ANTHROPOLOGY AS NECESSARY UNLEARNING

Examples from Camps, Courts, Schools and Businesses

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This paper explores the problems which arise when people attempt to communicate across cultural boundaries. I draw on my fieldwork experience in various settings in Eastern and Central Europe – camps, courts, schools and businesses – where I found that communication works best when trust is established, and that the necessary step to fulfil this condition was to learn how to unlearn deeply rooted assumptions on both sides. The paper begins with a discussion of racial and ethnic stereotypes, drawing on a range of insights from evolutionary psychology and cognitive science. I then turn to memory myths, suggesting how to apply recent findings from specialized memory research. In the second part of the paper, I challenge the concept of "intercultural", which can all too easily legitimate the "clash of civilisations" ideology. In order to establish real intercultural communication, I suggest that we must abandon models of verbatim translation and instead take advantage of recent anthropological insights into how language works, how meanings are socially constructed and how shared understandings are achieved. In all this, I build on the work of linguistic and legal anthropologists who are already contributing to this endeavour and conclude with some meditations on the related themes of counter-dominance and laughter.

Keywords: anthropology, applicability, communication, interpreting, culture, memory, stereotypes, unlearning

Doubt is the beginning, not the end, of wisdom.

George Iles

Introduction

Anthropology is the study of what it means to be human. Its relevance and applicability to human problems has been assumed since this discipline's inception. In this paper I explore its relevance to language and communication. My specific focus is on how to avoid getting lost in translation as insiders and outsiders, experts and non-experts, the powerful and the powerless attempt to communicate across cultural boundaries. My argument is that as we enter this process of two-way communication on each side, it is important to learn, but equally to learn how to unlearn. To illustrate my thoughts, I will provide examples from my observations in various

communication situations – legal proceedings, interpreting, and intercultural communication trainings.[1]

I have examined various settings in which official communication with asylum applicants takes place and present my findings from participant observation and ethnographic interviews with asylum applicants and discussions with border staff and decision makers. First, I examine how myths about memory manifest themselves during interviews in legal settings, comparing these myths with contemporary scientific findings concerning how memory works. During discussions with teachers and business personnel conducted while assisting with the teaching of "intercultural communication" and preparing educational materials for use in schools, I discovered they were interested in lists of rules about "do's and don'ts". I explore how this stance is linked to processes of stereotyping, and clarify to what extent unlearning could be helpful. Second, I focus on the failure to distinguish between language registers during communication with asylum applicants. Comparing findings from Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and the Ukraine, I analyse how varying conditions influence the quality of interpretations of all participants' statements.

Since 2005, while teaching ethnology and anthropology at Comenius University, I have been involved in several projects linked to the common topic of so-called intercultural communication. I first worked in refugee camps and courts of appeal (Tužinská 2009, 2011), then later in primary schools with the children of foreigners (Dráľ 2011), and then with adult foreigners living in Slovakia (Tužinská and Voľanská 2016a) and with Slovak citizens encountering foreigners in their working environment. These research projects were designed by non-profit organisations and through my role as an extern I was engaged both in research and educational events for asylum applicants, employees of the Migration Office, legal representatives, attorneys-at-law, and judges. Being a university lecturer in an "exotic" subject gave me a great deal of freedom. I conducted my research on asylum applicants in Slovakia at a time when the topic of migration was of minimal concern. It was only recently with the growing "migration crisis" that the interest in "cultural differences" increased. The topic of migration shifted from being obscure to essential (Divinský 2014), and in this context I participated in public discussions and commentaries in the media. In feedback from participants, the training sessions were often denounced as more or less irrelevant. As a member of the police force on the Ukrainian border put it: "What you tell us is all fine and fancy, but our job is to protect the borders".

For my part, I regretted that the sessions were so short that there was no opportunity to explain anything in depth or convince people of its relevance. Rather than being perceived as an educator, I would have preferred to facilitate unlearning.

Let me clarify why I consider the concept of unlearning to be so crucial. I agree with Ingold (in MacDougall 2016) when he writes that "unlearning is intrinsic to education, understood in its original sense as a leading out into the world that frees us from the limitations of standpoints or perspectives and causes us continually to question what previously we would have taken for granted". While teaching in this spirit, I was met with both engagement and refusal, mockery and laughter. The term "unlearning" might evoke negative connotations of withdrawing from an addiction, in that unlearning involves breaking deep-rooted habits, such as the tendency to justify conflicts by drawing on "cultural otherness". I agree with Eriksen's (2016: 28) description of anthropology as "an inherently subversive and unpredictable partner in the long conversation about who we are and where we are going".

Unlearning stereotypes and memory myths

Culture-centrism

Many in Eastern and Central Europe regard the Schengen border as a legitimate "iron curtain", drawing on a collective memory of centuries of pillage by "Turkish hordes". It is no surprise that people tend to justify "intercultural" misunderstandings[2] via intuitive reasoning based on this collective memory. Stereotypes function as cognitive structures which determine not only how we perceive other people, but also how we store and remember our perceptions. Any unfamiliar or puzzling behaviour within the group is then interpreted in a way that is consistent with stereotypes. In the case of a conflict "the person or the group that violates our expectations and transgresses the borders of established (culturally-dominant) categories (…) are perceived as immoral (dirty) and might be regarded as a source of contamination/danger (physical or symbolic)" (Miškovská, Budzelová and Jerotijević 2016: 310).

History proves that "[o]nce cultures have been portrayed as constituting distinct and fixed units, it is often asserted that some cultures are incompatible with others" (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2009: 320). The term "cultural differences" is sometimes used as an essentialized and a political term, as if it were something natural. If people accept the premise that cultural differences are the reason for misunderstandings, they are no closer to their solution – on the contrary – they only generate further distrust. The allure of culture "is in the promise to explain a broader scope of phenomena than the previous grand narratives have" (ibid.: 9). Nevertheless, I assume

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[2] "The term 'ethnic conflict'", writes anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "is an empty vessel, since people do not have conflicts over ethnicity. Ethnic identity or religion instead functions as a symbolic focus (…) and a pretext for transgressing rules and norms" (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2009: 133). "Differences by class, education and occupation are much more important" (ibid.: 145).

that culture-centrism, like geo-centrism, can fade away. Even if "the container view of culture is what anthropologists call a 'social fact'", together with Breidenbach and Nyíri I "believe that the spread of ethnographic (or even paraethnographic) methods represents a step forward from the current enchantment with culture as a container" (ibid.: 340). The genetic map does not reflect any language, ethnic, or political boundaries (Baldovič and Turňa 2011), which goes against intuitive expectations dictating people to perceive another nation as dangerous. A homogeneous culture is, above all, a construct of the human mind and not an objective and observable[3] fact (Hrabovský 2011). Stereotypes are often based on personal traits as these offer an explanation of group behaviour more solid than situational or environmental factors. Anthropology has a distinct tradition of not staying quiet when "otherness" is used to justify conflicts, especially in times when politicians promote homogeneity as a norm.

Trustworthiness, stereotyping and memory

While researching asylum applicants, many misinterpretations might arise that later serve as evidence of their untrustworthiness. Moreover, false memories make it increasingly difficult to evaluate any data, especially when there is little material evidence available. This is not only the by-product of re-construction, one of the basic features of our memory, but also a demonstration of creativity, i.e. a new rearrangement of known information (Loftus 1980). The question of the reliability of accounts provided by asylum applicants often permeates debates with participants – social workers, policemen, attorneys, asylum decision-makers, and judges. They were often surprised when they learnt that memories of events do not necessarily correspond to these events. Dovidio has argued that "[b]ecause stereotypes shape interpretations, influence how information is recalled, and guide expectations and inferences in systematic ways, they tend to be self-perpetuating. They also can produce self-fulfilling prophecies in social interaction, in which the stereotypes of the perceiver influence the interaction in ways that conform to stereotypical expectations". At the same time, stereotypes facilitate our recollections: people tend to remember more easily if the information matches the stereotype (Dovidio 1999: 805). It is also useful for people working in the legal field to be aware that "[e]vidence that was consistent with investigators' initial beliefs was rated as more reliable than evidence that was inconsistent with their initial belief" (Hasel 2012: 145). The stories that people tell are constrained by memory mechanisms which are imperfect (Bužeková 2009). Schacter (2002) identified seven sins of memory: bias, transience, absent-mindedness, blocking, misattribution, suggestibility, and persistence. To ignore them might have serious legal consequences (see also Nadel and Sinnot-Armstrong 2012), as is often

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[3] "The distinctions that are the most efficacious socially are those which give the appearance of being based on objective differences" (Bourdieu 1991: 120).

the case with statements of asylum applicants in court or at the police station. Those educated in law do expect that memories do not change to such an extent and that "facts" in the testimonies shall be arranged in linear order, and shall be chronological, relevant, consistent and concise. However, their expectations do not match reality. I argue that instead of adapting the testimonials to the legal discourse, it is easier to unlearn the abovementioned assumptions.

Fast thinking and slow fieldwork

There was a moment of relief in the trainings when the participants realized why it was so easy to adopt a schematic worldview. The idea that the setting sun is moving downwards or that a colour is an attribute of an object seems natural. To accept that we are not at the centre of the solar system or that the colour we see is dependent on the eye of the observer is demanding. These ideas are counter-intuitive. A coiled cable in a shade will always attract our attention because the cognitive mechanisms helping us to discern snakes evolved around a concept of snake and not around that of a cable. We simply cannot help ourselves and spontaneously react to the cable as if it were a snake. By the same token, people tend to spontaneously perceive differences as threatening and they cannot help it. The power of anthropology is to highlight social, historical, biological, and other inputs, to help people to recognize these "natural" illusions. Simply put: our mind is designed to have stereotypes, but people can be aware of them. What we can do is to reflect upon our automatic assumptions, talk about them and do our best not to act upon them. The mind can be trained to block fast thinking by means of education, conscious reflection and thematization, as well as via social, educational, and political acts (Gelman and Hirschfeld 1999; Kanovský 2009).

   To unlearn "seeing culture everywhere" (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2009), we have to recognize that every prejudice is a stereotype, but not every stereotype is a prejudice. A list of guidelines, commands and restrictions is impossible to produce as these are constantly determined by their changing context. To produce such lists of "do's and don'ts" for a specific culture is impossible (Tužinská and Voľanská 2016a). When we attempted to determine at least some of these general rules in discussions, training sessions or in research projects, something interesting happened – people might even have agreed on certain dominant tendencies, but they invariably described the behaviour of others with regard to their own beliefs. How then, can an exact translation between two differing beliefs be made? In general, training sessions on "intercultural communication" – whether they were for people working in international corporations or state administration – proved that while those people who sought subtle nuances in translation had no real need for such training, those preferring straightforward interpretations ended up disappointed. Although the public sees anthropologists as "experts on otherness", it is their awareness of diversity that prevents them from providing "instant knowledge". However, to start with the prem-

ise "I don't know how things are, but I am going to slowly find out" is not as popular as an all-purpose survival handbook.

Unlearning "the pure"

One approach to discerning diversity instead of accepting stereotypes lies in our "getting to know ourselves". This was the leading idea shaping our collaboration with Ľubica Voľanská (Tužinská and Voľanská 2016b) in which we tried to challenge a belief in the homogeneity of "national mentality". On the backdrop of public discussions over the dangers foreigners represent, we tried to ask them what they perceive as "Slovak". Several colleagues in their studies (Tužinská and Voľanská 2016a) outlined situations that were described by foreigners as typically "Slovak". As expected, their accounts varied in accordance with what they regarded as "normal" from their own background. However, it should be noted that certain specific motifs in these narratives could also be observed in other countries living under similar geopolitical circumstances.

In a sense, both students and teachers are involved in a process of unlearning their attitudes towards what is represented as "normal", "natural", "pure", "peculiar", "artificial", "polluted", and in what circumstances. Unlearning can succeed only when the subject realizes that a different question is possible. Thus the classical solution to this problem is Socratic questioning. It functions regardless of its form – whether it is a lecture, a discussion, a writing, a role play, or any other participatory method. Participating in unlearning requires (1) an awareness of a contact, (2) a realisation of representations and the state of affairs, (3) a freeing from restraints. Following this, the modification of attitudes occurs by itself.

To sum up, during the process of unlearning, the human mind must abandon its previous convictions and make way for new perceptions and feelings. However, the individual mind, with its intuitive assumptions, is unlikely to succeed on its own. It will need constant assistance in unlearning from the education system, the legal system and other social and cultural institutions. It is crucial to discern what sources of information people take for granted. An intuitive understanding of the term culture as well as stereotyping contributes to the distortion of foreigners' image. In the next section, I will consider why interpreting requires space for interpretation.

"Intercultural" communication and interpreting

Inferences and relevance

Communication, similarly to other components of culture, is a process of which people tend not to be aware. The widespread image of communication as a simple

schema involving encoding, sending and decoding, points to the nature of popular concepts of communication. In such schema, the content remains unchanged, similar to goods transferred from one place to another. In contrast to this, Sperber and Wilson (1995) proved that people always communicate more than they encode. However, the participants of a court hearing do not normally take into account the difference between a sentence's literal meaning and the speaker's communicative intention. Humans are predisposed to save energy while decoding and so they only listen properly when the content seems relevant to them. The human mind seeks to minimise effort while maximising effect. If the premise "the more inferences, the greater the relevance" applies, we need to consider what is relevant to whom in official communication and interpretation (Štefková 2014; Guldanová 2013).

Linguistic and legal anthropologists, sociolinguists, interpreters, and lawyers have become increasingly interested in the analysis of the dynamics of interpreting for migrants in legal environments (Berk-Seligson 2002; Eades 2010; Gibbons 2003; Good 2007; Maryns 2006; Philips 1998; Wadensjö 1998). A comparative report from the Visegrad Group (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia) and the Ukraine presents my observations and those of lawyers with experience in interpreting for asylum applicants in public administration and in court. The major drawbacks identified in the communication of public administration authorities and asylum applicants in legal proceedings are as follows – inaccurately specified interpreting languages, a lack of articulation of official procedures, no qualitative interviews being conducted with asylum applicants, excessive reliance on summaries in place of full reports, unavailable, unethical or missing interpreting services, and institutional obstacles to professional interpreting. All these drawbacks have resulted from the dominant interpretations of persons in authoritative positions (Tužinská 2011, 2015a, 2015b).

"Things as they are"

While it is only natural for all attending parties to perceive relevance in different ways, this can result in tragicomic miscommunication. One such consequence is the assumption that every person has a fixed "ethnic identity". More than once, I had to reject assignments given to compile a "useful text" on "cultural traditions" of the countries in which our asylum applicants previously lived. In January 2017, the Slovak Migration Office invited experts and representatives from cooperating organisations to attend a round table and provide answers to the following questions: (1) determine "the form and content of what refugees should be familiar with in terms of common values accepted in the Slovak Republic" and (2) identify "negative emotions in Slovakia and ways to communicate them to asylum applicants". I was thrilled to observe a change which has happened over the last decade: people across a wide organisational spectrum have concurred on the point that it is just as impossible to compile a list of general values as it is to offer such a list as "instant knowledge".

The entire group was amused when a female vicar remarked that even if such a list existed, we would be the first to violate it. Instead, the group emphasized the need to teach Slovak as a foreign language and to convey the "ethno-cultural realities" by means of these language courses. The group proposed to design and implement the trainings with those granted asylum and living in Slovakia. Only two months later, the Migration Office issued its own handbook with the working title "Handbook of Cultural Orientation". Collaborating institutions were asked to provide feedback. The handbook offered basic information on the country and its administrative procedures, along with practical information and recommendations on how to behave and not to behave in various settings (e.g. the information that in Slovakia violence against women and children is banned; coincidentally at this time public service media announced the opening of a new facility in Central Slovakia for abused women).

At the second roundtable foreigners with international protection were also invited to offer their feedback. They proposed that such a text named "Cultural Differences and Similarities" (working subtitle) would help them to discover more rapidly what they could not understand as "logical" before. Participants discussed various ways of presenting information lucidly and of avoiding stereotyping of both foreigners and Slovaks,[4] and of distinguishing between public and media discourse. In the language used, there was a plea for shifting from imperatives to conditionals, in order to express respect instead of fear. The authors of the handbook questioned in what ways "things as they are" may be documented, rejecting what they described as yet another "politically correct text with blurred meanings". One question remains, namely how a state institution which produces regulations, commands and restrictions on those in the process of integration, can shift from prescriptiveness to descriptiveness, to diversity, contextualisation and reflection on its own impact. The applicability of anthropology also remains in a process of redefinition and recontextualisation of key terms used in institutional discourse.

Prescriptivity, descriptivity and co-learning

There are several thought-provoking studies on similar procedures. Although the situation is far from black-and-white and the extent to which the following tendencies appear in proceedings varies from officer to officer, I would like to emphasize their complementarity. One of these tendencies in communication with asylum applicants is prescriptivity (Good 2007), a confirmation of something already "prescribed". The spoken word is de-contextualised and subordinated to the written word, in a form or a summarisation. Prescriptivity in administration practices was explored in sociolinguistics by Eades (2010) who demonstrated that it corresponds with being text-oriented. In the field of linguistic anthropology, Philips (1998) con-

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[4] The authors of a "Baedeker from foreigners to foreigners living in Slovakia" available at www.slovakness.sk, encountered the same dilemmas connected with identification processes (Tužinská and Voľanská 2016a).

sidered judges' proceedings as being protocol-oriented. Forensic linguist Gibbons (2003) observed a legalistic and mechanic understanding. In translatology, Wadensjö (1998) noticed the dominance of one-way communication and monologisms. From the perspective of legal anthropology, Good (2007) described lawyers' behaviour as predominantly rule-oriented. At the other end of this spectrum, these authors observed officers, policemen, and judges who focused rather on descriptivity, the importance of context, an emphasis on process, an interactionalist approach, dialogism, and relation-orientedness (for examples, see Tužinská 2015a).[5]

My suggestions to include such an anthropological and ethnographic approach when dealing with asylum applicants were sometimes refused as "subtleties" by participants in intercultural training sessions (Tužinská 2011) claiming there was "no time" to apply them. These "subtleties" would, however, be relevant for all of us even if there were no foreigners in Slovakia. Although politicians strive to promote the "super homogeneity" of the Central European region (Buchowski 2016), "superdiversity" is what all of its inhabitants have in common. "Intercultural communication" became an object of essentialisation and politicisation at a time in which media reports were "inundated" with news of migration "waves" (Malkki 1992), and racist and xenophobic practices remind us of those that took place eighty years ago. These subtle distinctions are, in my opinion, what makes the writing of a "cultural orientation" handbook questionable: "It is not the origins of these concepts, then, that we should be concerned about, but their local meanings. And those meanings, just as the meanings of 'traditional' values, are more often than not contested" (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2009: 79). Co-learning is thus a crucial condition for common success.

Language registers: interpreting the context

Since thinking about contestation or polemics is both cognitively and emotionally demanding, people want to avoid it. This happened when a judge told an interpreter who conducted simultaneous whispering interpreting in court: "Stop interpreting, it disturbs me. Everything the court views as relevant will be translated." This can become even more absurd than this symbolic annihilation of an actor in court proceedings – often the translated terms are offered without explanation, notwithstanding their legal impact. Although the administrative officers both in Slovakia and abroad acknowledge the existence of a variety of dialects, sociolects, and other types of contextually applied language (Gibbons 2003), they rarely recognize the immense benefits that translation between dialects, sociolects and various language registers offers (Vrábľová and Ondrejovič 2016). A translation between sociolects and registers may appear as "intercultural". It can, however, recycle the "container view" of

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[5] Employees in favour of descriptivity are equally involved in the integration process; the creation of handbooks is, however, dominated by prescriptivity.

culture in its meaning. This is why I would rather propose the term "translation of context" to denote translation between language registers and to evoke openness towards a process.

Some terms cannot be translated literally and acquire a comprehensible meaning only when their context is translated as well. These are, for example, kinship terminology, calendar systems, local terms for space and time, parts of the body, perceptions and emotions, taboos, group membership, nationality, gender, "race", ethnicity, religious and political affiliations; and terms related to education, occupation or finances. All of them might have different connotation and, most importantly, practical implications in different parts of a country or another social class. When translating them we have to bear in mind that stripped of their context these terms may acquire another, even opposite, meaning.

Anthropologists may ask whether there are any terms that should not be included in this list. I felt very uncomfortable observing what quantity of spoken words remained untranslated in administrative communication. During my observations I was rather surprised to realize that "[c]ourt interpreters are supposed to perform 'just translation', or 'verbatim translation' and *not* interpretation. As Morris (1995) notes, the image is at odds with modern insights about language and communication" (Wadensjö 1998: 45). I was present at trials where the consequences of ignoring varieties of language registers in a legal environment led to an already disadvantaged party losing a trial and serving as further "tangible" proof of asylum applicants' cultural maladjustment. Therefore, the question remains: who sets the limits of what should be said; where is respect and response located; and why does legal language remain "lawfully untranslated".

Conclusion

People often create self-fulfilling prophecies without even noticing; the mind prefers familiar to new and unfamiliar tracks, frequently leading to predictive and prescriptive behaviour. Confirmation bias and prestige bias[6] are therefore widespread. The role of anthropology is to help us unlearn the assumptions which lead to such bias. As Orlandi and Anderson (2012: 25) explain, "people need to experience an uncomfortable process during which, for a short time, the individual loses meaning and connection with knowledge they believe they possess". Or as Ervin (2005: 244) puts it, "practicing anthropologists, like their academic colleagues, need an aptitude for lateral or 'loose thinking' at least initially. Cognitively, that refers to the capac-

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[6] "In addition to being both parochial and responsive to authority, moral assessments should be conformist, as individuals frequently prosper by following the views of the majority. History reveals that, together, dependence on the pronouncements of authorities and conformism can undergird genocide and similar horrors, while moral parochialism can undergird indifference to their occurrence elsewhere. Progress in alleviating human suffering may therefore best be achieved by a fuller understanding of the nature and origins of moral judgement" (Fessler et al. 2015).

ity to see unexpected connections – to disassemble various assumptions and ways of doing things and to reconnect them to provide unexpected understandings or solutions".

Unlearning can be compared to the increasingly popular Japanese concept of *danshari* – the art of de-cluttering a room filled with too much rubbish. As designers say – a picture is perfect when there is nothing you can remove; a room is well-furnished when there is nothing left to take away. In the same spirit, Ryška (2014) criticizes how officialdom in western countries produces a surplus of manuals on what to apply and how to finance aid in remote countries while close neighbours in need are dismissed as unadaptable abusers of whatever they are given. Part of the problem relates to how "sameness" and "otherness" is constructed as a form of diversity in museums and heritage sites (Dolák 2016; Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević 2012). Unlearning must be an integral part of any anthropological education. Ethnographic fieldwork methods can be integrated into the design of teaching, learning and feedback in any classroom, with or without the concept of foreigner (Mills and Morton 2012; Dráľ 2011). The same methods are valuable in the design and analysis of interviews with asylum applicants and in all stages of the application process (Tužinská 2011).

I argue that the entire concept of "understanding the mentality" of foreigners is nonsense from the outset. Instead, our first step should be to look at ourselves. It is important to understand how we function as people, what mechanisms we use to represent the "mentality" of others, what we choose to remember or forget, whose speech we decide to translate or leave untranslated and on what grounds. The things we take for granted are those which first need to be unlearned. Unlearning them gives us space to understand things no longer in terms of sameness or otherness, but always as a mosaic of both. Anthropology is a priceless resource for strengthening respect, reflection, and an ability to respond with an awareness of the consequences.

Much of the ethnographic method can be summed up in the word "respect". In this word, the prefix "re-" emphasises the action of looking back at. The second part of this word, "-spec", is derived from a word of similar origin – speculum, mirror. To use Bakhtin's terms, in this article I have identified the value of anthropology in "the process of coming to know one's own language as it is perceived in someone else's language, coming to know one's own belief system in someone else's system" (Bakhtin 2004: 365). To illustrate this idea, I have highlighted some situations in which those in control have shown little respect, leading to blockages in communication and successful translation.

All too often I have heard people laughing when discussing the "mentality" of foreigners. The antidote to this is not political correctness or seriousness. Rather we need to value shared laughter as one of the resources which makes linguistic communication possible (Knight and Lewis 2017). In the words of Bakhtin (2004: 23), "Laughter demolishes fear and piety before an object, before a world, making of it an object of familiar contact and thus clearing the ground for an absolutely free investigation of it. Laughter is a vital factor in laying down that prerequisite for fearless-

ness without which it would be impossible to approach the world realistically". We will understand our own assumptions better when we see the funny side of jokes aimed by foreigners at ourselves. To become one with the carnival principle of a world upside-down means to enjoy the freedom to laugh and to be able to look into a mirror and accept otherwise unexpected connections. This is why "this discipline is, in a sense, at its most relevant when it is also at its most irrelevant; when we do not try to make policy recommendations but instead instil a sense of wonder at the diversity of human life in those people who care to listen. Anthropology has a radical and subversive potential in this respect" (Eriksen 2017).

Knight (2016: 233) expresses a related idea when he writes:

> Our first requirement is a shared conceptual language. While this can only be the language of science – humanity has no other common tongue – we can no longer afford to treat science as just abstract understanding cut off from laughter, from our emotions, from life in the streets, from joint action to make for ourselves a better world. No individual contribution – not even from a genius – qualifies as science until the rest of us have found that it works. There is nothing special or esoteric about this way of doing things. We consult one another. We check each other's results. "Do you see what I see?" Humans have been doing this since our species first evolved. (…) If we are to begin talking to one another, as we must, we have to start developing terms and concepts we can all share. The barriers between us have no scientific basis; they are institutionally, *politically* imposed. For progress to be made, we have to break through the terminological, methodological and disciplinary frontiers which have kept us all apart.

Recently, during a weekend spent with the family of two auditors, I unlearned everything I thought I knew about this strange profession. I had imagined they were specialists in numbers and accounts. What I discovered was that they were good listeners. An auditor is one who hears. The best auditors are not neutral figures who simply translate what they are told. They are suspicious investigators who expect trickery everywhere. They spend their time questioning, listening and reporting as if doing ethnography. When they encounter apparent nonsense, they look for some unexpected meaning or hidden truth. Auditors and anthropologists have therefore much in common. If these divergent tribes can understand one another, surely there is hope for all of us.

