

ENGLISH SUMMARIES

John Liep: *Your Money and Your Life. Introduction*

The introduction takes up the problem of the nature of money. Is there an uncontrollable force in money that can break through barriers to other domains of value and open them to market transactions? Bohannan's classic case of Tiv spheres of exchange and their penetration by modern money seemed to answer the question. However, Parry and Bloch in *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (1989) rejected this essentialist view of money and argued that money is only regarded as an asocial evil in the West. Elsewhere in the world money is often seen differently and flows to support, for example, kinship relationships. Parry's and Bloch's position may thus be called "monetary relativism": money is handled according to specific cultural interpretations in any place. Some of the authors in this issue provide cases that show how money is "tamed" to support other than commercial interests. Robbins and Akin in *Money and Modernity* (1999) propose an alternative view. *Contra* Parry and Bloch, they argue that money actually has a tendency to flow and that Melanesians fear the consequences for their relationships. They suggest a refined concept of spheres of exchange taking account of both the *objects* moving in a sphere, the kind of *social relationship* prevalent in it and, finally the *modality* of the exchange. Again, several articles here show how moneys are "marked" for different uses and relationships in both western and other societies. The conclusion is that money has no essence as a thing in itself. It is the political powers of capitalism and the state that make the market the mother of all money.

John Liep: *The Queen's Coin. On Money, Rank and Distinctions*

The article introduces the phenomenon of ranked money by a description of the *ndap* system of shell money on Rossel Island, Papua New Guinea. This money is divided in many classes from rare, named and sacred objects in the upper part of the system down to common low-value pieces towards the bottom. It is shown that high-ranking shells are more like decorations or tokens of authority while low-ranking ones are more similar to our money. Further, payment displays of shell money index the social precedence of participants in transactions. Similar cases of ranked money in the Pacific are presented. Relevant theory by Graeber, Hart, Kopytoff and Annette Weiner is reviewed to elucidate the phenomenon. I then turn to two public Danish value objectifications: state money and the royal system of regalia, orders and medals. I show how in our modern society a split has appeared between money as a commercial medium and royal distinctions as tokens of honour in an alternative hierarchical domain of value. There is, however, a "missing link": at great occasions in the royal family special large commemorative coins of silver are issued. One of these is placed as a royal gift with each cover at the banquet celebrating the event.

Jens Pinholt: *Red Feather Rolls on the Reef Islands. When “Money” is more than Money*

Until the middle of the 20th century red feather rolls were an important and highly visible aspect of social life in the Northern Santa Cruz Islands comprising Nendö, Reef Islands and Duff Islands. These rolls, commonly but misleadingly known and referred to as “red feather money” even in anthropological literature, by the 1970s had nearly gone out of use and by the 1990s they had disappeared. In this historical reconstruction the red feather rolls are viewed in their heyday in their regional as well as their local social context. The ethnographic knowledge behind the reconstruction is based on all the available sources of the precolonial and colonial periods, the major anthropological analyses of the 1960s and the 1970s and my own fieldwork data established after 1973. The anthropological analysis of the material takes guidance from Maurice Godelier (1978) who points out that valuables in primitive society often have a dual character, they are both commodities and gifts; and from Kajsa Ekholm (1978) who states that power relations in tribal societies are largely established, consolidated and maintained through the control of valuables. Red feather rolls played an important part in the regional trading system connecting the Northern Santa Cruz Islands. This peculiar form of valuable was only produced in the rich central island of Nendö from where it was taken to the more marginal islands as part of the inter-island trading, usually in exchange of women. The big trading canoes were only built in the Duff Islands and had to be for paid in red feather rolls. They were owned and sailed by the leading big-men in the Western Reef Islands who accordingly were able to exercise considerable control over the influx and the flow internally of the feather rolls. Feather rolls were indispensable in the gift-exchanges accompanying all major social ceremonies and events such as bridewealth, compensations and life-cycle ceremonies. So a generous local big-man could use his feather rolls for the benefit of his relatives and favoured friends who were in need of it, and at the same time he would make them into his loyal supporters. In this social system, control of the unique valuable was the major road to respect and influence, even to power, for the big-man. The red feather rolls were part of an intricate local social order which depended for its reproduction on the regional trading system. But all this had to disappear when market economy based on western money, Christian influence, and colonial control took over. The regional trading system collapsed; the red feather rolls lost their significance and the big-men the base of their power.

