1

History in Person

An Introduction

Dorothy Holland and Jean Lave

In October 1995, the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, hosted an advanced seminar titled "History in Person."[1] As co-chairs of the seminar, we began with the proposition that pervasive, long-term, transformative struggles are telling sites for the study of "history in person." Our topic was the mutually constitutive nature of long and complex social, political, and economic struggles and the historically fashioned identities-in-practice and subjectivities that they produce. Long and overwhelming situations of conflict in Northern Ireland and South Africa and the contested rise of powerful multinational corporations are obvious examples of long-term struggles, but there are other, more circumscribed, yet equally persistent and riveting conflicts in workplaces, households, and academic fields. Whatever the circumstances, we cannot understand enduring struggles as crucibles for the forging of identities unless our accounts encompass the working creativity of historically produced agents and the interconnected differences among their interests, points of view, and ways of participating in the production of ongoing struggles. During the seminar we brought our ethnographic research on enduring struggles together

with our attempts to address practices of identity in those struggles. Nine participants were involved in this project: Begoña Aretxaga, Steven Gregory, Dorothy Holland, Michael Kearney, Jean Lave, Dan Linger, Liisa Malkki, Kay Warren, and Paul Willis.[2]

In the following chapters, which are revised versions of the papers discussed during the seminar, Aretxaga writes about the politically sexualized transformation of identities of women who were political prisoners in Northern Ireland; Warren, about the changing character of political activism across generations in a Mayan family in Guatemala; Holland and Debra Skinner, about the changing fields of struggle of Hindu women in Nepal and their effects on the divisiveness of women's identities; Gregory, about struggles between state and grass-roots activists over the exploitation of local communities in New York for the sake of more powerful class constituencies elsewhere; Willis, about cultural forms generated in and mediating struggles of working-class men on shop floors in England; Linger, about the everyday struggles over identities of nationality of Brazilians of Japanese descent living in Japan; Kearney, about enduring, contradictory struggles between class- and ethnicity-based transnational communities and the Mexican state; Lave, about the struggles of British wine merchant families, long-term residents of Portugal, to sustain their enclave as a living monument to their version of the past and themselves as the masters of its future; and Malkki, about the social consequences of Central African violence among Hutu exiles in Montreal and their social imagination of the future.

The seminar developed from the organizers' shared theoretical perspective, which is grounded in a theory of practice that emphasizes processes of social formation and cultural production. We began with the tenet that the political-economic, social, and cultural structuring of social existence is constituted in the daily practices and lived activities of subjects who both participate in it and produce cultural forms that mediate it. Claims that such relations lie at the heart of social investigation are at the same time claims that they are historical processes—that both the continuity and the transformation of social life are ongoing, uncertain projects. For us, one central analytical intention of social practice theory lies in inquiry into historical structures of privilege, rooted in class, race, gender, and other social divisions, as these are

brought to the present—that is, to local, situated practice. In practice, material and symbolic resources are distributed disproportionally across socially identified groups and generate different social relations and perspectives among participants in such groups. With their impetus from the past, historical structures infuse and restrain local practices, whether they be—to take examples from this volume—shop-floor relations (Willis), community meetings with the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (Gregory), or activities that go under the rubric of the Tij festival in Nepal (Holland and Skinner). Historical structures also provide resources for participants and their practices and leave traces in their experience.

Nonetheless, as Willis (1977) and Bourdieu (1977, 1990), among others, have elaborated, history in institutional structures and history in person are never simple equivalents. Nor are they related to each other in unmediated, symmetrical, or predictable ways. Instead, especially in cases of obvious struggle, the two come together, again and again, in conflicted practice undertaken not only in the face of changing material and social circumstances but also in the changing terms of culturally produced forms. The two histories come together with the result that local practice always has the unfinished quality of an experiment for the future of these structures.

We proposed to the seminar participants that we explore enduring struggles and the cultural production of identity, beginning from situated participation in explicit local conflict. Employing such a starting point directs attention to social life in relational and dialogic or dialectical terms, especially to the generative, conflictual participation of persons in practice—where subjects are in part fashioned and yet also fashion themselves in historically and culturally specific ways. Further, this starting point sets terms for the discussion of the cultural production of identities. We wanted to concentrate on culturally "hot," or intensely generative, aspects of identities and their existence under urgent contention.

Like the seminar itself, this book is focused on a constellation of relations between subjects' intimate self-making and their participation in contentious local practice—what we refer to as "history in person." The contributors explore the innermost, generative, formative aspects of subjects as social, cultural, and historical beings. These aspects,

being relational, are always but never only "in" the person, never entirely a matter of autobiography nor, on the other hand, entirely reducible to membership (voluntary or involuntary) in culturally, politically distinctive groups or social categories. This view of identities as historical and contested in practice is intended to set the terms for the discussion of structure as process—as produced in struggles or as struggles and never captured in global terms alone. Indeed, there is a second principal constellation of relations under discussion here—relations between contentious local practice and broader, more enduring (historical, processual, and open-ended) struggles. We must ask how the latter are locally realized, how they shape subjectivities, and how they are shaped in practice if we are also to address relations between contentious local practice and the production of subjectivities.

We have tried, then, to raise serious questions about specific long-term conflicts and sustained identities in the world today, as these are realized in specific ways in local settings and through particular occasions of social practice. It is important for our broader project that both enduring struggles and history in person be seen as realized in contentious local practice rather than in direct relation with each other. Diagrammatically, we envision "history in practice" as encompassing the two constellations of relations—what we call "history in person" and "enduring struggles." The diagram shown as figure 1.1 is intended to show that they are both given in, and mediated through, contentious local (i.e., situated) practice.

There is an asymmetry in the work of the seminar, however. Questions about durable, long-term struggles and the complex relations by which they are taken up in local struggles set the terms of debate for exploring processes of cultural production of identities. Although we debate the ways in which history in person constrains and enables broad structuring relations, we problematize and pursue more intently the relations of local struggle to identity and subjectivity. This emphasis reflects a desire to contribute, however modestly, to the redress of a broad asymmetry in anthropology more generally. It should be the case that studies of social formations in historical terms (including in practice) would at the same time be studies of "history in person." But, as Maurice Bloch made clear some years ago in his summary of the social practice tradition in anthropology, analyses of social
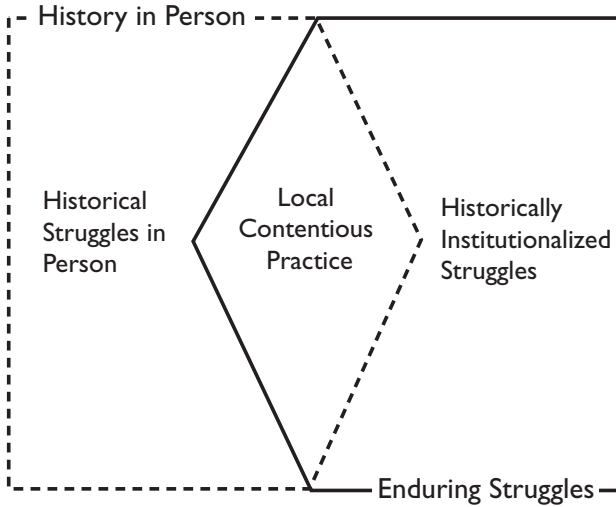
FIGURE 1.1.