Comments

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Operationalizing Anthropology as a Form of Unlearning and Learning

In her text, Helena Tužinská sets out a theoretical perspective for using anthropology in a variety of settings, including refugee camps, courts, schools and business settings. Her focus is on concepts of unlearning and re-sponse, as opposed to the most common pattern of reacting. Having taught and practiced applied anthropology for over thirty years (Roberta D. Baer), we want to use her theoretical concepts as a starting point, and offer some examples of how these perspectives can be operationalized.

The application of anthropology to a wide range of social issues is well developed in the United States. In fact, the earliest origins of the discipline trace to the efforts of the United States War Department (later the Bureau of Indian Affairs) to learn about the Native American groups being encountered on the frontier of settlement of the continent (Ervin 2005). The pattern was similar in England where key early figures, such as Evans-Pritchard and Audrey Richards, assisted the government in understanding colonial subjects (ibid.). The international scholarly organization of applied anthropologists, the Society for Applied Anthropology, was established in 1941 (SfAA 2017). The first formal graduate programs in applied anthropology began at the University of South Florida in 1974 with a MA program; the Ph.D. program was added in 1984 (Department of Anthropology 2014). Today there are over 30 universities in the US which offer graduate degrees in applied anthropology (AAA 2016a). Many of these programs take a four-field approach to applied anthropology (Department of Anthropology 2014). Graduates are employed in both the public and private sectors, and work on programs and policies which incorporate the importance of culture and cultural differences (Fiske 2008; Redding 2013; Ellick and Watkins 2011). Examples of employers include Google, General Motors, USAID, hospitals and clinics, National Park Service, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, various NGOs, Department of Veteran Affairs, Federal Bureau of Investigation, museums, Intel Corporation, Universal Studios, and various consult-

ing and project management firms (AAA 2016b; Ellick and Watkins 2011; Nolan 2013; Fix 2013).

Our experiences in developing applied anthropologically influenced approaches in the United States have taught us that a key issue is to begin from where one's audience is, and build a program that will address their concerns, as well as the concerns of those who create the program. Too often, we develop programs of inter-cultural communication or cultural diversity, but do not truly address the concerns of our audiences. Then, as Tužinská notes, we receive feedback that "what you tell us is all fine and fancy, but our job is to protect the borders". In our workshops, classes, etc., we must create a form of experiential learning that moves our participants/students from where they were when they entered, to a new level of understanding of the issues. This form of learning/teaching connects people with experiences, so that we can move from the mere production and distribution of lists of cultural characteristics, to a situation where a real understanding of other traditions and perspectives occurs.

We will address this issue in the context of two classes the first author has taught at her university over the past few years. While I (RDB) have incorporated applied anthropological projects into my graduate classes for many years (Baer et al. 1988, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2012), I have recently begun to use the model of service learning (Barone and Ritter 2010; McCabe 2004). This perspective emphasizes the importance of reflection about the experiences during the course (Beck 2005; Menzies and Butler 2011). Incorporating this model has made it possible to bring applied anthropological projects into undergraduate classes.

One class which used this approach was called "Oral History". The goal of the class was to have students understand the situation of contemporary refugees in the US and elsewhere, and to engage the students in applied research about the topic. Class activities included visits to ESOL classes for refugees, guest speakers from prominent refugee aid organizations, oral reports, reviews of current news and media articles regarding refugees, practice conducting interviews, and completing a set of reflective essays about their experience (since there is an emphasis on reflection in service learning). All of this was geared to the class project. In pairs, students interviewed refugees living in the Tampa Bay area, from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Burma, the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Cuba, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Togo. The taped interviews of the oral histories were transcribed. Then the students rewrote each at a simple reading level so the materials could be used by beginner level readers of English. The ultimate product was a book, *American Stories* (Baer and Holbrook 2017), which will be used in English as a Second Language classes for new refugees. The book, published by the Hillsborough County School Board which administers the program, will also be placed in school and public libraries throughout the county.

The class activities required students to engage directly with people very different from themselves. They had to contact people from different backgrounds, set up appointments, conduct the interviews, and then review the stories with their

interviewees for correctness. They not only listened to the stories, but also in the process of their interactions, learned about the difficulties newcomers in our community face. One pair of students called anxiously as their interviewee was fifteen, then thirty minutes late. They were told to wait. The person turned up about forty-five minutes late. Not yet having a driver's license or car, he had to take three buses to reach their meeting point, one of which was late.

While the class was a challenge in many ways, the course was well received by the students. They noted that the class changed their perspective on the topic. One said,

> When this course began, my excitement was focused on an intellectually stimulating… research opportunity… However, I failed to realize the breadth of personal growth that this course offered… I was certainly not educated about the complexities, difficulties, and variations within the refugee experience. These changes in perspective reflect a deeper understanding of the labyrinth that is the global environment of these human experiences and reinforce the importance of perspective and thankfulness.

Another commented,

> My perspective changed because refugees are working on overcoming very challenging experiences… They have to live with their memories and adapt to a new culture and language. I already thought they were courageous but now I understand that it takes really special people to live in terrible conditions and start all over, sometimes without any connection to the people from their past and not knowing if their family members are safe or alive.

The diversity of the refugee population was also new to the students,

> I did not expect the diversity of the refugee population: poor illiterate farmers and well-educated, professional, middle class people like myself… I also didn't realize how much psychological stress [some] refugees felt from downward mobility, after losing their standard of living, self-sufficiency, and the identities wrapped up in their work. Men used to supporting their families suddenly feel useless. Doctors and engineers have to take menial jobs because their certifications aren't accepted in the US. …Giving our class the opportunity to give back to the community was empowering.

The students also learned the importance of an oral history approach,

> This project, along with learning more about refugees, gave me a deeper respect for the power of voice.

Finally, they also appreciated the chance to really make a difference in their community,

> I went into this class expecting a more traditional classroom structure, with lectures, discussions, and furious note-taking. What I got out of this class,

however, was something entirely new. I got a chance to make a difference, to build a relationship, and to learn how to create change rather than just talk about it.

The second class was entitled "Research Experience in Patient Provider Interaction". This class was team taught by the first author, and Dr. Jason Wilson, an attending physician at the Tampa General Hospital Emergency Department, who also has a MA in Anthropology. Our explicit goal in this class was to train pre-medical students to gain a better understanding and valuation of the patient perspective in the physician-patient encounter. These issues are at the core of the subfield of applied medical anthropology. The beginnings of this approach are credited to Benjamin Paul, who in 1951 started a program in the Harvard University School of Public Health to introduce social science to the medical curriculum (Trei 2005). Another key figure is Arthur Kleinman, who in 1978 outlined some of the key concepts of medical anthropology (Kleinman, Eisenberg and Good 1978). These include the difference between "disease", the medical category, and "illness", the lay perspective which encompasses not only the biological malfunction, but also the social (and sometimes, spiritual) impacts of the "disease" and its treatment. As a result of the culture of biomedicine imparted to physicians as part of their training (Hahn 1995), Kleinman et al. (1978) recognized the frequent differences in explanations of the causes, symptoms, and treatments of ill health, and urged physicians to learn techniques to understand the explanatory models of their patients. The goal was to then work together to achieve mutual understanding and a viable treatment plan.

While these perspectives date to over 40 years ago, medical school curriculums have not widely adopted these concepts. As such, we sought to incorporate this perspective into the coursework of students before they began medical school. We conducted the course in the context of a Level 1 Trauma Center, which functions not only to deal with traumatic injuries, but also as a health safety net for patients without health insurance. Class activities included reviews of current literature regarding the culture of the emergency room, the intersection of medicine and culture, and methods of qualitative research. While students were required to shadow physicians, they were also required to shadow patients, which we have learned is a key activity in developing an understanding of the patient experience. The class used what they learned to put together a leaflet for patients about common misunderstandings of how the emergency room works, and then evaluated the perceptions of the leaflet. Reflection activities about their experiences were also required.

Students noted the value of learning about the patient perspective. One stated,

> This class has made me realize that the art of compassionate care and social interaction… should be combined with the necessary sciences… and curative methods to provide the most appropriate care to patients.

Another observed,

> However, physicians often forget just how… [it] feels to be a patient under stress and pain and waiting hours to see you.

Yet another noted,

> I learned most importantly not to lose sight of how much of an impact you can have as a physician on a patient's life, both for the good and the bad. For the doctor, curing the disease is the goal, while for the patient it isn't just the biological side that matters to their health. It's how their disease will affect their daily life and whether they can afford to be sick.

The class activities also pushed the students into learning more about themselves. One said,

> Never could I have imagined what this class would teach me about medicine and about myself… Unlike other classes where reading material is assigned… and discussed, the reading and discussion were different and more enlightening in this class because I was able to see and apply what articles, films, and lectures taught me related to my experiences in the ER. Despite dreading the four hour patient shadowing assignment since syllabus day, looking back, it was probably my favorite assignment of the class… Mainly the patients taught me that their health wasn't something separate from their lives. Their health was something that affected them every day and really influenced the person they had come to be, and how the interactions they would have in the ER would impact their coming days and weeks.

Another noted,

> The course pushed me to thinking outside of the box and into new perspectives… While putting together all of the research the class has done this semester has been hectic, it has also been one of the most satisfying experiences of my life… After taking this course I was shocked to find out that there are no anthropology courses taught during medical school. The lessons I learned… are essential to my career as a physician… I can comfortably enter a patient's room and talk confidently with them even in times of distress. I can also better understand their perspective and needs as a patient. Learning these lessons will make me a better medical student and a better physician. It is a shame that not everyone has the access to this type of course before pursuing his or her medical careers.

A third observed,

> In reality, the majority of people who come to the ER do not have fascinating, rare or life-threatening problems. People come with chest pain, back pain, social pain. They come just in case, or because nowhere else will take them. This causes the true gap in models: expectations. Physicians simply want to make sure someone is healthy enough to leave. Patients want to find out what is wrong with them and fix it. As a physician I hope that this class will help me see past the biomedical distillation of patients into biological components. I hope to remember the humanity of my patients.

In closing, then, we want to suggest that if we want to operationalize anthropology as a form of unlearning and learning, we must structure experiential learning in our classrooms and workshops. The classes discussed here engage students in applied anthropological projects as part of their course activities, training them in appropriate methods and perspectives. Tužinská has outlined the theoretical perspectives; it is now for us to operationalize them. One place to begin is in our classrooms. To do so effectively, we must find ways not to merely lecture about other cultures and perspectives, but rather to create situations in which the concerns and humanity of those different from ourselves can be experienced, understood, and ultimately, respected.

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Asylum Procedures: Applied Anthropology and Socio-Political Change

The asylum process, as well as those procedures surrounding that process, have been addressed in the work published here by Helena Tužinská from an anthropological perspective. In a brief overview of research relating to the asylum seeking procedure, Anthony Good, the author of one of the first dominantly ethnographic based monographs on this subject, describes several studies which are close to anthropology, primarily in terms of their methodology. However, he emphasizes that up until then, "hardly anything ha[d] been written from an anthropological perspective about any aspect of the process of seeking asylum" (Good 2007: 11). In the context of increasingly restrictive migration policies in the West, which tend to transform the asylum seeking process from being a mechanism offering protection to being a mechanism for the control of migration, the seeking of asylum and ideas relating to it are today – at least as a theme – ever more present in public space and, understandably, ever more frequently appear on the horizon of anthropological (and similar kinds of) research. Among those authors systematically writing about these topics is Helena Tužinská, who in several ethnographic works and across various registers (e.g. Tužinská 2009, 2011), has dealt with the dead-ends relating to the asylum seeking process in Slovakia. In the work published here, Tužinská is above all interested in the problems and possibilities of applying anthropological perspectives and knowledge to contexts in which formal communication occurs with asylum seekers. Tužinská focuses on two levels, of which one relates to the understanding, or misunderstanding, of the nature of testimony in general. Testimony, as numerous anthropological

studies have shown – accompanied by insights from psychology, literary studies, and similar disciplines – does not respect the logic of pure, correct narration and linear sequences. This is especially the case when discussing testimonies concerning traumatic experiences, which are practically taken-for-granted in public perceptions of refugees and in the practices surrounding the granting of international protection. Consequently, the inconsistencies which emerge in the testimonies made during the asylum seeking process ought not to, as they are, be uncritically connected with the idea of not being credible. The second level to which Tužinská refers relates to the reduction of the process of mediation and translation in asylum procedures, i.e. to the absence of their intercultural dimension. As this dimension is consequently overlooked, in the procedures for granting international protection, a distortion of even the "first" level of testimony occurs, i.e. failures in spheres such as dating key events, family relations, group affiliations etc.

In the above text, the author is interested in the application of anthropological knowledge and in making improvements to the existing asylum system, and in better understanding the practices on which it is based – above all the practices of witnessing, interviews and intercultural mediation in "everyday" conditions. In our comment we will retain the focus on what we recognize, motivated by Helena Tužinská's text, to be aspects of the asylum procedure in the "exceptional" conditions in which the Balkan Corridor was established. We will stick to the procedures concerning the registration of refugees in Croatia in the autumn and winter of 2015–2016. Rather than assuming their assigned role as "gatekeepers" of what were in practice basically closed European borders to refugees, that autumn and winter, the countries of South-East Europe – including Croatia – were transiting of hundreds of thousands of refugees through their territories towards the so-called prosperous states of Europe. Therefore, instead of implementing the asylum procedure, which would be in accordance with currently valid legislation, the states along the Corridor registered the refugees in specially established locations before directing them onward. Indeed, over this period, an insignificant number of refugees sought asylum in Croatia (Šelo Šabić and Borić 2016: 11–12). The registration procedure consisted of making refugee "records" and collecting basic identification data. Especially at first, it was carried out in different ways in different states, on the basis of a variety of sources. Of these, verbal testimonies – typical for asylum procedures – played a significant role. This *ad hoc* procedure which was introduced, drew, as far as we know, on *The Aliens Act*, and on a framework within which refugees, although not necessarily all of them, received written decisions which prescribed them the time by which they must leave the country (cf. Petrović 2017: 47–48) and which were a prerequisite for continuing the movement towards and arrival on the territory of the state in which they would ultimately seek protection.

In November 2015, the states along the Corridor began in unison to restrict access to the Corridor, or more precisely, to permit movement along the Corridor exclusively to persons from certain countries. From November 2015, movement along the Corridor was only permitted to persons from Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq, and

from February onwards, only to people from Iraq and Syria. To achieve this, the Croatian police at the railway station in Šid, based on a protocol (*Protokol* 2015) negotiated between Serbia and Croatia, undertook a profiling procedure or triage through which they selected those who would be allowed to enter Croatia by train. Following entry, they would be registered upon arrival at the already established camp in Slavonski Brod. We did not witness firsthand the profiling of refugees in Šid, but the information reached us, through refugees with whom we spoke at the camps in Slavonski Brod and Dobova, as well as through activists' reports, that such profiling – accompanied by arbitrariness and even violence – in one moment began to rely heavily on oral statements. As stated in the report from the end of January 2016:

> State authorities have enforced their border controls by the implementation of strict language tests at the border crossing. Consequently, having a registration paper stating a SIA [Syrian, Iraqi, Afghani] nationality is not enough to cross the border from Serbia into Croatia. Contracted translators check accents and dialects while people are queuing for transit. (Banich et al. 2016a: 5)

Nor did we directly witness the registration procedure in the Slavonski Brod camp, where we as researchers stayed over several periods from January until the closing of the camp in April 2016. This was because, like most of the volunteers and employees present at the camp, we were not granted access to the registration tents. On some occasions however, as we described in an earlier text (Hameršak and Pleše 2017: 110), the entrance was open to some of the registration tents, and so we were able to see for a moment a small part of what took place inside them:

> registration tent is open (tent flap up) and you can see inside, but the sunlight is strong and I cannot see very well; a police officer exited the tent, he has a mask on, there is a wheelchair inside, I can see a woman holding a child on her sitting in a chair in front of a desk (I cannot see the police officer interrogating her on the other side of the desk because my view is blocked), several police officers are walking around the tent, I see one Red Cross uniform.

We found out more about the registration process taking place in the tents through short verbal and non-verbal exchanges with refugees. Such communication was not motivated by our curiosity as researchers, although this was present, but above all by the uneasiness and fears of some of those who had just been through the registration process. Baring their palms was a gesture through which they conveyed to us their confusion or worry about having had all their fingerprints taken, for an unclear reason and with unknown repercussions. A little more frequently the refugees showed us the decisions they had been issued with upon registration, yet as they were written in Croatian they could not understand the contents. The decisions were handed to them – gauging by their reactions, and the constant fight against time during the whole transit process – without any kind of systematic translation back into their languages, intercultural mediation, and without any basic explanation of

the text's contents offered. Some turned to us with the request that we translate what was written, and intervene in cases where the wrong information had been written (e.g. regarding the country of origin or the destination country). As regards certain procedures relating to registration, we found out more through conversations with the translators, who compared to us, had had more meaningful communication with the refugees. We heard from them that, upon registration, the policemen would browse through some of the photographs on their mobiles. This can be interpreted as a means of checking the credibility of persons' self-presentation, and also as one way of subordinating those being "interrogated".

In contrast to the registration process, which was structured as a formal procedure carried out by police officials with everyone else in the camp strictly excluded, the "outcomes" of registration were less formalised and less mandatory. They were made manifest in the issued (or not) decision letters (for as mentioned earlier, not everyone received them), in their various forms, which seemed a lot less formal and binding. When faced with the worries of the refugees due to the above-mentioned incongruences and inaccuracies concerning the decisions issued upon registration, the police in the camp and other "experienced" people from the camp gave a reply imbued with a leisurely pragmatism, as if the issued decisions were a mere formality: "Everything will be OK. They do not all receive the same papers. They will get new papers in Slovenia."

In the Dobova camp, through which the refugees passed upon entering into Slovenia, they went through another round of profiling and registration. As volunteers, on several occasions we had the opportunity – albeit still in a scattered fashion but nevertheless more than in Slavonski Brod – to view parts of the process with which this comment deals. From January 2016, selections on the basis of origin were made in that camp. We know about these selections from the reports of activists in the field, and they did not only use the language based test, but also made judgements on the basis of physical appearance, as well as through standardized questions. These questions related to the destination country, and the country and place of origin. And the answers given to the questions concerning origin had to be supported by showing different locations on a map (as if reading a map were a universal, and not a learned skill). Individuals were also expected to give one reason for why they had fled. "Accurate" answers to these questions passed over certain characteristics basic to contemporary forced migrations. For instance, being a refugee often consists of spending longer or shorter periods of time in several, or even a range of states. Consequently, for many in the Balkan Corridor, the question of where they have come from might have several answers. Yet in the regime of the Corridor and the established rules and quotas for acceptance, only one answer could enable continued movement. All other replies were "inaccurate" and they could entail exclusion, arrest, imprisonment, deportation, etc. For example:

> I was stopped at Dobova, even though I was traveling with my Syrian passport.
> An Egyptian translator pulled me out of the line. He asked me when I left Syria.
> I replied, "Six months ago." "Where have you been since then?" He asked me. I

told him I had been in Turkey. Then he said, "Then go back to Turkey, it's safe there." (Banich et al. 2016b: 8)

The system of controls and checks which we have touched on above was one of the tools used on European territory to carry out a continual, targeted reduction in the number of people in the Balkan Corridor. It, along with insights into the Corridor which we have presented elsewhere (Hameršak and Pleše 2017), and in the context of an approach which the European/national regime of protection recognizes as of the kind which "effectively intensifies the precarious existence for many while offering protection to a few" (Scheel, Garelli and Tazzioli 2015: 17), suggests that the dead-ends of the asylum system as experienced under the "everyday" conditions described by Tužinská, should be perceived in terms of the same or similar key points. This means giving up on the presumption that such practices arise primarily or exclusively from ignorance or a lack of awareness regarding the complexities of individual refugees' life circumstances and paths, as conveyed via their language, and also as regards the specifics of mediation between languages. Viewed from such a perspective, many linguistic, cultural, and other failures show themselves to be emphasised and produced, rather than being accidental. They emerge as a systematic means of reducing the number of people who are offered protection. To the extent that efforts to apply anthropological knowledge and perspectives to the asylum granting process show themselves to be – in certain cases likely to be successful, but nevertheless given – means of "softening the system", without wider socio-political change, those efforts are not in a position to break away from practices of marking and excluding "undesirables".

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The Challenges of Unlearning in Applied Anthropology

In 2014, I was involved in an educational training course named "Intercultural Relations, Dialogue, and Competencies", financed by the Slovenian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals. Our team's task was to prepare teaching materials (published in Bezjak, Podjed and Bezjak Mlakar 2014) and to carry out training in different cities for public employees, teachers, police, workers in local administration etc., who communicate daily with people arriving in the EU. As an anthropologist who had mostly worked in academia, I believed that this task would be easy. We would explain to the participants of the

training courses how it is possible to understand and accept intercultural differences, raise their awareness of cultural diversity, and strengthen their communicative competencies in dealing with people coming to Slovenia.

In the end, the task proved to be more demanding and challenging than anticipated. First, our team had to deal with a completely different audience to those studying ethnology and anthropology in academic settings. Second, we had to start building the programme more or less from scratch, and to "unlearn" – if I may use Tužinská's expression – how anthropological concepts should be presented to the public. We started the training with basic concepts, i.e. by explaining the term "culture". Even though this term is widely used, it has often been disputed (Kuper 1999; Abu-Lughod 1991), and some scientists have even called for its relexification (Brightman 1995). One of the main reasons for the term being problematic is the numerous interpretations and synonyms of the word "culture", due to which the original meaning – if there ever was one – has almost completely dissolved. We decided to retain the term as part of the training and to include it in the overall title of our activity due to the requirements of the project call, which explicitly stated that one of our courses should focus on *intercultural* dialogue.

There were a number of other related concepts that we had to "unlearn" while trying to re-frame the definition of culture. These included "cultural hybridisation", "transnationalism", "creolisation", and "fluid identification processes". In this process of unlearning, we decided to shift our perspective and ask the training participants what the concept of culture represented to them personally. We received various responses: they defined culture as visiting cultural institutions, such as the theatre and opera, as table manners, and as daily habits in different countries. All these explanations were of course to some extent correct – in a plethora of existing definitions, many of which were collected, described, and categorised a long time ago by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), it would be difficult not to provide a "correct" answer. Continuing, we explained the etymological root of the word, which, according to the *Online Etymology Dictionary,* is derived from the Latin word *cultura*, i.e. "cultivating, agriculture", and which is connected to the past participle stem of *colere*, meaning "to tend, guard; to till, cultivate". For the training, we decided to stick to the agricultural metaphor and use it to present a contemporary anthropological understanding of the complexity of the term. We introduced "culture" as resulting from agriculture and gardening, and described its complexity by displaying an interestingly shaped plant: a cauliflower. We emphasised its fractal structure with repeating patterns on different levels – with each piece of the plant containing the whole cauliflower, while being simultaneously separate, specific, and original (cf. Strathern 1991). We then made a detour from the actual plant to problems of scale and proportion in societies and explanations of global cultures, arbitrarily dividing them into national, regional and local cultures. We can keep splitting the original "plant" down to the smallest particle of which it consists – an individual.

During our first round of training, held in Ljubljana, our team was worried how people in the audience would react to the "cauliflower" approach and the training

process. Surprisingly, the result exceeded our expectations – people could relate to the "plant" metaphor (many due to their own gardening experience), and tried to explain cultural complexity by listing examples from their own social environment: from diversity within their own blocks of flats to the subcultures of schools or administration units where they worked.

More practically oriented experiments followed this "theoretical" part of the training, where we wanted the audience to take an active role in the process of meeting with the Other – often considered a mysterious or even potentially dangerous subject. We prepared several interactive didactical tasks for them, one of which was titled "Anthropologists Encounter the Natives from Mars".[7] The goal of the exercise was to understand and accept cultural differences, to overcome fears of the unknown, of different lifestyles and habits, and to improve their communication with migrants from "third countries". The rules for this activity were simple. Participants at the training were divided into two groups: "anthropologists" were members of the first group and "natives" of the second. The workshop leader then described the context of "close encounters of the third kind": a spaceship had landed on Mars, and its crew had found a species, similar to humans, but who communicated using an incomprehensible language and gestures. The "anthropologists" then left the room. When they were gone, the "natives" were instructed on how to behave and react to questions – i.e. they were assigned behavioural patterns and habits. For example, they had to nod when they wanted to say "no", they had to use an unknown word for "yes" and so forth. Before the "anthropologists" returned to the room, they were instructed to interact with the "natives" from Mars, avoid conflict situations, and record their findings on verbal and non-verbal communication with the "natives". We also suggested they be especially cautious as one of the "natives" was supposedly very dangerous – even though none of the "Martians" was ever told to behave in this way. The results of this exercise were fascinating and often hilarious. The "anthropologists" tried to extract information from the "natives" by making unusual sounds and gestures. They always managed to pinpoint "the dangerous one" who had, in their opinion, an aggressive facial expression.

The main positive output of this exercise was laughter, which, as Tužinská suggests following Bakhtin (2004), demolished fear of the Other and established a closer cooperation between both groups – the "anthropologists" and the "natives". These somewhat irrelevant moments when we tried not to impose any recommendations or give instructions on how people should behave when they meet the Other were at the same time the most relevant for the success of our training (cf. Eriksen 2017). This is when the transient intercultural barrier dissolved and when the participants of the training programme (including the organisers) were able to dissolve stereotypes about what constituted the best ways of communicating with foreign, unknown people. Due to this relaxed and open approach, which skipped most of

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[7] There are many similar activities and exercises in the intercultural communication industry. The Martians and anthropologists example is not completely unique and original – it was presented, albeit in a slightly different way, in several toolkits and manuals for trainers and instructors.

the strict definitions and terms concerning intercultural cooperation, communication and awareness, the training was well accepted and positively evaluated by the trainees. In fact, the approach encouraged some people to stay until the end, as they secretly confided to us after the course, even if they had originally planned to simply take a quick look at the training activities and then leave after having signed the attendance list.

Even though most people who attended the training were satisfied with the approach, it proved difficult to persuade many of them that this kind of approach, based on role-playing activities and exercises, is "at its most relevant when it is also at its most irrelevant" (Eriksen 2017). People usually prefer to be given definitions of ethnicities and nations, which correspond to their cognitive structures and make sense in otherwise chaotic and scattered social worlds. These simplified and stereotypical mental schemes that people create in accordance with their interests and subjectivity (Lippmann 1961) are cognitive shortcuts that help us make a quick assessment of the world and enable quick and efficient creation of characteristics in terms of relationships of Us versus the Other.

