (BEAD 2010b).

Purity, they are convinced, is in the crystal itself, at various times associating it with water as a symbol for a pure and innocent nature that evades when someones tries to get hold of it. The purity that is invoked in the crystal has organisational implications - e.g. the refusal of the BEAD foundation to fund any projects not related to environmental projects or projects intending to conserve or process water.

During the time of my fieldwork, BEAD came into increasing pressure from competitors selling cheaper products. Although BEAD was renown for producing its jewellery in Austria, it shifted its production base more and more to other countries with cheaper labour costs, e.g.with the fundraising keyring which was beaded in India.

While BEAD was still a symbol for a responsible company looking after its employees and producing products of a unique kind and quality, the company was in need of strengthening this brand image. The intent to brand the commodities and thus establish values for comparison other than mere questions of price is a reflection of the gift-commodity distinction:

"contemporary marketing very often adds to commodity-exchange various elements that are traditionally attributed to gift-exchange only: market-exchanges are not always impersonal, but can aim at creating certain types of social bonds between seller and buyer, not unlike those that are considered characteristics of gift-exchange." (Foster 2008: 97)

HELP

HELP's brand image was also largely contributed to its founding figure Charles Wagner, born into a wealthy family, who became a famous theatre and movie actor. While living in luxury and abundance, he found his ultimate purpose in life: alleviating the plight of the poor in Ethiopia. From then on, he was known as a fierceful fighter against global inequalities, slowly building up a relief organisation which was, during the time of my fieldwork in Austria, a renown and trustworthy NGO. During its professionalisation, the organisation started strategic planning and budgeting and was, at the time when I joined the organisation, a professionally operating organisation, looking for ever new ways of funding and getting their message across. For heightening their propability of receiving funds, the organisation engaged in multifaceted strategies to boost its "moral capital", meaning involving "in a complicated social and political process of ''resource mobilization''—albeit one in which cultural dynamics and strategic rationality are inextricably intertwined." (Bryant 2005: 4).

In doing so, it promoted a certain image of *doing good*, being radically opposed to dependencies from state funding, consisting of people like Charles Wagner who leave everything behind to fight for the alleviation of poverty in Ethiopia. HELP's approach to development assistance as a holistic and long-term enterprise in a single country, emphasising the worth of local know-how and infrastructure is a further element of its image. In promoting and boosting their moral standing, HELP was carefully selecting their corporate partners on their possible impact on the image of HELP Austria and was on its way of building networks of trust (Adloff 2006: 408) that helped their standing with potential donors and the media as doing the right kind of good (Bryant 2005: 5f; 2008: 87; Godelier 1999: 5).

While many of the corporate donors of HELP Austria were giving single donations, long-term partnerships were more attractive as they provided for a constant inflow of donations.

Ethiopia

Another feature of the product I want to shortly present as the site in which the design was done and where the develoment gifts from its sale would flow - Ethiopia. The image as a country was first translated to the BEAD actors by Livia and me from HELP Austria. Later on, Lilian and Karin experienced their time in Ethiopia similiar to what they knew before. Livia and me were gatekeepers to the image and thus inherent qualities of the "people in Ethiopia". We knew about the significance and tradition of handicraft and beading in Ethiopia from conversations with staff from Ethiopia and literature (Silverman 1999) and, in proposing it as site for the workshop, struck a chord with the BEAD employees. The vision of a country in poverty, thus full of traditions, with indigenous peoples not spoiled by civilisation or abundance and media coverage, was the background for the qualities of it as a place for finding interesting jewellery design (Meeting 28.9.2005; Meeting 30.8.2007; Goodman and Bryant 2009: 13). At various times, BEAD actors told me that they hoped to find "raw diamonds" there, meaning people overly creative but lacking the means of using their talents.

Relations and capital transactions between HELP and BEAD

One outcome of the BEAD-HELP Austria Collaboration was the building of close relations between the institutional and individual actors to transfer not only material gifts, but features of the organisation's brands, and modes of accumulating various forms of capital.