Relations between history in person and enduring struggles.

formations have been moving toward greater historical sophistication yet retaining an ahistorical conception of the person (Bloch 1989). The tradition has not addressed, in equivalently historical terms, social agents, their interrelations in practice, their identities, their life trajectories, and their changing understandings. This cannot be easy to do (as Bloch warned). The challenge in this project has been to devise ways to go about it. Theorizing that begins with social practice offers a perspective for the endeavor. It requires careful theoretical attention to relational conceptions of history in person (for which the work of M. Bakhtin has provided clues and possibilities for us and several of the other contributors), and then ethnographic efforts to explore history in person (in this case, in the context of long-term struggles).

Not all of us who participated in the seminar made our way into the problem from the same point of departure. The theoretical perspective that is articulated in this introduction and that shaped the project of the seminar did not animate all participants in the same way. Dissent there is and was—debate during the seminar was lively, indeed, sometimes vociferous. Produced as they were in contentious practice, we believe the ideas and themes that emerged from discussions of participants' papers are novel just in their analytical focus on ongoing

www.sarpress.org

contentious practice as they trace out the relations of local conflicts and durable structuring forces and the relations between local practice and the intimate constitution of historical identities in person.

What sorts of local practices are to be found in this book? Liisa Malkki takes Hutu weddings and other social gatherings in Montreal as occasions on which divisions over envisioned political and social futures are played out in people's relations with each other, especially around the divided vision of the meaning of exile and political alternatives for "the Hutu" as a discrete categorical subject of history. Steven Gregory describes practices of local mobilization against the encroachment of state public works projects, especially a series of meetings between neighborhood groups in Queens and the state port authority. Paul Willis works through a long interview between himself and a working-class shop-floor veteran about how old-timers treat newcomers, "hardening" them through veteran cultural forms such as the "put-on" and the "piss take." Daniel Linger focuses on the ethnically charged relations that occur in the everyday encounters of Japanese-Brazilians in Japan, whether in work practices or in workplace rituals of sociability. Begoña Aretxaga concentrates on the traumatic practice of strip-searching and how it turned from the policing of convicts to specific forms of terrorizing women political prisoners in a Northern Irish prison in the early 1990s.

Altering prisoner search procedures, negotiating the complications of multinational identities in Japan, fighting the building of a light rail line through a New York neighborhood, hazing newcomers on the shop floor, negotiating the political dance of imagination and anticipation in refugee weddings—these are the kinds of local practices our authors chose as starting points. It seems to us neither immediately obvious how history in person should relate to these everyday goings-on nor self-evident how those local practices, in the context of enduring struggles, are structured by and structuring of state and civil institutions, the reaches of which extend far beyond the immediate circumstances. In the next sections we take up these issues, beginning with an introduction to the formation of historical subjectivities in local struggles. We then discuss relations between enduring struggles (as structural processes) and the realizations of such struggles in local practice. Finally, we return to the notion of history in person.

HISTORICAL SUBJECTIVITIES AND LOCAL CONTENTIOUS PRACTICE

Our project brings us to dilemmas familiar in the last several decades of social and cultural theory: How can we conceptualize history in person in a way that does not in the end underwrite ahistorical, asocial, essentialist perspectives on identity? How can we avoid sacrificing the obvious generativity of local, on-the-ground human agents? Both persons and lived struggles are unfinished and in process. Rather than beginning from conceptions of already formed persons who are "affected" by already formed institutions, or vice versa, our approach has been to start with local struggles—that is, struggles in particular times and places—and trace out practices of identification, the relation of these practices to broader structural forces, and, within that relational context, the historical production of persons and personhood. Still, along with our insistence that identities are always in process, we must also address the durable dimensions of history in person. Set within the context of enduring struggles, the question for our project is, How can we conceptualize the interplay between the local historical formation of persons in practice and the (mediated) place of historical subjectivities in the creation and undoing of enduring struggles?

Dialogism

Michael Holquist (1990) used the term "dialogism" to label a central organizing theme in Bakhtin's seminal contributions to literary analysis and criticism, to linguistics, and to anthropology (Bakhtin 1981, 1986, 1990 [1929]; Volosinov 1986 [1929]). "Dialogism" attends to the social complexity, history, and generativity of human actors and thus resonates with our project. It begins from social practice, emphasizes the existence of persons in time, attributes an open-endedness to identity, attends in great detail to the distribution of the social in, over, and through persons, and insists upon the generativity of the cultural genres through which people act upon themselves and others (cf. Holland et al. 1998 and Lachicotte n.d. on "the space of authoring").

Four themes in Bakhtin's writings help illuminate ways in which local struggles and historical subjectivities are mutually constitutive. One theme, especially of his early work, resolutely places persons in practice. Dialogism begins from the premise that sentient beings—

alone and in groups—are always in a state of active existence; they are always in a state of being "addressed" and in the process of "answering." Holquist (1990:47) provided a helpful exposition:

> Dialogism begins by visualizing existence as an event, the event of being responsible for (and to) the particular situation existence assumes as it unfolds in the unique (and constantly changing) place I occupy in it. Existence is addressed to me as a riot of inchoate potential messages, which at this level of abstraction may be said to come to individual persons much as stimuli from the natural environment come to individual organisms. Some of the potential messages come to me in the form of primitive physiological stimuli, some in the form of natural language, and some in social codes or ideologies. So long as I am in existence, I am in a particular place, and must respond to all of these stimuli either by ignoring them or in a response that takes the form of making sense, of producing— for it is a form of work—*meaning* out of such utterances [emphasis Holquist's].

Judging from the ethnographic accounts in this volume, struggles produce occasions on which participants are "addressed" with great intensity and "answer" intensely in their turn. Gregory's description of a meeting between port authority officials and a coalition of mostly African-American neighborhood associations certainly gives this sense. So, too, does Aretxaga's chapter on a disciplinary procedure carried out by prison officials on a group of IRA women political prisoners in their charge. Moreover, these addresses and answers take shape in the cultural genres at hand.

