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DOCTORAL THESIS

Invoking a Culture - Deploying a Past

Albanian Identifications and Translocal Encounters

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Invoking a Culture - Deploying a Past Albanian Identifications and Translocal Encounters

by

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of

Professor Georg Elwert

(† March 2005, Berlin).

<u>Abstract</u>

This thesis traces internal and external identity constructions of Albanians through recourse to specific local Albanian pasts in post-socialist, including post-war, translocal and globalised realms of encounters. In this the main (but not exclusive) focus is on the role of traditionalist signifiers, their historical legacy and the ways in which these have informed perceptions of Albanianness both of themselves and by others, sometimes in unexpected complicity. My publications, as assembled in this thesis, demonstrate that identity-constitutive recourse to specific pasts, particularly to tropes of pre-communist north-Albanian customary law, frequently and stereotypically subsumed under the Ottoman term, *kanun*, have shaped and framed not just ideas about Albanianness but also served to delineate concrete social relations and relations of power, to justify social and political exclusion and inclusion as well as practices of resistance and subversion both between and among Albanians as well as with non-Albanians alike. Such identity constructions in traditionalist terms of Self or Other, respectively, as observed during the last twenty years in multi-sited ethnography, emerged from and were negotiated at, interconnected arenas of power where people as well as ideas about Albanians meet and matter still today with real social and political consequences in practice.

List of Submissions

Guide to the Reader

The works submitted for this PhD-by-Published-Works have been selected from a portfolio of more than 50 academic publications (see complete publication list in appendix D) in German, English and Albanian, spanning about twenty years of ethnographic engagement with Albanians in different local, national and transnational settings. The sum of countable words, including the following supporting statement, does not exceed the average word count as expected of a PhD dissertation (around 90,000 words; see appendix A, table 1). Only two co-authored articles have been included for reasons of content consistency, as explained in the Supporting Statement. In terms of word count these accrue to only 50 percent each. In accordance with paragraph 20.10 of the regulations a signed statement of the co-author verifying the share of work claimed is attached in the appendix (B). In accordance with paragraph 20.07 of the regulations the submission includes also one item which is currently only in press (forthcoming).

The selection of works is based on the following principles:

1. Selected works are in English only. This does not preclude reference to my other articles in any language, as deemed relevant.
2. They all constitute peer-reviewed contributions to academic journals or books, albeit not all of these, particularly in the case of book chapters, were reviewed anonymously.
3. They overlap in content as little as possible, although some repetition of content in publications based on the same body of research cannot be avoided (cf. Cowton 2011).
4. They illustrate the genesis of my work and the development of my thinking and are thematically consistent. I also hope that they reflect a wider contribution to the field of study, as required and elaborated in the Supporting Statement.

The individual contributions differ in style both of English language and formatting. This is due to different editorial requirements and styles of the volumes in which these works were published. The selected works are included as facsimile copies of

the original publications. I have maintained the original pagination and all internal text references are based on this.

In accordance with the Academic Regulations of the University of Roehampton (version 9.04, part three, paragraph 20.7), the Supporting Statement addresses the following topics:

1. Account of the genesis of the publications.
2. The nature of the research and research methodology informing the published works, including where and when the study and research on which the works are based were undertaken (paragraph 20.03).
3. A review of the relevant literature (unless the published works themselves include it).
4. A discussion of the contribution of the works submitted to the general advancement of the field or fields of study and research concerned.
5. The case for the published works to be regarded as a coherent body of work which merits the award of a PhD.

The regulations do not foresee a conclusion for a PhD-by-Published-Works. The Supporting Statement thus simultaneously serves both as a foreword and a conclusion. The appendix at the end of the complete submission contains the following tables which provide summary overviews of the information required for this statement, which for reasons of word count limits cannot be narrated in the Statement in every detail:

Table 1: List of submissions including word count
Table 2: Diverse but consistent: my academic trajectory
Table 3: The origins of my publications
Table 4: Ethnographic research sites and periods
Table 5: Thematic interconnections

It further includes above-mentioned confirmation by my co-author, the list of referenced literature in this statement and my full publication list.

How strange they look! What clothes!/
How odd they are! What moustaches!/
I don't know whether they are Wallachians or Turks./
Wallachians, Turks, Turks, Wallachians?

(Despina in *Così fan tutte*, Da Ponte/ Mozart, Vienna 1790)

Who do they we think we are, stuck in medieval times?

(Rreza, Prishtina 2008)

Supporting Statement

Invoking a Culture – Deploying a Past Albanian Identifications and Translocal Encounters

Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers

In November 1989 the Wall came down in Berlin; my home town. Little did I know then how the rending of the Iron Curtain across Europe would affect the lives of Albanians, and how understanding their lives would be fundamental in my career as an anthropologist. My research since then has documented how Albanians became subject to, as well as agents in, one of post-socialist Europe's vast 'movement of population backwards and forwards, with and between nations, as poorer people move to wealthier areas, and poor areas become the target of state and non-state funded intervention projects' (Kaneff and Pine 2011: 1). However, it was not the physical process of migration that was at the forefront of my interests.[i] My primary interest has been the politics of identity and representation in the ideological construction of Albanianness, their social and political causes and consequences and their impact on the practices of those researched, acting in a constantly changing and expanding world of new translocal encounters.

My research explores the ways in which in these post-socialist and globalised contexts different Albanians have imagined themselves as a distinct community (emically) or been imagined as community by others (etically). I have been particularly fascinated by the role and effects of the dominant culturalist invocations of Albanianness in terms of distinct pre-communist local traditions of customary law, commonly signified by the Ottoman term of *kanun*. I was interested in the reasons for these symbolic identifications in situations of global expansion in which, on the one hand, a plurality of ideas and identifications had become available yet, on the other, regime change and repeated state failure in Albania (since 1992) and the last

Yugoslav-succession war in Kosovo (1998-1999) had increased social, economic and political inequalities as well as triggered international regimes of intervention and containment. My work traces the ways in which such invocations relate to contemporary processes of social and political inclusion or exclusion -- among and between different groups of Albanians as well as between Albanians and non-Albanians alike. It aims to disentangle the history of such hegemonic constructions of Albanian identity, trace unexpected translocal discursive complicities[ii] and their affirmative effect on power relations, as well as the effects of such imageries of Albanian 'self' or 'other' on real social lives and agency on micro-level and in practice. In this, any contestations of old and new master-narratives of who the Albanians are, or ought to be, have always captured my attention.

As this submission documents, my ethnographic focus has successively developed from an exclusive engagement with Albanian nationals,[iii] their subject positions and strategies on the classic local ethnographic level in a situation of repeated state collapse and 'permanent transition' in Albania, through to their translocal experiences and encounters as migrants or refugees abroad (part A); and, finally, to an engagement with both Albanians and non-Albanians (or 'internationals') in situations of 'protracted emergency' (cf. Pandolfi 2010), which to the present day continue to justify international intervention in Kosovo (part B). The concept of translocality, usually credited to Appadurai (1996a), best captures the spatial interconnectivity and travels not just of people but also of these contemporary assertions of Albanian identities, from and between specific local, national and global sites of their construction. My multi-sited focus -- in terms both of geography and of entering 'the field through zones of overlapping representations and power/knowledge' (Marcus 2010: 362), as I will explain in more detail below – places my work among those contemporary studies of anthropologists, who, according to George Marcus, 'in the midst of regimes of intervention,[iv] from which they try to stand apart in the name of commitment to and sympathy with subjects as victims of history writ small and large, are increasingly constructing themselves as witnesses to momentous, large, global processes of change' (ibid.: 366).

In summary, this thesis is, firstly, about varied Albanian politics of identity in post-socialist (including, post-war; cf. Hann 2001: 6) globally expanded spaces,

confronting new opportunities as well as the constraints of external policies and interventions, both at home and abroad. Secondly, it is about the powerful potential of identity-constitutive imageries, when internal traditionalist myths are affirmed by external culturalist stereotypes, to become self-fulfilling prophecies at the cross-roads and intersections of postmodern encounters. Thirdly, it offers some critical insights on the unintended outcomes of international interventions when these ignore local socio-cultural complexity and significations of local pasts while not reflecting on their own presumptions. Overall, through its multi-sited, ethnographic micro-perspective this thesis seeks to reveal some of the often-concealed structures of power within which Albanians and non-Albanians interact both locally and translocally and both within and between globally interconnected social fields at different levels, and their impact on agency and change.

1. Account of the genesis of the publications.

I would like to emphasise that I have never abandoned my academic career and research interests. My publications represent an account of a continuous progression of my research within, and thinking about, my chosen field of interest, as developed during years of academic engagements with identity-construction processes regarding Albanians both within and outside academia. Yet my professional trajectory is perhaps an unusual one, indicative of the diversified income strategies of a transnational academic outside standard track procedures, who benefited from a reputation as an area specialist and a sudden need for knowledge on the subject(s) of her research within the international world of policy of both, intervention abroad and immigration at home (see appendix A, table 2 for full details). However, as I will make clear in this section, it is not just global developments which deeply affected my subjects of interest at new interfaces of local/global encounters, but also my own, transnational biography as well as tragedy affecting important people around me, which account for this specific trajectory, the genesis of my publications as well as for this unusual choice of a road to a PhD.

My first study visits to Albania and Kosovo, which ignited a lasting scholarly interest in Albanian cultures and societies, were in 1988. When I was a student of social anthropology and Balkanology at Berlin Free University, Albania was still a communist-totalitarian regime and the Albanians in Kosovo faced a deteriorating situation of interethnic discrimination. In 1992, as part of the MA requirements in Berlin, I conducted my first long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Albania. The country was only just opening up after decades of a closed totalitarian-communist regime. At the time so little was known about this previously most isolated country in Europe (Kulpok 1981; Costa 1995) that, even though only an MA student, soon after my return, I was invited to give my first public lecture to an audience of several hundred people at the Urania in Berlin.[v] Invitations to international conferences, covering specific questions and topics to which my research related, have continued, but none could ever frighten me as much again as this inauguration into the academic requirement of public performance.

I have published my research findings since 1992. My early works (e.g. Schwandner-Sievers 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001) must be understood as part of what in German anthropology has become known as Georg Elwert's Berlin School of Sceptical Social Anthropology (Hüsken 2004: 323).[vi] Comparative, demanding long-term ethno-graphic engagement already from MA students and with a special focus on the an-thropology of conflict and violence, this School explicitly identified itself in contrast to the culturalist traditions of German *Ethnologie*.[vii] I predominantly worked in Ger-man until I transferred to England in September 1997 to take up the position of the first Nash Fellow for Albanian Studies at SSEES (UCL; 1997 - 2003). Henceforward I published predominantly in English.

The Nash Fellowship was devoted to research in Albania. However, soon after the end of the war in Kosovo in 1999 I was able to rekindle my interests also there, first when instructed to explore local perceptions of post-war social realities as lead field researcher of a World Bank project (La Cava et al. 2000). Most of the submitted publications are revised works based on invited public presentations of research results given at international academic conferences; many resulted from individually invited contributions to academic book projects; and the two co-authored pieces were research-based submissions to anonymously reviewed academic journals. Also

teaching inspired my writing: since 1995 I have regularly taught at MA level successively in area-studies programmes at Universities in Berlin, London, Bologna and Vienna. During my time at SSEES I also organised several international conferences and seminar series, which led me into new directions of research, resulting in both edited books and individual chapter contributions elsewhere.

In 2003, when my contract at SSEES expired, I was offered an honorary association with SSEES, which lasted until September 2011. In 2010 I accepted an honorary fellowship at Roehampton University, which was transformed into a research position in November 2011. Sporadic consultancy collaborations since the early 1994 had put me in position that, from 2003 onwards, international consultancy work, now as director of a UK-registered company, Anthropology Applied Limited, became my main source of income. Apart from repeated work on specific topics for large inter-national agencies (e.g. World Bank, ICTY, UN, EU, OSCE, ODHIR etc.), my most regular work has been with asylum and criminal courts or social services in the UK.