For HELP Austria, BEAD was a preferred partner, being one of the major companies and wealthy families in Austria, holding a good reputation in terms of social and ecological engagement and was thus heavily courted by several NGOs. Being a long-term partner of BEAD was a good investment in the moral capital of HELP Austria. BEAD placed high importance on their social and ecological engagements, being an essential part of their brand image. For BEAD, HELP Austria was a reliable and effective partner, holding moral qualities that would also affect BEAD in a partnership. To attain qualities of each other, BEAD and HELP had to veil that they were transacting moral and economic capital in a way closely resembling barter, and thus chose the notions of charity and partnership for their exchanges: "For the donors, the great advantage of the model of partnership is legitimation in that it allows them to claim a certain authenticity: "We are of and for the people." (Stirrat and Henkel 1997: 75). Hattori further explains the point: "As a material resource, gifts provide not only the most quantifiable measure of an individual's virtue ... by extension, they provide the opportunity for individuals to buy social recognition." (Hattori 2003: 157). The transactions of moral and economic capital forms between BEAD and HELP is also happening in the development mode of gift exchanges between donors and recipients, be they NGOs or the

ultimate recipients in a number of other examples (Crewe and Harrison: 14; Lewis 2001: 157; Sugden 1982: 341; Silver 1998: 306; Adloff 2006: 420; Bornstein 2009: 630; Bowie 1998: 474; Eyben 2006: 89; Hattori 2003: 154f; Korf et. al. 2010: 61; Bryant 2005: 5).

The Keyring as Ethical Product

From the standpoint of BEAD, attaching qualities to one of their product that goes beyond their mere exchange value to facilitate appropriation by consumers, was a central element of their brand strategy. In the keyring, a number of qualities were concentrated that helped in establishing a chain of relations between the Bead family, their company BEAD, their consumers and finally, the recipients of the gifts, exemplified by Abeba Getachew, that would arise from buying the keyring (Foster 2008: 15). For HELP Austria, it povided the possibility to enter an open exchange relation with BEAD and enhancing its reputation and moral capital by presenting itself as vehicle for social change, whether by donations or by ethical products.

Speaking with Godelier and Anette Weiner, the circumstances of the production of the keyring (BEAD as producing brand/ company, HELP as brand/ NGO and the workshop participants, especially Abeba Getachew as the creator of the design) conveyed upon the commodity a unique quality resembling the *kitoum* of *kula* exchange that is its inalienable quality of being produced by a *particular* person in *particular* circumstances (Godelier 1999: 88). To convey this meaning on the fundraising product, the actual circumstances of its coming into being are paramount. Carrier wrote: "the object's setting can bestow upon it an authenticity, a valuable historical and cultural identity, and so facilitate the buyer's appropriating it" and further that "authenticity elevates the object beyond the mass of indifferent commodities by giving it a distinctive identity" (Carrier 1995: 113).

The invocation of locality and tradition (Pratt 2008: 60) with the keyring, as being designed by a concrete person in Ethiopia, in a setting of indigenous culture and tradition, was intended to convey a sense of proximity to the producer defined against the impersonal relations of the capitalist market (Pratt 2008: 56). By being designed in a concrete context, stated by the product packaging, the story of the keyring is also a narrative about the re-embedment of economical circles and of establishing relations between producers and consumers (Pratt 2008: 53; Goddard 2000: 145). In diverting attention to this romanticised notion of a more humane and personal economy, attention is also diverted away from the actual production taking place in India - presumably out of considerations of production costs (c.f. Luetchford 2008: 143).

In purchasing a product knowing about its *kitoum*, one is also confirming the circumstances of its production. In the BEAD-HELP collaboration this effect was used to boost sales. By "portraying individual market choice as an appropriate vehicle for bringing about an ethical world" (Carrier 2008: 31), BEAD itself presented it as the vehicle for moral actions. In terming the product line "Building Futures" and writing the claim in large letters on the packaging, it was suggested that by buying, one would bring along positive change in the world. In the keyring, consumer capitalism meets social repayment - the more keyrings are bought, the better for girls in Ethiopia:

"The ... product should ideally be marketed mainly through our collector's club. This retail system is already established and does not have to be tediously developed. The collectors pieces would be enriched with a new sense: the collector does not only please himself visually by our sparkling products, but does also contribute in a valuable and sustainable way to the well being of children in need. The blaze of his collector's pieces symbolises from then on also the blaze of children's eyes." (Concept Paper Crystal Ray of Joy, 21.6.2006: 2, *translation by author*)

As in the *kula* trade, BEAD and HELP Austria have an interest to see their *kitoum* circulate as long as possible, the more keyrings are sold on the market, the better for them - in terms of their brands and reputation as well as for generating more development gifts. As BEAD did only keep its expenses of producing the keyring, all economic surplus of the keyring sales are development gifts, earmarked for HELP's girls' education programmes. The second effect is the symbolic/ moral surplus - the more keyrings circulate, the more the unique circumstances of its coming into being are circulating and thus effect BEAD and HELP in their brands and moral capital (Godelier 1999: 91f).