Cultural Genre and "Self"-Authoring

In the making of meaning—a second dialogical theme—we "author" the world and ourselves in that world. But the "I" is by no means a freewheeling agent, authoring worlds from springs of meaning and insight within. Instead, in answering the other, a collective language must be used. Like Lévi-Strauss's (1966) *bricoleur*, the "I" builds, and so is built, opportunistically with preexisting materials. In authoring local conflicts, in applying words to the contentious others who

address it, the "I" draws upon the languages, dialects, genres, and words of others to which she has been exposed. Because the self is the nexus of an ongoing flow of social activity and necessarily participates in this activity, it cannot be finalized or defined in itself, in its own terms. "In order to be known, to be perceived as a figure that can be 'seen,' a person or thing must be put into the categories of the other, categories that [for the moment, despite the self's open-endedness] reduce, finish, consummate" (Holquist 1990:84). This necessity of using the language of the other is but one aspect of Bakhtin's recognition of the collective nature of the "author." His conceptualization takes us far from the notion of the centered Western "individual" or "self," no matter whether the actor in question is overtly a group or not.

The making of meaning, self-authoring, and self-identification in the categories of the other all focus attention on the centrality of cultural forms in the formation of the acting subject, and so they open up a range of possibilities cross-culturally, cross-historically, and across lifetimes. The impetus for Holland and Skinner's study of activities associated with the Tij festival in central Nepal came from Skinner's (1990) earlier interviews with girls and young women. Expecting a narrative, a life story, when she asked them to tell her about their lives, she was surprised when they sang songs for her instead, especially ones that had been collaboratively produced by groups of local women for the Tij festival. These Tij songs, with their accounts of women's positions in households and politics, were, it turned out, a medium of imagination by which the young women authored their senses of self.

Of particular value to our project is the complexity of Bakhtin's view of cultural productions such as Tij songs. As we elaborate in greater detail later, his appreciation of cultural forms allowed for their liberatory possibilities, including altered subjectivities. Yet at the same time he maintained a thoroughly social perspective and therefore equally stressed the social constraints of their production. Tij songs have long been a major component of central Nepali women's "answers" to societal messages about their social position. As with any cultural resource, whether used for political ends or not, the making of the songs and their content are constrained by conventions wrought over the years in response to the conditions of their production. Although at certain historical moments the groups producing the

songs break these conventions and begin to reconceptualize themselves as different sorts of agents, it is always clear that self-authoring through cultural forms is tested in social venues, not just in personal imagination.

The chapters in this volume make it clear that the same self-authoring occurs with all manner of cultural forms. Bakhtin's dialogic approach and Vygotsky's (1971, 1978a, 1978b, 1987) related perspective emphasize the importance of words and verbal genres as the media through which senses of self and group are developed. We see a need to go beyond these limits. The field of cultural studies, especially the intellectual tradition identified with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (e.g., Johnson 1987; Lave et al. 1992; Willis 1981a, 1981b), leads us to augment dialogism's emphasis on verbal forms by moving to the more encompassing category of "cultural forms" as the significant media through which identities are evoked in social practice and in intimate dialogue.

Paul Willis's chapter is especially vivid in showing the power of practices in self-authoring. He reports a conversation with Percy, a working-class man, about a practice that Percy and his friends on the shop floors of the English midlands in the late 1970s called a "piss take." A piss take is a practical joke usually played on neophytes. They are tricked into running a fool's errand, in this case the errand of a fooled worker. In Willis's analysis, piss-taking involves creating a double reality and drawing one's unsuspecting mate or coworker into it; the double reality lies over the top of that proposed (or imposed) by management, and it significantly alters the subjective experience of factory work. In the conversation, Willis tries to engage Percy in analytical talk about the critical impulse behind the jokes—that is, something like the experiential instruction of the newcomer in the relationship between owners and workers. Percy resists his interlocutor's efforts and steadfastly stays with the richness of his own practice. In Percy's reluctance, Willis finds reason. The practice both creates a double reality, home to a rich subjective sense of self and labor, and identifies practitioners as those with whom Percy finds kindred spirit. Both sorts of identification give him a delight and a more pleasurable workday that would be missing were the critical practice to be reduced to a more economical, explicit discourse.

Identities as Configurations of Self and Other

The third theme of dialogism stresses the sociality of the intimate self: just as local struggles are dialogic, the self-process is dialogic. It incorporates the others of its social world. As Holquist (1990:22, 28) put it, the self-process relates, in inner speech and inner activity, the "I-for-itself" (the center) and the "not-I-in-me" (the noncenter). As the dialogic self is always already decentered, its gravity lies not within a psychological being already replete with essential characteristics (and to that extent independent of its social and cultural world), but in the dynamic tension of a socially given constellation of self (selves) and others, identified and interpreted through culturally given discourses and practices.

From a Bakhtinian perspective, all dialogic engagements of self (or selves, for there is no single self) are struggles across and about differences between self and others. In the chapters in this volume, however, we find a more specific set of circumstances: dialogic selves engaged with others in local struggles animated at least in part by the power, if not by the representatives, of pervasive translocal institutions and by discourses widely circulating locally and beyond. In these chapters, the energy of enduring struggles—carried out for and against societal institutions and discourses that disproportionally distribute symbolic and material resources to favored racial, ethnic, class, and gendered groups—has been realized in local practice and brought from there into the intimate.

Dan Linger's chapter provides a vivid example of self-identification as forming in and through dialogic encounters. Linger describes Eduardo Mori, a man of Japanese ancestry who is a second-generation immigrant to Brazil. When Linger encounters him, Mori has moved to Japan after growing up in Brazil. For him, the broader struggle in Japan over racial and ethnic relations is mediated through everyday practices of identification, such as the way people stare or do not stare at him on the street and the treatment he receives from his coworkers at a going-away party held for him before he returns to Brazil. Mori is clearly engaged in dialogic relations with others, combining his assessment and feelings about the positions offered him in those situations with his feelings about what seem to him generic differences between Japanese and Brazilians. At one point, for example, he claims that in Brazil (that

is, in relation to Brazilians) he is Japanese; in Japan (in relation to Japanese), he is Brazilian. In the terms of "dialogism," Mori's senses of his ethnic and racial identity are built around histories of his relations to particular others.