Stereotypes are not necessarily wrong or bad, because – regardless of whether they are true or not – they at least enable some kind of clarity in the existing global complexity. Dissolving stereotypes is not one of the goals in intercultural awareness training programmes. On the contrary: both the financiers and the people attending the trainings expect concrete recommendations for establishing connections with people coming from "different cultures" and for their successful integration into European society – for example, how might we communicate with Muslims from Kosovo.

The situation is similar in other applied anthropological activities. For example, it has proven to be difficult – if not impossible – to sign a contract with a company or a governmental institution to conduct "classic" ethnographic inquiry, lasting at least a year and a half, and based on chatting with people, recording their daily lives, describing their habits, and so on. Such a study would result in a descriptive analysis of a group of people and their habits, without any prescriptiveness or clear recommendations. Even if we introduce an approach such as "deep hanging out" (Geertz 1998), which explains the anthropological approach of immersing oneself in a group or social experience on an informal level, the sponsors of such research might simply understand this as just "hanging out", i.e. something that can be done without the assistance of anthropologists.

I had several experiences of this kind in 2010 when we started a business anthropology consultancy firm with the main aim of "boosting the added value of companies through solutions that pay regard to user experience, intercultural cooperation, cultural specifics, and the adaptation of services and products to cultural environments" (Ergo Institute 2010). From the inception of our consultancy, my business partner and I tried to convince other companies and institutions how valuable ethnographic studies could be for their business, in boosting the innovation process, and in finding out more about their customers. "Your approach is very interesting",

was a common initial response to our introduction to the value of ethnography and anthropology for the corporate world. Unfortunately, the "but" part followed: "but we already know everything about our customers". We were surprised: how can our potential clients know everything about the users of their products and services and still invite us to have an hour-long conversation with them about the possibility of collaborating with anthropologists?

The twofold answer is also connected to Tužinská's elaboration of the applicability of anthropology. First, company owners and managers like to believe that they know everything about their customers. It is therefore unsettling for them to hire an "outsider" who might dissolve this knowledge about the users and their habits – even if this knowledge is in fact based on stereotypes. An anthropologist who suggests "unknowing" what the clients already (think they) know, might, therefore, be more of a problem-maker than an actual help. A "sharp-eyed social scientist" (Singer 2014) can, in fact, pinpoint what companies do not know and provide a first-hand response concerning how people use certain products. However, this is not what people in business want to hear – at least not all of them. Instead, they want to know how to sell more of what they are already making, even if it is of no use or relevance to anyone. The first problem, therefore, is that anthropology is still – perhaps even more so due to the more recent tendency to crawl out of the academic ivory tower – an "uncomfortable discipline" (Wright 1995). Another problem is that anthropologists and anthropology operating outside of academia has to come face-to-face with stereotyping, too. According to our experience and research, carried out in a European context, there is still a prevailing opinion that anthropology is "a useless discipline dealing with 'exotic peoples' or 'ethnographic remnants'" (Podjed, Gorup and Bezjak Mlakar 2016: 60). Applied and practising anthropologists thus have difficulties in establishing a credible position in meetings and negotiations if they are perceived as an unnecessary appendix to "serious" business, industry, and development projects.

In order to establish anthropology as an applied and applicable discipline, we need to ignite the process of unlearning, which has to take place on both sides: the anthropologists' and the side of those who might need anthropological services. One possibility for instigating this process may again lie in a term used in Helena Tužinská's article: *re-spect*. What anthropology needs now, perhaps more than ever, is to take a good, long look in the mirror, a look which might offer us a reflection of the actual potential of the discipline and its drawbacks and defects. However, this process should not take too long. Otherwise, admiration of our own image could evolve into either narcissism or indignation over our own mistakes, followed by self-flagellation. What we need is to make the necessary terminological, methodological, and epistemological adaptations to anthropology. It is time to *re-act*.

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An Unlearning of Anthropology

Helena Tužinská focuses on empirically and theoretically significant aspects of the transfer of anthropological knowledge. Indeed, the world is shrinking, literally erasing old and familiar political, ethnic and cultural boundaries. Would this require taking a different theoretical approach to the units which anthropologists study? Tužinská's case study of accommodating asylum seekers in Slovakia provides an excellent opportunity to both empirically and theoretically unlearn taken for granted concepts and assumptions. I divide my discussion into two parts as I believe Tužinská's article captures significant and changing moments in anthropology on two levels. The first deals with the empirical situation and the second with its theoretical interpretation. Empirical situations not only open new field-sites, providing opportunities to rethink our approaches and methodologies of spreading anthropological knowledge, but also allow us to engage and alter these empirical situations.

The main concern of Tužinská's article is empirical and addresses the methodologies used in transferring knowledge. An anthropologist today not only teaches anthropology in a university but is also expected to reveal "cultural traditions" and "intercultural communication" to the public outside of academia. In Tužinská's case, these are specialists working with asylum seekers, providing the added value of anthropological knowledge. Specialists outside the university are not very sympathetic to the message which anthropology brings nor to learning on anthropology's terms. They demand a cook-book recipe for "reading" asylum seekers based on the correct proportion of "cultural" ingredients. The anthropologist stumbles over the anthropological concept of culture, unable to fill the "culture" box with solid content and wishing to offer a critical and reflexive perspective on culture instead. Moreover, an entire working group of various specialists revealing "Slovak values" reaches the critical realisation that this task is impossible.

The solution is borrowed from the theoretical realm, using the concept of unlearning. It requires "(1) an awareness of a contact, (2) a realisation of representations and the state of affairs, (3) a freeing from restraints". Rephrasing this, it demands a refocusing from the content mode of culture to a procedural mode of building and demolishing one's own cultural beliefs – as anthropologists do when exploring culture. The specifics of this unlearning methodology are not revealed explicitly but of the greatest importance for many anthropologists working with the general public outside of academia. As Tužinská notes, contact with asylum seekers creates real fear and negative emotions among the local population and influences specialists involved, creating disadvantages for refugees seeking support and justice.

Tužinská uses the concept of (un)learning as a universal scheme behind acquiring and questioning knowledge in this ethnographic situation. Though the con-

cepts of "culture", "other" and "mentality" are problematized (and most often used in brackets in this article), they are not completely denounced and dismissed but rather repaired and rehabilitated via constant awareness, questioning and recontextualization. Tužinská believes in biological, genetical givens persisting in memory, communication and learning, through presenting the example of an illusion whereby one mistakes a coil for a snake. Is this a "natural" illusion and can we take it as an analogy when building our attitudes towards refugees? This trope of interpretation leads us back to a circle of the constant re-contextualizing of others and selves. Would this lead us to perceive the coil as a coil rather than a snake, and a refugee as a friend rather than an enemy? Would the exercising of reflexivity reveal the "natural" without an illusion?

The theoretical perspective taken creates two kinds of conceptual problems. First, what seems to remain in the background here is the interpersonal and conceptual relationship built. No wonder anthropology is likened to an auditing process at the end of the article – a relationship that has been critically debated within the discipline (e.g. Strathern 2000). Many relationships are created through the ethnographic situation of asylum seeking, involving anthropologists. The anthropologist as "facilitator", "guide" or "unlearner" is preferred to the role of "lecturer" or "trainer". I assume that it is not only the title but also the kind of relationship one wishes to establish with his or her audience. There is a lack of matching symmetry in naming this public. What do the participants of these training events wish to be called? Their role as "unlearners" is problematic. The specialists do not see their intercultural training as hugely relevant, according to Tužinská. When a border guard says: "What you tell us is all fine and fancy, but our job is to protect the borders", it might refer not only to his/her attitude towards (un)learning but also towards his/her job and professional relationships which require a certain detachment from seeing the "other" as a person. This is what happens when the audit "creeps" in – the "relationship is itself likely to be embedded in social situations not defined by the parties themselves" (Strathern 2006: 533), creating an awkward situation not only for the anthropologist but also for the trainee. It might well be that the very situations, terms and questions we are working with should be redefined.

Anthropology is a duplex tool – conceptual and personal – and anthropologists learn relationships through relationship-splicing and combining different ways of knowing (Strathern 2005: 6–7). Resentment, detachment and unlearning are different conceptual and personal ways of building connections. I believe we should use our anthropological tools in situations which we cannot define, thinking of ways to forge personal and conceptual connections which can become shared as methodologies of knowledge transfer.

I have found an awareness in the relational nature of Euro-American knowledge which is of practical use in teaching anthropology. When I conducted my doctoral fieldwork in Latvian maternity hospitals, I felt I built an immense debt towards my informants. They gave me their time, hearts and often literally took care of me while I stayed in hospitals. My dissertation completed at a far-away university gave me a

degree and produced some anthropological knowledge of societal changes in Latvia, but it did not even the interpersonal debt I gained through fieldwork. I am grateful to midwives for their later invitation for me to represent them in Parliamentarian debates on legalizing home birth and to obstetricians who opened enduring collaborations in creating national reproductive health reports for almost two decades. These are rewarding relationships, both personal and conceptual, from which I have learnt a lot.

Relations are especially challenging to manage in situations which we cannot define. However, there is still room for conversation, listening and translating. This requires skills beyond academic speaking and writing. We have introduced a special course for our anthropology students at the University of Latvia where we research publicly relevant topics. Students talk to the stakeholders (politicians, entrepreneurs, teachers), frame research problems and conduct fieldwork. We end with a joint press conference with our stakeholders in a public venue. Students learn to speak to media and express their opinion in different auditoriums. Some are later invited onto live TV and radio shows to speak as experts. It is difficult – students report speaking in the national media as being a scary and tiresome experience. However, this process allows for a living through the different "cultures" of our target audiences and most importantly – it permits the redefining and renegotiating of situations.

Finally, the theoretical framework of this article allows us to view Slovakian "problems" with asylum seekers as universal and somehow natural cognitive problems, stripping them of their political, economic, social and personal contexts. Is the reaction towards refugees the same everywhere in Europe? Do post-socialist countries react in a similar pattern? The Slovakian "Handbook of Cultural Orientation" is suspiciously reminiscent of the Latvian information leaflets for refugees. The Latvian equivalent also stresses that asylum seekers, among other things, should be informed that "violence against women (no sanctions follow adultery) and against children (criminal rituals and mutilation) is prohibited" (*Action Plan for the Transfer and Reception…*). Would stereotyping be an appropriate interpretation for these "coincidences" rather than searching within the historical and political heritage of positioning women in post-socialist societies (Watson 1997)? Can we look at these problems as separate from a broader context of colonial and post-colonial anthropology? Anthropologists act as experts on "otherness", however in a different relational context. It is much more comfortable to venture out and come back with an exotic story of a culture, but this now raises many ethical challenges in a globalized world where the "natives" read our accounts of them (Scheper-Hughes 2000) and the public questions our relevance to their everyday life and professional duties. As Wagner (1981: 12) has noted: "in the act of inventing another culture, the anthropologist invents his own, and in fact he reinvents the notion of culture itself".

When researching and conducting training sessions, I have often been faced with questions asking for straight recipes. For example, a person who has helped a refugee family and has invested emotional and material resources might feel disappointed and betrayed when this family vanishes from Latvia one morning. Whose fault is it?

The answers are never simple, but I do not see a professional answer which would not involve the broader political and economic contexts of migration policy. We invent others and simultaneously invent ourselves. Anthropology still has a great deal to give in sharing its experience with relationships and their contexts.

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Unlearning in the Home and on the Streets

Introduction

The strategic use of memory is a well-known social fact, especially in the post-war and post-colonial Euro-Atlantic space (Alexander 2012). Helena Tužinská offers several examples from her practice as an educating and consulting anthropologist. The metaphor she draws on, comparing critical thinking in anthropology with the act of designing a room by means of removing the unnecessary, is fitting. In the literature on intercultural communication and education (e.g. Moree 2015), this is named anti-groupist thinking. However, the emphasis is usually also placed on the two-sided character of the process, and so maybe anti-groupist thinking is more like co-designing shared space in an apartment where more people or social groups live together. Finding one common, fitting and comfortable way of furnishing the kitchen or bathroom which suits everyone is the challenge of our times.

Of course, the burden of sensitivity regarding difference lies more with the powerful, such as scientists, courts, and administrative institutions. Social scientists deal with this via the use of various dehegemonizing practices. I have suggested, among others, to enter the research field without an exoticizing spacesuit (Sidiropulu Janků 2014), not expecting the presence of difference in advance, and focusing on the nature of one-to-one communication as experienced, not hesitating to ask when something is unclear, and thus establishing a research relationship more on the basis of a partnership. At the same time, I consider the field of research to be a social field as any other; certain power differentials are inherent to it and it would not be fair to try to deny this. Looking for scientific advances on the basis of a fair trade (Sidiropulu Janků 2015b) is a constant process and our responsibility as social scientists.

But what if we remain solitary in these sensitizing efforts? It is crucial to keep the negotiation going,[8] and not to end up lecturing (or researching) those on the other

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[8] I would like to thank Silvio Funtowicz for the idea of negotiation he brought up during our discussion at the post-normal science round table discussion that took place at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University in Brno on 20 April 2017.

side without inviting different points of view into the dialogue. This leads me directly to the idea of trying to block fast thinking, as Tužinská alongside with Gelman and Hirschfeld (1999) and Kanovský (2009) have described it. Fast thinking is somewhat similar to fast food. It is the seemingly easier solution that makes the process (metabolic or communicative) more complicated from a long-term perspective. Its massive expansion is possible due to the economic and industrial revolutions, globalization, a growth in cheap means of transporting goods and ideas, and the emancipation of bodies and souls. The return to a certain form of naive realism would not make sense, for we must find new solutions in new social conditions (Vattimo 1992: 49). No wonder that such "all-purpose survival handbooks", as Tužinská puts it, are more popular than slow-thinking. As long as there is enough fast thinking, with products offered for mental consummation, they are and will be plentifully consumed. One of the solutions for us, as social scientists, lies in learning the craft of writing for different audiences (Eriksen 2013: 127). Such efforts may make our very slow food more digestible and it may also create prolific challenges for our analytical skills.

Unlearning in the home and on the streets

Reading Helena Tužinská's text made me think about my own applied work as an ethnographic sociologist. In previous years, I happened to be the leading researcher, and later manager too, of an applied project called "The Memory of Roma Workers". Our unlearning, or co-learning endeavors were focused on different social spheres to Tužinská's work, and so by shortly presenting them here I would like to broaden the debate about how anthropological thinking can be applied.

The first social sphere I would like to mention is the private sphere. We collected narratives of Slovak Roma witnesses that came to work in Czech cities as part of the post-war industrial and construction development which occurred after 1945. We engaged with the descendants, preferably the grandchildren of the witnesses and community workers, as well as the teachers and librarians that had some established relationship with the family. Through this intervention, we provoked reflection on family history in the families and on several occasions on gender stereotypes in the families as well. It was important not to push any changes, giving the process time and space to grow in privacy. One of the unlearning layers of the process related to the fast-thinking ethno-major researcher intruding into the private space of witnesses through using the right to seek out new knowledge no matter what means were used. At the same time, we, after gaining informed consent, made the narratives a public matter; through texts, a documentary movie, and a street exhibition. We assisted in the unlearning process of some of the witnesses who had been convinced that their life outside the domestic sphere was of zero importance. By keeping the stories personal, we made them public alongside their bearers. This was a gesture of courage for many of our witnesses and we were happy to observe that this worked in a rather dignified way during the street exhibition.

The street is the second social sphere I would like to mention here. In a modern democratic world, the street presents a symbolic agora, a space of civic negotiation, expressing ideas, free will, and exercising the boundaries of personal needs, through being faced with the needs of other people. We knew from the very beginning that we wanted to present the Roma workers' stories on the streets of big Czech cities. This turned out to be the right decision. Despite the general tendency of the street exhibition visitors to frame the exhibition content through stereotypical ethnic lenses, the space for dialogue, especially when custodians were present on the spot, and a perception of universal solidarity in the witnesses' stories appeared (Kubala 2015). At the same time, we faced severe obstacles in trying to "conquer" a public space for the symbolic expressing of our opinion that Slovak Roma people[9] are an integral part of modern Czech history (Sidiropulu Janků 2015a). I think these obstacles only served to support our point; unfortunately, sometimes making such a point may be an extremely risky endeavour when considering the need to fulfil grant promises. The fact of the matter is that there is limited space for real experimenting within the contemporary grants system, and every innovation is at risk of being too innovative and therefore unsuccessful and even lethal for further career development. One must be innovative, but also safely deliver results on time: this is a contradiction of contemporary science.

The nature of social spheres

Unsuccessful negotiating with local politicians and the public administration was very frustrating, but nevertheless a learning experience. Visiting all these offices, and filling out tens of forms made me think about the tightly closed system of bureaucracy, the iron cage as visited in real time. Talcott Parsons (1952: 58) defines three types of institutions that embody these value-oriented patterns. These types are relationship, regulative[10] and cultural institutions. We could say that whilst the system of registration and taking care of the status of asylum applicants is administrated by the relationship and instrumental-regulative institutions, the social status of asylum applicants and the moral obligation to treat them in a human and understanding manner are governed by the morally-regulative and cultural institutions. We can then ask: what kind of institutions are social-scientific institutions? First and foremost, it is important to keep in mind that the social sciences are internally diversified; some scientific institutions focus on the production of scientific knowledge

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[9] After several generations of living in the Czech Republic there is some social logic in naming Slovak Roma *Czech Roma* as well.

[10] Parson's thinking on regulative institutions was revised in the classic book of Jeffrey C. Alexander entitled *The Civil Sphere* (2006). A significant part of this book is devoted to questions of ethno-racial identity and its reflection in the civil sphere. In this vein, the book presents a relevant supplement to the debate about the interpretation of memories of the asylum applicants that are presented by Tužinská mainly from a sociolinguistic perspective. Alexander, on the other hand, remains in a cultural-sociological position (for more on the methodological grounds of cultural sociology see Alexander and Smith 2003).

per se and therefore we could count them among the regulative institutions. Others enter the social field of negotiating acceptable cultural patterns of social life and could therefore be counted among the cultural institutions. Many scientific institutions oscillate between both positions. I believe that we can imagine applied social sciences as being in a process of moving between individual Parsonian fields in a way that has not yet been fully stabilized by the institutional tradition. Tužinská quotes Diana Eades (2010) in stating that prescriptivity is text-oriented. Bureaucracy is text-oriented and therefore by definition it tends to be prescriptive. Bureaucracy is the by-product of an emerged state order and therefore it tends to be nationalistic, especially in Central Europe. Our role is to reflect on that in our texts, but also to practice the negotiation process during lectures, alongside discursive interventions and other forms of unlearning practices, not in order to change the social fields as such, and so I agree with Tužinská that applied anthropology should rather "enable processes" than "provide solutions".

Conclusion

I was surprised at how many hilarious moments accompanied the presentation of the results of "The Memory of Roma Workers" project. The premiere of the documentary movie *When You have Work, You have Everything* (Hlaváček and Hlaváčková 2015), which reflected the project development, turned out to be a surprisingly humorous event. The film makers noted that they were not aware of the existence of such a strong humorous line in the narrative they created. Among others, there is a scene in which one of the witnesses holds an old portrait of himself. A senior man in stylized golden glasses plays with his hair, commenting: "Look, what beautiful hair I used to have. It makes me wanna cry when I see it." The man is smiling while talking and this is the exact moment when the scene becomes humorous. The violet wall behind him combined with the golden glasses, suddenly created a humorous moment – not in a humiliating way, but rather in some sort of cabaret fashion.

Anthropology may be viewed as an institutionalized carnival. Looking behind the obvious resembles turning the world upside-down. The trouble with this is that the anthropological notion of carnival does not necessarily include putting things back in order after the festival, demarcated in space and time, is over. But we are not putting things back, but are rather leaving them dismantled, and this can be scary for many people. The unlearning, in the sense of getting rid of an addiction, as Tužinská puts it, may be healthy from the point of view of professionals, but what if users find it unwanted and coercive? The biggest challenge is not to organize the carnival, it is rather to encourage people from outside the scientific field to organize it and enjoy it.

R EPLY

Helena Tužinská

Whoever ceases to be a student has never been a student.
George Iles

I appreciate the format which *Etnološka tribina* uses to provoke discussion; readers with different orientations can examine subjects from various angles. Whether it be when written or read, there is always a confirmation bias in any work presented. I thank Roberta D. Baer, Emily Holbrook, Marijana Hameršak, Iva Pleše, Dan Podjed, Aivita Putniņa, and Kateřina Sidiropulu Janků for the insightful perceptions and considerations they have lent to this work within the framework of "unlearning". All of the comments made have elaborated on proven methods built from their own experience. Let me now focus on two fundamental areas where there is agreement, more or less, among the commentators. The first group of proposals identifies what needs to be "unlearned": i.e., what directions lead to dead ends. The second group represents issues for co-learning and appear as untrodden paths.

I. Proposals for unlearning:
– how to refrain from fast thinking and prescriptivity (Sidiropulu Janků)
– how to avoid giving formulas and providing solutions (all)
– how to unlearn that culture does not have a solid content (all)
– how not to apply an academic approach to a non-academic environment (Baer and Holbrook, Podjed)
– how to stop being irrelevant (Podjed, Sidiropulu Janků)
– how not to use hegemonizing practices (Hameršak and Pleše, Putniņa, Sidiropulu Janků)

II. Proposals for co-learning:
– how to experiment with slow thinking and in time[11] (Sidiropulu Janků)
– how to relate to participants and co-design (all)
– how to write for different audiences (Podjed, Putniņa, Sidiropulu Janků)
– how to enable public discussion and keep negotiation going (Hameršak and Pleše, Sidiropulu Janků)
– how to be innovative in a bureaucracy (Sidiropulu Janků)

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[11] Incredible time constraints apply to most projects. The design, research, and analysis of fifty interviews, and the writing-up, translation, and creation of a whole website of Otherness for both local and international audiences – www.slovakness.sk – had to be done within five months due to the grant scheme conditions.

- how to operationalize anthropology in service learning and experiential learning (Baer and Holbrook, Podjed)
- how to change the perception of anthropology to being credible and applicable (all)
- how to contribute to wider socio-political change (all)

Confirmation and conformism bias in the humanities

I wonder what caused the commentators, with the exceptions of Sidiropulu Janků and Putniņa, to remain silent on this part of the argumentation in the paper, which refers to literature drawing on evolutionary and cognitive psychology. Some understood the concept of unlearning as a metaphor to which they applied their own work. It seems to me, however, that an inherent part of applying the concept of unlearning is to refrain from intuitive understandings of the mind. For this, it is vital to comprehend how human memory operates, how stereotypes and prejudices are distributed, how emotions affect the knowability of things, and how relevance affects communication.

If it looked like I suspected the biological conditionality of memory function (Putniņa), this is only because it is one of my starting points of inquiry. For sure, time-space contextualizations are essential aspects to consider. However, staying with context would only mean describing software without saying anything about the hardware. Putniņa asks whether the "exercise of reflexivity reveals the 'natural' without an illusion". I am not saying that we will not have the image of a snake if we are looking at a wavy coil in the gloomy light. The important thing is that if I grasp the mechanism of how stereotypes are distributed and how memories are created, this will have a direct impact on the method of investigation.

Podjed writes that "[d]issolving stereotypes is not one of the goals in intercultural awareness training programmes". However, I state that the goal is not to dissolve but to understand the mechanisms of how stereotypes are constituted. If we do not analyse this complexity (Snyder 2013), our silence can indirectly lead to a conviction that culture is innate. Moreover, "[p]ostulating cultural essences obscures not only historical change and internal diversity within a 'civilization,' it also conveniently hides the way particular traditions are used by political and business elites to serve their own interests" (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2009: 53).

After all, we live in a time when knowledge from the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities is integrating. While reading what the law and what others should know about human memory – the cognitive and neurobiological mechanisms underlying it (Nadel and Sinnot-Armstrong 2012), I encountered a strong sense of unlearning. Paradigmatic shifts are a very interesting evolutionary advantage of human reasoning when "instead of ourselves, we can allow our assumptions to die" (Taleb 2011: 206).

Time and motivation in the learning process

If a participant in training marks anthropological knowledge as a form of refinement, this does not have to mean that we did not "truly address the concerns of our audiences" (Baer and Holbrook). Also, as pointed out by Putniņa, a participant in training can have predefined fields for perceiving the Other. Here Putniņa and Sidiropulu Janků explicitly highlight the problem connected to assigning the position of the "unlearner". Unlearning cannot be "done"; it is only possible to mutually create the conditions to allow unlearning to take place. There are groups which are committed to compulsory participation in training, with their job content prescribed in every instant, making creative deviations unwelcome. In the case of these limitations, a two-day training course is an unavoidable disappointment for both parties, because none of the actors had enough time for the learning process. The routine method of slow education: (1) observe, (2) think, and (3) ask, requires time and space for a personal grasp of the topic.

There is enough time if there is a course lasting a full semester, or if it is possible to organize a series of training sessions. In my linguistic anthropology course, students repeatedly observed court sessions as part of an assignment. They analysed what they observed and linked it with sociolinguistic texts. They also tried out various roles in a moot court. This type of interactive learning not only gave them a grasp of new concepts but also of the challenges of all stakeholders: an asylum applicant, his/her family members, an interpreter, the legal representative of both parties, the judge, the minute clerk, the public, and observers. In their analysis of the texts, they later identified structural similarities in meetings with migrants, minorities, children, and other groups that are disadvantaged. They had time to reflect upon their own experiences. Students evaluated the course as being exceptional, both in terms of gaining new insights and skills.

I would also like to mention the concept of "flow" as explained by Daniel Kahneman (2011) and particularly by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (2014).[12] Flow is a state in which spontaneous concentration reaches a level so deep that we lose our sense of time and place. Flow, as Kahneman writes, brings about a feeling of satisfaction and creative connectedness, and is free from self-control, which unchains our mental resources (2011: 48). The motivation to learn is only supported in an environment which Murphy and Dweck (2009) have labelled "incremental" and in opposition to the "entity environment". Unlearning is a part of this type of responsiveness, which is called the "growth mindset". Dweck points out the broader social impacts which education produces if it stems from a "fixed mindset" (2016). Methods of instruction connected to the fixed/growth mindset are not similarly by chance the result of a solid/fluid framing of culture.

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[12] Csikszentmihalyi (2014) tested his arguments in various environments, but of specific interest is "Student Engagement in High School Classrooms from the Perspective of Flow Theory"; see pp. 475–492.