CONCLUSION

When I began my ethnographic fieldwork in early 2006, the nongovernmental organisation I was working for, HELP Austria, had just received a large donation from Adele Temper-Bead and was offered to start talks about possible ways of collaborating. Throughout the next weeks, months and finally years, I was an active part of the collaboration, both as a co-worker and as an ethnographer. My methodological approach was to explore the fieldwork situation as broad as possible and without having research questions in mind. In following the routes the collaborative efforts of the actors took through Landluft and Kirach in western Austria, Vienna, Addis Abeba and Eliba in western Ethiopia and back, I was there doing participant observation, conducting interviews, taking photographs and collecting documents. I took part in almost all meetings between actors of the organisations and during the workshop as well as communicating via eMail and telephone with various actors of the collaboration.

During the time of my fieldwork, in a field I was only in retrospect able to construct and delineate, I looked in various directions for the central governing principles of what was underway. After the workshop held in Eliba in September 2007, some of the many questions I had in mind became dominant: Why did the actors make such huge efforts for the fundraising product? There certainly were cheaper ways of producing a keyring, why did it have to be designed in Ethiopia? Why did BEAD send a disproportionate amount of beads and materials to Eliba? Through these questions, I stumbled upon anthropological theories of the gift, which proved to provide at least entry points for some of the questions I had. By presenting literature on gifts in general, the differences between gifts and commodities and gifts in development, I intended to give a theoretical frame in which the discussions of my analysis could take place.

In discussing Mauss' general theory of the gift closely along those of his successors Annette Weiner, Maurice Godelier, David Graeber and others, I found elements of a definition of the gift, some rules of how gifts circulate, create relations, obligations and debts and how reciprocity works. Through Mauss' concepts of *mana* and *hau*, I provided the frame not nonly for discussing the form of the exchanges but also their effect on the subjects transacting and the objects being transacted, that become part of the exchanges not only as simple objects unaffected by their circulation but indeed as incorporating this history, the rights and obligations of the transactors and finally the relations of those giving them as gifts.

To connect the theory to be used for analysis with the empirical field of my study, I showed various approaches anthropologists took towards the notion of *development* - from instrumental to populist and deconstructive. My perspective towards the workings in my field were a blend of these approaches. As I wanted my thesis to be a non-normative account of the

process, I chose to use an actor-oriented perspective, focusing on the interactions on the actors' level and their work as brokers and translators. To provide the frame of reference for the actors' actions, I summarised anthropological accounts of the gift in development and ethical consumption.

Finally, in my analysis, I discussed the data gathered through three years in my field along two research questions. The first question was if the relations between the actors in the HELP Austria-BEAD collaboration can be framed as systems of gift exchange. It led me first to show two systematics of exchanges at work. The process of the HELP-BEAD collaboration began with gift giving in the development mode, a model also occuring in the literature. Adele Temper-Bead donated to HELP Austria without being forced or obliged but also not disinterested. When the idea of creating a joint fundraising product came up, a new systematic came into being, one built by the actors of the organisations for their purpose. At times the collaboration was more framed in terms of gift-exchanges and at times as commodity production. As the actors from HELP Austria and BEAD were dominant in the whole process, both through their structural situation in a giver - recipient spectrum as well as through the relations they had built among them through gift-exchanges, they were dominant in brokering their interests. The workshop participants were trapped in a situation of being recipients of development gifts, their indebtedness being used as gifts between HELP Austria and BEAD. In the end of these exchanges, its result was a keyring that was sold by BEAD.

The second research question was directed towards the biography of the objects: How do the transactions influence the value and meaning of the objects in the collaboration? In the discussion, I started by tracing their distinctive history in the HELP-BEAD collaboration and showed how the beads started as commodities, then became more like gifts when they were shipped to Ethiopia for the workshop and re-entered the commodity sphere after the executives of BEAD gave the starting signal for their production. Then, they were transformed into a commodity that still inhibited the circumstances of its circulation and was at the same time a commodity and a development gift. Besides these values, I argued that the keyring was also a testimonial of the building of relations between HELP Austria and BEAD, blurring the boundaries between persons and things.

With my case study, I showed a version of a coming into being of an ethical product that is both a capitalist commodity and a development gift. I focused on at least some elements of what could have been said about the subjects and objects in my field, their relations, positions and perspectives. My choices reflect my theoretical frame and questions for the study, which is necessarily incomplete. In choosing some elements, I left out many which could prove

fruitful to trace in future anthropological studies. A great number of additional actors could have been brought into the field, e.g. the consumers of the keyring. Why did they buy it? What do they think and say about the keyring, do they frame their purchase as a moral choice? One could have traced the chains of translation between the designers and the consumers, follow the beads to the Indian production site, or other possible trajectories.