Boundaries

A fourth theme problematizes the boundaries of self and other and the hardness of the differences that mark such divides. The cultural productions through which people act also provide the media through which persons live the boundaries between themselves and those identified as others. Through embracing their words and practices, socially marked others can be incorporated into "us." Through being forced or seduced into using their words, we can be colonized by others. On the other hand, we can become more and more distant from others and their words and practices. We can break radically from the other. We can sneer at their words and practices and stop attending seriously to them.

For Bakhtin, the incorporation of the voices and words of others was set off in a fundamental way from "internalization." His insistence on the sociality of the self made the self simply another site for configuring the social. Thus, he did not envision persons as metaphorical recorders designed for faithful reproduction of the discourses or texts to which they were exposed. Instead, persons take *active stances* toward others and the dialects they use, the speeches they give, the films they make, and the other cultural forms they produce. Bakhtin conceived of several possibilities for drawing others into ourselves or, rather, drawing upon their words (and other practices) for the authoring and identification of ourselves in relation to others. At one extreme, some words, those of accepted authorities, may be kept apart in inner speech, treated with reverence, repeated verbatim, never purposely varied, never put into our own words, and never treated as vulnerable to inspection or playful treatment. Or, perhaps, the words of an other—an other who is distant because of animosity or presumed inferiority or the perception of a marked difference or a suspect category—may be treated as though they are wooden and fixed, of no depth, certainly not bespeaking any subjectivity with which we would care to become familiar. All these remain the "not-I-in-me," a source of lively and not

so lively interlocutors and fantasized antagonists in inner speech. In contrast, there are those with whom we identify and sense a commonality. In those cases, the words of the other may eventually become personalized into one's own. One gains a feeling for their complexity and life, their meaning for one's self. In these cases, the other becomes indistinguishable from the "I for myself," or rather part of one's self becomes an incorporation of the other.

Again, we make an extension from Bakhtin's emphasis on language. One can relate oneself to the practices (more generally) of another. In an account of an incident in Nicaragua, Roger Lancaster (1997) specifically developed the potential of copying practices of the other for refiguring the self. He described what he calls "transvestism." Lancaster was visiting the home of friends when one of the women of the family unwrapped a frilly blouse sent to her from abroad. Her brother, a young man, grabbed up the blouse and began a performance in which he and the others present participated. He assumed the postures, movements, and behaviors associated in Nicaragua with a particular culturally imagined, socially constructed person, a type of homosexual man. Lancaster treated in depth the issue of the man's relation to his actions. Even if the performance was "only" a play at being a homosexual, how much of a boundary, if any, was being maintained between the author of the performance and the character he was enacting? If we can play at being another, as this man did, or even fantasize about playing at being another, we are on our way to incorporating another. Although this incident did concern a case of crossdressing, Lancaster sees "transvestism" as a useful term for the initial steps of taking on any new identity. Just as we author ourselves by repeating the words of others, we are frequently in the process of enacting ourselves through enacting the culturally identified activities of others.

In short, the self is an orchestration of the practices of others, but we do not relate to all such practices in the same way. This emphasis on problematic boundaries and varying stances provides a suitably nuanced appreciation of the possibilities that arise in local struggles. Aretxaga discusses the penal practice of strip-searching as a punitive mechanism used against female political prisoners in Northern Ireland. She examines the history of the use of strip searches, in which

the practice became transformed from a security routine into a disciplinary punishment. She shows how prison officers attempted to use strip searches to break the political identity of IRA women prisoners through a bodily invasive practice that reduced women to objectified femininity. The prisoners, however, refused to take the position of subdued femininity assigned to them. Instead of divesting IRA women prisoners of political identity, the use of strip searches had the effect of radicalizing them. Although the punitive strip searches left deep emotional traces in the women subjected to them, they also transformed their political subjectivity into a more nuanced and complex form of political identity that included their position as women and distanced them even more than before from the institutional practices of the British state.

Bakhtin's focus on practices and discourses as the means through which we build or tear down boundaries between ourselves and others opens up other subtleties of identification as well. "Heteroglossia," the simultaneity of different languages, as well as of different cultural genres and practices, is the rule in social life (Bakhtin 1981; see Clark and Holquist 1984 and Holquist 1990 for discussion). Yet these genres, words, practices are not used by just anyone. Instead, genres are collectively associated with particular persons or groups of people identified in social space and historical time. Practices and discourses become markers of their "owners" and evoke their social image. They carry with them the aura or, to use more sensuous metaphors, the images and the odors of the particular others, particular professions, particular social groups, particular individuals with which they are associated.

Practices, including discursive practices, may evoke class, gender, or other associations of general currency. But the same process of inscription can mark valuations that may be specific to a particular family or a particular neighborhood. A stance, a position, a practice may bespeak, in inner speech, a particular person—one's mother, for example. In this way—to the extent that the practice invokes that other—one's feelings and associations with the practice become thoroughly entangled in one's relationship to that other. All the chapters in this book are testimony to the importance of ethnographies of enduring struggle, but Kay Warren's piece is especially striking in uncovering the ways in which larger, more widespread struggles can be unexpectedly complicated by meanings accruing from more particular ones.

www.sarpress.org

Warren's research with a family of activists involved in the Mayan struggles in Guatemala examines intergenerational differences over ways of carrying on the struggle. Fathers and sons, brothers, uncles and nephews differ in their evaluations of the morality and effectiveness of guerrilla fighting, identification with Ladinos of the same class, and celebration of Mayan ethnicity. In their conversations with Warren, they fashioned dialogues between themselves and other members of the family. These specific familial valuations across sites produced crosscurrents within the larger conflicts between Maya-identified peoples and those non-Maya groups holding power in Guatemala. As persons, the activists were caught up in intersecting dialogues that were not dictated by the larger struggle. Rather, the practices of struggle, whether guerrilla fighting or developing educational materials about a Mayan language, had become associated for them with the voices and actions of particular family members, family members with whom they had a history of relations underdetermined with respect to the larger political arena.

Because history is made in person, registered in intimate identities as well as in institutions, there is every reason to expect that age cuts across people's experiences and creates intergenerational differences. As a more general feature of social life, intergenerational and age-associated struggles, genres, and identities are likely to divide persons. Opportunities are often open to those of a particular age; they bypass those who are too old or too young. It is even the case that younger members of a radicalized group, for example, come into a context already layered with owned forms of radical expression. Younger actors' dialogue with the struggle at hand—in Warren's chapter, the Mayas' struggle against institutional and symbolic structures that disadvantage and discredit them—is formed not only with opponents who may well have changed their tactics over the years, and to that extent their identities, but also with other Mayan political actors who developed their views in earlier years and under different alliances. Warren's chapter is important in bringing out the significance of generational differences for history in person and thus helps account for impulses to reconfigure struggles drastically from one generation to the next. Moreover, older identities can lose their dialogic partners and become stranded. Perhaps the "uneducated" women described in Holland and Skinner's chapter are receding from the points of contestation that are

alive and "hot"; perhaps the British gentleman wine exporter of Porto, Portugal, in Jean Lave's chapter has fallen out of the serious dialogues of the day and lives on not because he is a relevant character on the stage of the multinational corporations that have purchased the port export businesses but because he has become an icon for a brand of port wine.

