

METHODOLOGIES  
IN  
THE  
ANTHROPOLOGY  
OF

# ETHICS

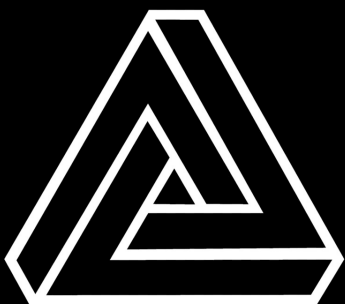


**Experience & the Human  
Condition 14.12.20**

**Social Action &  
the Everyday 18.12.20**

**Mind, Cognition &  
Culture 21.12.20**

A SERIES OF WORKSHOPS  
TO BE HELD BY THE  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY  
AND THE  
INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
AT THE  
UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX



SOCIAL SCIENCE AND ETHICS RESEARCH GROUP



## INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

# METHODOLOGIES IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF ETHICS

We would like to extend a warm welcome to all participants in this international workshop, which has been organised between the Sussex Social Science and Ethics Research Group (SSERG), the Social Anthropology department and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

This workshop will examine the question of whether the expanding sub-field of the anthropology of ethics requires any special methodologies: how – if at all – anthropological enquiry into ethics should deviate from traditional ethnography and what methodological approaches should be applied to understanding morality in human social life. Despite the wealth of recent literature on the topic of ethics and morality in anthropology, there is an absence of explicit discussion of this issue. This international workshop will bring together leading figures from distinct currents of social anthropology to determine what methodological approaches are suitable to an anthropology of ethics and the implications of studying the ethical dimensions of sociality for how we understand ethnography.

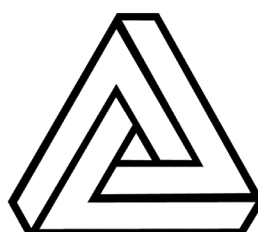
Some scholars have commented that to speak of an anthropology of ethics disregards the fact that the discipline has always been centrally concerned with comprehending morality. However, what has been labelled the ‘ethical turn’ developed when ethnographic studies emerged that focused centrally on individual and collective processes of moral learning, reflection and conflict; how individuals ethically deliberate in social contexts, creatively engage in forming their own ethical identity, confront dilemmas and negotiate shifts and conflicts in the moral models of their culture during periods of social transformation. As it has matured, this body of scholarship has developed different theorizations of the ethical which emphasize distinct levels of analysis. Meanwhile, a number of anthropologists with interests in cognition and the use of experimental research methods have begun to focus on studying human morality, engaging with work in social psychology and experimental philosophy that examines the cognitive mechanisms involved in ethical reasoning. This workshop therefore takes place precisely at a moment in which anthropological research into ethics has grown into a diverse sub-field, while the wider empirical study of ethics has also developed into an interdisciplinary research arena that traverses many areas of the social sciences and humanities. Nevertheless, the absence of explicit discussion of methodological approaches between the different currents within the anthropology of ethics limits both its ability to make progress on common research questions and to enter into meaningful dialogue and collaboration with parallel investigation in other disciplines.

This workshop is one of several initiatives currently being carried out by SSERG which aim to build and expand collaborative networks, both within social anthropology and across various academic disciplines interested in the empirical study of morality. We hope this will be a productive and inspiring experience which will help develop ideas and international cooperation, in a spirit of collegiality and constructive academic dialogue.

We would like to extend our thanks to the invited speakers, who come from diverse theoretical and methodological tendencies, alongside a number of figures within the Sussex anthropology department who have helped make this workshop a reality. These include Geert de Neve, Jon Mitchell, Demet Dinler and Magnus Marsden.

Warm Regards,

Matthew Doyle, James McMurray, Santiago Ripoll



**SOCIAL SCIENCE AND ETHICS RESEARCH GROUP**



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# WORKSHOPS

This workshop was originally conceived of as an in-person event to be held at the University of Sussex campus. Lockdowns and international travel restrictions have meant this had to be abandoned in favour of a series of online discussions held on Zoom. However, this has the added benefit that a larger and more diverse set of participants can take part.

We have therefore tried to strike a balance between allowing as many people as possible to observe and participate in this workshop and creating a relaxed atmosphere in which invited speakers can talk freely. For this reason, the first three sessions of the workshop are open to the public, while the final plenary session is a closed event where 'Chatham House rules' apply. This will be an opportunity to tie together the different strands of discussion from the panels and have constructive and spirited dialogue. We will also discuss potential publication plans with invited speakers at this stage.