Hanne O. Mogensen: *The Coin, the Brother and the Tablet. Money and Health in Uganda*

Complaints about fees at the government health facilities in Uganda are incessant, and so are the more general statements about lack of money and problems of poverty. These complaints, however, cannot be reduced to questions of cost and the availability of resources. We also need to look at the kinds of exchanges money is made part of. Health has long been part of the economic sphere in Uganda, and people compensate healers and practitioners of different kinds for their services. The article explores why, then, people experience it as far more problematic to pay for treatment in the public

health care system than to pay other health care providers. To answer this question requires a discussion of money, not as destructive to social relations, but as creative potential for relationships in all spheres of everyday life. In Uganda, as elsewhere, money can be used both to *pay* somebody and to *give* somebody something. Money is being made part of different modalities of exchange. In order to understand what takes place in various kinds of clinical interaction we need to look at the complex intersection of social relations, modalities of exchange, and the objects exchanged.

Clara Rübner Jørgensen: “*Money in Disguise*”. *A Discussion of User-Fees in a Free Nicaraguan Primary School*

On the basis of data collected during fieldwork in the city of León, Nicaragua, this article discusses the paradox of many Nicaraguan parents describing their children’s school as being free of charge despite the fact that they are frequently asked to pay for it. The article shows that, in spite of the constitutional definition of education as free and equal for all Nicaraguans, parents are often asked for economic contributions. By analysing the values surrounding the school I suggest that values of responsibility and solidarity influence the way that parents conceptualize their school expenditures and, in relation to this, confirm the status of the school as free. Furthermore, the article describes how Nicaraguan parents often compare the school to their home and describe the relation between teacher and students by using family terms. Inspired by the theory of the American sociologist James Carrier, I argue that this comparison, in addition to the values of responsibility and solidarity, further influences the way Nicaraguan parents and children experience their economic contributions. Finally, I argue that even though the users of the school describe it as free of charge, it remains necessary to recognize its economic aspects, since a lack of recognition can turn out to have important individual and social consequences for the people involved, especially, for the most economically marginalized families.

Mia Priskorn: *Part of the Family. On Money and Giftgiving in a Danish “Exchange Family”*

This article deals with the financial aspect of kinship and is based on field data collected in Denmark among ‘exchange families’ consisting of Danish host families and foreign exchange students living with the families for up to one year. The theoretical background of the article is the ideal separation between money and family in Western society depicted by the anthropologists Maurice Bloch, David Schneider and James Carrier. The ethnographic material in the article is represented primarily by an extended case, and shows clearly that the separation is ideal, and that family life and finances are inseparable entities. The article analyses one reason why the exchange families are faced with financial challenges: Exchange organizations expect host parents to treat the exchange student as they treat their own child, and Westerners generally expect parents to treat their children in the same way. The article demonstrates that factors such as money and gifts affect the continuous creation of social relatedness in the “exchange families”. However, host parents’ intention of financially treating the

exchange student like one of their children is doomed from the very start, since the financial conditions of the exchange student and the host siblings differ fundamentally. This difference challenges both the notion of sibling equality and the ideal relationship between parents as givers and children as receivers.