Dialogism and Generativity

The dialogic selves formed in local contentious practice are selves engaged with others across practices and discourses inflected by power and privilege. They are selves formed in and against uncomfortable practices that they cannot simply refuse (e.g., in Aretxaga's chapter, the practices of the prison guards and officials who physically overpower the IRA prisoners, or in Linger's, the actions of the Japanese in Japan who stare at Mori). Or they are selves formed in and against practices that afford them privilege (e.g., in Lave's chapter, British practices that exclude from full participation in British institutions the Portuguese with whom the British have shared a city for three hundred years).

Often a consumer, sometimes a co-producer, of cultural forms and practices, or at least a spectator, a person is vulnerable to being identified by others. Enmeshed in dialogues across difference, often sharply contentious ones, over which they lack total "say," persons are ever open to radicalization and the experience of heightened structural apprehension, or to its partial opposite, incorporation of the other into the "I for myself." Especially for the weak, it seems that one is probably always being pushed and pulled, positioned first this way and then that, drawn into one transvestism and then another—willingly or not, into describing one's self or enacting one's self in the words and behaviors of another. It would appear that dialogism offers little possibility for accounting for durability. But this would follow only if "the person" is taken as separate from others.

History in person can in no way be confined to discrete persons. Durable intimate formations result from practices of identification in historically specific times and places. Dialogism insists upon the always-engaged-in-practice, always-engaged-in-dialogue, unfinished character of history in person. The person is necessarily "spread" over the social environment, becoming in substance a collection point of socially

situated and culturally interpreted experience. And herein lie important sources of stability and thickening. Weaker parties to struggles, as well as the strong, can durably create their own discourses, practices, and emblems of struggle.

Given the uneven playing fields of power depicted in this volume, it is important that dialogism provides a way to think about a generativity that "fills up the space between transgression and reproduction" (to borrow Willis's borrowing of Aretxaga's phrase from the seminar). In the course of local struggles, marginalized groups create their own practices. Participants in these groups both are identified by these practices and often identify themselves as "owners" of them. These practices thus provide the means by which subjectivities in the margins of power thicken and become more developed and so more determinant in shaping local struggles.

Holland and Skinner's chapter, for example, emphasizes the importance of cultural production in developing alternative subjectivities. Tij festival songs depict the practices to which women are subjected; they picture women put in their place by the speech and behavior of different participants (e.g., husbands, mothers-in-law, fathers) in the imagined world, or the chronotope (Bakhtin 1981), or in what Holland and colleagues (1998) called the figured world of Nepali domestic relations. A second type of song, which came to predominate in a later political period, moves women into another figured world: no longer that of the household and local neighborhood but rather that of party politics. In these songs, listeners hear the voices and learn about the actions of party officials, government officials from the discredited one-party system, and "educated" and "uneducated" women. Both types of songs depict an imagined future in which women are accorded more respect and resources. Holland and Skinner argue that Tij songs have figured in the formation of a critical political consciousness that women express and act upon, especially following the successful Pro-Democracy Movement in 1990.

The generativity of cultural practices and their importance in establishing and developing alternative subjectivities introduce uncertainty—wild cards of a sort—into the careers of local contentious practice and through them into struggles over national institutions and widespread cultural discourses. The creation and development of

subjectivities, even those marginal to power, is made possible, even likely, because cultural forms are not only tools for positioning the other but also tools for positioning the self. They are a means of re-identifying self.

Discourse theory's focus on subject positioning leads us to attend to the power of state and other hegemonic discourses and cultural forms to objectify social position as behavior, to inscribe state categories in the body's habits, and to make subjectivities of those they define. The ethnographic studies in this book emphasize that the powers of inscription that cultural forms possess are not solely the tools of the state. Groups in civil society—women's groups in Nepal, working-class men on the shop floors of England, or community leaders in Queens, New York—also create cultural forms as means to gain some limited control over their own construction (Holland et al. 1998). And, as Kearney, Warren, Willis, and others pointed out repeatedly during the seminar, the postmodern conditions of the current era are such that local cultural production has a tremendous array of images and texts from all over the world to draw on in constructing new local practices. People are reworking this wealth of symbols at the same time that, as Kearney argues, the forces we call transnationalism reduce the state's ability to intercede in, and so control, the practices of identity. People from the Mixtec area in southern Mexico moving back and forth in a labor circuit between Mexico and the United States cannot be controlled as closely as the citizen or subject of state apparatuses. People positioned by the state as laborers and peasants who are also moving transnational subjects have become ethnically identified groups demanding an improved place in the nation.

ENDURING STRUGGLES IN LOCAL AND HISTORICAL RELATIONS

We have discussed the complex dialogic traffic between local practice and the historical subjectivities that are formed in practice, furnishing a living edge to change. There are complex relations between the struggles in which people are caught up in the everyday world and the broader struggles that encompass many localities and longer periods of time. Local contentious practices are the sites of complex mediations between intimate, interiorized practices of identity, on the

one hand, and, on the other, three hundred years of conflict in Northern Ireland, genocidal civil war in Rwanda, earlier genocides in Burundi, civil war in Guatemala, race and class relations, the rights and oppression of nationally marginalized ethnic populations, gender inequalities, and competing forms of capitalism.

Social, cultural, economic, and political relations at their broadest are enduring, high-stake struggles, perhaps "Struggles" with a capital *S*. As these struggles are concretely realized and specifically appropriated or thrust into everyday practice, some involve sustained violence, whereas others are ubiquitously low-key. Some are struggles over state oppression through local representatives; some are among participants with similar resources but different stakes who are connected beyond local settings and events by institutional relations of various kinds (regional agencies, corporations, subnational ethnarchies, actor networks, etc.). Still others are among participants who are connected through widely extended, heterogeneous structuring relations such as contentious relations of gender.