The three panels are themed around distinct areas in the field of the anthropology of ethics. These are listed below, along with links to the Zoom calls:

## **I: Experience and the Human Condition**

14/21/20  
15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Zoom Link: [bit.ly/sussex-ethics1](https://bit.ly/sussex-ethics1)

## **II: Social Action and the Everyday**

18/12/20  
15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Zoom Link: [bit.ly/sussex-ethics2](https://bit.ly/sussex-ethics2)

## **III: Mind, Cognition and Culture**

21/12/20  
15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Zoom Link: [bit.ly/sussex-ethics3](https://bit.ly/sussex-ethics3)

While the three panels will cover different areas in which the anthropology of ethics has developed, there are key themes that cross through all of them and which will be discussed in the plenary session. These include the following:

### **Theory and Methodology in the Anthropology of Ethics**

How does our theorization of the object of enquiry shape the methodologies we use? Within this anthropological sub-field, the ethical has been conceptualized alternatively as an immanent dimension of social action, as a process of self-fashioning and as a modality of human experience. Are these theorizations mutually incompatible or simply different levels of analysis of the same phenomena? What methods are actually applied to understanding how ethical situations emerge within the constant stream of human interactions; how individuals attempt to shape themselves to become a particular type of person and the relationship between moral models found in their culture and personal identities; or to apprehending the experience of an ethical demand made on one's person? What approaches are taken in these different cases and what do they have in common?

### **Ethics and the Ethnographic Toolkit**

If we accept that ethnography, far from being a singular methodology, is perhaps best described in terms of a 'toolkit' that combines multiple methods and levels of analysis, how can we build an inventory of approaches to understanding how persons conceive of the good of life, negotiate moral problems and construct ethical selfhood? What is the best way of integrating these methods to triangulate the ethical? Moreover, can we as anthropologists use mixed methodologies, engaging with parallel work in other fields of the humanities and social sciences? Attention will be paid to the recent expansion in the empirical study of ethics across other disciplines and the study of moral cognition. Can research into the psychological mechanisms responsible for human moral reasoning interchange with the ethnographic study of situated ethical action, moral experience and the ethical cultivation of the self?

### **Reflexive Discussion of Fieldwork Experience**

How does the experience of 'finding the field' and one's own positionality determine the methods chosen and the theorization of data produced? How has this shaped our own approaches to the anthropology of ethics? This workshop will encourage participants to reflect on and share their experiences of ethnographic research and the encounters, choices and chance moments which led them to focus on ethics and how they engaged with it.

### **Ethics and Ethnography**

How does explicit attention to and reflection on the ethical dimensions of human social life lead to understandings of what ethnography is and how to carry it out? What central methodological and epistemological disputes regarding the nature of ethnography are also present in contemporary debates within the anthropology of ethics? Should the ethnographic study of ethics be centrally concerned with thick description of the symbols and meanings which constitute cultural worlds, or should we attend to the difference between what actors say and do; is the study of morality and ethics as a cultural phenomenon compatible with ontological naturalism or does it force us to consider the possibility of multiple ontologies?

## PROGRAM

I: *Experience and the Human Condition*  
 Monday, 14 December 2020  
 15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Chair: **James McMurray**, *Sussex*

**Jarrett Zigon**, *Virginia*

'How is it Between Us?'

**Maria Louw**, *Aarhus*

'Spectral ethics: Lessons from work with a Museum Exhibition'

**Webb Keane**, *Michigan*

'Making the Ethical in Social Interaction'

**Kim Knibbe**, *Groningen*

'The Ethics of Participant Observation and the Anthropology of Ethics in Religious and Ritual Contexts'

Discussant: **Jon Mitchell**, *Sussex*

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II: *Social Action and the Everyday*  
 Friday, 18 December 2020  
 15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Chair: **Santiago Ripoll**, *Sussex*

**Hans Steinmuller**, *LSE*

'How Virtue Ethics Misdemean Moral Reasoning in Everyday Life, with Examples from China'

**Girish Daswani**, *Toronto*

'Artistic Activism and an Ethics of Refusal in Contemporary Ghana'

**Holly Wardlow**, *Toronto*

'Burdened Virtues' among Women Living with HIV in Papua New Guinea'

**Michael Lambek**, *Toronto*

'If Ethics is not an Object how Shall we Think About It? Reflections on the Limits of Judgement'

Discussant: **Sian Lazar**, *Cambridge*

III: *Mind, Cognition, and Culture*

Monday, 21 December 2020

15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Chair: **Matthew Doyle**, *Sussex*