My applied work has never been separated from my academic interests. It has inspired much of my writing and, until recently, funded most of my research. Yet, as with other contemporary anthropologists, who work as 'expert witnesses' on the 'culture' of people subjected to regimes of national immigration or international intervention policies (Marcus 2010; Good 2007), this double professional identity has posed complex ethical and methodological challenges. Perhaps the most demanding one has been to maintain my academic independence amidst different regimes of knowledge production and conflicting duties generated, on the one hand, by my discipline and, on the other, by the legal system within which I was employed. I have repeatedly spoken and written, as well as taught, about these ethical dilemmas and epistemological conflicts (see CV). In the face of space restrictions I would only like to mention the fact that ethical considerations have repeatedly led me to reject selected consultancy instructions, e.g. when producing a background report in immigration cases which would have provided arguments for the deportation of an asylum seeker (cf. submission IV). I could protect such freedom of choice and my academic independence through running my own company. In a business entirely depending on reputation, however, this ideal has both served me and kept me in an economically precarious situation.[viii] In effect, I could never afford to give up on

pursuing additional academic avenues for funding my ethnographic research interests.

Currently my company has been scaled down because of involvement in a historical-anthropological research project hosted by my alma mater, Free University Berlin, funded by the Thyssen Foundation and originally conceptualised by Holm Sundhaussen and Georgia Kretsi (†2009). The focus of this project is the clandestine social organisation of militant resistance in Kosovo long before the 1999 war. The first publications from this current project have deliberately not been included in this submission with exception of a 'side product', which directly relates to the topics of interest here (submission X),

The genesis of the individual contributions submitted must be seen in context with my earlier research trajectory in Kosovo and Albania including a subsequent, yet never-completed, doctoral project then registered at Berlin Free University. Already at MA level I began to publish my original research findings (in German), but almost all my presentations and subsequent publications assembled here have their origins in draft chapters from this earlier doctoral project. I published parts of these draft chapters (after due revisions) when I had given up hope of completing the doctoral project in Berlin for reasons related to a tragedy; explained below. This previous doctoral project was funded by a generous three-year scholarship of the German Research Foundation as member of the Graduate College 'Transformation Processes in Eastern Europe and South-eastern Europe and their Historical Background' (1994 – 1997). The project was first interrupted by my move from Germany to England in 1997, when I decided to re-write and re-submit the existing draft in English. My temporary, full-time employment at SSEES and accelerating developments in Albania and Kosovo, however, caused further delays. Between 1999 and 2003 I submitted draft versions of re-written chapters (in English) and, eventually, a nearly complete 400-pages draft dissertation to my former supervisor, Professor Georg Elwert of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Free University Berlin. The agreed title at the time was, 'Evoking a Past: Albanian Identifications and Local Power'. Georg Elwert commented critically on this earlier work, and for this, as well as preceding years of academic encouragement, trust and inspiration, I will always feel

enormously grateful. In early 2005, however, he passed away after many months of severe illness. This work is dedicated to him.

I failed to take up the chance when replacement supervision was offered in Berlin in late 2006. However, it was the combination of facts such as living in different countries. Georg Elwert's long deteriorating health and eventual death and, eventually, my undergoing yet another professional transformation from a salaried post as Nash Fellow at SSEES/UCL (1997 - 2003) to freelance employment in the UK, which prevented me from completing at the time. Although my research and thinking has continued and developed continuously since these earlier draft submissions, this possibility of submitting a PhD-by-publications offers an opportunity to reassemble some of this original work.

As is already evident, as well as acknowledged throughout my publications, I have repeatedly benefited from academic scholarships and project funds supporting my research. At the same time, my academic consultancy work in the applied world of policy allowed me to pursue my research interests even at times when I held only short-term and honorary academic appointments. The genesis of my publications must be understood as rooted in this continuous scholarly interest and engagement with Albanian cultures, history and societies and the ways in which Albanians and those who come into contact with them, both at home and abroad, construct Albanian identities and 'culture' through recourse to specific pasts.

A more detailed break-down of the different factors of genesis of the individual submissions is supplied in table 3 (in appendix A).

2.   The nature of the research and research methodology informing the published works, including where and when the study and research on which the works are based were undertaken

My research methodology must be understood in conjunction with changes in the epistemological underpinnings of international anthropology during, at least, the last twenty years that have influenced, shaped and informed its nature.   Beyond

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providing formal methodological information I will therefore use this section to clarify some of the core terminology and theoretical inspirations on which my work is based. In particular, I aim to clarify my understanding of such concepts as 'culture', 'identity', 'tradition' and 'traditionalism'.

My research has been based on multiple short and medium term ethnographic fieldwork in diverse research sites, ranging from both local communities to transnational individuals and families, in and from Albania and Kosovo and to non-Albanian actors coming into contact with Albanians from the wider region in different institutional settings, either at home or abroad. Besides participant observation it frequently included theme-guided, semi-structured and open-ended interviews as well as biographical, family history and local expert and time witness interviews pursued through the snowball method of making social contacts and tracing connections. During consultancy assignments both in the wider region and elsewhere, in rather different spheres of power, my research in addition made use of focus group research (for exact details of places, dates and duration, see table 4 in appendix A). I have always made use of historical sources in the relevant languages, including, most importantly, Albanian, and interpreted these in ethnographic ways. In this I followed Comaroff and Comaroff who suggested that historiography should be ethnographic and 'more than a little bit anthropological' if,

> concerned with the recovery of meaningful worlds, with the interplay of the collective and the subjective … By the same token, however, no ethnography can ever hope to penetrate beyond the surface planes of everyday life, to plumb its invisible forms, unless it is informed by the historical imagination – the imagination, that is, of both those who make history and those who write it. (1992: xi)

In the first years of ethnographic research in the region there were personal reasons (being a single mother of a child of school age) for choosing to conduct repeated field visits, lasting from anything between a few days, several weeks to several months, rather than one long field visit lasting one year or more. It turned out that there were great advantages in making repeat visits because it allowed for reflection from a distance, helped building trust upon return to the field and assisted my recognition of long-term developments and socio-political change. Comparative research within Albania, and, later, in different places and sites in Kosovo and in the

translocal context (for details see submission I), allowed juxtaposing socio-cultural variety to those generalised assumptions of 'an Albanian culture', which to the present day prevail in internal and external imageries. The entire time spent in the region conducting ethnographic fieldwork adds up to more than two and a half years (see table 4). The time spent engaged in work with and on Albanian migrants and their legal cases, and in international consultancy engagement outside the region, cannot, and has not, been counted, as this has been an almost permanent state of participant observational research engagement over the years.

Submission number I, listed in table 1 as part of the introductory section together with this supporting statement, offers methodological reflections on my strategic positioning during ethnographic fieldwork. It describes the negotiation of my own identity as a (then) young female researcher in settings and on topics in Kosovo and Albania found to be of often deeply patriarchal character and considered 'violent' and dangerous by many of my friends, colleagues and family at the time.

As already indicated in the introduction, my overall methodology seems best captured by George Marcus's concept of multi-sited ethnography which encapsulates multi-sitedness not just in a geographical sense (1995, 2010, 2011). This methodology was less a matter of a preconceived research design than of practical research strategies. It also responded to unexpected opportunities for participant observations arising out of my involvement in a new type of sites where I found myself to be called upon to 'explain Albanian culture'. These new research sites included court rooms and police offices in the realms of immigration policy, criminal and international justice as well as the offices of international civilian and military operatives and decision-makers in the intervention field of peace-making and state-building. My research thus 'cross-cuts dichotomies such as the "local" and the "global," the "lifeworld" and the "system"' (Marcus 1995: 95). It followed not only 'the people', when working with transnational migrants, but also 'the metaphor', 'plot, story, or allegory' (Marcus 1995: 106, 108 - 109), when tracing *kanun* and other signifiers of Albanianness through cross-cutting spheres of both internal and external discursive Albanian identity constructions in Europe. Hence, beyond ordinary respondents in the classic ethnographic sense, my ethnography included collaboration with 'para-ethnographers', i.e. Albanian and non-Albanian counterparts

themselves highly capable of self-reflection (cf. Marcus 2010, 2011; Holmes and Marcus 2005; Mosse 2007: 12). In my case this meant collaboration with both Albanian and international NGO leaders, consultants, experts, academics, politicians, dissidents, solicitors, lawyers (judges, barristers, solicitors) and senior military and police officials. Following Marcus (2011) my anthropological consultancy involvement thus inserted me into a 'para-ethnographic' modality of research and into 'para-sites' of ethnographic inquiry.

However, my research in 'para-sites' has never replaced a continuous, classic (albeit multiple) ethnographic engagement, aiming to explore subject positions from within, in selected localities inhabited by ordinary Albanians both at home and abroad. The translocal and multi-sited perspective 'does not displace but complements the characteristically anthropological emphasis on daily routines and lived experience' (Gupta and Ferguson 2001a: 5). It requires us to 'remain sensitive to the profound "bifocality" that characterizes locally-lived existences in a globally interconnected world and to the powerful role of place in the "near view" of lived experience' (Gupta and Ferguson 2001b: 11; Peters 2001). After all, it is 'in everyday life and the symbols and rituals associated with these everyday political actions', that power is concretised, 'affirmed and contested in social practice' (Gledhill 1994: 22; in reference to Abélès 1992: 17).[ix] Particular ethnographic sites where state power is defined as weak or failed[x] and, therefore, according to the interventionist security and stability driven paradigm, in need of international intervention, can challenge our conventional professional identity (Marcus 2010: 360). These sites not only allow us to study the varied ways in which local people respond and give meaning to the disintegration or absence of a previously omnipresent state (see submission II).[xi] They also permit studying the ways in which ordinary people make sense of, re-build, transform and communicate their relationship to a changing, overarching regime of power, whether national, imperial or supra-national (see submissions VI – X).[xii] In this, in my opinion, the classic interpretative focus of anthropology on symbols, rituals, every-day life, discourses and social practices that invoke local pasts and collective experience is uniquely placed to identify the role of local webs of significances, the ways in which these are internally communicated and their political currency. Anthropological hermeneutics on the grounded basis of ethnographic immersion goes beyond the epistemological and normative

straightjacket of universalist paradigms such as multi-ethnic 'reconciliation', 'human rights', 'good governance', 'civil society', 'transitional justice', NGOs etc. The latter are future-oriented concepts (Ghosh 1994: 412; Marcus 2010: 368; 2005; 2011), most of which explicitly aim to break with local pasts. However these pasts, from a local perspective, might have remained of utmost emotional significance to the locals who I have encountered. These pasts can become expressed in culturally distinct and politically relevant ways, as numerous ethnographies of the wider region suggest.[xiii]

Notably, universalist concepts inform not only the vocabulary and culture of liberal peace- and state-building policies (cf., critically, Eastmond 2010; Rubinstein 2005; Wilson and Mitchell 2003), but also the mainstream of academic disciplines such as the Political Sciences, Security and International Studies to the present day. After the end of the Cold War, ethnographic approaches to post-socialist politics were a rare exception.[xiv] Today, after peace- and state-building projects in post-war Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan have led to considerable disillusionment, clichés such as 'we have to win their hearts and minds' underpin policy-makers' ideas of improvement. A sense for the need to gain a better awareness of grass-roots concerns and to enhance 'cultural sensitivity' of practitioners has now gained considerable appreciation within the political sciences.[xv] The study of 'bottom-up politics' or 'the politics of the governed' are now *en vogue* beyond the confines of the anthropological discipline (e.g. Kostovicova and Glasius 2011; Chatterjee 2004). There even exists a new 'post-liberal' wing, which explicitly promotes the use of ethnographic methods of immersion and empathy.[xvi] However, while this wider shift has helped my own employment history,[xvii] ideas of how to conceptualise culture beyond static short-cuts in policy practices and how to operationalize the desired integration of local knowledge, are still unsatisfactory (cf. Rubinstein 2005: 533). I believe this is a field in which critical and ethically-aware anthropology has yet to reveal its strengths and that my own ethnographic and applied works could contribute to the discussion beyond the confines of anthropology as a discipline (more in section 4).