There are certain things we do not mean in this conception of the constellation of relations that bind local conflicts to broad enduring struggles. We refrain from terms such as "ideological struggle" that conventionally omit a dialogic view of the I/other relations involved. Likewise, we have tried not to single out the efforts of a group to get something it wants apart from the relations of struggle in which it is embedded. Such a focus would bracket out the practices of struggling *with* others and the significance of the opponents' differing perspectives, resources, and power. Reciprocal relations among enduring struggles and the cultural production of identities present a complex problem for analysis because they are mediated through local conflicts and perspectives in the practices of daily existence.

Our focus encompasses struggles of large scope in space and time in part because of the riveting force of such struggles and their undoubtedly urgent impact on practices that affect the authoring of local lived identities. Further, the fashioning of cultural forms and identities as intimate furnishings are high-stake, salient issues for those involved. Participants gradually become just that—they take the standpoints, personalize the dialogues and other cultural forms salient to their lives—as they answer to burning issues and interests that may or

must be vital. The structuring effects in practice of long-term struggles are inescapable, and other aspects of life tend to bear durable, well-felt relations to them—to be enmeshed in, cordoned off from, masked by, or confused with such struggles—because they are deeply significant to the limits and possibilities of social existence.

Part of the significance of enduring struggles lies in their scope in time, space, and political-economic relations, and part lies in their life-and-death, indelible impact on everyday lives. We concentrate here, as in the discussion of dialogic practices, on how long-term struggles are appropriated and lived in practice. With rare exceptions, broad, enduring struggles are not addressed directly in people's lives. They are lived as they are concretely realized, as they rudely or routinely intrude, or as they are appropriated into local social practice. This leads to the original problem of the seminar: We suppose that enduring struggles unleash and shape the social production of local cultural forms in local contentious practice—the very social, collective, and contested forms by which historical selves are made. At the same time, enduring struggles that extend into and are appropriated by (and that partially structure) local struggles are themselves changed in the process. The reciprocal character of this relation between local practices of struggle and global, structuring struggles means that each can change the other—theirs is a two-way generative traffic (locally mediated) that reminds us of the constant movement and countermovement between the social and the intimate. Indeed, many of the chapters in this volume capture local struggles and other cultural practices *as they are undergoing transformation*. This seems remarkable; it is perhaps the most unusual accomplishment of the seminar and the book.

To talk of far-reaching struggles that appropriate (and are appropriated into) participants' local contentious practice calls attention to a range of questions somewhat different from theories of "resistance" or "reproduction." Much of what is contested in local struggles is the very meaning of "what's going on." The world is not "given" in this perspective, in contrast to the familiar scenario of resistance theory, that of a massive but passive condition of political domination and an active but impotent local resistance. The powerful in the following chapters not only win, but act (the British port shippers resist, actually), and the less powerful act, too—differently. To talk of "struggles"

is in part to argue for including in our analyses all of the parties to the struggle, with their different perspectives on and stakes in their inter-dependent lives. There is one further consideration: beginning with local contentious practice leaves the extension of relevant connec-tions among practical settings open-ended and the boundaries of the relevant participants reconfigurable. To talk of hegemony and resis-tance presumes nation-states or something like them as units of social existence and turns attention to relations between the powerful and the oppressed *pre-categorized* as such, rather than defined in terms of the characteristics of the struggles in which they are engaged: multi-ple, diverse, and interconnected. Resistance theory tends to preor-dain the boundaries and characteristics not only of the struggle but of the participants as well.

There are other considerations that led us to characterize the enterprise in terms of enduring struggles, contentious practice, and history in person. "Struggling" suggests active engagement and avoids static notions of conflicts as stable or self-contained things in them-selves. The notion of long-term struggles offers a view of structure as process, as a matter of relations in tension. Indeed, we are trying to give special attention to moving struggles, those with the same sort of live, generative force Bakhtin described—not dead, done deals (assuming there are any).

A focus on history in person and how practices of identification are appropriated and transformed in local articulations of long-term struggles leads to questions about relations among ongoing, apparently quite disparate struggles. We have found ourselves asking, Of what more far-reaching struggles are local struggles a partial realization? The question seems useful to ask, given that local struggles are not merely nested within, or a reflection of, larger struggles but are partial in different ways and can be interconnected in ways that have the potential to generate varied cultural forms and social alliances. For the British enclave in Porto, local struggles over where to place the church altar and whether the Oporto British School should offer the International Baccalaureate degree reflect divisions over religious and educational practice within the Anglican church and between families with school-age children. But the altar and the IB degree are also stakes in conflicts over forms of corporate organization that for the moment

coexist within the port trade, just as they are part of struggles over the continuing social domination of "old port shipping families."

Multi-Idiom Struggles

In practice, multiple social divisions and struggles are given together—they co-occur in space and time. Contention surely rivets attention, resources, and participants' sense of historical identification selectively on some issues rather than others. Local conflicts, then, are interpreted through cultural forms that simplify, conceal, suppress, and give salience and priority to some ways of comprehending and participating in ongoing practice, in terms of some relevant subjectivities but not others. For instance, "old port wine" families in Porto struggle to sustain their "British" identity against British contract managers who are struggling for a less conservative community in thoroughly gendered ways. But the struggle over national identity and social conservatism precludes, and is invoked to suppress, active struggle over issues of gender at the same time.

Gregory's chapter on community responses to the port authority's proposal for a light rail project offers another example of the kind of social work that can deflect possible identifications in practice. When their spokespersons took up the discourse of "environmental justice" and cast themselves and those they represented as sharing an identity in common, residents of several neighborhoods forged what was for them a novel identity as claimants of common rights to a beneficial environment, regardless of neighborhood. Gregory describes how, over the ensuing weeks, the neighborhood groups were divided by the machinations of the port authority, which then leveled charges of parochial selfishness against the now reduced and divided groups. There are many reasons why the port authority was able to re-identify the participants and undermine their cross-neighborhood unity. Community members' relationship to the selves afforded by a discourse of environmental justice was tenuous. Gregory's research suggests that this discourse failed to become a tool for neighborhood residents to use in authoring selves, a tool with personal significance over and beyond that of the strategic moment. It did not provide a stable orchestration of self and others in the residents' intimate lives, in inner speech. Identities form and develop in and through cultural

practices that divide and identify the social world—in Gregory's case, through discourses in the public sphere. But their generativity depends upon whether they have sedimented as durable positions in social struggles *and* in persons.

The focus on history in person in mediated relations with long-term struggles is intended to underline the significance of political differentiation among identities and to generate discussion of the relative valuation and salience of action in the name of some relations of identity rather than others. In exploring conceptions of multiple identities, we have moved away from conceptions of undifferentiated, equal, equally ephemeral, "fragmented" identities that somehow miss the politics of identity, the contested salience of different identity-generated ways of participating in differently situated practices, including local struggles.