Through engaging with the intersections between NGOs and the business world, a tendency in capitalist consumer cultures can be made visible: an increasing trend towards alternative trade movements, social business and social entrepreneurship that might gain momentum and ultimately affect the spectrum of gifts and commodities in our societies at large.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations

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DATA

Documents

BEAD Electronic Newsletter 12.12.2007

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BEAD 2010a - URL known to the author

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eMails

Sandra Culham to Andreas Streinzer 10.4.2006

Sandra Culham to Andreas Streinzer 10.5.2006

Sandra Culham to Livia Lank, 10.5.2006

Livia Lank to Adele Temper-Bead 25.6.2007

Alex Langley to Eliba staff 26.7.2007

Lilian Thompson and Karin Peacock to Adele Temper-Bead, 27.9.2007

Karin Peacock to Andreas Streinzer, 17.10.2007

Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 3.12.2007

Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 7.4.2008

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Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 26.2.2009

Livia Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 23.4.2009

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Lilian Thompson to Andreas Streinzer 25.6.2009

Andreas Streinzer to Lilian Thompson 1.8.2009

Interviews

Abeba Getachew 21.9.2007 Eliba

Abeba Getachew at her home 21.9.2007 Eliba

Abebech Mohamed 21.9.2007 Eliba

Anna Desta *date unknown* Eliba (conducted by Teffera Waquimii)

Assefa Getaye at her home 21.9.2007 Eliba

Bereket Mohamed 21.9.2007 Eliba

Clyde Kohn 27.9.2007 Addis Abeba

Dabir Berhanu 18.9.2007 Eliba

Hadira Getu 18.9.2007 Eliba

Kenedy Ahmed 18.9.2007 Eliba

Makeda Dimissie *date unknown* Eliba (conducted by Teffera Waquimii)

Makeda Hagos 21.9.2007 Eliba

Michael Ahmed *date unknown* Eliba (conducted by Teffera Waquimii)

Mohamed Dabir *date unknown* Eliba (conducted by Teffera Waquimii)

Meetings

28.5.2005 Kirach

28.9.2005 Landluft

31.1.2007 Landluft

12.4.2007 Landluft

13.6.2007 Landluft

30.8.2007 Landluft

27.10.2008 Landluft

Personal Communication

Aaron Smith-Bead 27.10.2008 Landluft

Bereket Mohamed 21.9.2007 Eliba

Charles Wagner 19.3.2009 Vienna

Eyerus Wagner 30.8.2006 Salzburg

Henry 14.12.2009 Vienna

Livia Lank 30.8.2007 Vienna

Livia Lank and Teferra Waquimii 19.9.2007 Eliba

Lilian Thompson 18.9.2007 Eliba

Lilian Thompson and Karin Peacock 18.9.2007 Eliba

Teffera Waquimii 17.9.2007 Eliba

Teffera Waquimii 18.9.2007 Eliba

Teffera Waquimii 20.9.2007 Eliba

Recordings

Introduction to the first workshop day 18.9.2007 Eliba

Introduction to the fourth workshop day, 20.9.2007 Eliba

Farewell 21.9.2007 Eliba

APPENDIX

German Abstract

Im Rahmen dieser Diplomarbeit wird die Kollaboration zwischen einer Nichtregierungsorganisation und einem kommerziellen Unternehmen zur Schaffung eines Produktes zur Spendengewinnung als Fallstudie herangezogen.

Die in vierjähriger explorativer Feldforschung erhobenen Daten werden mit anthropologischen Theorien über die Gabe und Gabentausch kontextualisiert und mit anderen Beispielen verglichen. Weiters werden theoretische anthropologische Zugänge zur Etnwicklungszusammenarbeit vorgestellt und ein eigener Zugang des Autors präsentiert.

In enger Diskussion der Ergebnisse der explorativen ethnographischen Feldforschung mit anthropologischen Theorien stellt der Autor die These auf, dass das Produkt gleichzeitig eine Ware und eine Gabe ist und verortet diese These in aktueller Theorie über ethischen Konsum. Die Handlungen der Akteure, um das Produkt herzustellen, werden als Austausch von Gaben beschrieben und zwischen Tirol, Wien, Addis Abeba und Eliba in Ostäthiopien im Detail nachgezeichnet.