Experiential learning and interdisciplinarity

The contribution of applied anthropology and the potential of effective learning have been known for a long time. Despite this, I pose a question, alongside a student in Baer's and Holbrook's comment, as to why courses in anthropology are not yet a part of training for medical students, and, indeed, for those studying any profession serving people, such as teachers, lawyers, and social workers. We know that lecturing about the Other is not the way to go, and we know that experiential learning is rewarding for both students and teachers. However, there are teachers who find experiential learning foreign to them. They might be great tellers of stories, and their students may grasp things better through given metaphors. Thought experiments are effective: if the teacher speaks the register of his/her audience, they might withdraw from themselves, identify with the "Other", and thus travel in space and time. Decoupled cognition is an excellent evolutionary adaptation; after all, narrative thought is distinctively human, and the function of a story is to provide information which is indispensable (Boyer 2001: 129–131).

If cultural categories are presented in a static manner, and anthropologists are those who are supposed to contribute to the reproduction of this stasis, and yet they do not fulfil this expectation, then it is no surprise that they are seen as needless and even troublesome (Podjed). Is writing for different audiences (Sidiropulu Janků) not precisely the challenge for which we have strived for so long? We are all aware of the risk that

> [d]ominant categorizations of people into nations and religious or ethnic groups are of only limited value for explaining, let alone predicting human behaviour. There are just too many internal differences and cross-group links, and for most people group membership is just one of many determinants of identity. So statements about the culture of one of these big groups in a newspaper article or at an intercultural workshop should set off alarm bells. (Breidenbach and Nyíri 2009: 344)

What comes after so many alarm bells? How is it possible to keep the negotiation going when the notion of a "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West is so popular and yet "woefully misleading" (Atran 2015)? Popular terms such as "culture" and "civilization" have been overused so much that they have lost all explanatory power. Let us turn this around and ask why people are so concerned to explore cultural differences. Academics themselves are also the victims of disciplinary fragmentation. To address these problems, it is crucial that we also recognize them among ourselves. It is anthropology's distinctive mission to ask what it means to be human, bringing to bear all the resources available to us in ways which unite the natural and human sciences.

Agora, category, and allegory

The key question is how to present a message in situations where there is no expectation of an academic approach. Sidiropulu Janků communicated with the symbolic environment of the street. She presented various dimensions of agora which are present in words with the same root: aggregate, allegory, category, congregate, cram, egregious, gregarious, greige, panegyric, and segregate.[13] Birds of a feather, flock together! If there is no explicit interest in study, let alone unlearning; another form of dialogue, activity, or art, which also transgresses the limits of established patterns, is appropriate. As Sidiropulu Janků (2014) says, it is important to search for paths

> to unmediated lived interpersonal experience, which may abolish the mutual ethnicized perceptions in situations where there is no need for it or where it is inappropriate. Maybe, instead of being two Principals, we can be together two Others and thus abolish the discursive tension and the subordination of the Other, as was suggested by Laura Nader.

This level is a form of social performance, which can have an impact similar to the ritual exposure outlined by Bogatyrev, Bakhtin, Turner, Rappaport, and many others. The identification of audience participants with actors resembles the elements of folk theatre or a carnival at a time when the line between the stage and auditorium is permeable. Understanding is thus primarily led by the safe experience of two Others. The capacity to share symbols and create allegories which change the perception of categories is a strong tool for human growth.

Not softening, but understanding the system

Hameršak and Pleše note that it is important to give up the "presumption that such [precarious] practices arise primarily or exclusively from ignorance or a lack of awareness regarding the complexities of individual refugees' life circumstances and paths". I would like to point out that I am not proposing a formula[14] that would aim to eradicate ignorance. Such a stance would exhibit a lack of understanding of the system as a part of culture. Nonetheless, mechanisms of processing information are systematically used to support that system. I agree with Hameršak and Pleše where they say that "many linguistic, cultural, and other failures show themselves to be emphasised and produced, rather than being accidental. They emerge as a systematic means of reducing the number of people who are offered protection." However, I do not agree on the point that the implicit suggestions which I discuss should contribute to a means of "softening the system", which produces "undesirables".

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[13] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/_/roots.aspx?type=Indo-European&root=ger- (accessed 28. 7. 2017).

[14] The differences between simple, complicated, and comprehensive problems and how to solve them (not only in education) was brilliantly discussed by Snyder (2013).

At first glance, it looks as if there are only two options: (1) radically abolish the current system, which is dysfunctional, or (2) participate in a "softening" of the current system, which I consider to be naive. There is also a third possibility of gradual transformation. I would like to point out the fact that in the current system, and in all positions, there exist people who are bound to help. Their aim is also not to soften the system. They are asking for transformation, be they border guards, lawyers on both sides of a dispute, or judges. The result of this willingness is sometimes pertinent and sometimes not. We could look for reasons as to why people are not amazed that only a surgeon should operate, but then why should people from other professions conduct and analyse interviews without expertise from the social sciences when also deciding on the lives of others?

I argue that to the extent that the system is a part of culture, it is necessary to identify all the mechanisms that create it. By drawing attention to our evolutionary past, people gain a tool through which they can see the system in a way which goes beyond sheer legislative and political inevitability. This is the reason why I see the application of anthropology as valuable in professions which aim to service humans. However, to succeed in nurturing a dialogue with those in power we first need to understand discrepancies within our own sub-disciplines.

Unlearning and innovation

I would like to conclude by discussing some thoughts from a book I read while waiting for the comments. *The Black Swan* by Nassim N. Taleb is based on the idea that people in general would rather have an illusion of certainty and normality, and they will project these expectations into their structuring of the social:

> The omnipresence of the Gaussian curve is not a property of the real world, but rather a problem of our thinking, which has its roots in the way that we look at the world. (Taleb 2011: 267)

The use of the Gaussian curve in the modern world, which is full of extremes, has been compared to going on a flight to an unknown destination while the pilot is happily using an old map of a well-known place. Most likely,

> there are only two paradigms: non-scalability (as in the Gaussian division) and the other ones (for instance, Mandelbrotian randomness). The rejection of the paradigms of non-scalability is enough for us to get rid of a certain vision of the world. It resembles a negative empiricism: we learn a lot from revealing what is wrong. (ibid.: 248)

Here, arguments over unlearning can be connected to Taleb's warnings, which are directed both at economists and social scientists. This lays bare the narrative fallacy (the human need to connect a range of related and unrelated facts through stories

or structure), the non-reflection of the confirmation and conformism bias, memory mechanisms, and the consequences of fast and slow thinking. In this sense, unlearning is a complementary method which in a series of trials and errors ultimately allows for the reception of something previously unattended to. As Taleb (2011) writes, what is characteristic for innovations is an attitude of "not knowing" ahead. You look for something you know about (e.g. a new route to India), and you end up finding something you did not expect (e.g. America).

ANTROPOLOGIJA KAO NUŽNO ODUČAVANJE

Primjeri iz kampova, sudnica, škola i poduzeća

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U ovom radu istražujem poteškoće do kojih dolazi u pokušajima komunikacije preko kulturnih granica. Oslanjam se na svoj terenski rad u različitim sredinama u Istočnoj i Srednjoj Europi – u izbjegličkim kampovima, sudnicama, školama i poduzećima – u kojem sam zaključila da komunikacija najbolje funkcionira kada se uspostavi povjerenje, a korak koji je potreban da bi do toga došlo je na obje strane naučiti kako odučiti duboko ukorijenjene pretpostavke. Rad započinje raspravom o rasnim i etničkim stereotipima, u kojoj se oslanjam na niz uvida iz evolucijske psihologije i kognitivne znanosti. Zatim se okrećem mitovima o pamćenju te predlažem kako primijeniti najnovija otkrića specijaliziranih istraživanja pamćenja. U drugom dijelu rada problematiziram koncept "interkulturnosti", koji često legitimizira ideologiju "sukoba civilizacija". Predlažem da za uspostavu stvarne interkulturne komunikacije moramo napustiti modele doslovnog prevođenja i umjesto toga iskoristiti recentne antropološke uvide u načine funkcioniranja jezika, društvene konstrukcije značenja i postizanja zajedničkog razumijevanja. Pritom se nastavljam na radove lingvističkih i pravnih antropologa u ovom području te članak zaključujem razmišljanjima o povezanim temama kontradominantnosti i smijeha.

Ključne riječi: antropologija, primjenjivost, komunikacija, prevođenje, kultura, pamćenje, stereotipi, odučavanje

Sumnja je početak, a ne kraj mudrosti.
George Iles

Uvod

Antropologija je istraživanje toga što znači biti čovjek. Njezina se relevantnost i primjenjivost na probleme ljudi pretpostavljaju od njezina začetka. U ovom radu istražujem njezinu relevantnost za jezik i komunikaciju. Posebno sam usredotočena na to kako se ne izgubiti u prijevodu kada insajderi i autsajderi, stručne i nestručne osobe te moćne i nemoćne osobe pokušavaju komunicirati preko kulturnih granica. Moj argument je da je, kako ulazimo u taj proces dvosmjerne komunikacije, s obje strane važno učiti, ali je podjednako važno učiti kako odučiti. Kako bih to ilustrirala, dat ću primjere svojih opažanja u različitim komunikacijskim situacijama

– pravnim postupcima, usmenom prevođenju i programima obuke iz interkulturne komunikacije.[1]

Istraživala sam različita okruženja u kojima se odvija službena komunikacija s tražiteljima azila te u radu predstavljam rezultate promatranja sa sudjelovanjem i etnografskih intervjua s tražiteljima azila te rasprava s graničnim osobljem i donositeljima odluka. Prvo istražujem kako se mitovi o pamćenju manifestiraju tijekom intervjua u pravnim okruženjima i uspoređujem te mitove sa suvremenim znanstvenim spoznajama o tome kako pamćenje funkcionira. Tijekom rasprava s nastavnicima i poslovnim osobljem koje sam provodila pri sudjelovanju u programu obuke iz "interkulturne komunikacije" i u pripremi edukacijskih materijala za korištenje u školama, otkrila sam da su sudionici rasprava prije svega zainteresirani za popise pravila toga što se smije i što se ne smije. Istražujem kako je taj stav povezan s procesima stereotipiziranja i pokušavam razjasniti do koje mjere odučavanje može biti od pomoći. Zatim se usredotočujem na nerazlikovanje jezičnih registara u komunikaciji s tražiteljima azila. Uspoređujući rezultate iz Poljske, Češke, Mađarske, Slovačke i Ukrajine, analiziram kako različiti uvjeti utječu na kvalitetu prijevoda izjava svih sudionika.

Od 2005. godine, predajući etnologiju i antropologiju na Sveučilištu Comenius, bila sam uključena u nekoliko projekata kojima je zajednička tema bila takozvana interkulturna komunikacija. Prvo sam radila u izbjegličkim kampovima i na žalbenim sudovima (Tužinská 2009, 2011), zatim u osnovnim školama s djecom stranaca (Dráľ 2011), a zatim s odraslim strancima koji žive u Slovačkoj (Tužinská i Voľanská 2016a) i slovačkim građanima koji su se susretali sa strancima u svom radnom okruženju. Te su istraživačke projekte osmislile neprofitne organizacije, a u njima sam se u ulozi vanjskog suradnika uključila u istraživačke i edukacijske događaje za tražitelje azila, zaposlenike Migracijskog ureda, zakonske zastupnike, odvjetnike i suce. Kao sveučilišna profesorica "egzotičnog" predmeta imala sam veliku slobodu. Svoje istraživanje o tražiteljima azila u Slovačkoj provela sam u vrijeme kada tema migracija nije privlačila mnogo pozornosti. Tek se nedavno, zbog rastuće "migracijske krize", interes za "kulturne razlike" povećao. Migracije nisu više nevažna, već ključna tema (Divinský 2014). U tom sam kontekstu sudjelovala u javnim raspravama i nastupala u medijima. U svojim reakcijama sudionici programa obuke često su satove obuke ocjenjivali kao manje ili više irelevantne. Kako je jedan pripadnik policijskih snaga na ukrajinskoj granici rekao: "Sve što nam govorite je divno i krasno, ali naš posao je

štititi granice". Što se mene tiče, žalila sam što su satovi obuke trajali prekratko da bi se sudionicima bilo što podrobnije objasnilo ili da bi ih se uvjerilo u važnost sadržaja. Umjesto da me se doživljavalo kao nekoga tko podučava, smatram da bi bilo bolje da sam sudionicima pružila podršku u odučavanju.

Pokušat ću pojasniti zašto koncept odučavanja smatram toliko presudnim. Slažem se s Ingoldom (u MacDougall 2016), koji tvrdi da je "odučavanje intrinzično obrazovanju, ako se shvaća u izvornom smislu kao izvođenje u svijet koje nas oslobađa od ograničavanja stajališta ili perspektiva i navodi nas da neprestano preispitujemo ono što smo prethodno uzimali zdravo za gotovo". Kada sam podučavala u tom duhu, susrela sam se s angažiranošću i odbijanjem, izrugivanjem i smijehom. Pojam "odučavanje" može prizvati negativne konotacije odvikavanja od ovisnosti jer uključuje prekidanje duboko ukorijenjenih navika, kao što je sklonost opravdavanja sukoba "kulturnom drugošću". Slažem se s Eriksenovim (2016: 28) opisom antropologije kao "inherentno subverzivnog i nepredvidivog partnera u dugom razgovoru o tome tko smo i kamo idemo".

Odučavanje od stereotipa i mitova o pamćenju

Kulturocentrizam

Mnogi u Istočnoj i Srednjoj Europi šengensku granicu smatraju legitimnom "željeznom zavjesom", oslanjajući se na stoljetno kolektivno pamćenje pljačkanja "turskih hordi". Ne iznenađuje da se "interkulturni" nesporazumi[2] često opravdavaju intuitivnim rasuđivanjem koje se temelji na tom kolektivnom pamćenju. Stereotipi funkcioniraju kao kognitivne strukture koje ne određuju samo kako doživljavamo druge ljude nego i kako pohranjujemo i pamtimo svoje percepcije. Svako nepoznato ili zbunjujuće ponašanje unutar skupine tumači se na način koji je u skladu s tim stereotipima. U slučaju sukoba "osoba ili skupina koja iznevjeri naša očekivanja i prekorači granice uspostavljenih (kulturno dominantnih) kategorija (…) doživljava se nemoralnom (nečistom) i može se promatrati kao izvor kontaminacije/opasnosti (fizičke ili simbolične)" (Miškovská, Budzelová i Jerotijević 2016: 310).

Povijest nas uči da "kada se kulture prikazuju kao da se sastoje od odijeljenih i fiksnih cjelina, često dolazi do zaključka da su određene kulture nespojive s drugima" (Breidenbach i Nyíri 2009: 320). Pojam "kulturne razlike" ponekad se koristi kao esencijalizirani i politički pojam, kao da je on nešto prirodno. Ako se prihvati premisa da su kulturne razlike razlog za nesporazume, to nas ne približava rješenju, naprotiv, to samo generira dodatno nepovjerenje. Privlačnost kulture "je obećanje da će bolje objasniti širi opseg fenomena nego prethodni veliki narativi" (ibid.: 9).

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[2] "Pojam 'etnički sukob'", piše antropolog Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "prazna je posuda jer se ljudi ne sukobljavaju zbog etniciteta. Etnički identitet ili religija umjesto toga funkcioniraju kao simbolički fokus (…) i izgovor za kršenje pravila i normi" (Breidenbach i Nyíri 2009: 133). "Razlike u klasi, obrazovanju i profesiji daleko su važnije" (ibid.: 145).

Ipak, pretpostavljam da kulturocentrizam, kao i geocentrizam, može iščeznuti. Čak i ako je "pogled na kulturu kao kontejner ono što antropolozi nazivaju 'društvenom činjenicom'", isto kao i Breidenbach i Nyíri, smatram "da širenje etnografskih (ili čak paraetnografskih) metoda predstavlja iskorak iz trenutne očaranosti kulturom kao kontejnerom" (ibid.: 340). Genetska karta ne podržava ideju jezičnih, etničkih ili političkih granica (Baldovič i Turňa 2011), što se protivi intuitivnim očekivanjima koja diktiraju percepciju drugih nacija kao opasnih. Homogena kultura je, prije svega, konstrukt ljudskog uma, a ne objektivna i vidljiva[3] činjenica (Hrabovský 2011). Stereotipi se često temelje na osobnim karakteristikama jer one nude objašnjenja za ponašanje skupina koja su čvršća nego situacijski ili okolišni čimbenici. Antropologija ima sebi svojstvenu tradiciju nepodržavanja korištenja "drugosti" za opravdavanje sukoba, posebno u vremenima kada političari promiču homogenost kao normu.

Vjerodostojnost, stereotipiziranje i pamćenje

U istraživanjima koja se bave tražiteljima azila mogući su mnogi pogrešni prijevodi koji se naknadno koriste kao dokaz koji ukazuje na nedostatak vjerodostojnosti tražitelja azila. K tomu, pogrešno pamćenje sve više otežava procjenu podataka, posebno kada postoji malo dokaznih materijala. To nije samo nusproizvod rekonstrukcije, jedne od osnovnih karakteristika našeg pamćenja, nego i demonstracija kreativnosti, odnosno reorganizacije poznatih informacija (Loftus 1980). Pitanje pouzdanosti izjava koje daju tražitelji azila često prožima rasprave s drugim sudionicima tih procesa – socijalnim radnicima, policajcima, odvjetnicima, donositeljima odluka i sucima. Često su bili iznenađeni kada su saznali da se sjećanja na događaje ne podudaraju nužno s tim događajima. Dovidio tvrdi da "zbog toga što stereotipi oblikuju tumačenja, utječu na to kako se prisjećamo informacija te usmjeravaju očekivanja i zaključke na sustavne načine, oni često obnavljaju sami sebe. Također proizvode samoispunjujuća proročanstva u društvenoj interakciji, u kojima stereotipi promatrača utječu na interakciju na načine koji su u skladu sa stereotipnim očekivanjima". Istovremeno, stereotipi nam pomažu u sjećanju: ljudi se lakše prisjećaju ako informacije odgovaraju stereotipima (Dovidio 1999: 805). Osobe koje rade u pravnom području trebale bi imati na umu da su "dokazi koji su bili u skladu s inicijalnim vjerovanjima istražitelja ocijenjeni kao pouzdaniji od dokaza koji nisu bili u skladu s takvim uvjerenjima" (Hasel 2012: 145). Priče koje osobe pričaju ograničene su mehanizmima pamćenja koji su nesavršeni (Bužeková 2009). Schacter (2002) je identificirao sedam grijeha pamćenja: pristranost, prolaznost, odsutnost duhom, blokiranje, pogrešno pripisivanje, sugestibilnost i upornost. Zanemarivanje tih grijeha moglo bi imati ozbiljne pravne posljedice (vidi također Nadel i Sinnot-Armstrong 2012), što je često slučaj s izjavama tražitelja azila na sudu ili u policijskoj stanici. Pravnici ne očekuju da se pamćenje mijenja u tolikoj mjeri te pretpostavljaju

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[3] "Najefikasnije društvene razlike su one koje se čine utemeljenima na objektivnim razlikama" (Bourdieu 1991: 120).

da su "činjenice" u svjedočanstvima linearno raspoređene, kronološke, relevantne, dosljedne i koncizne. Međutim, njihova očekivanja često ne odgovaraju stvarnosti. Tvrdim da je umjesto prilagođavanja svjedočanstava pravnom diskursu jednostavnije odučiti se od spomenutih pretpostavki.

Brzo razmišljanje i spor terenski rad

U programu obuke došlo je do trenutka olakšanja kada su sudionici shvatili zašto je bilo tako lako usvojiti shematski pogled na svijet. Čini se prirodnim da se zalazeće sunce kreće prema dolje ili da je boja svojstvo predmeta. Zahtjevno je prihvatiti da nismo središte Sunčevog sustava ili da boje koje vidimo ovise o oku promatrača. Te su ideje kontraintuitivne. Namotani kabel u sjeni uvijek će privući našu pozornost jer su se kognitivni mehanizmi koji nam pomažu da prepoznamo zmije razvili oko koncepta zmije, a ne oko koncepta kabla. Jednostavno si ne možemo pomoći i spontano reagiramo na kabel kao da je zmija. Analogno tome, ljudi su skloni razlike spontano doživjeti kao prijetnju i u tome si ne mogu pomoći. Moć antropologije je u tome što ističe društvene, povijesne, biološke i druge čimbenike kako bi ljudima pomogla u prepoznavanju tih "prirodnih" iluzija. Jednostavno rečeno: naš je um dizajniran da ima stereotipe, no ljudi ih mogu biti svjesni. Ono što možemo učiniti jest razmisliti o svojim automatskim pretpostavkama, razgovarati o njima i dati sve od sebe da ne postupamo na osnovi njih. Um možemo istrenirati da blokira brzo razmišljanje putem obrazovanja, osviještenog promišljanja i tematizacije, kao i putem društvenih, obrazovnih i političkih djela (Gelman i Hirschfeld 1999; Kanovský 2009).

Kako bismo se odučili od toga da "kulturu vidimo u svemu" (Breidenbach i Nyíri 2009), moramo prepoznati da je svaka predrasuda stereotip, ali da svaki stereotip nije predrasuda. Nemoguće je navesti popis smjernica, naredbi i ograničenja jer njih određuju konteksti koji se stalno mijenjaju. Nemoguće je proizvesti popis jasnih pravila o tome što se smije i što se ne smije u nekoj kulturi (Tužinská i Voľanská 2016a). Kada smo u raspravama, programima obuke ili u istraživačkim projektima pokušali utvrditi barem neka opća pravila, dogodilo se nešto vrlo zanimljivo – sudionici su se možda složili oko nekih dominantnih tendencija, ali su bez iznimke ponašanje drugih opisivali uspoređujući ga s vlastitim vjerovanjima. Kako onda točno prevesti značenja između dvaju različitih vjerovanja? Općenito govoreći, programi obuke o "interkulturnoj komunikaciji" – bilo za osobe zaposlene u međunarodnim korporacijama ili u državnoj upravi – pokazali su da osobe koje su tražile suptilne nijanse u prijevodima nisu imale stvarnu potrebu za takvom obukom, dok su osobe koje su preferirale jasna i jednostavna tumačenja na kraju uvijek bile razočarane. Iako javnost antropologe doživljava kao "stručnjake za drugost", upravo je njihova osviještenost o raznolikosti ono što ih sprječava da pružaju "instantno znanje". Međutim, početi od premise "ne znam kako stvari stoje, ali polako ću saznati" nije popularno poput svenamjenskog priručnika za preživljavanje.

Odučavanje od ideje ''čistoće''

Jedan od načina razabiranja raznolikosti umjesto prihvaćanja stereotipa je da "upoznamo sami sebe". To je bila ideja vodilja suradnje s Ľubicom Voľanskom (Tužinská i Voľanská 2016b) u kojoj smo pokušale preispitati uvjerenje u homogenost "nacionalnog mentaliteta". U kontekstu javnih rasprava o opasnostima koje predstavljaju stranci pokušale smo saznati što oni doživljavaju kao "slovačko". Nekoliko kolega je u studijama (Tužinská i Voľanská 2016a) izložilo situacije koje su stranci opisali kao tipično "slovačke". Kako se moglo očekivati, njihova viđenja razlikovala su se ovisno o tome što su sami doživljavali kao "normalno" prema vlastitom svjetonazoru. Međutim, treba napomenuti da se određeni motivi ovih narativa mogu pronaći i u drugim zemljama sa sličnim geopolitičkim okolnostima.

Na neki način, i studenti i nastavnici čine dio procesa odučavanja od svojih stavova o tome što se i u kojim okolnostima predstavlja kao "normalno", "prirodno", "čisto", "osebujno", "umjetno", "zagađeno". Odučavanje može uspjeti tek nakon što osoba osvijesti da je moguće postaviti drukčije pitanje. Stoga je klasično rješenje toga problema Sokratovo ispitivanje. Ono funkcionira bez obzira na oblik – bilo da je riječ o predavanju, raspravi, pisanom radu, igranju uloga ili bilo kojoj drugoj sudioničkoj metodi. Sudjelovanje u odučavanju zahtijeva: (1) osvještavanje kontakta, (2) uviđanje reprezentacija i stanja stvari i (3) oslobađanje od ograničenja. Nakon toga se modifikacija stavova odvija sama od sebe.

Ukratko rečeno, tijekom procesa odučavanja ljudski um mora napustiti svoja prethodna uvjerenja i stvoriti prostor za nova opažanja i osjećaje. Međutim, individualni um, sa svojim intuitivnim pretpostavkama, vjerojatno sam neće uspjeti. Trebat će mu stalna podrška u odučavanju putem obrazovnog sustava, pravnog sustava i drugih društvenih i kulturnih institucija. Presudno je razabrati koje izvore informacija ljudi uzimaju zdravo za gotovo. Intuitivno razumijevanje pojma kultura i stereotipiziranje doprinose iskrivljenju slike o strancima. U nastavku razmatram zašto prevođenje zahtijeva više prostora za interpretaciju.

''Interkulturna'' komunikacija i prevođenje

Zaključci i relevantnost

Komunikacija, kao i druge sastavnice kulture, proces je kojeg ljudi često nisu svjesni. Rasprostranjena slika komunikacije kao jednostavne sheme koja uključuje kodiranje, slanje i dekodiranje ukazuje na prirodu popularnih koncepata komunikacije. U takvoj shemi sadržaj ostaje nepromijenjen, slično robi koja se prenosi s jednog mjesta na drugo. Suprotno tome, Sperber i Wilson (1995) dokazali su da ljudi uvijek više komuniciraju nego što kodiraju. Međutim, sudionici sudske rasprave obično ne uzimaju u obzir razliku između doslovnog značenja rečenice i onoga što govornik

želi prenijeti. Ljudi su predisponirani štedjeti energiju prilikom dekodiranja pa dobro slušaju samo kada im se sadržaj čini relevantnim. Ljudski um traži načine kako, maksimalno povećavajući učinkovitost, napore svesti na najmanju mjeru. Ako vrijedi premisa "što je više zaključaka, to je veća relevantnost", trebamo razmotriti što je kome relevantno u službenoj komunikaciji i prevođenju (Štefková 2014; Guldanová 2013).