Relations among identities-in-practice are serious political issues. Michael Kearney writes about enduring struggles between the government of Mexico and its marginal and poor indigenous populations. At the turn of the last century, the latter were characterized officially as, and acted on their own behalf in the name of, "peasants" or "workers." More recently, political projects have changed relations among identities. Old ones have been suppressed in favor of new ones. This is occurring, Kearney argues, in a dialogic process in which the state attempts to contain indigenous movements but in doing so also reifies them in unintended ways. Meanwhile, marginal, impoverished indigenous movements unite many disparate groups across the nation but thereby create new dangers of ethnic ghettoization and continued impoverishment. Thus, engaging in struggles in the name of specific identities means that other possible identities and struggles are crowded out. They are not equally available, not equally high-priority on community and personal agendas, and not equally powerful at mustering resources and mobilizing people. Some struggles suppress others, silence others, make shared traditions of opposition impossible. It is as if, in the contentious politics of relations among identities and struggles, only one or a few emerge to stand as the important struggles (and identities), and so they disentitle, silence, or suppress others or turn them into "merely" parochial battles. There are well-known examples, not unlike the one Kearney describes, in which class or national identities take on

priorities that suppress ethnic, racial, and gender struggles (see Lave and others in this volume).

At the same time, identities are institutionally given together in practice. This implies that people struggling in the name of one identity are doing so in ways that at the same time involve other kinds of identities. Examples include ethnic and gendered nationalist identities in the United States and Ireland and kin/religious/gendered political activism in Guatemala. We can ask how people act so as to foreground one kind of identity over others in local contentious practice, and at the same time act in ways saturated with other identity practices.

The chapters that follow are unusual in throwing into high relief moments of such transformations of long-term struggles. For example, in Nepal, the lifting of repressive state controls had a fortuitous effect on possible new dialogic dimensions of identity. In day-to-day struggling to bring political changes into village life, the local character of struggle changed, too. Holland and Skinner's analysis of Tij songs shows a change from domestic divisions and women's antagonistic authoring of themselves vis-à-vis their husbands and affines to an emerging prospect of division along the line between "educated" and "uneducated" women. Bakhtin did, of course, argue that any given struggle is partially formed in the taking up of the idiom of others (e.g., gendered ethnic and national conflicts), offering obvious possibilities for transformation of the terms of struggling. The Nepali case provides a good example.

There are other examples of multi-idiom struggles and their transformations in this book. Thus, in an important sense, long-term struggles are traditions shared by those joined in opposition. A broadly shared understanding of what struggling is about is in some sense a victory for the proponents of some version of a struggle (Kearney, Malkki). In many of these chapters, people struggle to win a battle to define the situation, to produce new versions of old conflicts. Historical contingencies set and reset the stage. Lave's chapter on the British enclave in Portugal argues that the social and economic foundations of the enclave and its contested relations with citizens of the host country have been reconfigured by changes that take the form of competing modes of international capital. New resources, new opportunities are also crucial in the situations described by Gregory and Kearney.

Presumably, people also fight over their different perspectives on what they are struggling about. A number of chapters present startlingly clear accounts of contention over changing struggles. Warren's distinctive analysis of ways to engage in Mayan political activism reveals differences generation by generation. The civil war in Guatemala has had phases, has changed character. Strategies for leadership and authority, creating tensions between "being traditional" and "being modern" and between different religious, cultural, and linguistic ways of doing both, are enacted in the life trajectories, in the ways of participating, of each generation—always, however, in tension with each other.

This approach argues against Hobbesian understandings of struggle as a war of all against all, as being reduced to competition and violence and its formal corollary, "cooperation." Conflicts locally and globally produced are historically complex and multiply contradictory in their actual relations. Struggles do not occur as universal processes through which participants race single-mindedly toward a goal or join general stampedes for a particular exit. This book offers rich evidence that enduring struggles and practices of identity are heatedly contradictory and, not surprisingly, transformative, and they create new objectifications—for example, across generations within a Mayan family, for whom conjunctures of religion, cultural nationalism, and revolution sponsor changing cultural practices, or among Mixtec Indians who, squeezed out of their villages by economic forces and out of Mexican nationhood by state political strategies, make transnational communities that now offer new challenges to state categorization and control.

Struggles over Futures

One version of an enduring struggle—what might be called the "struggle over the future"—surely helps to furnish cultural practices and genres in later iterations (Aretxaga, Holland and Skinner, Kearney, Warren). It is part of the locally mediated historical traffic between the long-term and the day-to-day. It may be useful to consider day-to-day struggles over community identities as in part staking claims into the future. If people fight with and over versions of history (recent anthropology gives rich testimony to this), they are also fighting *for* particular versions of the future. We are impressed by the compelling motivation

of conflicting historical claims as urgent attempts to secure future possibilities. In practice, participants struggle to affect the implications of different versions and meanings of ongoing practice for their future lives, especially for their children and for their own future place in history. To look at enduring struggles and local contentious practice as they mutually inform each other offers one way to trace processes by which present efforts to give birth to the past shape and obtain advantages for some futures over others.

Historical struggles of long endurance that cast local conflicts as fights over the future are undoubtedly ubiquitous. But Malkki points out "the theoretical invisibility of the future" in studies of national consciousness undertaken by researchers in anthropology, history, and cultural studies. The future is relegated to the unknowable or, worse, to the utopian fantasies of the theorist. And yet, she argues, "futures, like histories, are constrained and shaped by lived experience…. Discourses of the past and discourses of the future feed off of each other; indeed, they are often only different chapters of the same narrative story."

Malkki describes the fear and profound pessimism of recent Hutu immigrant exiles in Montreal, who are struggling to imagine futures with and without the terrible enmity and convulsive violence between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda and Burundi and now the broader Great Lakes region of Central Africa. Political-moral divisions of the two sides into good and evil generate scenarios of endless war or partition of the two countries into Hutu and Tutsi zones. Other stances with respect to the future, articulated by groups and individuals within the urban Hutu refugee community in Montreal, focus on possibilities for the coexistence of Hutu and Tutsi in Central Africa or, in some cases, the future irrelevance of the now deadly division. Those who espouse the latter seem to be predominantly women, and strong, articulate women to boot. But their views are not universally shared. All of this occurs within Hutu speculative discourses about partially hidden relations between the West and Africa and between Francophone and Anglophone interests in Africa.