**Richard Shweder**, *Chicago*

'The Fate of Moral Absolutes Across Cultures: Moral Realism Without the Ethnocentrism'

**Monica Heintz**, *Paris Nanterre*

Anthropology and the Debate on the Origins of Ethics'

**Radu Umbres**, *SNSPA Bucharest*

'The Entanglements of Methodology and Theory in an Ethnography of Trust and Morality'

**Julia Cassaniti**, *Washington State*

'Ethical Dilemmas and Cognitive Moral Frames'

Discussant: **Demet Dinler**, *Sussex*

IV: *Plenary*

Monday, 12 January 2021

15.00 – 17.30 GMT

Chairs: **Matthew Doyle**, **James McMurray**, **Santiago Ripoll**

15:00 - 15:30

Discussants provide a summary of previous panel discussions

15:30 - 16:55

Final Discussion

16:55 - 17:00

Break

17:00 - 17:30

Wrap-up and discussion of publication plans

This session is closed to all except invited speakers

## PANELS AND PAPER ABSTRACTS

### **I: Experience and the Human Condition**

This panel deals with approaches to the anthropology of ethics which treat the ethical as a particular dimension of experience or as a constitutive feature of what it means to be human.

#### **'How is it Between Us?'** Jarrett Zigon, *Virginia*

Perhaps the most fundamental of all ethical questions is to ask: how is it between us? Such a seemingly simple question is almost immediately differentiable from more standard ones such as – what is the good? – or – did she act rightly? – and in this differentiation its radicality is revealed. In this paper, I contrast what I call relational ethics with the anthropological notion of ordinary ethics. In so doing, I argue that ethics is best understood as an ongoing attunement rather than an accomplishment of a telos or acting according to a pre-defined measure articulated in terms of criteria or grammar. In asking the question of how it is between us, in other words, a relational ethics is asking the question of the how of coexistence.

#### **'Spectral ethics: Lessons from work with a Museum Exhibition'** Maria Louw, *Aarhus*

This paper will take a point of departure in recent fieldwork conducted among elderly Kyrgyz people who grow old in the absence of their families: fieldwork which has been done as part of a larger collaborative project – Aging as Human Condition – in which anthropologists, philosophers and artists have explored how people who age under challenging and uncertain life conditions strive to achieve good lives.

What characterizes the lives of many of the Kyrgyz elders is the presence of what I term “homeless virtues”: character traits which, by the elderly, are seen as central to who they are, but which are rarely practiced because the relations they hinge on are absent. Understanding the elderly and their moral worlds, I will argue, demand taking imagistic steps into the realms of the invisible, the spectral and the possible, recognising that being is so much more than what actually unfolds. This paper will discuss what this may imply in methodological terms.

#### **'Making the Ethical in Social Interaction'** Webb Keane, *Michigan*

Much of anthropology's “ethical turn” tries to counter what it sees as a tendency to explain away ethical life, for instance by reducing it to something else such as social conventions, political interests, or psychological forces. The ethical turn shifts the social from foreground to background, so that it serves as a resource for active individuals rather than as a primary determinant or explanation. It also opens up the ethical as a domain of invention, critique, internal contradiction, external contestation, and, ultimately, as an impetus for the political. But can such an undertaking avoid the risks of hypostasizing the individual or inadvertently depoliticizing the field of analysis? To answer this requires close attention to the dynamics of ethicalization in social interaction. This paper argues that the dynamics of social interaction and the semiotic mediation of ethical awareness bridge the general claims of moral psychology and cognition, on the one hand, and the social-historical specificities of ethics as it is actually lived, on the other. Viewed ethnographically, reflexivity is most characteristically prompted or provoked by the dynamics of interaction—for instance, by having to give an account of oneself to someone else whom one recognizes as being owed such an account. With accounts, especially, we can vividly see how interaction mediates moral psychology and social history: in giving an account of oneself, one draws on the affordances available at any given time and place. When people make sense of what is going on, they are not just in a hermeneutic quest for meaning for its own sake. Ethical reflexivity does not arise from the recesses of the autonomous mind. People form judgments and allocate responsibility in a social scene of some sort, whether proximate, distant, or even imagined. In doing so they draw on the conceptual and linguistic vocabulary they share with others in a public world, even if they transform or deny it in the process. For ideas about justice, personhood, responsibility, conscience, and so forth are not invented on the spot, nor are they universal ideals simply available to rational introspection. They are affordances available for ethicalization processes that are not predetermined by the resources those processes may take up. Social interaction is thus not merely a crucible in which ethicalization occurs but can itself, in turn, serve as an affordance for social projects in light of which certain actions become recognizable as having ethical significance.