Just as a multi-sited and translocal methodology complements rather than precludes localised ethnography, so a social-constructivist approach in anthropological theory does not deny the fact that tacit, self-evident and implicit[xviii] forms of knowledge spe-

cific to a group may exist. It further concedes that groups on any level, in certain instances, may share commonalities, moralities and emotional attachments and therefore perceive of themselves, or are perceived by others, as an entity (cf. Brubaker and Cooper 2000; cf. Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 7). The underpinning epistemological difference between static approaches which assume 'culture' or 'identity' *a priori* as a given (i.e., essentialism) and social-constructivist approaches, is that the latter prioritises a focus on these concepts as an outcome of social, political and economic processes (cf. Kuper 2001: xvi). Verena Stolcke, in her seminal contribution of 1995, suggested that '[i]t is not cultural diversity *per se* that should interest anthropologists but the political meanings with which specific political contexts and relationships endow cultural difference … in order to make sense of contemporary cultural politics in this interconnected and unequal world' (1995: 12). By the same token it was the politically particularly sensitized anthropology of post-colonialism which highlighted translocal flows of cultures and identities (Appadurai 1996b; cf. Meyer and Geschiere 1999, 7) and the creativity of cultural hybridity anywhere (Bhabha 1994). The latter phenomenon is particularly evident in increasing contemporary world-wide invocations of particular cultural traditions[xix] in resistance or juxtaposition to processes of globalisation. The invocation or [re-]invention of selected cultural traditions in identity construction processes is known by the term of traditionalism and recognised to be a distinctly modern process.[xx]

Several ethnographies of the recent Balkan wars, which aimed to counteract assumptions of 'ancient hatred' as an explanation of war and violence, have highlighted another possible function of traditionalism that goes beyond post-colonial or anti-global resistance. Understood as a modern expression of a profoundly European legacy of nationalism (Höpken 2001), internal traditionalist identity claims and politics of representation at local or national levels were found often to underpin spatialised claims to territory and/or power.[xxi] These spatialised rhetorics can be closely related to naturalising arguments of collective inclusion or self-essentialisation, on the one hand, and of exclusion and 'othering', on the other. However, other ethnographic studies in the same region have shown that inter-ethnic stereotyping on the ground can be a harmless everyday practice of discursively ordering and explaining surrounding social worlds, which does not necessarily

translate into hate speech. Such discursive practices are typically counterbalanced by experience of social interactions that contradict the stereotypical notions of similarity and difference (Brown and Theodossopoulos 2004; Neofotistos 2004; Theodossopoulos 2003). In other words, it is not stereotyping *per se* that triggers war and violence. But stereotyping can become an instrument of politics at any level in this.

My work describes processes of self-essentialisation (re-traditionalisation) which served the production of local socio-political orders and a sense of dignity in uncertain times (submission II; VII). At the same time, it shows how these processes can serve the silencing of discontenting voices and social or political exclusion (all submissions) as well as help justify and direct violence at any level. Traditionalist stereotyping at more powerful levels was found to help divert attention from, for example, state responsibilities (submission V). In international settings, whether related to immigration or intervention policies, they can also incur severe social consequences for the people thus categorised. Such stereotyping can even produce feedback processes with local 'essentialisers', at the expense of those translocal individuals, subjected to policy-led actions and practices informed by, and rhetorically justified through, these culturalist perceptions (cf. submissions III, IV, V, IX).

Gupta and Ferguson alerted the discipline of the need to 'interrogate, politically and historically,' a 'naturalised' and 'spatialised understanding of cultural difference' and to 'see instead a difference-producing set of relations' which 'occurs in continuous, connected space, traversed by economic and political relations of inequality', so that we can 'turn from a project of juxtaposing pre-existing differences to one of exploring the construction of differences in historical process' at any level (1992: 13; 2001b: 45 – 46; cf. Foucault 1980; Elwert 1989). By the same token, nowadays already classic social-constructivist concepts such as 'myth' (cf., e.g., Overing 1997; for the Albanian case, Schwandner-Sievers 2002), 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) or 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), from which much of my own vocabulary has derived, are not a commentary on historical and cultural facts of truth. Rather, they are indicative of an approach primarily interested in the historical process of identity-construction – as is also indicated by the choice of term

of 'identification' rather than 'identity' in the title (cf. Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 14-17) -- and its agents or drivers as well as its contemporary social and political functions explored in their respective ethnographic settings.

Guided by this epistemology, already my earliest ethnographic research in northern Albania on the post-socialist role and function of cultural concepts such as *kanun* and the associated value of *besa*[xxii], at the time widely associated with revitalised blood feuding traditions, found that these tropes serve to justify ritual 'enactments' of the pre-socialist past on local level in ways that favoured the social and economic interests and power of traditionalist actors in the post-socialist land distribution process (Schwandner-Sievers 1999; 2001: 97; summarised in submission II). I later found that the same traditionalist metaphors served local and nationalist self-assertions of status, prestige, positions, identity and dignity in counter-hegemonic resistance against, previously, the Serbs and, nowadays, the international political presences in Kosovo (part B). It was only through grounded ethnography that I could identify these functions of traditionalism, whether in relation to claims of privilege regarding private land or national territory and local or national political power, whether in conflict with Albanian co-nationals or with members of competing nationalities, namely the Serbs in Kosovo. Comparative ethnography also helped me gain a more differentiated picture -- along lines of gender, generation, region, social class, victims or perpetrators (or both) and the politically included or excluded -- regarding the spaces where, and reasons why, traditionalism as a culturalist explanation or justification is sometimes refuted or does not matter (all submissions). Yet it was only through multi-sited ethnography beyond these grounded localities, at para-ethnographic levels of research and in translocal spheres of encounters, both within the respective nation-states and beyond, that I could trace some of the ways in which these metaphors travel. I also could trace the unexpected feedback processes and the social and political consequences of external, generalised reproductions of, or obliviousness to, local, particularistic and traditionalist identity choices within wider, asymmetric relations of power.

3.   A review of the relevant literature (unless the published works themselves include it).

Although multi-sited ethnography 'indeed tends to cross-cut across the geography of area studies' (Marcus 2005: 8; 2011), my published works, primarily, are part of Albanian Studies. In the wider context of area studies they also belong to Balkan Studies or the Anthropology of Eastern Europe and, partly, of the Mediterranean. Methodology, epistemology and theoretical inspirations are drawn from social anthropology. More specifically, in approximate order of priority, they relate to the anthropology of post-socialism; the anthropology of conflict, violence and reconciliation; the anthropologies of policy and of intervention; the wider fields of legal and political anthropology and, not least, applied anthropology. Lastly, there are also important cross-disciplinary connections to the studies of ethnicity and nationalism, gender, memory, migration, refugees, translocality and transnationalism, globalisation and international relations, security, peace and conflict as well as intervention studies and legal sociology.

I have already alluded to some relevant debates in the interdisciplinary field above. Also the individual works submitted generally engage with the relevant literature, as applicable. In particular, submissions III to V refer to relevant studies of Albanian migration and 'Albanianism', the translocal culturalist imagination of a culturally distinct Albanian identity and its effects. I am devoting this section to discussing the contemporary state of Albanian Studies with particular regard to divisions among contemporary scholars concerning the concept of Albanian culture. In this I partly rely on one of my recent German publications on the state of anthropology of Albania/Albanians (Schwandner-Sievers 2009a), which could not be included for language reasons alone. I will complement these former findings with information on anthropological studies in and of Kosovo. After a review of the literature where I situate my own work, I will briefly outline the core issues surrounding research on *kanun*, which emerged as by far the most iconic, whether glorified or rejected, signifier of Albanian culture and identity discovered in multi-sited and translocal ethnography and para-ethnography.

In my article, titled, in translation, "'Virgins" and "Bulls in a China Shop'" (Schwandner-Sievers 2009a; forthcoming in Albanian), I explored the ways in which Albanian ethnologists, after the collapse of the previous regime in 1991/1992, were challenged by international social or cultural anthropologists to re-configure their professional identity. The resulting conflicts and developments were not much different from those described for other post-socialist countries in the wider region.[xxiii] As social elites, representing one of the regime's most privileged disciplines, the established, domestic ethnologists suddenly had to struggle to make ends meet. Under the communist dictator, Enver Hoxha, they had been charged with producing material proof of a primordial, ethno-culturally ancient and territorialised national identity and were considered part of the historical sciences. They promoted ideas of Albanian cultural autochthony, autonomy and continuity precluding the possibility of admitting to, for example, Ottoman cultural influences. Local folklore, including that associated with the old customary law, *kanun*, came to serve as an ideological repository of motives for ethno-national self-definition. However, it had to remain safely locked in the past: in museums, history books and folklore events, and be represented, literally, as 'domesticated' by the socialist modernisation project (Schwandner-Sievers 2001: 105; cf. Kretsi 2007: 91-6; Voell 2004: 97).

In the early 1990s, Joel Halpern, who first initiated contact with the local *Instituti i Kulturës Popullore* together with initiatives by Graz university, which invited me to join in some of their work,[xxiv] felt that the established Albanian ethnologists acted just like 'virgins' in the post-socialist, globalised market of international anthropology and its mainstream theories and ideas. Suddenly thrown into economic disarray, those who did not emigrate had to diversify income strategies and take up several jobs. At this time many grew bitter about English language hegemony and foreign anthropologists, some of whom, from this difficult local perspective, seemed to behave just like 'bulls in a china shop'. During the crisis-ridden 1990s, the foreign anthropologists[xxv] could attract funds to set new agendas, which often were in fundamental contradiction with the local colleagues' professional self-understanding. However, conflict hardly broke out openly, because one domestic coping strategy was to simply ignore the imported forms and content of knowledge production. However, equally several international scholars failed to appreciate the 'intimate knowledge' (Herzfeld 1997: 7), on which the classic domestic ethnographic

collections and scholarship are based and not every foreign anthropologist sufficiently engaged with the Albanian language.

During the 1990s it sometimes seemed as if domestic and international anthropologists had different job descriptions. The domestic scholars were still in the job of identity building. They were folklorists and archivists collecting evidence of immemorial, essential Albanian folk features in line with the classic national myths of 'origin and priority', 'ethnic homogeneity and cultural purity', 'permanent struggle' or, associated, military prowess and heroism such as evident in epic song, and 'indifference to religion' (cf. Malcolm 2002). International anthropologists such as myself dissected the underlying myths and analysed the identity construction process. The former aimed to hold on to the essence of one collective, continuous, autonomous and autochthonous national identity. The latter were fascinated by the sudden mushrooming of previously silenced and closeted, multiple, fragmented, contested and conflicting identities and memories, triggered by the end of the previous totalitarian regime. Many explored post-socialist Albanian identities as 'invented', shifting, negotiated, fluid and interest-bound (re-)constructions. As in other post-socialist states (e.g. Pine 1998), several international scholars documented cultural fragmentation and coping strategies as these emerged out of the local and transnational negotiations of both new problems and opportunities within and across the formerly impermeable national borders and, sometimes, their expressions in changing material culture.[xxvi] We even provided a platform for those internal dissidents and critics, who came from outside anthropology and who challenged the old nationalist identity myths.[xxvii]

While the Albanian 'establishment' grew increasingly concerned about the image of their national identity abroad, many of the foreign anthropologists were specifically interested in internal contestations and conflicts within post-socialist identity politics. I vividly recall being reprimanded for my description of the pragmatic, albeit internally conflictual, Albanian Aromanian identity politics (presented in submission II) by a member of the *Instituti i Kulturës Popullore*, who came from this community, in the mid-1990s. Yet it was the growing international interest in the revitalised blood feuding and reconciliation practices in the northern mountain regions in the name of *kanun* which proved a particular eye-sore for local academics.

Triggered by the collapse of the communist Albanian regime in 1991 or 1992,[xxviii] reinventions of the *kanun* discourse and its ritual re-enactments, including blood feuding and reconciliation in practice, could be observed in this socio-economic most marginalised region. Soon these came to serve both local, internal justifications and external explanations for transnational Albanian criminal practices, albeit at the time effectively ignored as a problem at the Albanian national level. However, some critical Albanian colleagues and several other international colleagues,[xxix] although not all in English at first, publicised the resurgence of *kanun* as both a discourse and practice within and beyond the discipline. Soon this was widely picked up not just by fellow-academics but also by the international media.