Pernille Hohnen: *Money among Poor Consumers in Denmark*

The first half of the article presents critical analyses of the existing “consensus” within consumption studies, namely that consumption is primarily about symbolism, freedom of choice and lifestyle, by introducing dissenting voices (Carrier & Heyman; Löfgren; and Lodziak) arguing for a revival of a more political-economic framework. The author proceeds to argue that by using a broader framework of both qualitative and quantitative money (Zelizer), it is possible to focus on the interplay between material and immaterial dimensions at work in contemporary processes of social differentiation. The second half of the article consists of an empirical analysis of consumption patterns and forms of money in poor Danish families. This reveals a widespread tendency among the poor families to earmark the limited amount of money available with the result that they have no “free money” at all. The earmarking is a way to control money according to different principles, e.g. use value, temporality, beneficiaries of pursuits (children/parents), material form (electronic money versus paper money) and moral discourses. The tendency to conceptualise money in terms of qualitatively different currencies, however, also places poor citizens in a position outside mainstream consumption regimes, in contrast to existing discourses on consumption in contemporary Danish society.

John Liep: *Anthropological Dilemmas. Between Cultural Radicalism and Left-wing Orientalism. Retirement Lecture. February 2004*

This lecture is in three main parts. The first describes the author’s background in a provincial middle class family and the leftish values he absorbed from what is now called “cultural radicalism”. His discontent with his life in urban, capitalist society led him to study anthropology in the belief that “natural” societies of “happiness” could be found far out in the world. The second part briefly characterizes cultural radicalism as a field of progressive intellectual movements in Denmark from the 1920s that fought for the liberation of women, sexuality and the education of children. Danish cultural radicals took an interest in anthropology already during the 30s, when Malinowski’s discovery of free sex in the Trobriands was celebrated, and throughout the 1950s when books by Benedict and Mead on cultural relativity and child training were translated. With the great expansion of the middle class from the 50s the ideas of cultural radicalism deeply changed modern Danish cultural values and institutions. The third part is a critique of what I call “left-wing orientalism”. Cultural relativism was used as a cultural critique of our own society in order to call for reforms. In left-wing orientalism this stance is petrified so that only our society is “wrong” while all the “others” must not be criticized. I discuss three examples of this in anthropology: the general uncritical acceptance of the policies of indigenous movements; the post-colonial “retrospective

retouching” of unseemly earlier practices such as cannibalism and, finally, the readiness of anthropologists in Denmark to put the blame for ethnic tensions in the country on the Danes only and their reluctance to take a critical stance to the patriarchal suppression of women and its religious legitimation that young immigrants now themselves speak out against.

Elsa Cristina de Lima Agra Amorim Brander: *Patch-Working Reality. Ethnographic Illustrations of Easter Island in the Late 18th Century*

This article discusses the theoretical and pragmatic dialogue between the instructions given to the artists who participated in European scientific expeditions and the production of ethnographic illustrations. The discrepancy between methodological criteria and the empirical portrayal of exotic *Others* indicates an important dilemma: that the European representations of alien cultures were deeply rooted in European aesthetic idiosyncrasies and ideals of primitiveness. The French artist Gaspard Duché de Vancy (ca. 1750-1788) who travelled on François Galaup de Lapérouse’s scientific expedition (1785-1788) portrayed the society of Easter Island not according to what he actually observed, but rather to the captain’s distrustful judgement of the natives of Easter Island. In an effort to solidify a rather biased portrayal of the natives, the artist incorporated specific ethnographic devices, including exotic attire, weaponry and the gigantic monoliths, endeavouring to give his illustrations a more ethnographic and thus realistic outlook. Furthermore, this article discusses an illustration of Easter Island that the German traveller Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798) made, and which he included in his own German translation of Lapérouse’s travels. A study of Forster’s illustration indicates that the author generously borrowed crucial elements from Duché de Vancy’s original painting, and from two other paintings, made by the British painter William Hodges. By uncovering how expedition artists incorporated aesthetic idiosyncrasies into their compositions, this article uncovers how ethnographic illustrations were manipulated according to an exotic decor, where the alien *reality* was *at first patch-worked* and as a result constructed.