Lingvistički i pravni antropolozi, sociolingvisti, usmeni prevoditelji i odvjetnici sve se više zanimaju za analizu dinamike prevođenja za migrante u pravnim okruženjima (Berk-Seligson 2002; Eades 2010; Gibbons 2003; Good 2007; Maryns 2006; Philips 1998; Wadensjö 1998). Komparativni izvještaj iz zemalja Višegradske skupine (Poljska, Mađarska, Češka, Slovačka) i Ukrajine predstavlja moja opažanja i opažanja odvjetnika s iskustvom u usmenom prevođenju za tražitelje azila u javnoj administraciji i na sudovima. Glavni nedostaci utvrđeni u komunikaciji tijela javne administracije i tražitelja azila u pravnim postupcima su sljedeći: netočno navedeni jezici koje se prevodi, neartikuliranost službenih postupaka, nedostatak kvalitativnih intervjua s tražiteljima azila, prekomjerno oslanjanje na sažetke umjesto punih izvješća, nedostupne, neetične ili nepostojeće usluge prevođenja te institucionalne prepreke stručnom prevođenju. Svi ti nedostaci proizlaze iz dominantnih tumačenja osoba na autoritativnim položajima (Tužinská 2011, 2015a, 2015b).

''Stvari kakve jesu''

Iako je sasvim razumljivo da sudionici relevantnost doživljavaju na različite načine, to može dovesti do tragikomičnih nesporazuma. Jedan primjer je pretpostavka da svaka osoba ima fiksni "etnički identitet". Nekoliko sam puta bila prisiljena odbiti zadatak da sastavim "koristan tekst" o "kulturnim tradicijama" zemalja u kojima su tražitelji azila prethodno živjeli. U siječnju 2017. godine slovački Migracijski ured pozvao je stručnjake i predstavnike suradničkih organizacija da prisustvuju okruglom stolu i odgovore na sljedeća pitanja: (1) utvrdite "oblik i sadržaj zajedničkih vrijednosti prihvaćenih u Slovačkoj Republici s kojima bi tražitelji azila trebali biti upoznati" i (2) utvrdite "negativne emocije u Slovačkoj i načine njihove komunikacije tražiteljima azila". Oduševljena sam promjenama koje sam primijetila tijekom posljednjih deset godina: predstavnici širokog spektra organizacija složili su se da je jednako nemoguće sastaviti popis općih vrijednosti kao i ponuditi takav popis kao "instantno znanje". Cijela skupina nasmijala se kada je evangelička svećenica primijetila da bismo, sve da takav popis i postoji, mi bili prvi koji bismo ga prekršili. Umjesto toga, skupina je naglasila potrebu za podučavanjem slovačkog kao stranog jezika i prenošenjem "etnokulturnih stvarnosti" putem takve nastave jezika. Skupina je predložila da će osmisliti i implementirati takav program s azilantima koji žive u Slovačkoj. Samo dva mjeseca kasnije Migracijski je ured izdao vlastiti priručnik pod radnim naslovom "Priručnik za kulturnu orijentaciju". Zatražio je povratne in-

formacije od suradničkih institucija. Priručnik nudi osnovne informacije o zemlji i njenim administrativnim postupcima, kao i praktične informacije i preporuke o tome kako se treba i ne treba ponašati u različitim okolnostima (npr. informaciju da je u Slovačkoj nasilje nad ženama i djecom zabranjeno; slučajno je u to vrijeme javni medijski servis izvijestio o otvaranju nove ustanove za zlostavljane žene u središnjoj Slovačkoj).

Na drugi okrugli stol pozvani su i stranci s međunarodnom zaštitom da predstave svoja mišljenja. Sugerirali su da bi im tekst o "Kulturnim razlikama i sličnostima" (radni podnaslov) pomogao da brže otkriju ono što nisu mogli razumjeti kao "logič-no". Sudionici su raspravili o različitim načinima jasnog predstavljanja informacija i izbjegavanja stereotipiziranja stranaca i Slovaka[4] te o tome kako razlikovati javni i medijski diskurs. Što se tiče jezika, zamolili su da se umjesto imperativa koriste kondicionali, kako bi se izrazilo poštovanje umjesto straha. Autori priručnika pitali su se na koje se načine može dokumentirati "stvari kakve jesu", odbijajući ono što su opisali kao još jedan "politički korektan tekst s nejasnim značenjima". I dalje ostaje pitanje kako se državna institucija koja sastavlja i izdaje propise, pravilnike, uredbe i ograničenja u vezi s osobama u procesu integracije može prebaciti s preskriptivnosti na deskriptivnost, raznolikost, kontekstualizaciju i na promišljanje svog utjecaja. Primjenjivost antropologije također ostaje u procesu redefinicije i rekontekstualizacije ključnih pojmova koji se koriste u institucionalnom diskursu.

Preskriptivnost, deskriptivnost i zajedničko učenje

Postoji nekoliko poticajnih studija sličnih postupaka. Iako situacija nipošto nije cr-no-bijela i tendencije kojima se bavim razlikuju se od službenika do službenika, na-glasila bih njihovu komplementarnost. Jedna od takvih tendencija u komunikaciji s tražiteljima azila je preskriptivnost (Good 2007), odnosno potvrda nečega što je već "propisano". Izgovorena riječ je dekontekstualizirana i podređena pisanoj riječi u obrascu ili sažetku. Preskriptivnost u administrativnim praksama je u sociolingvi-stici istražila Eades (2010), koja je pokazala da ona korespondira s usmjerenošću na tekst. U području lingvističke antropologije Philips (1998) zaključuje da su sud-ski postupci usmjereni na protokol. Forenzički lingvist Gibbons (2003) primijetio je da postoji legalističko i mehaničko razumijevanje. U translatologiji je Wadensjö (1998) primijetila dominantnost jednosmjerne komunikacije i monologizama. Iz perspektive pravne antropologije Good (2007) je opisao ponašanje odvjetnika kao predominantno usmjereno na pravila. Na drugom kraju tog spektra, ti su autori pri-mijetili službenike, policajce i suce, koji su umjesto toga usredotočeni na deskriptiv-

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[4] Autori "Vodiča od stranaca za strance koji žive u Slovačkoj" ("Baedeker from foreigners to foreigners living in Slovakia"), koji je dostupan na www.slovakness.sk, bili su suočeni s istim dilemama u vezi s identifikacijskim proce-sima (Tužinská i Voľanská 2016a).

nost, važnost konteksta, naglasak na procese, interakcionistički pristup, dijalogizam i orijentiranost na odnose (za primjere vidi Tužinská 2015a).[5]

Sudionici programa obuke iz interkulturne komunikacije znali su odbiti moje prijedloge da se takav antropološki i etnografski pristup primijeni na postupke s tra-žiteljima azila kao "suptilnosti" (Tužinská 2011) za koje nema "dovoljno vremena". Takve "suptilnosti", međutim, relevantne su za sve nas, čak i kad u Slovačkoj ne bi bilo stranaca. Iako političari čine sve što mogu za promicanje "superhomogenosti" srednjoeuropske regije (Buchowski 2016), ono što je svim stanovnicima te regije zajedničko jest "superraznolikost". "Interkulturna komunikacija" postala je predme-tom esencijalizacije i politizacije u vrijeme kada su mediji "preplavljeni" vijestima o migracijskim "valovima" (Malkki 1992), dok nas rasističke i ksenofobne prakse podsjećaju na stanje prije osamdeset godina. Te su suptilne razlike, prema mom mišljenju, ono što pisanje priručnika o "kulturnoj orijentaciji" čini upitnim: "Nije podrijetlo tih koncepata ono čime bismo se trebali baviti, nego njihova lokalna zna-čenja. A ta se značenja, kao i značenja 'tradicionalnih' vrijednosti, često osporavaju" (Breidenbach i Nyíri 2009: 79). Zajedničko učenje je, stoga, ključni preduvjet zajed-ničkog uspjeha.

Jezični registri: prevođenje konteksta

S obzirom na to da je promišljanje osporavanja ili polemiziranja kognitivno i emoci-onalno zahtjevno, ljudi ga često žele izbjeći. To se, primjerice, dogodilo kada je sud-skog tumača koji je simultano prevodio sudac zamolio sljedeće: "Prestanite prevodi-ti, to me uznemiruje. Sve što sud smatra relevantnim, bit će prevedeno." Situacija je često i daleko apsurdnija od ovog simboličnog uništenja sudionika sudskog postup-ka – često se prevedeni pojmovi nude bez objašnjenja, bez obzira na njihov pravni učinak. Iako službenici i u Slovačkoj i u inozemstvu priznaju postojanje cijelog niza dijalekata, sociolekata i drugih vrsta kontekstualno primijenjenih jezika (Gibbons 2003), rijetko prepoznaju golemu korist koju nudi prevođenje između dijalekata, sociolekata i različitih jezičnih registara (Vrábľová i Ondrejovič 2016). Prevođenje između sociolekata i registara može djelovati kao "interkulturno". No može i reci-klirati pogled na kulturu kao "kontejner". Zato radije predlažem pojam "prevođenje konteksta", kako bi se naglasilo prevođenje između jezičnih registara i otvorenost prema procesu.

Neki pojmovi ne mogu se prevesti doslovno te su u prijevodu razumljivi samo kad se prevede i njihov kontekst. To su, na primjer, termini srodstva, kalendarski su-stavi, lokalni termini za prostor i vrijeme, dijelove tijela, percepcije i emocije, tabue, članstvo u skupinama, nacionalnost, rod, "rasu", etničnost, religijsku i političku pri-padnost, pojmovi povezani s obrazovanjem, zanimanjem ili financijama. Svi ti poj-

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[5] Djelatnici koji se zalažu za deskriptivnost jednako su uključeni u proces integracije; izradom priručnika, među-tim, dominira preskriptivnost.

movi imaju različite konotacije i, što je najvažnije, praktične implikacije u različitim dijelovima zemlje ili u drugim društvenim slojevima. Kada ih prevodimo, moramo imati na umu da, izvučeni iz svog prvobitnog konteksta, ti pojmovi mogu steći drugo, čak i suprotno značenje.

Antropolozi se mogu zapitati postoje li neki pojmovi koje ne treba uključiti u ovaj popis. Često sam bila vrlo uznemirena kada bih primijetila koliko toga je ostalo neprevedeno u administrativnoj komunikaciji. Tijekom svojih promatranja bila sam dosta iznenađena kada se od "sudskih tumača tražilo da 'samo prevode' ili 'doslovno prevode', *bez* dodatnih tumačenja. Kako je Morris (1995) primijetio, takvo viđenje nije u skladu sa suvremenim razumijevanjem jezika i komunikacije" (Wadensjö 1998: 45). Bila sam prisutna na suđenjima na kojima su posljedice zanemarivanja raznovrsnosti jezičnih registara u pravnom okruženju dovele do toga da su stranke koje su već bile u nepovoljnom položaju izgubile parnicu i poslužile kao dodatan "opipljiv" dokaz toga da su tražitelji azila kulturno neprilagođeni. Dakle, ostaje sljedeće pitanje: tko postavlja granice onoga što treba biti rečeno, gdje je mjesto za poštovanje i odgovor te zašto pravni jezik i dalje ostaje "zakonito nepreveden".

Zaključak

Ljudi često stvaraju samoispunjujuća proročanstva, a da to i ne primijete. Um preferira poznate pred novim i nepoznatim putovima, što često dovodi do predvidivog i preskriptivnog ponašanja. Pristranost potvrđivanja i pristranost prestiža[6] stoga su široko rasprostranjeni. Uloga je antropologije da nam pomogne odučiti se od pretpostavki koje nas dovode do takvih pristranosti. Kako Orlandi i Anderson (2012: 25) objašnjavaju, "ljudi trebaju doživjeti neugodan proces tijekom kojega, nakratko, pojedinac izgubi značenje i vezu sa znanjem za koje vjeruje da posjeduje". Prema Ervinu (2005: 244), "prakticirajući antropolozi, kao i njihovi kolege u akademskoj zajednici, trebaju posjedovati sposobnost lateralnog ili 'slobodnog razmišljanja' barem isprva. Kognitivno se to odnosi na sposobnost prepoznavanja neočekivanih veza – rastavljanja različitih pretpostavki i načina djelovanja te njihovog ponovnog spajanja radi pružanja neočekivanih razumijevanja ili rješenja".

Odučavanje se može usporediti sa sve popularnijim japanskim konceptom *dansharija* – umijećem raščišćavanja prostorije koja je pretrpana suviškom beskorisnih stvari. Dizajneri kažu da je slika savršena kada ne postoji ništa što bi se moglo ukloniti; prostorija je dobro namještena kada ne postoji ništa što bi se iz nje moglo iznijeti. Slično tome, Ryška (2014) kritizira činjenicu da činovništvo u zapadnim

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[6] "Osim što su parohijske i osjetljive na autoritet, moralne ocjene trebale bi biti i konformističke, s obzirom na to da pojedinci često uspijevaju kada slijede stajališta većine. Povijest nam pokazuje da, zajedno, ovisnost o izjavama autoriteta i konformizam mogu pružiti temelje za genocid i slične užase, dok moralni parohijalizam omogućuje ravnodušnost prema takvim događajima drugdje. Napredak u ublažavanju ljudske patnje može se stoga najbolje postići dubljim razumijevanjem prirode i podrijetla moralnog rasuđivanja" (Fessler et al. 2015).

zemljama proizvodi suvišak priručnika o tome što prijaviti i kako financirati pomoć u udaljenim zemljama, dok se bliže susjede u nuždi odbija kao neprilagodljive zloupotrebljavače svake pružene pomoći. Dio problema odnosi se na to kako se "istost" i "drugost" konstruiraju kao oblik raznolikosti u muzejima i baštinskim lokalitetima (Dolák 2016; Kelemen i Škrbić Alempijević 2012). Odučavanje mora biti sastavni dio svakog antropološkog obrazovanja. Etnografske metode terenskog rada mogu se integrirati u osmišljavanje predavanja, učenja i povratnih informacija u svakoj učionici, s konceptom stranca ili bez njega (Mills i Morton 2012; Dráľ 2011). Iste metode vrijedne su i u osmišljavanju i analizi intervjua s tražiteljima azila i u svim fazama postupka prijave (Tužinská 2011).

Tvrdim da je cijeli koncept "razumijevanja mentaliteta" stranaca besmislica od samog početka. Umjesto toga, ono što bismo trebali učiniti je prvo pogledati sebe. Važno je razumjeti kako funkcioniramo kao ljudi, koje mehanizme koristimo kako bismo predstavili "mentalitet" drugih, što odabiremo pamtiti ili zaboraviti, čiji govor odlučujemo prevesti ili ostaviti neprevedenim i zbog čega. Stvari koje uzimamo zdravo za gotovo upravo su one od kojih se prvo moramo odučiti. Odučavanje od njih daje nam prostor da stvari više ne razumijemo samo u smislu istosti ili drugosti, nego uvijek kao mozaik i jednog i drugog. Antropologija je neprocjenjivo sredstvo za jačanje poštovanja, promišljanja i sposobnosti reagiranja sa sviješću o posljedicama.

Veći dio etnografske metode može se sažeti riječju "respekt". U toj riječi prefiks "re-" naglašava čin gledanja unatrag. Drugi dio riječi, "-spekt", izveden je iz riječi sličnog podrijetla – spekulum, ogledalo. Služeći se Bakhtinovim terminima, u ovom sam radu utvrdila važnost antropologije u "procesu spoznaje vlastitog jezika kako je percipiran u tuđem jeziku, spoznaje vlastitog sustava vjerovanja u sustavu drugog" (Bakhtin 2004: 365). Kako bih ilustrirala tu ideju, istaknula sam neke situacije u kojima osobe na položaju kontrole pokazuju premalo poštovanja, čime dovode do blokade komunikacije i uspješnog prevođenja.

Prečesto sam čula ljude kako se smiju prilikom rasprava o "mentalitetu" stranaca. Protulijek za to nije politička korektnost ili ozbiljnost. Umjesto toga, trebamo cijeniti zajednički smijeh kao potencijal koji jezičnu komunikaciju čini mogućom (Knight i Lewis 2017). Riječima Bakhtina (2004: 23): "Smijeh uništava strah i pobožnost pred predmetom i pred svijetom, čineći ga predmetom prepoznatljivog kontakta i stvarajući prostor za njegovo apsolutno slobodno istraživanje. Smijeh je ključni čimbenik u polaganju preduvjeta za neustrašivost bez koje bi bilo nemoguće realistično pristupiti svijetu." Bolje ćemo razumjeti svoje vlastite pretpostavke ako uvidimo smiješnu stranu šale koju su nam stranci uputili. Stapanje s karnevalskim načelom naopako postavljenog svijeta znači uživati u slobodi smijeha i moći pogledati u zrcalo te prihvatiti inače neočekivane veze. Zato je "ova disciplina, na neki način, najrelevantnija kada je istovremeno najmanje relevantna; kada ne pokušavamo donositi političke preporuke, nego umjesto toga njegujemo osjećaj čuđenja nad raznolikošću ljudskog života u ljudima koji žele slušati. U tom smislu antropologija ima radikalni i subverzivni potencijal" (Eriksen 2017).

Knight (2016: 233) izražava povezanu ideju kada piše:

> Naš je prvi zahtjev zajednički konceptualni jezik. Budući da to jedino može biti jezik znanosti – čovječanstvo nema drugi zajednički jezik – više si ne možemo priuštiti tretiranje znanosti kao pukog apstraktnog razumijevanja odsječenog od smijeha, naših emocija, života na ulici, zajedničkog djelovanja u cilju stvaranja boljeg svijeta. Ničiji pojedini doprinos – čak ni doprinos genija – ne može se kvalificirati kao znanost dok mi ostali ne utvrdimo da funkcionira. Nema ničeg posebnog ili ezoteričnog u tome. Konzultiramo se jedni s drugima. Međusobno provjeravamo rezultate. "Vidiš li što i ja vidim?" Ljudi to čine od kada je naša vrsta prvo evoluirala. (…) Kako bismo mogli početi međusobno razgovarati, a moramo, potrebno je početi razvijati pojmove i koncepte koji su nam svima zajednički. Prepreke među nama nemaju znanstveno utemeljenje; one su institucionalno, *politički* nametnute. Da bi došlo do razvoja, moramo probiti terminološke, metodološke i disciplinarne granice koje nas razdvajaju.

Nedavno, tijekom vikenda koji sam provela s obitelji dvaju revizora, odučila sam se od svega što sam mislila da znam o toj čudnoj profesiji. Bila sam smatrala da su stručnjaci za brojeve i račune. Otkrila sam da su dobri slušači. Revizor je osoba koja sluša. Najbolji revizori nisu neutralne osobe koje jednostavno prevode što im se govori. Oni su sumnjičavi istražitelji koji svugdje očekuju prijevare. Svoje vrijeme provode ispitujući, slušajući i izvještavajući, kao da se bave etnografijom. Kada se susretnu s očitim besmislicama, traže neočekivano značenje ili skrivenu istinu. Revizori i antropolozi zato imaju mnogo toga zajedničkog. Ako se ta sasvim različita plemena mogu međusobno razumjeti, za sve nas zasigurno postoji nada.

KOMENTARI

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Operacionalizacija antropologije kao oblika odučavanja i učenja

U svom tekstu Helena Tužinská postavlja teorijsko stajalište za primjenu antropologije u raznim okruženjima uključujući izbjegličke kampove, sudnice, škole i poslovno okruženje. Usredotočuje se na koncepte odučavanja i odgovora, koji stoje nasuprot najčešćem obrascu reagiranja. Promišljajući i baveći se primijenjenom antropologijom više od trideset godina (Roberta D. Baer), želimo njezine teorijske koncepte uzeti kao polazište i ponuditi neke primjere kako se ta stajališta mogu operacionalizirati.

U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama dobro je razvijena primjena antropologije na širok niz društvenih pitanja. Točnije, sami počeci discipline sežu do nastojanja Ministarstva rata SAD-a (kasnije Ured za indijanska pitanja) da nauči o skupinama američkih starosjedioca koje su susreli na granici naseljavanja kontinenta (Ervin 2005). Sličan obrazac postojao je i u Engleskoj gdje su u počecima ključne osobe, kao što su Evans-Pritchard i Audrey Richards, vladi pomagale bolje razumjeti kolonijalne subjekte (ibid.). Međunarodna znanstvena organizacija primijenjenih antropologa, Društvo za primijenjenu antropologiju, osnovana je 1941. godine (SfAA 2017). Prvi formalni studij iz primijenjene antropologije osnovan je na Sveučilištu u Južnoj Floridi 1974. godine s diplomskim programom, a 1984. godine pridodan je doktorski studij (Department of Anthropology 2014). Danas više od trideset američkih sveučilišta nudi dodiplomske studije iz primijenjene antropologije (AAA 2016a). Brojni programi obuhvaćaju pristup primijenjenoj antropologiji iz četiri područja (Department of Anthropology 2014). Nakon završetka studija studenti se zapošljavaju u javnom i privatnom sektoru te rade na programima i politikama koji uključuju važnost kulture i kulturnih različitosti (Fiske 2008; Redding 2013; Ellick i Watkins 2011). Među poslodavcima se, na primjer, nalaze Google, General Motors, USAID, bolnice i klinike, nacionalni parkovi, centri za kontrolu i prevenciju bolesti, razne nevladine organizacije, Ministarstvo ratnih veterana, Federalni ured za istrage, muzeji, Intel Corporation, Universal Studios i razne konzultantske tvrtke te tvrtke

koje se bave projektnim upravljanjem (AAA 2016b; Ellick i Watkins 2011; Nolan 2013; Fix 2013).

Iskustva u razvoju pristupa pod utjecajem primijenjene antropologije u SAD-u naučila su nas da je ključno započeti od publike i izraditi program koji uzima u obzir njezine interese i probleme, kao i interese onih koji program stvaraju. Prečesto se događa da razvijamo programe interkulturne komunikacije ili kulturne raznolikosti, ali se ne bavimo pravim interesima publike kojoj se obraćamo. Tada, kako to primjećuje Tužinská, dobivamo povratnu informaciju: "Sve što nam govorite je divno i krasno, ali naš posao je štititi granice". Na radionicama, kolegijima i sl. moramo stvoriti oblik iskustvenog učenja koji naše sudionike/studente pomiče s mjesta na kojemu su se nalazili kada su prešli na novu razinu razumijevanja problema. Taj oblik učenja/podučavanja ljude povezuje s iskustvima, kako bismo se mogli maknuti iz puke proizvodnje i distribucije popisa kulturnih osobina i doći u situaciju u kojoj dolazi do stvarnog razumijevanja drukčijih tradicija i stajališta.

Tim ćemo se pitanjem pozabaviti u kontekstu dvaju kolegija koje je prva autorica predavala na svom sveučilištu u proteklih nekoliko godina. Iako je niz godina u diplomske kolegije ugrađivala projekte iz primijenjene antropologije (Baer et al. 1988, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2012), odnedavno je počela koristiti model društveno korisnog učenja (Barone i Ritter 2010; McCabe 2004). Takav pristup naglašava koliko je važno tijekom kolegija razmišljati o iskustvima (Beck 2005; Menzies i Butler 2011). Ugradnja tog modela omogućila je uvođenje projekata iz primijenjene antropologije u dodiplomske kolegije.

Jedan od kolegija u kojem se primjenjivao taj pristup zvao se "Usmena povijest". Cilj kolegija bio je da studenti razumiju situaciju s današnjim izbjeglicama u SAD-u i drugdje u svijetu te da se uključe u primijenjeno istraživanje same teme. Aktivnosti su uključivale posjete nastavi engleskog jezika za izbjeglice, gostujuće izlagače iz poznatih organizacija za pružanje pomoći izbjeglicama, usmena izvješća, preglede tekućih novosti i medijskih napisa o izbjeglicama, praktično vođenje intervjua i pisanje niza eseja o iskustvima (budući da društveno korisno učenje naglasak stavlja na refleksiju). Iz svih tih elemenata izrastao je projekt. Studenti su u parovima intervjuirali izbjeglice koji žive u području oko Zaljeva Tampa, različitog etničkog i kulturnog porijekla: iz Iraka, Afganistana, Burme, bivše Jugoslavije, Haitija, Kube, Etiopije, Demokratske Republike Kongo i Togoa. Snimljeni intervjui usmenih povijesti bili su transkribirani. Potom su studenti svaki intervju prepisali na jednostavnu razinu za čitanje kako bi te materijale mogle koristiti osobe koje tek počinju učiti čitati engleski jezik. Na kraju je nastala i knjiga *American Stories* (Baer i Holbrook 2017) koja će se koristiti u nastavi engleskog jezika kao drugog jezika za nove izbjeglice. Knjiga, koju je objavio školski odbor okruga Hillsborough koji administrira program, bit će dostupna u školama i javnim knjižnicama u cijelom okrugu.

Nastavne su aktivnosti zahtijevale od studenata da izravno rade s ljudima koji su poprilično drukčiji od njih. Morali su stupiti u kontakt s ljudima različitog porijekla, dogovarati sastanke, voditi intervjue i potom pregledavati priče s onima koje su intervjuirali kako bi bile točno zabilježene. Nisu samo slušali priče nego su tijekom

interakcija i saznavali o poteškoćama s kojima se pridošlice suočavaju u našoj zajednici. Jedan je par studenata zabrinuto nazvao jer je njihov sugovornik kasnio petnaest, pa zatim trideset minuta. Dobili su uputu da pričekaju. Sugovornik se pojavio s četrdesetpetominutnim zakašnjenjem. Budući da nije imao ni vozačku dozvolu ni automobil, morao je promijeniti tri autobusne linije da bi došao do mjesta sastanka, a jedan je autobus kasnio.

Kolegij je bio izazovan u mnogim pogledima, ali su ga studenti ipak jako dobro prihvatili. Uočili su da su promijenili svoja stajališta o zadanoj temi. Jedna je studentica kazala:

> Kada je nastava započela, iako sam se fokusirala na intelektualno poticajnu … mogućnost istraživanja … Međutim, tada nisam znala koliku je širinu osobnog rasta ovaj kolegij nudio … Nisam imala dovoljno saznanja o kompleksnostima, poteškoćama i varijacijama u iskustvu izbjeglica. Te promjene perspektive odražavaju dublje razumijevanje labirinta globalnog okruženja tih ljudskih iskustava te dodatno naglašavaju važnost perspektive i zahvalnost.

Druga je studentica rekla:

> Promijenila sam pogled jer se izbjeglice trude prevladati vrlo izazovna iskustva … Moraju živjeti sa svojim sjećanjima i prilagoditi se novoj kulturi i jeziku. I prije sam smatrala da su hrabri, no sada razumijem da doista posebne osobe mogu živjeti u groznim uvjetima i započeti svoj život ispočetka, ponekad bez ikakvih poveznica s ljudima iz prošlosti i ne znajući jesu li članovi njihove obitelji na sigurnom ili uopće živi.