However, a simple domestic/culturalist versus foreign/social-constructivists divide regarding contemporary studies of *kanun* within the discipline cannot be upheld anymore today (Schwandner-Sievers 2009a). To the present day another divide, which cuts across the foreign/international distinction emphasised for the 1990s so far, emerged with regard to the question of continuity or discontinuity of *kanun* as a set of cultural norms and a practice through the communist period. The variety of interpretations can partly be explained by a widely unreflected difference in emphasis on specific aspects of *kanun*, a total phenomenon which circumscribes local norms and rules on the one hand and social rituals, customs and everyday practices on the other, relating to all social, political, economic, spiritual and legal forms of self-regulation practiced in the northern mountain villages. Some of these aspects, particularly those where *kanun* as a social praxis competed with the paternalist rule and modernist state-building project of communist dictator, Enver Hoxha, were cruelly suppressed during the communist period. More normative features, such as the complex cultural concept of *besa*, were reproduced in state ideology.[xxx] Yet others, such as the socio-cultural norms of hospitality or post-marital virilocal residence, appear not to have changed at all (the latter already documented as a 'self-evident' norm in a survey on family-planning practices, Weber and Schwandner-Sievers 1994).

While the term *kanun* is related to Ottoman forms of indirect rule and local administration (Reinkowski 2005; Schwandner-Sievers 1999), it is also significant to note that those cultural aspects, which are externally subsumed under the term *kanun*

but have remained culturally implicit, are not necessarily referred to as *kanun* by local villagers themselves. Rather, if specifically prompted, they might explain continuous customs simply as 'our ways of conduct' (*doket*), 'our customs' (*zakonet*), or 'our rules' (*ligjet*) or 'traditions' (*traditat*) (cf. Çamaj 1989). Where locally discursive reference to *kanun*, however, is made in order to justify specific actions and claims to power and economic resources, this is all the more likely to be an indication of traditionalisation processes and even feedback processes between researchers and researched (Schwandner-Sievers 2001: 105), rather than an indication of implicit cultural knowledge.

Independently, De Waal and I respectively interpreted *kanun* and associated blood feuding practices, as observed immediately after the regime change *in situ*, as a revitalised, modern and transformed phenomenon. We saw them as resulting from specific village economies and local politics over claims and entitlements regarding mainly land, irrigation and authority. We related these processes to the highly particular situation of Albanian post-socialism, marked by a repeated collapse of state power as experienced in this regional 'periphery of the periphery' (Fuga 2000). De Waal's analysis focused on extreme economic scarcity and resource conflicts in the context of the post-socialist land reprivatisation process (De Waal 1996, 2005; inspired by Black-Michaud 1975). My work, based on a comparison with Berit Backer's filmed observations in the same region a year earlier (1991), traced the local politics of social exclusion and inclusion and the ways in which these exploited the sudden vacuum left by the previously totalitarian and paternalist state power on which the villagers had come to rely.[xxxi]

Our focus on previously suppressed and suddenly revived blood feuding practices, village authority and prestige structures correlated in some respects with the older generation of Albanian academic experts' understanding. They previously were obliged to provide evidence of the achievements of the socialist modernisation project by claiming the effective suppression of customs considered pre-modern and patriarchal.[xxxii] However, our approach was also fundamentally different. Albania's leading contemporary experts on customary law include, most prominently, the legal ethnographer and historian, Ismet Elezi, the north Albanian sociologist Tonin Gjuraj and, most visible in the international media, the head of the National Reconciliation

Committee, Gjin Marku. They all declared the post-socialist revived feuding practices to be a cultural deformation, or even a 'bastardisation', of *kanun*.[xxxiii] Their understanding seems based on a romanticised idea of the *kanun* in the past. According to the romantic national myth of *kanun* the northern region is the 'cradle of the nation', where the Albanians had practised primordial and autochthonous egalitarianism and folk democracy and successfully and autonomously contained any escalation of violence. In previous work I have assembled historical descriptions which shed considerable doubt on this interpretation (Schwandner-Sievers 1999).[xxxiv]

At its core, a romantic perception of *kanun* misses the fact that '[l]ike any other law code, the code [*kanun*, is, and always has been] prescriptive, not descriptive… concentrating on the ideal world of the code gives a distorted picture of the way the society operated in practice' (Bracewell 1993: 167; cf. on 'ideal' vs. 'natural form' also Çamaj, 1989: xv). This confusion between norm and praxis is shared by some international scholars. Particularly problematic are the criminologists, Jana Arsovska and Philipp Verduyn (2007), who attempted to measure the 'correct' contemporary knowledge of *kanun* among Albanians in the wider region today. Without sufficient source critique they proclaim as the 'correct' standard the only available print version of *kanun*, produced by a passionately nationalist Albanian priest in the early 20th century, who aimed to provide the foundations for a future national law based on a locally highly specific variant, and who modified the text version according to his ideals (Gjeçov 1989 [1933]; cf. Çamaj, 1989). Yet international anthropologists such as Roland Littlewood (2002), Stéphane Voell (2004, 2006) and Antonia Young (2000) also sometimes seem to treat *kanun* as a cultural given. I find my work referenced by all these authors, but only a few colleagues seem to have registered my ideas about the ever-negotiated character and interpretations of *kanun* as a discursive part of local power politics in post-socialist northern Albania (e.g. Mustafa and Young 2008; Ammann 2003; Voell 2006 in refuting my approach and insisting on *kanun* as a habitus). Meanwhile, a new generation of translocal Albanian anthropologists, typically educated abroad, has not only reclaimed the field but also bridged the earlier foreign/international divides.[xxxv] Young Albanian scholars now reflect on the differences between different scholarly trajectories and, in new and critical ways, on the phenomenon of *kanun* (e.g. Kodra-Hysa 2010, 2011; Bardhoshi 2011).

From 2000 my ethnographic attention turned additionally to Kosovo. Here, under state-socialism since the late 1960s, the domestic professional self-understanding promoted among ethnologists in Tirana had a direct influence on the ways in which ethnology and Albanology was taught across the border at Prishtina University (Kostovicova 2005). Yet there were also differences. Generally, in Kosovo, there has been a greater willingness than in Albania to acknowledge an Ottoman-Turkish cultural heritage, not least because this allowed ideological distance between the Albanian people and the Serbs with the help of the politics of culture. From the early 1990s, *kanun* reconciliation traditions, in a top-down process led by the cultural elites spear-headed by Prishtina University's leading ethnologists, were actively re-invented, transformed and re-imported to the villages. These, under the leadership of folklorist, Anton Çetta, understood this instrumentalisation of reinvented traditions to encourage internal appeasement as a patriot practice, which fostered Albanian national solidarity against the outer threat of increasing Serb hegemony (Clark 2000). As my more recent work on Kosovo suggests,[xxxvi] this process may have had a lasting effect on strengthening and justifying traditionalist ideologies in post-war Kosovo.

In contrast with Albania, in Kosovo, during socialist times, international anthropologists could conduct research. Kosovar ethnologists as well as scholars of related subjects, such as rural demographers and sociologists, studied in Belgrade or Zagreb before Prishtina University opened in the late 1960s. Both leading domestic scholars (e.g. Rrapi 2003, 1986; Islami 1985), while working more in an archival rather than interpretative tradition, and international anthropologists conducting classic ethnographic community-based fieldwork, were fascinated with *kanun* traditions and change under Yugoslav socialism. A comparison of their work at different periods allows the effects of contextual change on socio-cultural changes in Kosovo to be traced. Berit Backer (2003[1979], 1983) and Janet Reineck (1991, 1993), in particular, focused on kinship, gender, migration and community in rural communities in Western Kosovo, which is considered particularly patriarchal. Backer's work from the mid-1970s onwards suggests that, under conditions of Yugoslav liberation, the previously deeply traditional gender roles began to change, extended family structures dissolved and customary rules of self-regulation, including blood feuding practices, faded into the past.

> The rule [*kanun*] is still there. If asked, people will say that a primary duty of a man is to kill the murderer of a brother, son, or father…. But nobody does so anymore. Courts, judges, police and prisons have taken over the handling of crimes. People know the traditions and their rules, but on the level of social interaction they do not practice them all anymore... The possibility that 'Albanianness' can be re-codified and expressed in terms of participation in modern institutions and social settings produced by industrial society has been accepted as an alternative. (Backer, 1983: 174)

With this Backer takes a somewhat more radical view than Rrapi and Islami, who highlighted considerable cultural continuities amidst modernization and change. Contrary to Backer's optimistic findings it also soon became known that both blood feuds and traditional reconciliation rituals associated with *kanun* continued in Kosovo at the time of her research.[xxxvii] From the late 1980s onwards, Reineck's work revealed strong re-traditionalisation processes in Kosovo. Traditions served as a repository of local knowledge of self-regulation as well as a source of preserving dignity, activated in response to a drastically deteriorating economic and security situation marked by experiences of severe state violence and persecution (Reineck 1991, 1993). An anthropological research project hosted by Graz University, 'The Kosovar Family Revisited' (Karl Kaser, Carolin Leutloff, Eli Krasniqi), is currently updating the question of socio-cultural change in the communities originally studied by Backer and Reineck. Culture, as described in these studies, has directly affected the position of my respondents (see particularly submission V) as well as my own position as a female researcher (see submission I). It has also provided useful arguments in my applied consultancy work, for example in asylum cases involving people falling outside the social norms of hetero-patriarchal familism (e.g. members of the LGBT community or women perceived as having 'transgressed the social mores'[xxxviii]) or at risk of revived feuding practices in Kosovo. Hence, this ongoing ethnographic research is very important to my work. However, my main research focus has not been on possible socio-cultural continuities as genuine traditions on the ground.[xxxix]

As before my interest was in the ways in which distinct politics of identity utilise memory, traditionalist tropes and narrative myths, which in the Kosovar case have fed directly from the grass-roots to top governmental level. In terms of my work, there is thus, on the one hand, a direct thematic continuity with my previous work in

Albania and in the translocal realms of research. However, on the other, my work in Kosovo must additionally be seen in context with similar political-anthropological studies of traditionalist identity politics in the wider Yugoslav space and the ways in which these have underpinned nationalist self-assertions and the mobilisation of violence and popular support for such violence on the ground, before, during and after the Yugoslav succession wars.[xl]

In Kosovo, Albanian identity constructions which took traditionalist recourse to a glorified *kanun* culture and its associated, symbols and values such as *besa,* were found to serve as constitutive discursive tropes defining a collective Albanian Self in the new hegemonic, militant post-war memory and commemoration practices. By describing national characteristics such as faithfulness to the cause, solidarity beyond death, military prowess and bravery etc., they were integrated into the wider canon of Albanian national myths. These traditionalist tropes and myths underpinned socio-economic and political claims on state resources by the new political leaders, who usually emanated from the formerly most disadvantaged rural population groups. These groups had borne the brunt of the war, and their leaders sought to re-establish their dignity through mobilising collective nationalism from the bottom up (submission VI and VII). The victory of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) ensured that a new class of first-generation urbanites, in terms of public morality and associated social and political status, has effectively replaced the previously privileged Yugoslav-Albanian elites in their former positions of power and morally disqualified their often nostalgic memories of Yugoslav socialism (submission VIII). While leading representatives of the international community have required Albanians to break with their militant past, to forgive and forget (cf. Luci 2011: 173; submissions IX, X), these domestic politicians, who celebrate collective war memories and militant resistance through traditionalist visual, ritual and discursive references, can count on wide support among their predominantly rural, suburban and otherwise socio-economically disadvantaged constituencies. Their traditionalist politics of symbols actively seeks to challenge the international state-building project in practice and thereby question the international visions of Kosovo's multi-ethnic future (submission IX, X).

My, and my co-authors' studies on these memory politics and its symbolic communications and the ways in which these related to socio-cultural change and international policy in Kosovo have directly influenced a number of national and international anthropologists working on Kosovo.[xli] There is close research collaboration with many of these, including the new generation of Kosovar anthropologists and sociologists at Prishtina University, who specialise on memory and gender research in Kosovo.