The issues articulated in Malkki's paper and in Warren's analysis of intergenerational changes in political activism in Guatemala led to seminar discussions in which every participant pointed to the importance in her or his analysis of understanding how futures as well as tra-

ditions and histories are constituted in and constitutive of present struggles, identities, lives, communities, and social formations. There could be no better recommendation for a close historical, ethnographic reading than the heterogeneity of relations documented in these chapters about new struggles at stalemate, old ones enduring too, struggles over new issues continuing in the name of old social divisions, and intentions to preserve the past that create novel futures while intentions to create the new fail. A close ethnographic look at struggles in practice takes their heterogeneity as an invitation to inquire into relations among struggles and their interconnected consequences.

HISTORY IN PRACTICE, HISTORY IN PERSON

The chapters in this book richly illustrate constellations of relations between enduring struggles and local contentious practice. They focus closely on relations between contentious practice and changing subjectivities. Yet the chapters all begin, by design, from historically situated practice. They give substance to our argument that relations between enduring struggles and historical subjectivities are mediated through local, situated practice.

A major objective of the book is to extend social practice theory to the historical formation of persons. The double constellations of relations discussed here are integral to a broad conception of history in practice. Our more specific topic of history in person must be read as a *facet* of this complex set of changing relations.

History is constituted in the space that encompasses both social participation and self-authoring. Dialogically constituted identities are always re-forming somewhere between positions institutionalized on social terrain and their habitation as it is made meaningful in intimate terms. Identities live through practices of identification. Subjectivities are neither simple reflexes of social position, as Gregory phrases it, nor simply the meaning that individuals give to these positions. Subjectivities and their more objectified components, identities, are formed in practice through the often collective work of evoking, improvising, appropriating, and refusing participation in practices that position self and other. They are durable not because individual persons have essential or primal identities but because the multiple contexts in which dialogical, intimate identities make sense and give meaning are re-created in

contentious local practice (which is in part shaped and reshaped by enduring struggles).

All of the multiply authored and positioned selves, identities, cultural forms, and local and far-reaching struggles, given together in practice, are bound up in making "history in person." "History in person" thus indexes a world of identity, action, contentious practice, and long-term transformative struggles. On the one hand, history in person is usefully illuminated by Bakhtin's "dialogism." We have posited subjectivities as always forming in dialogues across difference—for the ethnographic studies in this volume, in *struggles* across difference—where "answers" to "addresses" made by the contentious others are authored in the cultural discourses and practices at hand. Persons-as-agents thus are always forming themselves in collective terms as they respond to the social situations they encounter locally and in their imaginations. Social forms and cultural resources produced in these situations are made personal in the arrangement or orchestration of the voices enmeshed in them. Consequently, social struggles become personified, so that their forces assimilate the "character" of the people from and by whom they are reproduced. Thus, history is made in persons and by persons.

On the other hand, history in person partakes not only of the lived dialogues close at hand but also of enduring struggles that extend in larger reaches of time and space. Local contentious practice is produced in persons and by persons under changing material and symbolic conditions occasioned by major political-economic and political-ecological transformations. So, too, participants in local conflicts are likely to appropriate resources from other sites of these enduring struggles.

"History in person" is not a simple idea, but it is amenable to more specifically focused inquiries, of which two stand out in the method of the present project: to approach history as something that is in part made in and by persons, and to approach the study of persons as historically fashioned. Both require that ethnographic study begin and end in a differentiated, wide-ranging analysis of everyday, local, conflictual social practice. Further, the shifting inflections of identity in the day-to-day practice of historical persons must be appreciated as part of the hard reality of political domination and enduring struggles that

keep certain identities in practice non-negotiable and others instrumentally salient in those struggles (even as they change).

Our search for more adequate concepts of history in person has emphasized the importance of socially powerful, conflict-driven cultural forms as crucial in local-level practices of identification. We initiated the seminar discussion with a dual focus on relations running across intimate terrain, through situated local struggles, and between the latter and struggles of broader scale that durably produce multi-institutional, multi-discursive constraints and resources. The project sought to employ ethnographic inquiry in order to understand the relations between practices of identification and participation as they interconnected in this complex landscape of relations.

This view also implies more specific dimensions of analysis: In the book we have emphasized the dense and contentious relational traffic between persons in practice and the same persons as made in practice. Local struggles-in-practice have required investigation in their own right. Questions about how they mediate enduring, broad-scale struggles and how they inform and transform one another are common themes. We also ask how struggles-in-practice are diverse in themselves, and how they take in, exchange, and act through historical cultural forms. This approach recommends other questions as well. How are enduring struggles produced, how do they travel, and how are they appropriated locally and on intimate terrain? How does the "living out" of contesting identities at a particular historical moment relate to the production and contestation of previously durably produced, translocal partial coherencies that link institutions, discourses, and other widespread practices of struggle across international, national, regional, and subregional, as well as local, arenas of action? How do these relations affect which of the identities given together in local contentious practice are suppressed while others are given play? How are the futures over which people struggle a part of enduring struggles?

We hope the view of history-in-practice developed here illuminates the benefits of understanding history in person. Local struggles—in a Northern Ireland prison, in "ethnic" festivals in Oaxacalifornia, in tensions among the life trajectories of members of a Mayan activist family, at Hutu exile weddings, on the British factory floor, in the Nepali Tij festival, on the streets of Japan where Mori walked, in a public meeting

organized by the port authority, or in those held by the Oporto British School's governing committee—were not just keyholes conveniently placed for spying on the connections of these particular events to large-scale, multi-institution, multi-practice enduring struggles. They were also—crucially—places where significant social valuations of futures were being produced, where the social work of identification was ongoing, where persons were being positioned by practices and becoming suppressed or radicalized, where powerful cultural forms were being produced and were altering subjectivities, and where coherencies across local sites were being (re)produced or disrupted. They were places where persons were replenished with histories, thickening already existing subjectivities.

In elaborating here a complex view of history in person, we have tried to do justice to the density of the essays that compose this book. The first three chapters, those by Aretxaga, Warren, and Holland and Skinner, capture moments of transformation of broad struggles in which, in practice, identities also are undergoing transformation. Gregory's, Willis's, and Linger's chapters are especially intense accounts of deepening practices of identity in relation to local contentious practice. They have much to tell us about the generation of cultural forms that support and bind those practices. Finally, the last three essays, by Kearney, Lave, and Malkki, focus on struggles over "the future" for contending persons in history.

Notes

Susan Shepler, who contributed their considerable skills to helping edit the book and whose humor made the whole process much more fun.

2. Because of a family tragedy, Brackette Williams was unable to attend the seminar.