Studenti su se također upoznali s raznolikošću izbjegličke populacije:

> Nisam očekivao raznolikost izbjegličke populacije: siromašni i nepismeni poljoprivrednici i visokoobrazovani, stručni pripadnici srednjeg sloja poput mene … Također nisam znao koliko psihičkog stresa [neki] izbjeglice mogu osjetiti zbog silazne mobilnosti, nakon što su izgubili svoj životni standard, samodovoljnost i identitete povezane sa svojim poslom. Muškarci koji su bili navikli prehranjivati svoje obitelji odjednom su se osjetili beskorisnima. Liječnici i inženjeri morali su prihvatiti fizičke poslove jer im svjedodžbe nisu prihvaćene u SAD-u … Osnažila nas je prilika koju smo dobili da nešto vratimo zajednici u kojoj živimo.

Studenti su također naučili koliko je važan pristup usmene povijesti:

> Osim što sam puno naučila o izbjeglicama, u ovom sam projektu stekla dublje poštovanje prema moći glasa.

Naposljetku, također su cijenili priliku da nešto učine za svoju zajednicu:

> Kolegij sam odabrala očekujući tradicionalnu strukturu nastave, s predavanjima, raspravama i iscrpnim hvatanjem bilješki. Međutim, dobila sam nešto

sasvim novo. Dobila sam priliku nešto promijeniti, izgraditi odnose i naučiti kako ostvariti promjenu umjesto da se o njoj samo govori.

Drugi kolegij se zvao "Istraživačko iskustvo u interakciji pacijenta i liječnika". Kolegij je predavao tim sastavljen od prvonavedene autorice i dr. Jasona Wilsona, liječnika u hitnoj službi Opće bolnice Tampa, koji također ima diplomu antropologije. Eksplicitni cilj kolegija bila je obuka studenata prije upisa studija medicine kako bi naučili bolje razumijevati i procjenjivati gledište pacijenata u odnosu pacijenta i liječnika. Takve se teme nalaze u samoj srži potpodručja primijenjene medicinske antropologije. Pristup je utemeljio Benjamin Paul kada je 1951. započeo program u Školi za javno zdravstvo na Sveučilištu Harvard s ciljem uvođenja društvenih znanosti u studij medicine (Trei 2005). Druga ključna osoba bio je Arthur Kleinman, koji je 1978. zacrtao ključne koncepte medicinske antropologije (Kleinman, Eisenberg i Good 1978). Oni uključuju razliku između "bolesti" kao medicinske kategorije i "oboljenja" kao laičkog gledišta koje pretpostavlja ne samo biološki problem nego i društvene (ponekad i duhovne) posljedice "bolesti" i liječenja. Zbog kulture biomedicine koja se liječnicima usađuje u sklopu njihove obuke (Hahn 1995), Kleinman et al. (1978) prepoznali su česte razlike u objašnjenima uzroka, simptoma i liječenja lošeg zdravlja te pozvali liječnike da nauče tehnike kako bi razumjeli eksplanatorne modele pacijenata. Cilj je bio potom surađivati kako bi se postiglo međusobno razumijevanje i održivi plan liječenja.

Iako su takva razmišljanja započela prije više od četrdeset godina, ti koncepti nisu opće prihvaćeni u programima medicinskih studija. Stoga smo pokušali takav način razmišljanja ugraditi u predavanja prije nego što studenti krenu na medicinski fakultet. Kolegij smo vodili u okviru klinike za traumatologiju prve razine, koja se ne bavi samo ozljedama, nego funkcionira i kao ustanova za zdravstvenu zaštitu pacijenata koji ne posjeduju zdravstveno osiguranje. Aktivnosti u sklopu kolegija uključivale su uvid u postojeću literaturu o kulturi hitne pomoći, sjecištu medicine i kulture te metodama kvalitativnih istraživanja. Studenti su trebali pratiti liječnike, ali i pacijente, za što smo naučili da je ključna aktivnost u razvijanju razumijevanja iskustva pacijenta. Studenti su ono što su naučili iskoristili za sastavljanje letka za pacijente o najčešćim nesporazumima vezanim uz način funkcioniranja hitne pomoći, a nakon toga su izvršili evaluaciju percepcije toga letka. Od njih se također zahtijevalo da sudjeluju u aktivnostima promišljanja o svojim iskustvima.

Studenti su uočili vrijednost učenja o perspektivi pacijenta. Jedna je studentica izjavila:

Tijekom nastave shvatila sam da se sposobnost suosjećajne brige i socijalne interakcije… treba kombinirati s nužnim znanostima… i metodama liječenja kako bi se pacijentima pružila najbolja moguća njega.

Drugi je primijetio:

Međutim, liječnici često zaboravljaju… kakav je to osjećaj kada ste pacijent pod stresom i u boli dok satima čekate da vas prime.

Jedna je studentica uočila:

> Najvažnije što sam naučila jest ne zaboraviti koliko kao liječnik možete utjecati na pacijentov život, i na dobar i na loš način. Liječniku je cilj izliječiti bolest, dok pacijentu nije važan samo biološki aspekt zdravlja. Pacijenti brinu o tome kako će se njihova bolest odraziti na njihov svakodnevni život i mogu li si priuštiti biti bolesni.

Aktivnosti u sklopu kolegija studente su također navele da nauče nešto više o sebi. Jedna je studentica rekla:

> Uopće nisam mogla zamisliti što će me sve ovaj kolegij naučiti o medicini i o meni samoj… Za razliku od drugih kolegija na kojima dobivamo popis literature koji moramo proći i o njemu raspravljati, ovdje smo drukčije proučavali literaturu i raspravljali i to me više prosvijetlilo jer sam mogla steći uvid i onda primijeniti ono što su me članci, filmovi i predavanja naučili vezano uz moje iskustvo hitne službe. Iako sam od početka kolegija strahovala od četverosatnog zadatka praćenja pacijenta, kada sada o tome razmišljam, mislim da mi je to bio najdraži zadatak… Pacijenti su me naučili da svoje zdravlje ne doživljavaju kao nešto odvojeno od svog života. Njihovo je zdravlje nešto što na njih svakodnevno utječe i što ih čini osobama kakve jesu, a način na koji teče interakcija u hitnoj službi odražava se na mnoge dane i tjedne koji slijede.

Druga je studentica izjavila:

> Kolegij me natjerao na drukčiji način razmišljanja i novi pogled… Iako je prikupljanje podataka iz svih istraživanja tijekom semestra bilo naporno, bilo je to također jedno od najboljih životnih iskustava koje sam imala… Nakon što sam odabrala ovaj kolegij, prenerazila sam se kada sam shvatila da na fakultetu medicine nema predavanja iz antropologije. Ono što sam naučila… jako je važno za moju liječničku karijeru… Sada mogu opušteno ući u pacijentovu sobu i sa samopouzdanjem razgovarati s njima čak i kada je situacija kritična. Također mogu bolje razumjeti njihovo gledište i potrebe. Ono što sam naučila pomoći će mi da budem bolja studentica medicine i bolja liječnica. Šteta što nemaju svi pristup ovakvim kolegijima prije no što se odluče za karijeru u medicini.

Student je primijetio:

> Zapravo, većina ljudi koja dolazi u hitnu službu nema fascinantne, rijetke ili životno opasne probleme. Ljudi dolaze zbog boli u prsima, leđima ili socijalne boli. Dolaze za svaki slučaj ili zato što ih drugdje ne bi primili. Zbog toga dolazi do istinskog jaza u modelima: očekivanja. Liječnici jednostavno žele osigurati stanje u kojem je osoba dovoljno zdrava da može otići. Pacijenti žele saznati što s njima nije u redu i to popraviti. Kao liječnik se nadam da će mi ovaj kolegij pomoći da vidim šire od biomedicinskog filtriranja pacijenata na biološke komponente. Nadam se da ću se sjetiti ljudskosti svojih pacijenata.

Zaključno želimo predložiti da, ako antropologiju želimo operacionalizirati kao oblik odučavanja i učenja, u našim predavaonicama i na radionicama moramo strukturirati iskustveno učenje. Kolegiji o kojima je ovdje bila riječ studente uključuju u projekte primijenjene antropologije u sklopu nastavnih aktivnosti te ih obučavaju primjerenim metodama i perspektivama. Tužinská je naglasila teorijske perspektive; na nama je sada da ih operacionaliziramo. Jedno od mjesta na kojem se može započeti su naše učionice. Kako bismo u tome bili učinkoviti, moramo pronaći načine na koje nećemo samo predavati o drugim kulturama i perspektivama, nego ćemo stvarati situacije u kojima se može iskusiti, razumjeti i naposljetku poštivati brige i ljudskost onih koji se razlikuju od nas.

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Azilne procedure i antropologija: primjena i promjena

Postupak odobrenja azila i procedure koje ga okružuju, kojima se iz antropološke perspektive bavi Helena Tužinská u ovdje objavljenom radu, sve donedavno su bili gotovo potpuno izvan interesa antropologa i antropologije. Iako u kratkom pregledu istraživanja vezanih uz postupak traženja azila Anthony Good, autor jedne od prvih dominantno etnografski utemeljenih monografija o toj temi, opisuje i nekoliko studija koje su, primarno svojom metodologijom, bliske antropologiji, on također ističe da do tada "iz antropološke perspektive gotovo ništa nije bilo napisano ni o kojem aspektu procesa traženja azila" (Good 2007: 11). U skladu sa sve restriktivnijim migracijskim politikama Zapada koje traženje azila iz mehanizma pristupa zaštiti pretvaraju u jedan od mehanizama kontrole migracija, danas su traženje azila i s njime povezani pojmovi, makar kao tema, prisutniji u javnom prostoru te, razumljivo, sve češće ulaze u obzor antropoloških i srodnih istraživanja. Među autorima koji sustavno pišu o tim temama je i Helena Tužinská, koja se u nekoliko etnografski utemeljenih radova, u različitim registrima (npr. Tužinská 2009, 2011), bavi slijepim ulicama procesa traženja azila na primjeru Slovačke. U ovdje objavljenom radu Tužinská se ponajprije zanima problemima i mogućnostima primjene antropološke perspektive i znanja u okružjima u kojima se odvija službena komunikacija s tražiteljima azila. Tužinská se fokusira na dvije razine, od kojih je jedna vezana uz razumijevanje, odnosno nerazumijevanje prirode svjedočenja općenito. Svjedočenja, kako to pokazuju brojna istraživanja u antropologiji, a koja slijede uvide iz psihologije, znanosti o književnosti i slično, ne poštuju logiku čistih, pravilnih naracija i linearnog slijeda. Posebice je to slučaj kada govorimo o svjedočenjima o traumatskom iskustvu koje se

u javnoj percepciji izbjeglica i praksi odobravanja međunarodne zaštite gotovo po-drazumijeva. Stoga se nekonzistentnosti u svjedočenjima tijekom postupka odobre-nja azila ne bi smjele, kako se to čini, nekritički vezivati uz pojam nevjerodostojnosti. Druga razina na koju upućuje Tužinská odnosi se na reduciranost procesa posredo-vanja i prevođenja u azilnim postupcima, odnosno na izostanak njihove interkultur-ne dimenzije. Stoga što se ta dimenzija previđa, u postupcima odobravanja međuna-rodne zaštite dolazi do distorzije čak i "prve" razine svjedočenja, odnosno promašaja u sferi datacije ključnih događaja, rodbinskih odnosa, grupnih afilijacija i dr.

Dok autoricu u ovom tekstu zanima primjena antropološkog znanja i unaprjeđe-nje postojećeg azilnog sustava, bolje razumijevanje praksi na kojima on počiva, prije svega praksi svjedočenja, intervjua i interkulturnog posredovanja u "svakodnevnim" uvjetima, u našem ćemo se komentaru zadržati na onome što iz današnje perspekti-ve, potaknute upravo tekstom Helene Tužinske, prepoznajemo kao aspekte azilnog postupka u "izvanrednim" uvjetima kada je uspostavljen balkanski koridor. Zadržat ćemo se na postupku registracije izbjeglica u Hrvatskoj u jesen i zimu 2015./2016. godine. Različito od dodijeljene im uloge čuvara za izbjeglice u osnovi zatvorenih granica Europe, zemlje europskog jugoistoka, pa tako i Hrvatska, te su jeseni i zime kroz svoje teritorije kanalizirale stotine tisuća izbjeglica prema tzv. prosperitetnim državama Europe. Stoga, umjesto da se na teritorijima tih država, sukladno važećoj legislativi, provode postupci traženja azila, kojih je u danom razdoblju kada govori-mo o Hrvatskoj pokrenut neznatan broj (Šelo Šabić i Borić 2016: 11–12), države kroz koje je prolazio koridor su na posebnim za to uspostavljenim mjestima registri-rale izbjeglice i upućivale ih dalje. Registracija koja se sastojala od evidencije izbjegli-ca i prikupljanja osnovnih identifikacijskih podataka se, osobito u prvo vrijeme, pro-vodila na različite načine u različitim državama i na temelju različitih izvora, među kojima su značajno mjesto, karakteristično za azilni postupak, imali usmeni iskazi. Ta *ad hoc* uvedena procedura koja se, koliko je poznato, u Hrvatskoj oslanjala na *Zakon o strancima*, a u okviru koje su izbjeglice, ne nužno svi, dobivali pisana rješenja s pro-pisanim rokom u kojem moraju napustiti zemlju (usp. Petrović 2017: 47–48), bila je preduvjet za nastavak kretanja i dolazak na teritorij države u kojoj će se u konačnici zatražiti zaštita.

U studenom 2015. godine države duž koridora počinju unisono ograničavati pristup koridoru ili, drugim riječima, kretanje koridorom dozvoljavaju isključivo osobama iz pojedinih zemlja. Od studenog 2015. godine kretanje koridorom bilo je dozvoljeno samo osobama iz Afganistana, Sirije i Iraka, a od veljače samo iz Iraka i Sirije. U tu svrhu hrvatska policija na željezničkoj stanici u Šidu temeljem protokola (*Protokol* 2015) dogovorenog između Srbije i Hrvatske provodi postupak profila-cije, trijaže, kojim se selektiraju oni kojima se dozvoljava ulazak vlakom u Hrvatsku gdje se po dolasku u tada već uspostavljeni kamp u Slavonskom Brodu i registriraju. Profilaciji izbjeglica u Šidu same nismo prisustvovale, ali su do nas, preko izbjeglica s kojima smo razgovarale u kampovima u Slavonskom Brodu i Dobovi, kao i preko izvještaja aktivista, dolazile informacije da se i ona, praćena arbitrarnošću, pa i nasi-

ljem, u jednom trenutku počela uvelike oslanjati upravo na usmene iskaze. Kako se to ističe u izvještaju s kraja siječnja 2016. godine:

> Državne vlasti nametnule su granične kontrole provodeći stroge jezične te-
> stove na graničnim prijelazima. Posljedično, dokument o registraciji u kojemu
> se SIA, odnosno Sirija, Irak ili Afganistan, navode kao zemlje porijekla nije
> dovoljan za prelazak granice iz Srbije u Hrvatsku. Ugovoreni prevoditelji pro-
> vjeravaju naglaske i dijalekte dok ljudi stoje u redovima za tranzit. (Banich et
> al. 2016a: 5)

Ni u kampu u Slavonskom Brodu, gdje smo kao istraživačice u više navrata boravile od siječnja do zatvaranja kampa u travnju 2016. godine, nismo izravno svjedočile postupku registracije budući da, poput većine volontera i zaposlenika prisutnih u kampu, nismo imale pristup registracijskim šatorima. Ponekad su, međutim, a o čemu smo već pisale (Hameršak i Pleše 2017: 110), na pojedinim registracijskim šatorima bili otvoreni ulazi zbog čega smo na trenutak mogle vidjeti djelić onoga što se u njima događalo:

> šator za registraciju je otvoren (krilo od vrata je dignuto) tako da se vidi unu-
> tra, ali je jako sunce tako da ne vidim baš najbolje; iz šatora izašao policajac,
> ima masku, unutra se vide jedna invalidska kolica; vidim ženu koja drži dijete
> na sebi kako sjedi na stolici ispred stola (ne vidim policajca s druge strane stola
> koji je ispituje jer mi je zaklonjen), nekoliko policajaca hoda po šatoru, vidim
> jednu uniformu CK [Hrvatski Crveni križ].

O tome kako se postupak registracije odvijao u šatorima saznavale smo i kroz kratke verbalne i neverbalne razmjene s izbjeglicama. Ta komunikacija nije bila potaknuta našom istraživačkom znatiželjom, iako je ona postojala, nego ponajprije zabrinuto-šću i strahom nekih koji su upravo prošli postupak registracije. Pokazivanje dlanova bila je gesta kojom su nam neki prenosili svoju zbunjenost ili zabrinutost time da su upravo u njima nepoznatoj zemlji, iz nejasnog razloga i s nepoznatim reperkusijama dali otiske svih prstiju. Nešto češće izbjeglice su nam znali pokazivati rješenja na hrvatskom jeziku koja su im izdana prilikom registracije, a čiji sadržaj nisu razumjeli. Rješenja su im se, dakle, sudeći prema njihovim reakcijama, kao i stalnoj utrci s vre-menom u cijelom procesu tranzita, uručivala bez sustavnog povratnog prevođenja, interkulturnog posredovanja, a time i makar okvirnog pojašnjenja samog sadržaja. Neki su nam se obraćali s molbom da im prevedemo napisano i interveniramo u slu-čaju upisa krivih informacija (npr. o zemlji porijekla ili odredišnoj zemlji). O pojedi-nim postupcima prilikom registracije saznavale smo i iz razgovora s prevoditeljima koji su u odnosu na nas imali bitno sadržajniju komunikaciju s izbjeglicama. Od njih smo čuli i da policajci nekima prilikom registracije pregledavaju fotografije na mobi-telima što možemo tumačiti kao način provjere vjerodostojnosti samopredstavljanja osoba u tranzitu, ali i kao jedan od načina podređivanja "ispitanika".

Nasuprot registraciji koja je bila strukturirana kroz formalnu proceduru koju su provodili policijski službenici, a uz strogo isključenje gotovo svih ostalih u kampu,

nama vidljivi "ishod" registracije, a koji se očitovao kroz izdana, ali i neizdana rje
šenja (jer, kako je spomenuto, nisu ih svi dobivali), kao i njihove varijacije, činio
se daleko manje formalan i obvezujući. Na zabrinutost izbjeglica zbog spomenutih
neujednačenosti i netočnosti u rješenjima izdanima prilikom registracije policajci
koji su osiguravali kamp i drugi "iskusni" iz kampa u pravilu su odgovarali s nekom
vrstom ležerne pragmatičnosti, kao da su izdana rješenja puka formalnost: "Bit će
sve u redu. Ne dobivaju svi iste papire. Dobit će ionako novi papir u Sloveniji."

U kampu u Dobovi, u kojem su izbjeglice po ulasku u Sloveniju prolazile još jednu profilaciju i registraciju, kao volonterke smo u nekoliko navrata imale priliku, još
uvijek fragmentarno, ali ipak više nego u Slavonskom Brodu, vidjeti djeliće procesa
o kojem govorimo u ovom komentaru. Od siječnja 2016. godine u tom se kampu
provodila selekcija za koju smo znali iz vijesti aktivista na terenu, a koja se osim na
jezičnoj provjeri, procjeni porijekla prema fizičkom izgledu, temeljila i na standardiziranim pitanjima. Ta pitanja su se odnosila na odredišnu državu, državu i mjesto
porijekla, što je osim iskazom trebalo potkrijepiti pokazivanjem na karti (kao da je
čitanje karte univerzalna, a ne naučena vještina), ali i individualne razloge priključenja zbjegu. "Točni" odgovori na ta pitanja negirali su neke temeljne značajke suvremenih prisilnih migracija, pa tako i onu da se izbjeglištvo često sastoji od dužeg ili
kraćeg zadržavanja u nekoliko, pa i nizu država, zbog čega je za mnoge u balkanskom
koridoru pitanje odakle dolaze moglo imati više odgovora. No, u režimu koridora i
uspostavljenih pravila i kvota prihvata samo je jedan odgovor bio onaj koji je omogućavao nastavak kretanja. Svi ostali odgovori bili su "netočni" i mogli su značiti isključenje, zaustavljanje, zatvaranje, deportiranje i sl. Primjerice:

> Bio sam zaustavljen na Dobovi, iako sam putovao sa svojom sirijskom putov
> nicom. Egipatski prevoditelj izvadio me iz reda. Pitao me kada sam napustio
> Siriju. Odgovorio sam prije 6 mjeseci. "Gdje si bio od tada?" pitao me. Rekao
> sam da sam bio u Turskoj. Tada je on rekao: "Onda se vrati u Tursku, tamo je
> sigurno." (Banich et al. 2016b: 8)

Sustav provjere kojeg smo se dotaknule bio je jedan od alata kojima se na europskom teritoriju provodila kontinuirana, ciljana redukcija broja ljudi u balkanskom
koridoru. On zajedno s uvidima o koridoru koje smo drugdje iznijele (Hameršak i
Pleše 2017), a u kontekstu pristupa koji europski i nacionalni režim zaštite prepoznaje kao onaj koji "učinkovito egzistenciju mnogima čini još više prekarnom dok
tek nekolicini omogućava zaštitu" (Scheel, Garelli i Tazzioli 2015: 17), sugerira da se
i slijepe ulice sustava azila u "svakodnevnim" uvjetima, koje opisuje i Tužinská, treba
sagledati u istom ili sličnom ključu. To znači odustati od postavke da one proizlaze
primarno ili isključivo iz neznanja i neosviještenosti o kompleksnostima individualnih izbjegličkih životnih okolnosti i putanja te njihova prenošenja u jezik, a zatim i
o specifičnostima međujezičnog posredovanja. Gledano iz takve perspektive, mnogi
jezični, kulturni i drugi promašaji pokazuju se kao potencirani i proizvedeni, a ne
slučajni; pokazuju se kao sistemsko sredstvo za smanjenje broja onih kojima se pru
ža zaštita. Utoliko se i nastojanja na primjeni antropoloških znanja i perspektiva u

procedurama za odobrenja azila pokazuju kao – u pojedinim slučajevima vjerojatno uspješni, ali načelno ipak zadani – načini "omekšavanja sistema" koji, bez šire društveno-političke promjene, nisu u stanju raskinuti s praksama označavanja i isključivanja "nepoželjnih".

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Izazovi odučavanja u primijenjenoj antropologiji

Godine 2014. sudjelovao sam na edukacijskom treningu pod nazivom "Interkulturni odnosi, dijalog i kompetencije", koji su financirali slovensko Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova i Europski fond za integraciju državljana trećih zemalja. Zadatak našeg tima bio je pripremiti nastavne materijale (objavljeno u Bezjak, Podjed i Bezjak Mlakar 2014) te u različitim gradovima provoditi obuku javnih djelatnika, nastavnika, policije, lokalnog administrativnog osoblja i dr. koji svakodnevno komuniciraju s ljudima koji pristižu u EU. Kao antropolog koji je uglavnom radio u akademskoj zajednici, smatrao sam da će taj zadatak biti jednostavan. Sudionicima tečaja trebali smo objasniti kako razumjeti i prihvatiti interkulturne različitosti, podići njihovu osviještenost o kulturnoj raznolikosti i ojačati njihove kompetencije za komunikaciju s ljudima koji dolaze u Sloveniju.

Zadatak se naposljetku pokazao zahtjevnijim i izazovnijim nego što sam to isprva očekivao. Kao prvo, naš je tim morao raditi s publikom koja je potpuno drukčija od one koja se bavi etnologijom i antropologijom u akademskom okruženju. Kao drugo, program smo morali početi izrađivati gotovo ispočetka i pri tome se "odučiti" – ako se mogu poslužiti pojmom koji koristi Tužinská – od toga kako bi antropološke koncepte valjalo predstavljati publici. Obuku smo započeli s osnovnim konceptima, tj. objašnjavajući pojam "kultura". Iako je taj pojam u širokoj upotrebi, on je često predmetom rasprava (Kuper 1999; Abu-Lughod 1991), a neki znanstvenici čak pozivaju na njegovu releksifikaciju (Brightman 1995). Jedan od glavnih razloga zbog kojih je taj pojam problematičan su njegova brojna tumačenja i sinonimi riječi "kultura" zbog kojih je izvorno značenje – ako je ono ikada postojalo – gotovo u potpunosti izgubljeno. Odlučili smo zadržati sam pojam u okviru obuke i uvrstiti ga u zajednički naziv naše aktivnosti zbog propozicija projektnog poziva u kojima je bilo jasno navedeno da se jedan od naših tečajeva mora baviti *interkulturnim* dijalogom.

Bili su tu i drugi povezani koncepti koje smo morali "odučiti" dok smo pokušavali stvoriti novi okvir za definiciju kulture, kao što su, na primjer, "kulturna hibridizacija", "transnacionalizam", "kreolizacija" i "fluidni procesi identifikacije". Tijekom tog

procesa odučavanja odlučili smo promijeniti svoje gledište te od sudionika zatražiti da nam odgovore što njima osobno znači koncept kulture. Dobili smo različite odgovore: kulturu su opisali kao posjet kulturnim ustanovama poput kazališta ili opere, kao ponašanje za stolom i kao svakodnevne navike u raznim zemljama. Sva su ta objašnjenja, naravno, u nekoj mjeri točna – u obilju postojećih definicija, od kojih su mnoge prikupili, opisali i kategorizirali prije mnogo vremena Kroeber i Kluckhohn (1952), bilo bi teško ne dati "točan" odgovor. U nastavku smo objasnili etimološki korijen riječi koja je, prema *Online Etymology Dictionary*, izvedenica latinske riječi *cultura*, tj. "kultiviranje, agrikultura", povezana s participom perfekta glagola *colere*, koji znači "čuvati, obrađivati, kultivirati". U svrhu obuke odlučili smo se poslužiti agrikulturnom metaforom i upotrijebiti je za objašnjenje suvremenog antropološkog razumijevanja kompleksnosti tog pojma. "Kulturu" smo objasnili kao ishod kultiviranja zemlje i vrtlarstva te opisali njezinu kompleksnost preko prikaza biljke zanimljivog oblika: cvjetače. Naglasili smo njezinu fraktalnu strukturu s uzorcima koji se ponavljaju na raznim razinama – svaki dio biljke sastoji se od čitave cvjetače, a istovremeno je zaseban, poseban i jedinstven (usp. Strathern 1991). Potom smo zaobilaznim putem od same biljke došli do problema veličine i razmjera u društvima te objašnjenja globalnih kultura, koje se arbitrarno dijele na nacionalne, regionalne i lokalne kulture. Originalnu "biljku" možemo dalje dijeliti na najmanji sastavni dio – pojedinca.