In summary one could claim the following: whereas in post-socialist Albania *kanun* traditions as reinvented discourse and practices have been marginalised if not, particularly in the translocal context, criminalised, in post-socialist Kosovo they became effectively nationalised and situated in contradiction with the international state-building project (a fact which, for the perpetuation of a closed, informal realm in politics and society, can also lend itself to criminalisation). Above I have traced the categorical divides between the involved anthropologist, here according to foreign versus domestic as well as generational shifts, and in difference of approach to the concepts of Albanian culture and identity, as exemplified through dealings with *kanun* (social-constructivist vs. culturalist/essentialist or nationalist; romantic vs. source-critical etc.). It emerged that with a new generation of young Albanian scholars educated abroad the previous geographical dividing lines, representing different professional trajectories within different political systems, have become less pronounced and the domestic establishment challenged from within. The divides between those, who still take specific cultures and identities as territorialised 'givens' for granted, and those, who seek to understand these as the result of interconnected processes of cultural creation, which are particularly dynamic in times when change and choice abound, have consolidated beyond the older boundaries between inside ethnologists and foreign anthropologists.

4. A discussion of the contribution of the works submitted to the general advancement of the field or fields of study and research concerned.

Arguably my work has been in the vanguard of applying a theoretically informed, social-constructivist and interpretative type of anthropological analysis to Albanian Studies. My co-edited volumes produced on Albania and Albanians during my time at SSEES brought together the first national and international studies produced from such a perspective. Several of my works have been translated into Albanian, mostly published in the critical Albanian journal, *Përpjekja* (including submissions V, VI and VII), run by former dissident and Herder-Prize winner, Fatos Lubonja. While my studies are still largely ignored both by Tirana's and Prishtina's older academic establishment, I work closely with the younger generation of domestic anthropologists in these countries. Has my socio-deconstructivist approach been destructive of a fragile national identity and therefore ethically questionable (cf. Brown 2000)? The answer probably depends on which generation of Albanian scholars is asked. Above I have situated my work within, and its contributions to, Albanian Studies. Within the remaining space available I would like to highlight a selection of the recognition which my work has achieved beyond this narrow field.

Firstly, within the interdisciplinary field of Balkan Studies, a review of a volume on *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* (including my submission II), edited by one of the region's most eminent scholars, Maria Todorova, and published on the renowned 'Habsburg Net', captures perhaps best what I have been trying to achieve when researching both traditionalist discourses and its consequences in practice. This review first laments that most historians and literature scholars of the Balkans tend to explore collective memory only at the level of elite representations. Although in this volume 'Todorova acknowledges the need to consider how it is that collective memory is "activated" in people's consciousness and becomes a motor for action, this topic is left largely unexplored' (Le Normand 2004, n.p.). My anthropological contribution is singled out as the exception:

> Some of the essays are quite excellent and contribute new perspectives. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers's fascinating article offers insights into the utilization of the past in transitional periods. She explores the uses of tradition in present day Albania, contrasting the revival of Kanun law among the

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mountain villagers of Northern Albania to the myths of origin conjured by the Aromanians in the post- communist period. In both cases, actors mobilize the past to situate themselves within a reconfiguring society and jockey for scarce resources. Schwandner-Sievers sees the Aromanians as adopting a more promising strategy, which she describes as globalizing; whereas the revival of the blood feud in Albania cuts off the highlands from the rest of the country, the Aromanians make alliances with the Greeks or the Romanians on the basis of common ancestry, creating access to goods across boundaries … Of those essays that do consider the deployment of discourse, Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers's essay is the most thought-provoking. (Le Normand 2004, n.p.)

Secondly, given my studies in Berlin, it is not surprising that my work has been cited in, and become part of, standard handbooks and collections in the anthropology of conflict and violence emanating from Georg Elwert's School of Anthropology (Elwert 2003: 263, 273; Schwandner-Sievers 1996, 1999, 2001; cf. Hüsken 2004: 323). It has also contributed to the sociology of conflict and violence as taught in Germany. For example, legal sociologist Peter Waldmann comprehensively relied on my ethnography in northern Albania to highlight the political economy of honour codes and feuding practices in a comparison between Columbian and Albanian practices of violence (1999: 150 – 154). Beyond this national heritage, in international debates, the sociologist, Jonas Gruztpalk, in a theoretical discussion of 'blood feuds in modernity', drew on my findings about the ways in which violence, rather than being regulated according to any normative ideal-type prescriptions, may escalate in practice precisely through being guided by subjective interpretations shaped by the socio-political positionality of those involved (2002: 118).

Thirdly, beyond sociology, my co-authored work on the KLA's traditionalist politics of symbols, their socio-political functions and effects, appears to have had an impact on conflict studies in political theory relating to Kosovo and beyond (e.g. Bekaj 2010: 22; Dam 2010, 20-11; Pouyé 2007: 39, fn. 50). It even has entered international Peace and Conflict Studies syllabi.[xlii]

Lastly, my research has had a direct impact on international policy at several levels. Most visibly, it forced immigration decisions regarding Albanians in the UK to engage more deeply with social and political complexities in the countries of origin.[xliii] But given the recent shift in International Studies, which now recognises

the need for a better integration of local concerns (see above), it is particularly in this field where I hope to make future cross-disciplinary contributions.[xliv]

5.   The case for the published works to be regarded as a coherent body of work which merits the award of a PhD.

I hope I have made the case, throughout this supporting statement, that this submission represents a coherent body of work which merits the award of a PhD. The introductory paragraphs, in particular, introduce the core arguments and theoretical framework that underpin and relate all my submissions. I hope I have demonstrated that my interest has consistently been to understand better the complex ways in which representations and practices relate, whether one informs the other or whether they differ; and how they can affect each other in sometimes unexpected ways. In particular I have been interested in understanding the ways in which the relation between discourse and praxis is indicative of power negotiations and processes of social inclusion or exclusion at any level. Focussing on specific Albanian traditionalist identifications, best known under the Ottoman term *kanun*, I have traced these interconnections from the most localised to the most globalised realms, through the example of Albanian translocal encounters both with themselves and others during tumultuous and uncertain times of so-called post-socialist, including post-war, transitions. In this my research has successively expanded to include translocal and para-ethnographic interlocutors and sites.

All my ethnographies have involved Albanians, first in Albania from where the Albanians ventured into the wider world (part A); and, subsequently in Kosovo, when the wider world ventured there (part B). My work reveals that traditionalist images by some Albanians of themselves as a community and about Albanians as a community by others, usually in terms of *kanun*, travelled with them, and affected them and their space for manoeuvres and choice, all along. It also reveals the powerful agency of Albanian traditionalists in constructing these imageries, and thereby asserting their place in social and political worlds occupied by either other Albanian or international rivals, or both.

In order not to reproduce the interrogated culturalist and primordialist images of Albanianness, myself -- a risk inherent to selecting sites where traditions matter -- I have, firstly, consistently applied a both socio-constructivist and interpretative approach. Secondly, my research has always included counter-examples. In post-socialist Albania, I studied southern Albanian Aromanians, to whom pasts other than *kanun* traditions mattered and were utilised in pragmatic ways (submission II). My work with migrants followed ordinary Albanians who, although not necessarily identifying themselves with local *kanun* traditions, had to cope with being identified in these terms abroad (submission III). My para-ethnographic work as an applied anthropologist in UK immigration and criminal courts with Albanian refugees in conflict with law further sharpened my view about the power, interplays and effects of translocal essentialist identifications with *kanun* (submissions IV and V).

In post-war Kosovo, partly with my co-author, Anna Di Lellio, I deliberately searched for the internal voices and memories of Albanians silenced by the post-war hegemonic master-narratives of war heroism (submissions VI, VII and VIII). We found them weak, because unorganised, and morally subdued by those who framed their claims to power in militant-traditionalist terms inspired by *kanun* identifications of Self. The ways in which these domestic invocations of a heroic past and the international visions of Kosovo's future contest each other, whether in the field of military collaboration across the divide or in terms of contradicting concepts of civil society or democratisation, are elaborated in the final two submissions (IX and X). These bring the thesis to my present para-ethnographic research interests in translocal encounters of, and with, Albanians in contemporary European intervention practices. Here my particular interest is in a cross-disciplinary contribution to explaining the ways in which invoking a culture and deploying a past can subvert international intent, if local concerns and identity politics are ignored.

Endnotes

[i] Between 1990 and 2000 Albania featured the 'proportionally highest' (Vullnetari 2007: 35) emigration figures of all former socialist countries in Eastern Europe. Much of my works, particularly co-edited volumes, which are not included in this submission, have dealt with topics such as 'Albanian emigration' (with Karl Kaser and Robert Pichler, 2002), 'New Albanian migration' (edited with Russell King and Nicola Mai, 2005) and 'New Albanian Transnationalism' (edited with Nicola Mai, 2003); see also Mai and Schwandner-Sievers (2003) and, in connection with my consultancy work, Schwandner-Sievers (2005).

[ii] Hammond (2004: xvi) used the term 'discursive collaboration', whereas I used 'implicit alliances' as concept in the same volume (sees submission III, pp. 111n.).

[iii] Including the Albanian Aromanians, who rediscovered their distinct ethnic identity only after the regime's collapse.

[iv] I suggest subsuming both immigration and international peace- and state-building practices under 'regimes of intervention'. Although located differently, regimes of intervention in immigration policy and geo-political humanitarian or military peace- and state-building intervention are closely related. They are both based on the idea of re-establishing order and managing populations according to Western liberal imagination: one serving population control at home, the other abroad; both in the name of security and prevention of mass migration.

[v] Urania is a scholarly foundation, founded in 1888 in the spirit of Alexander von Humboldt and aiming to bring scientific discoveries to a broader audience. This invitation might compare to an English MA student being invited to give a paper to the Royal Geographical Society in London before graduation!

[vi] 'School' in the sense of an 'invisible college of research, scholars and networks originating from and relating to George Elwert's chair'; Hüsken 2004: 315; my translation from the German.

[vii] This School exchanged and identified with sociology, the political and economic sciences. Its socio-constructivist approach to the studies of identity, specifically 'ethnicity', in the tradition of Mühlmann (1964) pre-dates Barth (1969), as Elwert, a proud student of Niklas Luhmann, never tired of pointing out (e.g. 1989: 447).

[viii] I know from professional feedback and court decisions that my insistence on academic independence and standards was acknowledged and led to re-instructions. However, reports may not always have fulfilled the interests of the instructing agency but had to be paid nevertheless with negative implications for chances of re-instruction in such cases. For a most recent and important example, the Prosecutor of the ICTY in 2011, seeking cultural explanation for KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) war crimes in Kosovo, eventually decided it could not use my report. I had previously produced a background report for both the Fatmir Limaj et al. trial in 2004, which has been accepted as independent by both prosecution and defence (Prosecutor vs Limaj et al. 2005). In the retrial of former KLA war lord and Kosovan prime minister, Ramush Haradinaj et al. in 2011 I was re-instructed to produce a report regarding the cultural background of KLA violence against civilians who the KLA, during the war, identified as 'traitors', 'spies' or 'collaborators with the enemy and therefore killed'. True to my research, I emphasised a parallelism of both modern professionalist ('military law') and traditionalist-nationalist (self-sacralising) self-constructions of KLA identity and justificatory rhetoric, rather than offering simple culturalist explanations in terms of *kanun* and revenge traditions.

[ix] Elwert always insisted on the distinction between symbols and praxis in order to avoid culturalist interpretation ('symbols and myths do not drive action!'). Symbols were studied as expressions of power and interest in his School. However, I increasingly felt that an exclusively instrumentalist approach falls short of taking people's emotional rationalities as driving forces of their practices into account, which my work has increasingly highlighted (e.g. first my research on the Albanian Aromanians; submissions II, VII, VIII and X, in particular) with support of theoreticians such as Reddy 1997.