Die Arbeit betont die Vielfältigkeit ökonomischer und sozialer Prozesse in der Mittelgewinnung von Nichtregierungsorganisationen und zeigt anhand eines Beispiels auf, auf welche Art Beziehungen und Transaktionen zu Wirtschaftsunternehmen in der Praxis funktionieren.

English Abstract

In this diploma thesis, the collaboration between a nongovernmental organisation and a commercial company to create a fundraising product is presented as a case study.

Through comparing the data collected in four years of explorative fieldwork to theories of the gift and gift-exchanges, the case will be contextualised and compared with other examples. Additionally, several theoretical perspectives on development will be discussed to present the perspective taken in this work. The author hypothesises that the fundraising product is at the same time gift and commodity and situates this hypothesis in contemporary anthropological theory on ethical consumption. The actor's transactions are presented as gift-exchanges and traced through the collaborative efforts in Tyrol, Vienna, Addis Abeba and Eliba in eastern Ethiopia.

This paper emphasises the multifacetedness of economic and social processes in fundraising activities of contemporary NGOs and shows through a case study, how relations and transactions with corporate actors work in practice.

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Curriculum Vitae

Europass
Lebenslauf

Angaben zur Person

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Berufserfahrung

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Tätigkeitsbereich oder Branche	Studentische Assistenz
Zeitraum	01/08/2005 - 28/02/2010
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Wichtigste Tätigkeiten und Zuständigkeiten	Agenden und teilweise Stellvertretung der Geschäftsführerung, eigenverantwortliche Recherche, Akquise und Betreuung von Firmenkooperationen
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Tätigkeitsbereich oder Branche	NGO
Zeitraum	01/06/2004 - 31/07/2005
Beruf oder Funktion	Mitarbeiter
Wichtigste Tätigkeiten und Zuständigkeiten	Studentischer Mitarbeiter
Name und Adresse des	Menschen für Menschen

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| | Arbeitgebers | Capistrangasse 8/ 10, 1060 Wien (Österreich) |
| Tätigkeitsbereich oder Branche | NGO |

Zeitraum	01/10/2002 - 30/09/2003
Beruf oder Funktion	Rettungssanitäter
Wichtigste Tätigkeiten und Zuständigkeiten	Zivildienst Samariterbund 1220
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Tätigkeitsbereich oder Branche	Rettungsdienst

Schul- und Berufsbildung

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Bezeichnung der erworbenen Qualifikation	Studium der Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie
Hauptfächer/berufliche Fähigkeiten	Interkulturelle Kommunikation, NGOs, regionale Schwerpunkte Ostafrika und Karbik
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Persönliche Fähigkeiten und Kompetenzen

Sonstige Sprache(n)

Selbstbeurteilung

Europäische Kompetenzstufe (*)

	Verstehen				Sprechen				Schreiben	
	Hören		Lesen		An Gesprächen teilnehmen		Zusammenhängendes Sprechen			
Englisch	C1	Kompetente Sprachverwendung	C1	Kompetente Sprachverwendung	C1	Kompetente Sprachverwendung	C1	Kompetente Sprachverwendung	C1	Kompetente Sprachverwendung
Französisch	A2	Elementare Sprachverwendung	A2	Elementare Sprachverwendung	A1	Elementare Sprachverwendung	A1	Elementare Sprachverwendung	A1	Elementare Sprachverwendung

(*) Referenzniveau des gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmens für Sprachen

| Soziale Fähigkeiten und Kompetenzen | Teamfähigkeit, Empathie, interkulturelle Ausbildung, Anpassungsfähigkeit |
| Organisatorische Fähigkeiten und Kompetenzen | Organisation div. Veranstaltungen, strategischer Aufbau von Netzwerken, Koordination Teams |

IKT-Kenntnisse und Kompetenzen	Beherrschung aller gängigen Benutzeranwendungen, Photoshop, CMS Kenntnisse, Datenbankkenntnisse
Künstlerische Fähigkeiten und Kompetenzen	Fotografie
Führerschein(e)	A, B
Zusätzliche Angaben	2004 Leiter der Veranstaltung „Reggae als kulturelle Ausdrucksform" an der VHS 3, Wien
	Juni 2007 Panel Speaker „Strategies for ending Africa´s Health Crisis" der Konferenz "Empowering Africa: The Keys to Africa's Future Development Programme" der Diplomatischen Akademie Wien
	Diverse Tätigkeiten in der Kinder- und Jugendarbeit im 9. Wiener Gemeindebezirk
	Diverse Studienaufenthalte in der Karbik sowie in Ostafrika