U prvom krugu obuke, održanom u Ljubljani, naš se tim zabrinuo kako će publika reagirati na pristup s "cvjetačom" i proces obuke. Iznenadilo nas je što je ishod nadmašio sva očekivanja – ljudi su se mogli identificirati s metaforom "biljke" (uglavnom zbog svojih iskustava s vrtlarenjem) pa su pokušavali objasniti kompleksnost kulture navodeći primjere iz svog društvenog okruženja: od raznolikosti u svojim četvrtima do supkultura u školama ili administracijskim jedinicama u kojima rade.

Nakon tog "teorijskog" dijela obuke uslijedili su praktični eksperimenti u kojima smo htjeli da publika preuzme aktivnu ulogu u procesu susreta s Drugim – koji se često smatra tajnovitim ili čak potencijalno opasnim subjektom. Pripremili smo nekoliko interaktivnih didaktičkih zadataka, a jedan je od njih nosio naziv "Antropolozi se susreću sa starosjediocima s Marsa".[7] Cilj te vježbe odnosio se na razumijevanje i prihvaćanje kulturnih razlika, prevladavanje strahova od nepoznatog, drukčijih životnih stilova i navika te unaprjeđenje komunikacije s migrantima iz "trećih zemalja". Pravila su bila vrlo jednostavna. Sudionike smo podijelili u dvije skupine: "antropolozi" su pripali prvoj, a "starosjedioci" drugoj skupini. Voditelj radionice je potom objasnio kontekst "bliskih susreta treće vrste": svemirski se brod spustio na Mars, a posada je naišla na bića nalik ljudima, ali koja su komunicirala nerazumljivim jezikom i gestama. "Antropolozi" su potom napustili prostoriju. Kada su oni izašli, "starosjedioci" su dobili upute o tome kako se ponašati i reagirati na pitanja – koji su njihovi obrasci ponašanja i navike. Na primjer, trebali su kimnuti kada su htjeli

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[7] U industriji interkulturne komunikacije postoje brojne slične aktivnosti i vježbe. Vježba s Marsovcima i antropolozima nije u potpunosti jedinstvena i originalna s obzirom na to da je, iako u ponešto drukčijem obliku, već bila predstavljena u nekoliko priručnika za predavače i instruktore.

odgovoriti s "ne", upotrijebiti jednu nepoznatu riječ umjesto riječi "da" i tako dalje. Prije nego što su se "antropolozi" vratili u prostoriju, dobili su uputu o interakciji sa "starosjediocima" s Marsa, izbjegavanju konfliktnih situacija i bilježenju svojih opažanja o verbalnoj i neverbalnoj komunikaciji sa "starosjediocima". Također smo im predložili da budu posebno oprezni s jednim od "starosjedioca" koji je navodno bio vrlo opasan – iako niti jednom od "Marsovaca" nismo rekli da se ponaša na taj način. Rezultat vježbe je bio fascinantan i često vrlo zabavan. "Antropolozi" su pokušavali doći do informacija od "starosjedioca" koristeći se neobičnim zvukovima i gestama. Svaki su put uspjeli pokazati na "opasnog" koji je, prema njihovom mišljenju, imao agresivan izraz lica.

Najvažniji pozitivan ishod vježbe bio je smijeh koji, kako to navodi Tužinská nadovezujući se na Bakhtina (2004), uništava strah od Drugoga te uspostavlja blisku suradnju među skupinama – "antropolozima" i "starosjediocima". Ti na neki način nevažni trenuci, kada smo se trudili ne nametati neke preporuke ili davati upute o tome kako se ljudi trebaju ponašati kod susreta s Drugim, istovremeno su bili najvažniji faktor uspješnosti naše obuke (usp. Eriksen 2017). Upravo tada se rastapala prijelazna interkulturna granica i tada su sudionici programa obuke (uključujući organizatore) mogli ukloniti stereotipe o tome koji su najbolji načini komunikacije sa strancima i nepoznatim osobama. Zbog opuštenog i otvorenog pristupa, koji je zaobišao većinu strogih definicija i pojmova vezanih uz interkulturnu suradnju, komunikaciju i osviještenost, obuka je bila izvrsno prihvaćena i pozitivno ocijenjena. Neki su sudionici upravo zbog toga odlučili ostati do kraja iako su isprva, kako su nam u povjerenju rekli nakon tečaja, namjeravali samo na brzinu vidjeti o čemu se radi na aktivnostima i otići nakon potpisivanja liste sudionika.

Iako je većina polaznika obuke bila zadovoljna pristupom, također se pokazalo da je mnoge od njih bilo teško uvjeriti da je takav pristup, koji se temelji na aktivnostima i vježbama s igranjem uloga, "najrelevantniji kada je također najmanje relevantan" (Eriksen 2017). Ljudi obično više vole da im se daju definicije etniciteta i nacija, što odgovara njihovim kognitivnim strukturama te unosi smisao u inače kaotične i rasute društvene svjetove. Takvi pojednostavljeni i stereotipni načini razmišljanja koje ljudi stvaraju u skladu sa svojim interesima i subjektivnošću (Lippmann 1961) kognitivni su prečaci koji nam pomažu vršiti brzinske procjene svijeta te omogućavaju brzo i djelotvorno stvaranje osobina u odnosima Nas naspram Drugoga.

Stereotipi nisu nužno krivi ili loši jer – bez obzira na to jesu li istiniti ili ne – barem omogućuju neku vrstu jasnoće u postojećoj globalnoj kompleksnosti. Rastvaranje stereotipa nije jedan od ciljeva programa edukacije o interkulturnoj osviještenosti. Naprotiv, i oni koji financiraju i oni koji pohađaju programe očekuju konkretne preporuke za uspostavljanje veza s ljudima koji dolaze iz "različitih kultura" i za njihovu uspješnu integraciju u europsko društvo – primjerice, kako komunicirati s muslimanima s Kosova.

Situacija je slična i s drugim aktivnostima primijenjene antropologije. Na primjer, dokazano je da je teško, ako ne i nemoguće, potpisati ugovor s poduzećem ili vladinom institucijom za provedbu "klasičnog" etnografskog istraživanja u trajanju

najmanje osamnaest mjeseci koje bi se temeljilo na razgovoru s ljudima, bilježenju njihovog svakodnevnog života, opisivanju navika itd. Takva bi studija za ishod imala deskriptivnu analizu skupine ljudi i njihovih navika bez preskriptivnosti i jasnih preporuka. Čak i ako uvedemo pristup kao što je "dubinsko druženje" (Geertz 1998), kojim se objašnjava antropološki pristup uranjanja u skupinu ili društveno iskustvo na neformalnoj razini, sponzori istraživanja bi mogli pomisliti da se radi samo o "druženju", odnosno nečemu za što nisu potrebni antropolozi.

Imao samo nekoliko takvih iskustava tijekom 2010. godine kada smo osnovali poduzeće za antropološko savjetovanje s ciljem "podizanja dodane vrijednosti poduzeća putem rješenja koja posvećuju pozornost korisničkom iskustvu, interkulturnoj suradnji, kulturnim posebnostima i prilagodbi usluga i proizvoda kulturnim okruženjima" (Ergo Institute 2010). Od osnutka našeg savjetodavnog poduzeća moja smo poslovna partnerica i ja pokušali uvjeriti druga poduzeća i institucije koliko etnografska istraživanja mogu biti korisna za njihovo poslovanje, u poticanju inovativnih procesa i u tome da saznaju više o klijentima. "Vaš je pristup jako zanimljiv", glasio je najčešći inicijalni odgovor na naš uvod o vrijednosti etnografije i antropologije u korporativnom svijetu. Nažalost, nakon toga bi uslijedilo "ali": "ali mi već znamo sve o svojim klijentima". Bili smo iznenađeni: kako naši potencijalni klijenti znaju sve o korisnicima svojih proizvoda i usluga, a i dalje nas pozivaju na jednosatni razgovor o mogućnosti suradnje s antropolozima?

Dvojaki odgovor također ima veze s argumentacijom koju je Tužinská ponudila vezano uz primjenjivost antropologije. Kao prvo, vlasnici poduzeća i njihovi menadžeri vole vjerovati da znaju sve o svojim klijentima. Zbog toga ih uznemiruje pomisao da bi trebali unajmiti "autsajdera" koji bi to znanje o njihovim korisnicima i njihovim navikama mogao rastvoriti – čak i ako se to znanje zapravo zasniva na stereotipima. Antropolog koji predlaže da se "oduči" što klijenti već (misle da) znaju tako može unijeti više problema nego doista pomoći. "Pronicljivi znanstvenik društvenih znanosti" (Singer 2014) zapravo može ukazati na ono što poduzeća ne znaju i ponuditi odgovor iz prve ruke o tome kako ljudi koriste određene proizvode. Međutim, to nije nešto što poslovni ljudi žele čuti – barem ne svi. Umjesto toga, oni žele saznati kako prodati više onoga što već proizvode, čak i ako to nikome nije ni korisno ni važno. Stoga je, kao prvo, problem u tome što je antropologija još uvijek – a možda čak i više zbog recentnije tendencije ispuzavanja iz akademske kule bjelokosne – "neugodna disciplina" (Wright 1995). Drugi problem je u tome što se antropolozi i antropologija izvan akademskih krugova također moraju suočiti sa stereotipiziranjem. Prema našem iskustvu i istraživanjima provedenim u europskom kontekstu, i dalje prevladava mišljenje da je antropologija "beskorisna disciplina koja se bavi 'egzotičnim narodima' ili 'etnografskim ostacima'" (Podjed, Gorup i Bezjak Mlakar 2016: 60). Antropolozi koji se bave primijenjenom i praktičnom antropologijom tako nailaze na poteškoće u tome da ustanove vjerodostojnu poziciju na sastancima i pregovorima ako ih se percipira kao nepotreban dodatak "ozbiljnom" poslu, industriji i razvojnim projektima.

Kako bi antropologija postala primijenjena i primjenjiva disciplina, moramo pokrenuti proces odučavanja koji se mora odvijati obostrano: sa strane antropologa i sa strane onih kojima su možda potrebne antropološke usluge. Jedna od mogućnosti za započinjanje tog procesa možda se opet nalazi u pojmu za kojim je u svom članku posegnula Helena Tužinská: *re-spekt*. Ono što je antropologiji potrebno danas, možda više nego ikada prije, jest dobar i dugačak pogled u zrcalo koji bi mogao pružiti odraz stvarnog potencijala same discipline kao i njezinih nedostataka i pogrešaka. No, taj proces ne bi smio predugo trajati. U suprotnom bi obožavanje vlastitog odraza moglo prerasti ili u narcizam ili u zgađenost zbog naših vlastitih pogrešaka nakon čega bi mogla uslijediti autoflagelacija. Potrebne su nam terminološke, metodološke i epistemiološke prilagodbe antropologije. Vrijeme je za *re-akciju*.

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Odučavanje antropologije

Helena Tužinská se usredotočuje na empirijski i teorijski značajne aspekte prenošenja antropološkog znanja. Doista, naš se svijet smanjuje i doslovno briše stare i poznate političke, etničke i kulturne granice. Iziskuje li to drukčiji teorijski pristup područjima koja antropolozi proučavaju? Primjer Helene Tužinske, koji se bavi tražiteljima azila u Slovačkoj, izvrsna je prigoda za empirijsko i teorijsko odučavanje zdravo za gotovo uzimanih koncepata i pretpostavki. Moja je rasprava podijeljena u dva dijela jer vjerujem da je članak koji je Tužinská napisala uspio uhvatiti značajne i promjenjive trenutke u antropologiji na dvije razine. Prva se bavi empirijskom situacijom, a druga njezinim teorijskim tumačenjima. Empirijske situacije ne samo da otvaraju nova područja istraživanja i nude mogućnosti novog razmatranja dosadašnjih pristupa i metodologija korištenih u širenju antropološkog znanja, nego nam ujedno omogućuju uključivanje i mijenjanje tih empirijskih situacija.

Glavno je zanimanje članka Helene Tužinske empirijsko i bavi se metodologijama koje se koriste u prenošenju znanja. Danas antropolog ne samo da podučava antropologiju na sveučilištu nego se od njega očekuje otkrivanje "kulturnih tradicija" i "interkulturne komunikacije" javnosti izvan akademskih krugova. U primjeru koji Tužinská obrađuje radi se o stručnjacima koji rade s tražiteljima azila, a koji antropološkom znanju daju dodanu vrijednost. Stručnjaci izvan sveučilišta nemaju puno suosjećanja prema poruci koju prenosi antropologija i prema antropološkom učenju. Oni žele recept pomoću kojega mogu "pročitati" tražitelje azila na osnovi pravilnog udjela "kulturnih" sastojaka. Antropolog se spotiče na antropološki koncept kulture,

ne uspijevajući "kulturnu" kutiju napuniti čvrstim sadržajem, te želeći umjesto toga ponuditi kritički i refleksivan pogled na kulturu. Nadalje, cijela radna skupina sastavljena od raznih stručnjaka koja razotkriva "slovačke vrijednosti" počinje kritički shvaćati da je taj zadatak nemoguće izvršiti.

Rješenje je posuđeno iz teorije i koristi koncept odučavanja. On iziskuje, kako piše Tužinská, "(1) osvještavanje kontakta, (2) uviđanje reprezentacija i stanja stvari i (3) oslobađanje od ograničenja". Drugim riječima, zahtijeva prebacivanje fokusa u kojemu se kulturu promatra kao sadržaj, na postupke koji izgrađuju i ruše kulturna vjerovanja pojedinca – kao što to antropolozi čine kada istražuju kulturu. Posebnosti takve metodologije odučavanja ne otkrivaju se eksplicitno, a ključne su mnogim antropolozima koji rade sa širom javnosti izvan akademske zajednice. Kao što Tužinská uočava, kontakt s tražiteljima azila u lokalnoj populaciji izaziva istinski strah i negativne osjećaje te utječe na uključene stručnjake, stvarajući prepreke s kojima se izbjeglice suočavaju u potrazi za podrškom i pravdom.

Tužinská koristi koncept (od)učavanja kao univerzalnu shemu u pozadini stjecanja i propitkivanja znanja u ovakvoj etnografskoj situaciji. Iako se problematiziraju koncepti kao što su "kultura", "drugi" i "mentalitet" (te se u članku najčešće navode unutar navodnika), od njih se ne odustaje i ne napušta ih se u potpunosti, nego ih se ispravlja i rehabilitira putem stalne osviještenosti, propitkivanja i nove kontekstualizacije. Tužinská vjeruje u biološke i genetičke zadanosti sjećanja, komunikacije i učenja te uvodi primjer iluzije do koje dolazi kada se kabel zamijeni za zmiju. Radi li se o "prirodnoj" iluziji i možemo li je shvatiti kao analogiju s načinom na koji izgrađujemo svoje stavove prema izbjeglicama? Taj interpretacijski trop vraća nas u zatvoreni krug stalne rekontekstualizacije drugih i samih sebe. Hoće li to dovesti do toga da kabel vidimo kao kabel a ne kao zmiju, a izbjeglicu kao prijatelja a ne kao neprijatelja? Hoće li refleksivnost otkriti "prirodno" bez iluzije?

Odabrani teorijski pogled otvara dvije vrste konceptualnih problema. Kao prvo, čini se da je međusobni i konceptualni odnos ostao u pozadini. Ne čudi što je antropologija na kraju članka uspoređena s procesom revizije – o tome se odnosu vrlo kritički raspravljalo unutar same discipline (npr. Strathern 2000). Mnogi odnosi nastaju u etnografskoj situaciji traženja azila i uključuju antropologe. Antropolog je u tom slučaju "posrednik", "vodič" ili "onaj koji odučava" umjesto "učitelj" ili "instruktor". Pretpostavljam da se ne radi samo o nazivu nego i o vrsti odnosa koji netko želi uspostaviti s publikom. Nedostaje odgovarajuća simetrija u imenovanju te publike. Kako sudionici tih zbivanja žele da ih se naziva? Njihova je uloga kao onih koji prolaze "odučavanje" problematična. Tužinská pokazuje kako stručnjaci uključeni u procese s tražiteljima azila svoju interkulturnu obuku ne smatraju pretjerano važnom. Kada pripadnik granične policije kaže: "Sve što nam govorite je divno i krasno, ali naš posao je štititi granice", to se možda ne odnosi samo na njegov/njezin stav prema (od)učavanju nego i prema poslu koji obavlja i profesionalnim odnosima koji zahtijevaju određeno otuđenje od viđenja "drugog" kao osobe. To se događa kada se "uvuče" revizija – "odnos koji je sam po sebi najvjerojatnije ugrađen u društvene situacije koje sudionici ne definiraju sami" (Strathern 2006: 533) – što u neugodnu

situaciju dovodi i antropologa i osobu koja prolazi obuku. Vjerojatno bi trebalo re-definirati same situacije, pojmove i pitanja kojima se bavimo.

Antropologija je dvojaki instrument – konceptualan i osoban – i antropolozi uče odnose kroz njihovo spajanje i kombiniranje raznih načina spoznaje (Strathern 2005: 6–7). Ogorčenost, otuđenje i odučavanje različiti su konceptualni i osobni na-čini stvaranja poveznica. Vjerujem da bismo svoje antropološke instrumente trebali koristiti u situacijama koje ne možemo definirati, promišljajući o načinima stvaranja osobnih i konceptualnih poveznica koje će postati zajedničke metodologije prijeno-sa znanja.

Osvijestila sam relacijsku prirodu euro-američkog znanja koje je praktično kori-sno u podučavanju antropologije. Pri terenskom istraživanju za svoj doktorski rad u latvijskim rodilištima osjetila sam ogromno zaduženje prema osobama s kojima sam razgovarala. Posvećivale su mi svoje vrijeme, otvarale srca i nerijetko se o meni bri-nule dok sam boravila u bolnicama. Moja disertacija na udaljenom sveučilištu dove-la me do titule i omogućila mi neka antropološka saznanja o društvenim promjena-ma u Latviji, ali nije sravnila interpersonalni dug koji sam zaradila tijekom terenskog rada. Zahvalna sam primaljama što su me kasnije pozvale da ih predstavljam tijekom parlamentarnih rasprava o legalizaciji poroda kod kuće kao i opstetričarima koji su pokrenuli trajnu suradnju u izradi nacionalnih izvješća o reproduktivnom zdravlju od gotovo dva desetljeća. To su vrijedni odnosi, osobni i konceptualni, iz kojih sam jako puno naučila.

Odnosi su poseban izazov u situacijama koje ne možemo definirati. Međutim, i dalje postoji prostor za razgovor, slušanje i prevođenje. To iziskuje vještine koje na-dilaze akademsko pisanje i govorenje. Za naše studente antropologije na Sveučilištu u Latviji uveli smo poseban kolegij u kojem istražujemo teme od javne važnosti. Stu-denti razgovaraju s raznim akterima (političarima, poduzetnicima, predavačima), utvrđuju istraživačke probleme i provode terensko istraživanje. S našim akterima završavamo zajedničkom konferencijom za tisak u javnom prostoru. Studenti uče kako komunicirati prema medijima i kako izražavati svoje mišljenje pred različitim auditorijima. Neke kasnije pozivaju u televizijske i radijske emisije da govore kao stručnjaci. To nije jednostavno – studenti često govore o tome da su im nastupi u nacionalnim medijima zastrašujuća i zamorna iskustva. Međutim, to omogućuje proživljavanje raznih "kultura" naše ciljane publike i, što je najvažnije, omogućuje ponovno definiranje i pregovaranje raznih situacija.

Naposljetku, teorijski okvir članka omogućava da slovačke "probleme" s traži-teljima azila vidimo kao univerzalne i na neki način prirodne kognitivne probleme, koji im ukidaju politički, ekonomski, društveni i osobni kontekst. Je li reakcija na izbjeglice jednaka u cijeloj Europi? Reagiraju li postsocijalističke zemlje na sličan način? Slovački "Priručnik za kulturnu orijentaciju" neobično podsjeća na latvijske informativne letke namijenjene izbjeglicama. Latvijski ekvivalent također naglašava da tražitelje azila, među ostalim, treba obavijestiti da je "zabranjeno nasilje nad žena-ma (nema kazne za preljub) i djecom (kriminalni rituali i sakaćenje)" (*Action Plan for the Transfer and Reception…*). Može li se stereotipiziranjem protumačiti takve

"podudarnosti", umjesto istraživanja povijesnog i političkog naslijeđa u pozicioniranju žena u postsocijalističkim društvima (Watson 1997)? Možemo li te probleme promatrati zasebno od šireg konteksta kolonijalne i postkolonijalne antropologije? Antropolozi djeluju kao stručnjaci za "drugost", no u drukčijem kontekstu odnosa. Puno je lagodnije odlutati nekamo i vratiti se s nekom egzotičnom pričom o nekoj kulturi, no to sada vodi do brojnih etičkih izazova u globaliziranom svijetu u kojemu "starosjedioci" čitaju kako smo ih opisali (Scheper-Hughes 2000), a javnost preispituje našu relevantnost u odnosu na njihov svakodnevni život i poslovne obveze. Kao što je to uočio Wagner (1981: 12): "u činu izumljivanja druge kulture, antropolog izumljuje svoju, a zapravo ponovno izumljuje sam pojam kulture".

U istraživanjima i pružanju obuke često sam se suočavala s pitanjima koja su tražila jednostavne recepte. Na primjer, osoba koja je pomogla jednoj izbjegličkoj obitelji i uložila emocionalne i materijalne resurse može se osjetiti razočaranom i izdanom kada ta obitelj jednoga jutra samo nestane iz Latvije. Tko je za to kriv? Odgovori nikada nisu jednostavni, no ne vidim niti jedan profesionalan odgovor koji ne bi uključivao šire političke i ekonomske kontekste migracijske politike. Izumljujemo druge istovremeno izumljujući sebe. Antropologija još uvijek ima puno toga za dati dijeleći svoje iskustvo o odnosima i njihovim kontekstima.

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Odučavanje u domovima i na ulicama

Uvod

Strateška upotreba sjećanja poznata je društvena činjenica, posebice u poslijeratnim i postkolonijalnim euroatlantskim prostorima (Alexander 2012). Helena Tužinská donosi nekoliko primjera iz svoje antropološke prakse podučavanja i savjetovanja. Njezina je usporedba kritičkog promišljanja u antropologiji s uređenjem prostorije uklanjanjem nepotrebnoga u potpunosti prikladna. U literaturi o interkulturnoj komunikaciji i edukaciji (npr. Moree 2015) to se naziva antigrupističkim razmišljanjem. Međutim, naglasak se također često stavlja na dvostranost tog procesa te je antigrupističko razmišljanje možda sličnije zajedničkom uređivanju zajedničkog prostora u stanu u kojem živi više ljudi ili društvenih skupina. Pronalaženje jednog zajedničkog, za sve prikladnog i udobnog načina opremanja kuhinje ili kupaonice pravi je izazov našeg vremena.

Naravno, teret osjetljivosti na različitosti više je na strani onih moćnih: znanstvenika, sudova, administrativnih institucija. Znanstvenici na polju društvenih znanosti time se bave posežući za raznim dehegemonizirajućim praksama. Predložila sam, među ostalim, da se u polje istraživanja uđe bez egzotizirajućeg svemirskog odijela (Sidiropulu Janků 2014), bez da se unaprijed očekuje razlika, usredotočujući se na prirodu komunikacije jedan na jedan kako bude tekla, ne oklijevajući postaviti pitanje kada je nešto nejasno, te tako uspostavljajući istraživački odnos na partnerskim osnovama. Istovremeno, istraživačko polje smatram društvenim poljem poput bilo kojeg drugog; inherentne su mu određene razlike moći i ne bi bilo pošteno pokušati to negirati. Tražiti znanstvena postignuća na pravednoj bazi (Sidiropulu Janků 2015b) stalan je proces i odgovornost nas kao znanstvenika društvenih znanosti.

No što ako u tim osjetljivim naporima ostanemo usamljeni? Jako je važno ne prekinuti pregovore,[8] i ne naći se u situaciji da drugoj strani držimo predavanja (ili da je istražujemo) bez da smo u dijalog pozvali različita stajališta. To me vodi izravno do ideje o pokušaju blokiranja brzog razmišljanja, kao što formulira Tužinská zajedno s Gelman i Hirschfeldom (1999) i Kanovskýjem (2009). Brzo razmišljanje na neki je način slično brzoj prehrani. Naizgled je to jednostavnije rješenje koje dugoročno gledano komplicira proces (metabolički ili komunikacijski). Njegova je masovna ekspanzija moguća zbog ekonomskih i industrijskih revolucija, globalizacije, porasta jeftinog transporta roba i ideja, emancipacije tijela i duša. Povratak određenoj formi naivnog realizma ne bi imao smisla, jer moramo pronaći nova rješenja u novim društvenim okolnostima (Vattimo 1992: 49). Ne čudi što su "svenamjenski priručnici za preživljavanje", kako to kaže Tužinská, popularniji od sporog razmišljanja. Dok god ima dovoljno brzog razmišljanja, s proizvodima ponuđenim za mentalnu konzumaciju, oni će se u izobilju konzumirati. Jedno od rješenja za nas kao znanstvenike koji se bave društvenim znanostima nalazi se u učenju umijeća pisanja za različite vrste publike (Eriksen 2013: 127). Na taj ćemo način možda našu vrlo sporu hranu učiniti probavljivijom, a možda ćemo dati plodno tlo i svojim analitičkim vještinama.

Odučavanje u domovima i na ulicama

Čitanje teksta koji je napisala Helena Tužinská navelo me na razmišljanje o vlastitom primijenjenom radu kao etnografskog sociologa. Posljednjih sam godina bila glavni istraživač, a kasnije i voditeljica, na primijenjenom projektu "Sjećanje romskih radnika". Naša nastojanja u odučavanju ili zajedničkom učenju usredotočila su se na društvene sfere koje su različite od onih Helene Tužinske te bih njihovim kratkim predstavljanjem željela proširiti raspravu o načinima primjene antropološkog promišljanja.

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[8] Željela bih zahvaliti Silviju Funtowiczu na ideji o pregovorima koju je spomenuo tijekom naše rasprave na okruglom stolu o postnormalnoj znanosti na Fakultetu društvenih studija na Sveučilištu Masaryk u Brnu 20. travnja 2017. godine.