[x] E.g. Wyler 2008; similar characterisations include 'hybrid democracy', 'protracted transition' etc.; critically, on the mobilisation potential of such characterisations, see Duffield 2007; Richmond 2010; Stewart and Knaus 2011; including Albania, Bosnia and Kosovo during most periods of my research; cf. Eastmond 2010; Ignatieff 2003; Pandolfi 2010; Pickering 2007; Visoka 2011.

[xi] Cf. anthropological works on legal parallelism; e.g. Benda-Beckmann and Benda-Beckmann 2003; Corstange 2008; in contrast, the Berlin School emphasised *Verflechtung* ('crosslinks' and 'interdependencies') rather than *Parallelismus* of legal systems. In this vein, already my earliest work on historical *kanun* as practice highlights the direct influence of the imperial Ottoman administration and its local representatives on local practices, e.g. Schwandner-Sievers 1993: 21 – 25.

xii Including in contemporary resistance to the universalist peace- and state-building narratives.

xiii E.g. Brown 2003; Eastmond 2010: 4; Kaneff 2004; Svašek 2006; Verdery 1999; all my submissions; for an interpretative example, see suggestion of clashing normative systems between post-heroic and heroic forms of memories in submission IX, p. 147, in reference to Münkler 2004.

xiv Notably, Eric Gordy (1999) applied an ethnographic approach to the study of Serb nationalist politics under Milošević which added a non-state perspective to the classic top-down focus on elites, institutions and macro-economics (Gordy 1999; 2005: 13; e.g. Bougarel 2000 amongst several reviews).

xv E.g. Stewart and Knaus 2011; see also the 'Human Security' school as led by the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, e.g., most recently, Kostovicova and Glasius 2011.

xvi E.g. Richmond 2010; Schatz 2009; for Kosovo, Visoka 2011.

xvii I have always taught in interdisciplinary departments, including currently at the faculty of Political Sciences at Bologna University, and I routinely collaborate with political scientists in both my applied and academic work.

xviii E.g. Douglas 1975 (on 'implicit meaning') and Polanyi 2009 [1966] on 'tacit knowledge'; cf. Herzfeld 2001 on frictions and similarities in the wider discipline.

xix I understand 'tradition' as one modality of local pasts, which is the ritual or discursive transmission of cultural knowledge and norms based on experience which shape implicit knowledge and 'collective memory' in ways distinct to (as reinterpreted and adjusted to successive presents by) respective generational cohorts' (inspired by Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1992 [1941], Kaneff 2004, Ricoeur 2004 and many others; for a useful overview and critical discussion, see Misztal 2003: 91 – 98; for a selective engagement with theories of social or collective memory, submissions VI, VII and VIII).

xx Like 'culture', 'tradition', as a concept, has long been re-thought in socio-constructivist terms. Whether 'revitalised', 'invented', 'innovated', 'restored', 'folkolorised' or used as 'resource', the significant difference to socio-culturally embedded, implicit customs, rituals or beliefs is whether these 'traditions' are made explicit, i.e. cognitively made aware and thereby alienated from such originally embedded context, and put on some type of stage, be this for purposes of enhancing tourism, nationalism, economic interests or any political ideology. This explication process has been interpreted as an ubiquitous modern phenomenon and subsumed under the term 'traditionalism' (Hylland Eriksen 1993: 151; Newall 1987; cf. Anderson 1983; Appadurai 1996b: 44; Barth 1969; Boissevain 1992: 7; Elwert 1989; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

xxi E.g. Bougarel 1999 for Bosnia-Hercegovina; Čolović 2002, 2011, Bošković 2011 and Naumović 1999 for Serbia; and Žanić 2007 for Croatia; cf. my submission II, VI, VII and X; specifically in reference to Smith 2003: 134n, on the 'territorialisation of memory'.

xxii *Besa* is a polysemous term translating into several, related concepts such as 'faithfulness' to an agreement, the friend, alliance partner or the given word as well as truce, security guarantee or alliance agreement. For more comprehensive lists of translations available in the wider literature, see Schwandner-Sievers 1993, 1999 and submission no I, p. 180.

xxiii E.g, as discussed in Bošković 2008; Jakubowska 1993; Skalník 2002; Tishkov 1998.

xxiv E.g. Eberhardt and Kaser 1995; Schwandner-Sievers 2005; Kaser, Pichler and Schwandner-Sievers 2002; cf. appendix A, table 4, no. 2 and 7.

xxv In English and German-speaking academia probably the best known international, contemporary anthropologists of Albania and Kosovo in the early post-socialist period include: Natalie Clayer, Emmanuela del Re, Gilles De Rapper, Clarissa De Waal, Ger Duijzings, Sarah Green, Joel Halpern, Karl Kaser, Peter Krasztev, Georgia Kretsi († 2009), Annie LaFontaine, Nicola Mai, Robert Pichler, Douglas Saltmarshe, Mariella Pandolfi, Janet Reineck and Antonia Young. Natalie Ammann, Dimitris Dalakoglou, Nataša Gregorič Bon, Stéphane Voell and many others joined the field after the first post-socialist decade. Some of the works of these anthropologists are discussed in more detail in the article summarised here (Schwandner-Sievers 2009).

xxvi Apart from my own works, for Albania see, for example, Dalakoglou 2009; De Rapper 2002 and 2008; Green 2005, 1998; Gregorič Bon 2008, Kretsi 2001 and 2005, Mai 2002 and 2003, Saltmarshe 2001, Pandolfi 2002; Papailias 2003 and many more.

xxvii E.g. our international conference on The Role of Myth in Albania at SSEES in 1999, resulting in Schwandner-Sievers and Fischer 2002.

xxviii Both years are frequently cited as the years initiating transition in Albania; the difference is political and depends on how the free re-election of the old communist party in 1991, only revoked in 1992 when the oppositional party came to power, is assessed: as political change or continuity.

xxix E.g. Del Re (with Gustincich) 1993; 1996a and b; De Waal 1996; Fuga 2000; Pichler 1995 (see also other scholars of Graz university in Eberhart and Kaser 1995); Saltmarshe 2001; Schwandner-Sievers 1993, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2001; Xhudo 1996; Young 2000.

xxx In this regard, on the basis of a semiotic analysis of *kanun* as either a historical or a contemporary discourse, I have previously emphasised the Manichean divisions into friend and foe, those considered trustworthy and those considered traitors and therefore actively persecuted; see Schwandner-Sievers 1993, 1996, 1999.

xxxi Schwandner-Sievers 1996, 1999; inspired by Elwert 1997. On the ways in which the post-socialist system of local and translocal power and prestige relied on the re-vitalisation of pre-communist structures of local authority and legitimacy in northern Albania, cf. Krasztev 2002; Pichler 1995; Schwandner-Sievers 2001.

xxxii For the most prominent example, see Elezi 1983: 207; for the younger Albanian generation, see Bardhoshi 2011, who insists on continuity albeit the focus here is on socio-cultural structures.

xxxiii All have given several interviews to international media, see, e.g., Gjakmarrja 2007; Mortimer and Toader 2005; Summers and Kola 2005; cf. also submission IV, citing *The Kanun Bastardized, Dossier: the Blood Feud/ Kanuni i Bastarduar, Dosje: Hakmarrja' Reviste Periodike per te Drejtat e Njeriut* 2. 2000 – 2001.

xxxiv Cf. also Hasluck 1954 on historical variety and escalation processes in the past.

xxxv The new generation of Albanian anthropologists holding international university degrees, who now challenge the old national paradigms and myths of Albanian identity, include one of my successors as the Nash Fellow at SSEES, anthropologist Rigels Halili (2011; cf. Schwandner-Sievers 2009: 208-209). This new trend expands beyond the discipline of anthropology. For example, the idea of a 'new generation' of scholars is best personified by the political scientist, Egin Ceka (2007), and historian, Artan Puto (2010), both internationally renowned in Albanian Studies, yet whose fathers, respectively Neritan Ceka (archaeologist) and Arben Puto (historian), once were the leading academics of their fields in Albania during the communist period.

xxxvi See particularly submission listed as no VI, VII and X of part II; and first suggested in Schwandner-Sievers 2001.

xxxvii There were repeated international media reports of killings associated with blood feuds in Kosovo in the 1970s and '80s; for references to ritual reconciliation rituals during the 1970s and 1980s, see Duijzings 2000: 126-127. The best original source is the documentations of the feud mass reconciliations in the early 1990s, which suggest at least 2,952 open feuds targeted across the province at that stage (Pirraku 1998); however, 'innumerable small-scale feuds' continued regardless of these reconciliations Malcolm even after that (1998: 20). Still today, more than 30% of villagers in communities across Kosovo live in fear of blood feuds (Di Lellio 2009: 11).

xxxviii This is a relatively recent legal category expanding the notion of a belonging to a 'social group' at specific risk which underpins the right to asylum in accordance with the UN Refugee Conventions and EU asylum law.

xxxix Note also a critical position on focussing research on the most traditionalist regions by Besnik Pula (2006), a US-Kosovar anthropologist, who warns about descriptions of Kosovar society as 'still regulated by *kanun*', particularly where these feed into policy-relevant stereotypes.

xl E.g. Bougarel 1999 for Bosnia-Hercegovina; Čolović 2002, 2011, Bosković 2011 and Naumović 1999 for Serbia; and Žanić 2007 for Croatia.

xli E.g. Luci and Marković 2009; Luci 2011; Ströhle 2006 and 2010; Zdravković-Zanta 2009.

xlii E.g., submission VII in, School for International Training, SIT, World Learning/ Studies Abroad, *Peace and Conflict Studies in the Balkans*, Seminar, http://www.sit.edu/SSA_Program_documents/hrr_ts.pdf; accessed 12/07/2011.

xliii See UK 'country guidance decisions' in 'risk categories' including female asylum seekers trafficked from Albania (AM and BM 2010), of LGBT background (MK 2009), Albanians at risk or gang crime (SX 2008) or blood feuds (LJ 2008 ; forthcoming); submission V, for example, is extensively relied on regarding the return situation of trafficked women from Albania in UK Border Agency (2011). These court decisions are internationally cited and used in EU and UN human rights documentations. The international impact is also evident from citations by, for example, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2000, 2010) regarding return risks in feuding cases.

xliv For previous collaborative efforts in this direction, see, for example, Schwandner-Sievers 2003 and 2009b; all submission of part B; policy impact is further evident in this field, as for example in my (unreferenced but paid) input in the Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces', DCAF's (Geneva) 'Operational Guidance Notes' for security sector personnel deployed in international peacekeeping missions anywhere.

Web Links to the Submitted Publications

For reason of copyrights this electronic submission, different from the bound (print) submission to the University of Roehampton, does not contain copies of the original book chapters and journal articles. These can be found at the following links to the original copyright holders.