Prva društvena sfera koju bih spomenula je privatna sfera. Prikupili smo narative slovačkih Roma koji su došli na rad u češke gradove u sklopu poslijeratnog industrijskog razvoja i izgradnje nakon 1945. godine. Uključili smo potomke, po mogućnosti unuke svjedoka i radnike u zajednici, učitelje i knjižničare koji su već imali određene odnose s obiteljima. Takvom smo intervencijom pobudili razmišljanje o obiteljskoj povijesti, a u nekoliko slučajeva i o rodnim stereotipima u obiteljima. Bilo je važno ne inzistirati na bilo kakvim promjenama, procesu dati vremena i prostora kako bi u privatnosti mogao rasti. Jedan od slojeva odučavanja tog procesa odnosio se na brzo razmišljajućeg etnologa koji se kao uljez ubacio u privatni prostor svjedoka, koristeći pravo potrage za novim znanjem bez obzira na sredstva. Istovremeno smo, nakon što smo dobili informirani pristanak, javno objavili narative u obliku tekstova, dokumentarnog filma i ulične izložbe. Pomogli smo procesu odučavanja nekih od svjedoka koji su bili uvjereni da njihovi životi nemaju nikakvu važnost izvan sfere njihovog doma. Priče su ostale osobne, ali smo ih učinili javnima zajedno s njihovim protagonistima. To je za mnoge svjedoke bio hrabar potez i bilo nam je jako drago kada smo za vrijeme ulične izložbe vidjeli da sve dostojanstveno funkcionira.

Ulica je druga društvena sfera koju bih ovdje spomenula. U suvremenom demokratskom svijetu ulica predstavlja simboličnu agoru, prostor društvenih pregovora, izražavanja ideja, slobodne volje, ispitivanja granica osobnih potreba u odnosu prema potrebama drugih ljudi. Od samoga smo početka znali da želimo predstaviti priče romskih radnika na ulicama velikih čeških gradova. Pokazalo se da je to bila dobra odluka. Unatoč općoj tendenciji posjetitelja ulične izložbe da njezin sadržaj stave u okvire etničkih stereotipa, počeo se pojavljivati prostor za dijalog, posebice kada su bili prisutni kustosi, te percepcija univerzalne solidarnosti u pričama svjedoka (Kubala 2015). Istovremeno smo se suočili s vrlo teškim preprekama u pokušajima "osvajanja" javnog prostora za simbolično izražavanje našeg mišljenja da su slovački Romi[9] integralni dio moderne češke povijesti (Sidiropulu Janků 2015a). Mislim da su te prepreke samo išle u prilog našoj tezi; nažalost, ponekad takvo ukazivanje može biti vrlo riskantno s obzirom na potrebu da se ispune obećanja dana prilikom dobivanja potpore, budući da u suvremenom sustavu potpora postoji ograničen prostor za stvarno eksperimentiranje, a svaka je inovacija izložena opasnosti da bude previše inovativna i time neuspješna te čak pogubna za daljnji razvoj karijere. Potrebno je biti inovativan, ali se rezultati moraju sigurno dostaviti na vrijeme, što je kontradikcija suvremene znanosti.

Priroda društvenih sfera

Neuspješni pregovori s lokalnim političarima i javnom upravom bili su frustrirajuće, ali poučno iskustvo. Odlazak u sve te urede i ispunjavanje na desetke obrazaca naveli

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[9] Nakon što je nekoliko naraštaja živjelo u Republici Češkoj, mislim da postoji društvena logika slovačke Rome također nazivati *češkim Romima*.

su me na razmišljanje o čvrsto zatvorenim sustavima birokracije, svojevrsnom posjetu čeličnom kavezu u stvarnom vremenu. Talcott Parsons (1952: 58) definira tri vrste institucija koje utjelovljuju vrijednosne obrasce. To su odnosi, regulatorne[10] i kulturne institucije. Mogli bismo reći da se sustavom registracije i brige za status tražitelja azila upravlja pomoću odnosa i instrumentalno-regulatornih institucija, dok socijalnim statusom tražitelja azila i moralnom obvezom da se prema njima postupa na ljudski način i s razumijevanjem upravljaju moralno-regulatorne i kulturne institucije. Možemo postaviti pitanje: kojoj vrsti institucija pripadaju društvenoznanstvene institucije? Kao prvo, važno je imati na umu da su društvene znanosti unutar sebe vrlo raznolike; neke su znanstvene institucije usredotočene na produkciju stručnog znanja *per se* te bismo ih stoga mogli uvrstiti među regulatorne institucije. Druge ulaze u društvenu sferu pregovora o prihvatljivim kulturnim obrascima društvenog života pa bismo ih stoga mogli ubrojiti među kulturne institucije. Mnoge znanstvene institucije osciliraju između tih dviju pozicija. Mislim da primijenjene društvene znanosti možemo zamisliti kao proces kretanja između pojedinačnih područja o kojima govori Parsons na način koji se još nije posve stabilizirao unutar institucionalne tradicije. Tužinská citira Dianu Eades (2010), koja kaže da je preskriptivnost usredotočena na tekst. Birokracija je orijentirana na tekst i stoga po definiciji teži preskriptivnosti. Birokracija je nuspojava državnog poretka u nastanku i time ima tendenciju nacionalističkog ponašanja, posebice u Srednjoj Europi. Naša je uloga promišljati o tome u tekstovima koje pišemo, ali također i prakticirati proces pregovora tijekom predavanja, diskurzivnih intervencija i drugih oblika praksi odučavanja, ne zato da bismo mijenjali društvena polja kao takva, te se slažem s Tužinskom da bi primijenjena antropologija trebala "omogućavati procese" umjesto da "nudi rješenja".
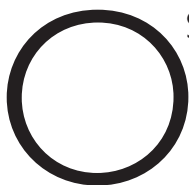
Zaključak

Iznenadilo me koliko se smiješnih trenutaka pojavilo u predstavljanju rezultata projekta "Sjećanje romskih radnika". Premijera dokumentarnog filma *Kada imaš posao, imaš sve* (Hlaváček i Hlaváčková 2015) o razvoju projekta pokazala se kao iznenađujuće zabavan događaj. Autori filma napomenuli su da nisu bili svjesni izuzetne duhovitosti narativa koji su snimili. Među ostalim, tu je i scena gdje jedan od svjedoka drži svoj stari portret. Stariji muškarac sa stiliziranim zlatnim naočalama prolazi rukom po kosi i komentira: "Pogledajte kakvu sam prekrasnu kosu imao. Dođe mi da zaplačem kada to vidim." Muškarac se smiješi dok govori i u tom trenutku scena postaje

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[10] Parsonovo razmišljanje o regulatornim institucijama revidirano je u klasiku Jeffreyja C. Alexandera *The Civil Sphere* (2006). Značajan dio knjige posvećen je pitanjima etničko-rasnog identiteta i njegove refleksije u građanskoj sferi. U tom smislu knjiga čini važan prilog raspravi o tumačenju sjećanja tražitelja azila koju Tužinská predstavlja uglavnom iz sociolingvističke perspektive. Alexander, s druge strane, zadržava kulturnosociološku poziciju (za više o metodološkim utemeljenjima kulturne sociologije usp. Alexander i Smith 2003).

duhovita. Ljubičasti zid u pozadini i zlatne naočale i odjednom je nastao smiješan trenutak – ni po čemu ponižavajući, već na neki način poput kabareta.

Antropologija se može promatrati kao institucionalizirani karneval. Zagledavanje iza očitog doima se kao preokretanje svijeta naopako. Problem je što antropološko poimanje karnevala nužno ne znači vraćanje stvari u red nakon što festival, određen vremenom i prostorom, završi. No mi stvari ne stavljamo nazad na njihovo mjesto, već ih ostavljamo rastavljenima i to mnoge ljude može zastrašiti. Odučavanje, u smislu prekida s ovisnosti, kao što to piše Tužinská, može biti zdravo iz gledišta profesionalaca, no što ako to korisnici ne žele ili pomisle da se radi o prisili? Najveći izazov nije organizirati karneval, nego potaknuti ljude izvan znanosti da ga organiziraju i u njemu uživaju.

˚SVRT NA KOMENTARE

Helena Tužinská

Tko god prestane biti učenik, nikada nije ni bio učenik.

George Iles

Svidio mi se format koji *Etnološka tribina* koristi za poticanje rasprave: čitatelji različitih opredjeljenja mogu razmotriti teme iz raznih kutova. Bilo to u pisanom ili pročitanom obliku, u svakom prikazanom radu uvijek postoji pristranost potvrđivanja. Zahvaljujem Roberti D. Baer, Emily Holbrook, Marijani Hameršak, Ivi Pleše, Danu Podjedu, Aiviti Putniņoj i Kateřini Sidiropulu Janků za pronicljiva viđenja i zapažanja kojima su pridonijeli ovom radu u okviru "odučavanja". Svi su imali komentare razrađene na dokazanim metodama iz vlastita iskustva. Usredotočit ću se na dva osnovna područja oko kojih više-manje postoji suglasnost komentatora. Prvom skupinom prijedloga utvrđeno je od čega se treba "odučiti": odnosno koji pristupi vode u slijepe ulice. U drugoj skupini predstavljene su teme zajedničkog učenja koje se doimaju kao neutabani put.

I. Prijedlozi za odučavanje:
– kako se suzdržati od brzog razmišljanja i preskriptivnosti (Sidiropulu Janků)
– kako izbjeći davanje formula i pružanje rješenja (svi)
– kako se odučiti od činjenice da kultura nema čvrst sadržaj (svi)
– kako ne primjenjivati akademski pristup u neakademskom okruženju (Baer i Holbrook, Podjed)
– kako prestati biti irelevantan (Podjed, Sidiropulu Janků)
– kako ne upotrebljavati hegemonizirajuće prakse (Hameršak i Pleše, Putniņa, Sidiropulu Janků)

II. Prijedlozi za zajedničko učenje:
– kako eksperimentirati sa sporim razmišljanjem i u vremenskom roku[11] (Sidiropulu Janků)
– kako se odnositi prema sudionicima i zajedničkom radu (svi)
– kako pisati za različitu publiku (Podjed, Putniņa, Sidiropulu Janků)
– kako omogućiti javnu raspravu i održavati pregovaranje (Hameršak i Pleše, Sidiropulu Janků)
– kako biti inovativan u birokraciji (Sidiropulu Janků)

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[11] Nevjerojatni vremenski rokovi odnose se na većinu projekata. Dizajn, istraživanje, analiza pedeset intervjua, pa sastavljanje teksta, prijevod i osmišljavanje internetske stranice o Drugosti i za lokalnu i za međunarodnu publiku – www.slovakness.sk – moralo se napraviti u roku od pet mjeseci zbog uvjeta financijske potpore.

- kako operacionalizirati antropologiju u društveno korisnom učenju i isku-
  stvenom učenju (Baer i Holbrook, Podjed)
- kako promijeniti poimanje antropologije da bude vjerodostojna i primjenjiva
  (svi)
- kako pridonijeti široj društveno-političkoj promjeni (svi)

Pristranost potvrđivanja i konformizma u humanističkim znanostima

Pitam se zbog čega komentatori, uz izuzetak Sidiropulu Janků i Putniņe, nisu dotaknuli dio argumentacije rada koji se tiče literature vezane za evolucijsku i kognitivnu psihologiju. Neki su koncept odučavanja shvatili kao metaforu na koju su primijenili vlastiti rad. Meni se, međutim, čini da je inherentni dio primjenjivanja koncepta odučavanja suzdržavanje od intuitivnog razumijevanja uma. Zbog toga je ključno razumjeti kako funkcionira ljudsko pamćenje, kako su stereotipi i predrasude raspodijeljeni, kako emocije utječu na sposobnost spoznaje te kako relevantnost utječe na komunikaciju.

Ako je djelovalo kao da dvojim o biološkoj uvjetovanosti funkcije pamćenja (Putniņa), to je samo zato što je to jedna od polazišnih točaka mog istraživanja. Zasigurno su vremensko-prostorne kontekstualizacije ključni aspekti koje treba razmotriti. No, ostati samo u kontekstu bilo bi kao da opisujemo softver, a da ne kažemo ništa o hardveru. Putniņa propituje "hoće li refleksivnost otkriti 'prirodno' bez iluzije". Ne tvrdim da nećemo imati sliku zmije ako kroz zamračeno svjetlo promatramo valovit kabel. Važno je da će, ako dokučim mehanizam na koji su raspodijeljeni stereotipi i na koji se stvaraju sjećanja, to imati izravan učinak na metodu istraživanja.

Podjed piše kako "[r]astvaranje stereotipa nije jedan od ciljeva programa edukacije o interkulturnoj osviještenosti". No, tvrdim da cilj nije rastvoriti nego razumjeti mehanizme stvaranja stereotipa. Ako ne analiziramo tu složenost (Snyder 2013), naša šutnja može neizravno dovesti do uvjerenja da je kultura urođena. Štoviše, "postuliranje suštine kulture zamagljuje ne samo povijesnu promjenu i nutarnju različitost unutar 'civilizacije' nego također shodno sakriva način na koji političke i poslovne elite upotrebljavaju pojedine tradicije u svrhu vlastitih interesa" (Breidenbach i Nyíri 2009: 53).

Naposljetku, živimo u vremenu u kojem se integriraju znanja iz prirodnih, društvenih i humanističkih znanosti. Čitajući o tome što bi zakonodavci i ostali trebali znati o ljudskom pamćenju – o kognitivnim i neurobiološkim mehanizmima koji ga čine (Nadel i Sinnot-Armstrong 2012) – imala sam snažan dojam odučavanja. Paradigmatske promjene vrlo su zanimljiva evolucijska prednost ljudskog razmišljanja kada "umjesto nas, možemo našim pretpostavkama dopustiti da umru" (Taleb 2011: 206).

Vrijeme i motivacija u procesu učenja

Ako sudionik u edukaciji antropološko znanje ocijeni kao dodatnu nijansu, to ne mora značiti da "se ne bavimo pravim interesima publike kojoj se obraćamo" (Baer

i Holbrook). Također, kao što je istaknula Putniņa, sudionik u edukaciji može imati predutvrđena polja poimanja Drugog. Putniņa i Sidiropulu Janků izričito naglašavaju problem povezan s dodjelom položaja "odučenika". Odučavanje se ne može "provesti"; moguće je samo uzajamno stvoriti uvjete kako bi došlo do odučavanja. Postoje skupine u kojima je prisustvovanje edukaciji obavezno, sadržaj posla je propisan u svakom trenutku, čineći kreativna odstupanja nedobrodošlima. U slučaju tih ograničenja dvodnevna će edukacija neizbježno razočarati obje strane, jer nijedan od dionika nije imao dovoljno vremena za proces učenja. Rutinska metoda spore edukacije: (1) promatraj, (2) razmišljaj i (3) pitaj, zahtijeva vrijeme i prostor za osobno razumijevanje teme.

Postoji dovoljno vremena ako kolegij traje cijeli semestar ili ako je moguće organizirati niz edukacijskih radionica. U okviru mojega kolegija lingvističke antropologije studenti su kao dio zadatka redovito promatrali sudske parnice. Analizirali su ono što su vidjeli i povezivali sa sociolingvističkim tekstovima. Također su iskušali različite uloge u improviziranim parnicama. Taj oblik interaktivnog učenja nije im samo pružio uvid u nove koncepte nego i u izazove svih dionika: tražitelja azila, članova njegove obitelji, prevoditelja, pravnih predstavnika obiju strana, suca, zapisničara, javnosti i promatrača. Kasnije su u analizi teksta uočili strukturne sličnosti u susretima s migrantima, manjinama, djecom i drugim skupinama u nepovoljnom položaju. Imali su vremena promišljati o vlastitom iskustvu. Studenti su izvanredno ocijenili kolegij, zbog toga što su stekli nove uvide i izbrusili vještine.

Spomenula bih i koncept "toka", kako ga je objasnio Daniel Kahneman (2011) te posebice Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (2014).[12] Tok je stanje u kojem spontana koncentracija doseže toliko duboku razinu da izgubimo osjećaj za vrijeme i prostor. Tok, kako piše Kahneman, donosi osjećaj zadovoljstva i kreativne povezanosti, u njemu ne postoji samokontrola, što oslobađa naše mentalne resurse (2011: 48). Motivacija za učenje podržana je samo u okolini koju Murphy i Dweck (2009) nazivaju "inkrementalnom" i koja je u suprotnosti s "okolinom entiteta". Odučavanje je dio takvog prijemčivog stanja koje se naziva "razvojni mentalni sklop". Dweck ističe šire društvene učinke koje donosi obrazovanje ako proizlazi iz "fiksnog mentalnog sklopa" (2016). Metode poučavanja povezane s fiksnim/razvojnim mentalnim sklopom sukladno tome nisu slučajno rezultat čvrstih/fluidnih okvira kulture.

Iskustveno učenje i interdisciplinarnost

Doprinos primijenjene antropologije i potencijal efektivnog učenja poznati su već duže vrijeme. Unatoč tome, postavljam pitanje, na tragu studentice u komentaru Baer i Holbrook, zašto kolegiji iz antropologije još nisu dio kurikuluma za studente medicine te, zapravo, za sve one koji izučavaju bilo koje zanimanje gdje će biti na

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[12] Csikszentmihalyi (2014) je iskušao svoje argumente u raznim okruženjima, ali posebno je zanimljiv rad "Student Engagement in High School Classrooms from the Perspective of Flow Theory"; vidi str. 475–492.

usluzi ljudima, kao što su učitelji, odvjetnici i socijalni radnici. Znamo da predava-nja o Drugom nisu pravi način i znamo da iskustveno učenje ispunjava i studente i nastavnike. No, postoje nastavnici koji iskustveno učenje vide kao nešto što im je strano. Oni možda izvrsno pričaju priče i njihovi studenti mogu stvari spoznati bolje kroz dane metafore. Eksperimentiranje s razmišljanjem je učinkovito: ako nastavnik govori registrom njegove publike, može se udaljiti od sebe, identificirati se s "Dru-gim" i tako putovati kroz prostor i vrijeme. Raščlanjena spoznaja izvrsna je evolucij-ska prilagodba; naposljetku, narativno je razmišljanje distinktivno ljudsko i funkcija priče je pružanje informacija koje su neophodne (Boyer 2001: 129–131).

Ako su kulturne kategorije predstavljene na statičan način i ako su antropolozi ti koji bi trebali pridonijeti reprodukciji takve predodžbe, a oni pak ne ispune to oče-kivanje, tada nije iznenađujuće da ih se gleda kao nepotrebne ili čak problematične (Podjed). Nije li pisanje za različitu publiku (Sidiropulu Janků) upravo izazov kojem toliko dugo težimo? Svi smo svjesni rizika da

> dominantne kategorizacije ljudi u nacije i religijske ili etničke skupine imaju samo ograničenu vrijednost za objašnjavanje, a kamoli predviđanje ljudskog ponašanja. Postoji naprosto previše nutarnjih razlika i povezanosti među ra-zličitim skupinama te je za većinu ljudi pripadnost grupi samo jedna od mno-gih odrednica identiteta. Stoga bi tvrdnje o kulturi jedne od tih velikih grupa u novinskom članku ili na interkulturnoj radionici trebale aktivirati zvona za uzbunu. (Breidenbach i Nyíri 2009: 344)

Što dolazi nakon toliko mnogo zvona za uzbunu? Kako je moguće nastaviti raspravl-jati kada je pojam "sudara civilizacija" između islama i Zapada toliko omiljen, a opet "žalosno varljiv" (Atran 2015)? Popularni pojmovi poput "kultura" ili "civilizacija" toliko su prekomjerno korišteni da su izgubili svoju eksplanatornu moć. To bi valjalo preokrenuti i postaviti pitanje zašto su ljudi toliko voljni proučavati kulturne razlike. Akademska zajednica također je žrtvom disciplinarne fragmentacije. Da bi se tim problemima pozabavilo, potrebno ih je prepoznati i među nama samima. Jedinstve-na misija antropologije jest postaviti pitanje što znači biti čovjekom, koristeći sve nama dostupne resurse na načine koji ujedinjuju prirodne i humanističke znanosti.

Agora, kategorija i alegorija

Ključno je pitanje kako predstaviti poruku u situacijama u kojima se ne očekuje aka-demski pristup. Sidiropulu Janků komunicirala je sa simboličkim okruženjem ulice. Predstavila je razne dimenzije agore koje su prisutne u riječima istog indoeuropskog korijena: okupljanje, alegorija, kategorija, skupljanje, gužva, istaknut, društven, ne-obrađen, hvalospjev i odvajanje.[13] Svatko svome jatu leti! Ako nema izričitog zani-manja za učenje, a kamoli odučavanje, primjeren je drugi oblik dijaloga, aktivnosti

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[13] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/_/roots.aspx?type=Indo-European&root=ger- (pristup 28. 7. 2017.).

ili umjetnosti, koji također prelazi granice postavljenih obrazaca. Kao što Sidiropulu Janků (2014) kaže, važno je tražiti putove

> neposrednog proživljenog interpersonalnog iskustva, što bi moglo otkloniti uzajamne etnicizirane percepcije u situacijama gdje nema potrebe za time ili gdje to nije prikladno. Možda, umjesto da budemo dvoje Prvih, možemo zajedno biti dvoje Drugih i time otkloniti diskurzivnu napetost i podređenost Drugog, kao što je napomenula Laura Nader.

Ta je razina oblik društvene izvedbe koja može imati utjecaj sličan ritualnoj izloženosti koju su izložili Bogatyrev, Bakhtin, Turner, Rappaport i mnogi drugi. Identifikacija sudionika iz publike s izvođačima sliči elementima folklornog kazališta ili karnevala u vrijeme kada je granica između pozornice i publike propusna. Razumijevanje se stoga prvenstveno odvija kroz sigurno iskustvo dvoje Drugih. Kapacitet razmjene simbola i stvaranja alegorija, što mijenja poimanje kategorija, snažan je alat za ljudski rast.

Ne ublažavanje, nego razumijevanje sustava

Hameršak i Pleše primjećuju da je važno "odustati od postavke da [prekarne prakse] proizlaze primarno ili isključivo iz neznanja i neosviještenosti o kompleksnostima individualnih izbjegličkih životnih okolnosti i putanja". Željela bih istaknuti da ne predlažem formulu[14] koja bi imala za cilj iskorijeniti neznanje. Takav bi stav značio manjak razumijevanja sustava kao dijela kulture. Međutim, mehanizmi procesuiranja informacija sustavno se upotrebljavaju kao podrška tom sustavu. Slažem se s Hameršak i Pleše kada kažu da se "mnogi jezični, kulturni i drugi promašaji pokazuju (…) kao potencirani i proizvedeni, a ne slučajni; pokazuju se kao sistemsko sredstvo za smanjenje broja onih kojima se pruža zaštita". Međutim, ne slažem se s mišljenjem da implicitne sugestije koje razmatram trebaju pridonijeti "omekšavanju sistema" koji stvara "nepoželjne".

Na prvi pogled izgleda kao da postoje samo dvije opcije: (1) radikalno ukinuti trenutni sustav koji je disfunkcionalan ili (2) sudjelovati u "omekšavanju" postojećeg sustava, što smatram naivnim. Postoji i treća mogućnost postupne transformacije. Željela bih zapravo istaknuti da u postojećem sustavu, i to na svim pozicijama, postoje ljudi koji će pomoći. Njihov cilj također nije omekšati sustav. Oni traže promjenu, bilo da je riječ o graničnim službenicima, odvjetnicima s obje strane spora ili sucima. Rezultat te njihove volje nekad je relevantan, a nekad nije. Mogli bismo tražiti razloge zašto se ljudi ne čude tome da bi samo kirurg trebao izvoditi operacije, ali zašto bi ljudi iz drugih struka trebali provoditi i analizirati intervjue a nisu stručni na području društvenih znanosti, a također odlučuju o životima drugih?

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[14] Razlike između jednostavnih, složenih i sveobuhvatnih problema te kako ih riješiti (ne samo u obrazovanju) briljantno je razmotrio Snyder (2013).

Tvrdim da je do mjere do koje je sustav dio kulture potrebno utvrditi sve mehanizme koji ga tvore. Ako im skrenemo pozornost na našu evolucijsku povijest, ljudi steknu alat kojim sustav vide na način koji se pruža onkraj puke zakonodavne i političke danosti. Zato primjenu antropologije vidim kao važnu u zanimanjima kojima je cilj biti u službi ljudi. Međutim, kako bismo uspjeli u njegovanju dijaloga s onima koji imaju moć, prvo moramo razumjeti diskrepancije unutar vlastitih poddisciplina.

Odučavanje i inovacija

Željela bih zaključiti tako što ću razmotriti neka razmišljanja iz knjige koju sam pročitala čekajući komentare. *Crni labud* autora Nassima N. Taleba temelji se na ideji da bi ljudi u načelu radije imali privid sigurnosti i normalnosti, a ta će svoja očekivanja projicirati u svoju strukturu društvenog:

> Sveprisutnost Gaussove krivulje nije obilježje stvarnog svijeta, nego prije problem našega razmišljanja, koje ima svoje korijene u načinu na koji gledamo svijet. (Taleb 2011: 267)

Upotreba Gaussove krivulje u modernom svijetu, koji obiluje ekstremima, uspoređena je s letom na nepoznato odredište dok se pilot veselo koristi starom kartom dobro poznatog mjesta. Vrlo vjerojatno,

> postoje samo dvije paradigme: neskalabilnost (kao u Gaussovoj raspodjeli) i oni drugi (primjerice, Mandelbrotova nasumičnost). Odbacivanje paradigme o neskalabilnosti dovoljno nam je da se riješimo određenog viđenja svijeta. Nalikuje na negativni empirizam: puno naučimo iz otkrivanja onoga što je pogrešno. (ibid.: 248)

Argumentacija o odučavanju ovdje se može nadovezati na Talebova upozorenja, koja su usmjerena i ekonomistima i stručnjacima iz društvenih znanosti. To razotkriva narativnu zabludu (ljudska potreba povezivanja niza povezanih i nepovezanih činjenica kroz priče i strukturu), nepromišljanje o pristranosti potvrđivanja i konformizma, mehanizme pamćenja te posljedice brzog i sporog razmišljanja. U tom smislu, odučavanje je komplementarna metoda koja u nizu pokušaja i pogrešaka najzad omogućuje poimanje nečega što prethodno nismo očekivali. Kako Taleb (2011) piše, karakterističan stav za inovacije jest da se "ne zna" unaprijed. Tražite nešto što vam je poznato (primjerice, novi put do Indije), a na kraju nađete nešto što niste očekivali (primjerice, Ameriku).

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