No	Year	Title/ bibliographical details	Web links to copyright holders & ISBN
Part A From Albania into the Wider World			
XI.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Times Past: References for the Construction of Local Order in Present-Day Albania', in M. Todorova (ed.): *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, London: Hurst, pp. 103 - 128.	http://www.hurstpub.co.uk ISBN 1-85065-715-7
XII.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Albanians, Albanianism and the Strategic Subversion of Stereotypes', in A. Hammond (ed.): *The Balkans and the West: Constructing the European Other, 1945 – 2003*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 110 – 126.	http://www.ashgate.com ISBN 0-7546-3234-2 For a publicly available re-publication (2008), see http://www.drustvo-antropologov.si/AN/PDF/2008_2/Anthropological_Notebooks_XIV_2_Sievers.pdf
XIII.	2006	**Chapter**: '"Culture" in Court: Albanian Migrants and the Anthropologist as Expert Witness', in S. Pink (ed.), *Applications of Anthropology: Professional Anthropology in the Twenty-first Century*, Oxford – New York: Berghahn, pp. 209 – 228.	http://www.berghahnbooks.com ISBN 1-84545-027-2
XIV.	2010	**Chapter**: 'Between Social Opprobrium and Repeat Trafficking: choices and chances of Albanian women deported from the UK', in L. Holmes (ed.), *Human Trafficking, Human Rights and Non-Standard Migration: Australian, European and South-East Asian Perspectives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 95 – 115.	http://www.e-elgar.co.uk/ ISBN 978-1-84844-159-0

No	Year	Title/ bibliographical details	Web links to copyright holders & ISBN
Part B From the Wider World into Kosovo			
XV.	2006a	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'Sacred Journey to a Nation: Site Sacralisation and 'Political Reproduction ' of a New Shrine to the Kosovo Nation', *Journeys: The international journal of travel and travel writing*, vol. 7, no 1 (January), pp. 27 – 49.	http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/berghahn/journ/2006/00000007/00000001/art00002
XVI.	2006b	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'The Legendary Commander: The construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo', *Nations and Nationalism* vol. 12, no. 3 (July), pp. 513 - 529.	http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2006.00252.x/abstract
XVII.	2010a	**Chapter**: 'Invisible - Inaudible: Albanian Memory of Socialism after the War in Kosovo', in M. Todorova and Z. Gille (eds), *Post-Communist Nostalgia*. New York: Berghahn, pp. 96 – 112.	http://www.berghahnbooks.com ISBN 978-1-84545-671-9
XVIII.	2010b	**Chapter**: 'Bridging gaps between local and foreign concerns? Communication across symbolic divides in the transformation of the security forces in Kosovo', in L. Montanari, R. Toniatti and J. Woelk (eds), *Il Pluralismo nella Transizione Costituzionale dei Balcani: Diritti e Garanzie* (= Quarderni Del Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche), Trento: Università degli Studie di Trento, pp. 145 – 169.	http://www.unitn.it/dsg/7082/collana-del-dipartimento-di-scienze-giuridiche ISBN 978-88-8443-355-8
XIX.	forth-coming	**Chapter**: 'Democratisation through Defiance? The Albanian civil organisation "Self-Determination" and international supervision in Kosovo', in J. Ker-Lindsay, D. Kostovicova and Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic (eds), *Civil society and transitions in the Western Balkans*, London: Palgrave-Macmillian.	http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?pid=494351 ISBN 978-0-23029-289-5

Appendix to Supporting Statement

Contents

A. Tables

Table 1: List of submissions including word count

No	Year	Title/ bibliographical details	Words
		• Acknowledgements • Guide to the Reader	
Introduction			
	2012	**Supporting Statement**	10,000
XX.	2009	**Chapter**: 'Securing Safe Spaces: Field Diplomacy in Albania and Kosovo', in M. K. Huggins & Marie-Louise Glebbeek (eds), *Women Fielding Danger: Negotiating Ethnographic Identities in Field Research*. Boulder, New York and Oxford: Roman and Littlefield, Publishers Inc., pp. 173 - 198.	11,271
Part A **From Albania into the Wider World**			
XXI.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Times Past: References for the Construction of Local Order in Present-Day Albania', in M. Todorova (ed.): *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, London: Hurst, pp. 103 - 128.	11, 152
XXII.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Albanians, Albanianism and the Strategic Subversion of Stereotypes', in A. Hammond (ed.): *The Balkans and the West: Constructing the European Other, 1945 – 2003*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 110 – 126.	8,093
XXIII.	2006	**Chapter**: '"Culture" in Court: Albanian Migrants and the Anthropologist as Expert Witness', in S. Pink (ed.), *Applications of Anthropology: Professional Anthropology in the Twenty-first Century*, Oxford – New York: Berghahn, pp. 209 – 228.	9,148
XXIV.	2010	**Chapter**: 'Between Social Opprobrium and Repeat Trafficking: choices and chances of Albanian women deported from the UK', in L. Holmes (ed.), *Human Trafficking, Human Rights and Non-Standard Migration: Australian, European and South-East Asian Perspectives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 95 – 115.	10,692
Part B **From the Wider World into Kosovo**			
XXV.	2006a	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'Sacred Journey to a Nation: Site Sacralisation and 'Political Reproduction ' of a New Shrine to the Kosovo Nation', *Journeys: The international journal of travel and travel writing*, vol. 7, no 1 (January), pp. 27 – 49. **(50/50 % of 7,349 words)**	3,675
XXVI.	2006b	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'The Legendary Commander: The construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo', *Nations and Nationalism* vol. 12, no. 3 (July), pp. 513 - 529. **(50/50 % of 8,214 words)**.	4,107
XXVII.	2010a	**Chapter**: 'Invisible - Inaudible: Albanian Memory of Socialism after the War in Kosovo', in M. Todorova and Z. Gille (eds), *Post-Communist Nostalgia*. New York: Berghahn, pp. 96 – 112.	6,984
XXVIII.	2010b	**Chapter**: 'Bridging gaps between local and foreign concerns? Communication across symbolic divides in the transformation of the security forces in Kosovo', in L. Montanari, R. Toniatti and J. Woelk (eds), *Il Pluralismo nella Transizione Costituzionale dei Balcani: Diritti e Garanzie* (= Quarderni Del Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche), Trento: Università degli Studie di Trento, pp. 145 – 169.	7,251
XXIX.	forth-coming (Jan. 2013)	**Chapter**: 'Democratisation through Defiance? The Albanian civil organisation "Self-Determination" and international supervision in Kosovo', in J. Ker-Lindsay, D. Kostovicova and Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic (eds), *Civil society and transition in the Western Balkans*, London: Palgrave-Macmillian, pp. 95 - 116.	8,453
Appendix			
		• Tables • Statement of co-author • References of Supporting Statement • Author's complete publication list	
		SUM	**90,638**

Table 2: Diverse but consistent: my academic trajectory

Years	Academic education	Grants & honorary appointments	Academic employment	Consultancy employment
1986 to 1993	Balkan Studies & Social Anthropology, Free University Berlin, MA 1993			
1989 to 1992			Student assistant and editorial assistant, Berlin Institute for Social Anthropology, Free Univ. Berlin	
1994	Aegean University, 'Anthropology of the Future'	EASA/ERASMUS grant (4 months)		German Bank for Reconstruction & University of Heidelberg, pilot project 'Family Planning and Family Health in Albania'. First OSCE election observation in Albania,
1994 to 1997	Graduate College 'Transformation Processes in Eastern Europe and South-eastern Europe and their Historical Background'	German Research Foundation, doctoral dissertation grant (3 years)		Asylum courts background reports in Germany; further OSCE election observations in Albania.
1995 to 1997			Junior Lecturer at Dept. for Balkan Studies and at Dept. for South East European History, Institute for East European Studies, Berlin	
1997 to 2003			Nash Fellow for Albanian Studies, SSEES, UCL; developing and directing the Albanian Studies Programme	Immigration & criminal courts; Metropolitan, Sussex and North Rhine Westphalia homicide police, background reports in the UK and, occasionally, Germany, Canada and

				Ireland; contribution to world bank reports on: 'social vulnerability report' (1998), 'education' (1999) and 'impact of refugee crisis (1999) in Albania and post-war Kosovo social and institutional assessment (2000); collaboration and briefings with FCO, German Auswärtiges Amt, NATO, OSCE and UN.
2003 to 2012		Honorary Research Associate, SSEES, UCL	Visiting lecturer (*professore a contratto*), University Bologna (MIREES programme)	Director of Anthropology Applied, Ltd.
2004 to 2012				UK reg. no. 2440458; consultancy reports or briefings on issues relating to translocal Albanians in conflict with law and international intervention in Kosovo and Albania.
2009 to 2012		Honorary Research Fellow, Department of Social Sciences, Roehampton University, London Thyssen Foundation/ Free University Berlin (Osteuropa Institute), research project: '*Illegalja 1980s*: the social organisation of resistance in Kosovo and its diaspora'.	Visiting lecturer and MA supervisor, University of Vienna, Faculty of History, 'UGL Balkan Studies'. .	Instructing agencies include: immigration and criminal courts in the UK, and Germany; CORI; Immigration and Refugee Board in Canada; solicitors in Australia and the US; UN, EU, ESDP, EULEX, FCO and German Auswärtiges Amt; social and police services in the UK; DFID; Braunschweig/ UNMIK text book research (Kosovo); UN small arms survey; ICTY in The Hague; IOM; ODHIR; AtLep; DSTL; CMC (Finland) and ZiF (Germany); DCAF/ISSAT Geneva.
2010 to 2013				
2011 to 2012	Registered for a PhD-by-Published-Works, Roehampton University, London.		Research Fellow, Department of Social Sciences, Roehampton University, London.	

Table 3: The origins of my publications

No	Year	Title	Origins of publication	Funding background
Introduction				
I.	2009	**Chapter**: 'Securing Safe Spaces: Field Diplomacy in Albania and Kosovo'	Based on a presentation, 'Securing Safe Spaces: Fieldwork in "traditions of violence" in the Balkans', international workshop: *Danger in the Field: Gender, Power and Ethics*, University of Madison, Wisconsin (USA), April 1-2, 2004; requested by personal invitation of sociologist, Martha Huggins, following my presentation 'The KLA, violence and globalisation', *International Global Studies Association* Conference, University of Surrey Roehampton, July 21st – 23rd 2003.	Funded by the University of Wisconsin's women and Gender Studies and World Studies Programme, project 'Women Fielding Danger'.
Part A From Albania into the Wider World				
II.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Times Past: References for the Construction of Local Order in Present-Day Albania'	Relying on ethnographic research in Albania during the 1990s; outcomes of previous, uncompleted doctoral dissertation project in Germany (developed from draft chapters IV and VI and overall results); and (further developed) self-determined research focus of the Nash Albanian Studies Programme; related to presentation (earlier version) 'Narratives of Power - Capacities of Myth in Albania', international conference: *National Memory in Southeastern Europe*, Halki, Greece, 16 to 20 June; and self-organised conference *The Role of Myth in Albania*, SSEES, London 11 - 13 June 1999.	Directly related to earlier MA and doctoral projects in Germany; conference invitation funded by Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe and Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (Halki); earliest research either self-funded for funded by the German Research Foundation; later research focus funded by Nash Albanian Studies Fund; all conference sponsors are acknowledged in my co-edited vol. *Albanian Identities: Myth and Histories*, London: Hurst 2002)

III.	2004	**Article**: 'Albanians, Albanianism and the Strategic Subversion of Stereotypes'	Personal invitation by book editor, Andrew Hammond (University of Wales); based on original introduction ('prologue') to earlier doctoral dissertation draft with comments by former supervisor, Georg Elwert, in 2001; presented first (apart from teaching) as 'Albanians – shackled by traditions of violence? (deconstructing assumptions of a cultural mentality)', Conference of NATO partner, military research analysts, *Kosovo-Crossroads/Seasons of Change*: <u>Huntingdon</u>, 25 May 2000.	Directly related to earlier doctoral project in Germany and cross-collegial research interests and seminars at the time as member of the Centre for Southeast European Studies, SSEES, UCL.
IV.	2006	**Chapter**: '"Culture" in Court: Albanian Migrants and the Anthropologist as Expert Witness'	Based on increasing experience as, and reflection on, being called upon as Albania and Kosovo 'country expert' by UK and international immigration and criminal courts; first compiled in draft chapter VIII of previous doctoral project; further developed in several academic presentations, including 'Making a Difference? The anthropologist as 'cultural expert' in legal cases', ESRC Seminar: *The Application of Anthropology*, University of <u>Loughborough</u>, March 31 – April 1, 2002, organized by the book editor, anthropologist Sarah Pink.	Based on participant observation as 'country expert' in the UK (legal-aid funded for individual cases) and German courts, while in academic employment at SSEES, UCL.
V.	2010	**Chapter**: 'Between Social Opprobrium and Repeat Trafficking: choices and chances of Albanian women deported from the UK'	Personal invitation for contribution by book editor, political scientist Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne.	Based on participant observation as 'country expert' in UK country guidance proceedings as director of Anthropology Applied Ltd.; theme-specific research in Albania in 2008 funded by AtLep (UK-based Anti-trafficking Legal Project) and ODHIR.
Part B From the Wider World into Kosovo				
VI.	2006a	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'Sacred Journey to a Nation: Site Sacralisation and "Political Reproduction"'	Research and writing collaboration in Kosovo after identifying common interests at meeting at UN scholar's initiative', <u>Sarajevo</u> 6-9 July 2002, where I served as the team leader and moderator of the panel 'KLA/Rugova/Kosovo'; adopting parts of chapter VII of last (2003) version of earlier doctoral dissertation draft.	Self-funded research in Kosovo, partly in conjunction with UN and world-bank work assignments as academic consultant and principal project researcher to Kosovo between 2000 and 2005.

VII.	2006b	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'The Legendary Commander: The construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo'	As above.	Research as above.
VIII.	2010a	**Chapter**: 'Invisible - Inaudible: Albanian Memory of Socialism after the War in Kosovo'	Research-based, personal invitation by book editor, Maria Todorova, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.	Research as above, including research in Kosovo up to 2008.
IX.	2010b	**Chapter**: 'Bridging gaps between local and foreign concerns? Communication across symbolic divides in the transformation of the security forces in Kosovo'	Based on presentation 'Artificial languages and authentic identities', international conference *Pluralism in the Constitutional Transition of the Balkans: Rights and Guarantees*, University of Trento, Italy, 9 – 10 May 2008.	Research as above; conference invitation funded by Autonomous Region of Trentino-Alto Adige (South Tyrol), Italy.
X.	Forth-coming	**Chapter**: 'Democratisation through Defiance? The Albanian civil organisation "Self-Determination" and international supervision in Kosovo'	Based on invited presentation 'The Albanian Youth Organisation "Self-Determination: Democratisation Through Political Defiance in Kosovo?' at international conference, *For Better or Worse? Civil society and transition in the Western Balkans*, London: LSE, 7 May 2010.	'Side-product' of ongoing research project in Kosovo (2009 - 2012), funded by Thyssen Foundation and hosted by Institute for East European Studies, Free University Berlin.

Table 4: Ethnographic research sites and periods

No.	Period	Duration	Albania	Kosovo	Translocal context	Methodological details/background
1.	1992, Aug. to Dec.	5 months	Tirana and north mountain regions (Shkoder, Mirëdita region)			By invitation of Albanian Academy of Science; archive work in National Library, Tirana; living in Albanian families, participant observation; ethnographic fieldwork in the northern mountains, conducting ethnographic and theme-guided, open and semi-structured interviews on *kanun*, feuds, reconciliation and *besa*; participant observation in reconciliation and other local rituals; MA research project FU Berlin.
2.	1993, July to Aug.	2 months	Tirana and northern mountains (Dukagjin/Shala region)			By personal initiative and in collaboration and joint fieldwork with Graz University in Dukagjin/ Shala (with historians, Karl Kaser, Robert Pichler et al.).
3.	1994, April; May	1 month	Southern border region; northern Albania; major cities across Albania.		Sporadic case reports for and interviews with, Albanian asylum seekers in Germany	Albania/Greece, 2-weeks fieldwork in border area, Epirus, in collaboration with Dr Gilles de Rapper; 2 weeks survey (theme-guided interviews) in collaboration with University Heidelberg/German Bank for Reconstruction.
4.	1995, Aug. to Oct.	3 months	Tirana, Korça and southern Albania;		As above.	Ethnographic fieldwork and research among South Albanian Aromanians or 'Vlachs'; partly in collaboration with researchers of Tirana Institute for Folk Culture; journey through southern Albania to several Vlach towns and villages;, stationary for 2 months in Korça, visits to nearby Vlach villages; doctoral research project, FU Berlin; funded by DFG/ *Graduiertenkolleg Transformationsprozesse…* (Osteuropa Institut).
5.	1996, June to Oct.	6 months	Southern Albania, Korça		As above.	As above, but including interviews in Tirana and a first introductory visit to Fterra, Kurvelesh; doctoral project, FU

			and Vlach settlements.			Berlin.
6.	1997				As above, now predominantly in the UK.	
7.	1998, July to Aug.	2 months	Tirana, southern Albania; south-west (Fterra)			Updating research in Tirana and at several previous sites across southern Albania; including 2-weeks field research in collaboration with post-graduate excursion and field research in Fterra in collaboration with colleagues of Graz University (Karl Kaser, Robert Pichler et al); research funded through Nash Fund.
8.	1999				As above	
9.	2000, March to May	2 months		Prishtina, all counties of Kosovo	As above.	Focus group (5 urban/ 5 rural) sites, case studies, theme-guided and expert interviews in Kosovo as principal researcher and research team leader in World Bank project on post-war social change; first (independent) research into post-war commemorative culture, death-notices. Funded by world bank.
10.	2001				As above	
11.	2002, April/ July to Aug.	3 months	North, centre, south Albania	Prishtina, Drenica	As above.	Several weeks in Kosovo, first ethnographic research into post-war commemorative culture of the KLA; several weeks updating research in Albania at several previous sites. Funded by Nash programme.
12.	2003, April and Oct.	1 month	Tirana, Fterra (south), Peshkopi (north-east)		As above.	2x approx. 2 weeks of research on pastoral cultures (wolves, hunting, wolves as metaphor) in collaboration with Garry Marvin of Roehampton University. Funded by Nash programme/ privately.
13.	2004, May	1 month		Prishtina, across the major cities of Kosovo, Drenica	As above	Research in conjunction with instructions by the ICTY, Den Hague, on ex-KLA biographies; and the UN small-arms survey; theme-guided interviews with ex-KLA representatives and former gun-runners. Company/consultancy funded.
14.	2005, Feb. and March	2 months	Tirana and north (Shkoder)	Prishtina, Drenica	As above	Privately funded in conjunction with collaboration with the IOM, Tirana and company/consultancy funded.
15.	2006				As above,	Albanian migrant return risks in the UK

					intensified	
16.	2007				As above, intensified	Albanian migrant return risks in the UK
17.	2008, March to April and Sept. to Oct.	2 months	Tirana, Vlora, Durres	Prishtina, Drenica, Western Kosovo (Harajdinaj's kulla and Gorani in Dragash)	As above	Albania (theme-guided interviews, group research): anti-trafficking fact-finding mission with OSCE/ODIHR, ATLep UK; Kosovo, collaboration with EULEX, private ethnographic research in migrant background issues. Company/consultancy funded (partly through instructions by agencies as listed).
18.	2009				As above, intensified	Facebook and other social media, through which the translocal Albanians interconnect, as well as community events, keeps me permanently ethnographically engaged, albeit it partly in the virtual space.
19.	2010, Oct.	1 week	Tirana		Independent of court cases	Update on general situation; NGO blood feuding fight; theme-guided interviews. Research conducted in conjunction with conference invitation funded by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation.
20.	2011, March	3 weeks		Prishtina and selected village (family) visits	Including diaspora history	Participant observation, theme-guided, semi-structured, open and family interviews on resistance movement during the 1980s. Funded by Thyssen Foundation/Free University Berlin.
21.	2011, Nov.	2 weeks		Prishtina	As above.	Cont.; funded by Thyssen Foundation/Free University Berlin.
	SUM	**31**	**months**			

Table 5: Thematic interconnections

No	Year	Title	Theme & interconnection
Introduction			
I.	2009	**Chapter**: 'Securing Safe Spaces: Field Diplomacy in Albania and Kosovo'.	Gendered self-reflexive exploration of research situations in post-socialist Albania and post-socialist/post-warn Kosovo (1992 - 2008).
Part A From Albania into the Wider World			
II.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Times Past: References for the Construction of Local Order in Present-Day Albania'.	Core definitions; core idea ('deployment of imageries in practice'); summary of earliest local ethnographic findings and power negotiations on local level (comparing ethnographic cases studies in post-socialist Albanian north and south).
III.	2004	**Chapter**: 'Albanians, Albanianism and the Strategic Subversion of Stereotypes'.	Translocally travelling imageries and effects on Albanian migrants; subjective subversion strategies; image history of Albanians outside Albania and Kosovo; core idea 'discursive complicities' (here: 'implicit alliances').
IV.	2006	**Chapter**: '"Culture" in Court: Albanian Migrants and the Anthropologist as Expert Witness'.	Translocally travelling imageries and socio-cultural impact; anthropologist's role in 'explaining'/deconstructing 'culture' in courts with refugees and asylum seekers; Albanian negotiations of agency and coercive structures of traditionalism at home (Albania and/or Kosovo) and in the system of immigration abroad.
V.	2010	**Chapter**: 'Between Social Opprobrium and Repeat Trafficking: choices and chances of Albanian women deported from the UK'.	Refugee's and researcher's return to the original research sites (northern Albania); national and transnational complicities in the politics of representation with social consequences of gendered culturalist (self-) representations for returning refugees in practice.
Part B From the Wider World into Kosovo			
VI.	2006a	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'Sacred Journey to a Nation: Site Sacralisation and "Political Reproduction"'.	Local ethnography of war memory & traditionalist identity constructions in post-war Kosovo: from local to national identity; nationalisation of traditionalist tropes; the post-war KLA politics of symbols and politicisation of memory.
VII.	2006b	**Article**: with Anna Di Lellio, 'The Legendary Commander: The construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo'.	Ethnography of spatialised war memory in post-war Kosovo; political reproduction of traditionalist war memory; conflict between national and international visions over the role and character of both past and future and the silencing of non-organised voices.
VIII.	2010a	**Chapter**: 'Invisible - Inaudible: Albanian Memory of Socialism after the War in Kosovo'.	Hegemonic war memory vs. silenced socialist Yugoslav pasts as topographically inscribed in rural and urban Kosovo.

IX.	2010b	**Chapter**: 'Bridging gaps between local and foreign concerns? Communication across symbolic divides in the transformation of the security forces in Kosovo'.	Ontological considerations of 'locals' vs. 'internationals' (or 'foreigners'); conflict of opposing visions of identity and state-building as embodied in opposing visions for the role of the past; failures and success in communication across the symbolically marked boundaries between 'us' and 'them' as made evident through a case study on the transformation of the local armed forces; suggesting relevance of ethnographic engagement with local knowledge for purposes of better 'cross-cultural communication' in intervention policy.
X.	2012	**Chapter**: 'Democratisation through Defiance? The Albanian civil organisation "Self-Determination" and international supervision in Kosovo'.	Contemporary struggles over symbols of identity and rights to/ prohibition of, identification with a militant past between an important national protest organisation (NGO-turned-political) and international actors: ethnographic focus on 'civil society' actors and politics; Suggesting relevance of ethnographic engagement with grass-roots concern and politics of symbols for a better understanding of the local subversions, mobilisation factors and unintended consequences of intervention policy.

B. Statement of Co-Author

New York, August 16, 2011

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to verify that the following two articles were jointly produced, with each of the authors contributing 50 percent of the work:

1. Anna Di Lellio and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers. 'Sacred Journey to a Nation: Site Sacralisation and "Political Reproduction" of a New Shrine to the Kosovo Nation'. *Journeys: The international journal of travel and travel writing*, 7/1 (2006a): 27 – 49.

2. Anna Di Lellio and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers. 'The Legendary Commander: The construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo'. *Nations and Nationalism* 12/3 (2006b): 513 - 529.

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C. References of Supporting Statement

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D. Author's Publication List

1. Academic editorships

2005   with Russell King and Nicola Mai (eds), *New Albanian Migration*, Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

2003   with Russell King and Nicola Mai (eds), *Albanian Migration and New Transnationalisms, Special Issue of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29/6.

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            with Karl Kaser and Robert Pichler (eds): *Die weite Welt und das Dorf: Albanische Emigration am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Wide world and village: Albanian emigrations at the end of the 20th century], Vienna: Böhlau.

2. Articles in academic journals and book chapters

(Forthcoming)
            'Beyond the Family? Making Modernity and New Social Capital in Yugoslav socialist Kosovo', K. Clewing and V. Džihić (eds), *Eigenstaatlichkeit, Demokratie und 'Europa" in Kosovo: Analysen und Perspektiven* [Sovereignty, Democracy and 'Europe' in Kosovo – Analyses and Perspectives], Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag (under review).

            'On Familism and Individual Rights in Albania', *Twenty Years After: rethinking Democracy and State in Albania'*, international conference proceedings, Tirana: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Albanian Institute for International Studies, Southeast European Association (under review).

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