## **'The Ethics of Participant Observation and the Anthropology of Ethics in Religious and Ritual Contexts'**

Kim Knibbe, *Groningen*

This contribution reflects on how an anthropology of ethics may also draw out questions around the ethics of participant observation in religious and ritual contexts. In 2001, I had set out to study changes in moral orientation in the still predominantly Catholic south of the Netherlands. This region has experienced quite a rapid de-churching since the late 1960s, yet at the time of my research most identified as Catholic but 'not Roman Catholic' as they summarized their position. Much of these changes centered around the churches' teachings around sexuality, and the ways the sacraments (communion during the Eucharist in particular) had been used to enforce women to submit sexually. The ways this morality was enforced is still a source of deep mistrust toward the church as an institution. Against this backdrop I will first sketch the ethics that people developed among themselves in relation to this regime. These 'everyday ethics' were semi-public, part of the domain of the 'familiar' as I call it, and thus distinct from both the church and the wider world of Dutch culture. These semi-public ethics allowed people to continue to understand themselves as catholic and deeply informed by Christianity despite the apparent contradiction with the church's teachings. I will then go into a particular incident during fieldwork, where I found myself refusing to participate in communion, to draw out some questions around the ethics of participant observation in ritual contexts, and how this is informed by different kinds of knowledge and ethics.



## II: Social Action and the Everyday

This panel deals with approaches that understand ethics and morality as an aspect of social action, or as situations which emerge from the constant stream of interactions that make up everyday life.

### **'How Virtue Ethics Misdescribe Moral Reasoning in Everyday Life, with Examples from China'**

Hans Steinmuller, *LSE*

Different versions of Confucian ethics, as well as some proposals for an anthropology of ethics, share the core characteristics of virtue ethics: they anchor whatever is considered the social context yet claim that the ethical transcends the same context. Philosophers have found virtue ethics incapable of dealing with this paradox (both being tied to its context and supposedly superseding it), especially in contemporary societies defined by moral pluralism. In this presentation I argue that similar criticisms can be applied to Confucian ethics and to the anthropology of ethics. Often they simply re-state the meanings of vice and virtue in terms of their social context, yet claim that subjects of virtue somehow raise above the ordinary. Ignoring the possibility of the amoral and the dilemmas of rule-following, the identification of an ethical moment in this way tends to be moralizing, and thus mis-describes the moral reasoning that takes place in everyday life. The arguments are illustrated with examples from practices of self-improvement in urban China and the uses of irony in rural China.

### **'Artistic Activists and an Ethics of Refusal in Contemporary Ghana'** Girish Daswani, *Toronto*

An anthropology of ethics has been an important conversation in considering the day to day questions people ask themselves, especially when confronted with the cultural or social formations that dominate our lives. In thinking through "ethics" and its many theoretical iterations, anthropologists have been able to speak to questions of social structure/value as well as to individual decision-making processes. While Foucault and Aristotle are important intellectual interlocutors in this ethical turn, there are limits as to how far we can apply their ideas in the lives of post/colonial actors. Through an ethnographic discussion of artistic activists in Ghana, artists who are responding to the political corruption around them, I explore how anthropological analysis of ethics (esp. of the "good") potentially deny the ongoing presence of colonialism in the lives of our interlocutors and ignore acts of refusal. What happens when ideas around what is ethically "good" (i.e. accountability, transparency, good governance) cannot be adequately resolved through activism or when such values are unable to provide adequate answers to problems of colonial power? If resistance and protest movements have been important avenues for considering the ethical lives of political actors, a less explored aspect of activism is "refusal": how subjects refuse to consent to the apparatus of the post/colonial state or to a narrative of the "good". An ethics of refusal (refusing to function or respond as people in authority expect) is a willingness to critique the "good", to give up certain expectations, and to speak from that conviction.

### **'Burdened Virtues' among Women Living with HIV in Papua New Guinea'** Holly Wardlow, *Toronto*

How might systemic marginalization or oppression shape actors' ethical practices or the ways in which they conceptualize, enact, and perform themselves as moral persons? In order to examine this question, feminist moral philosopher, Lisa Tessman, has coined the term "burdened virtues," which she defines as "a set of virtues that, while practically necessitated for surviving oppression or morally necessitated for opposing it, carry with them a cost to their bearer". Such virtues, she argues, do not always, or even often, enable actors to strive for eudaimonia, a key concept in virtue ethics, which has been variably translated as human flourishing, self-cultivation, self-actualization, or the pursuit of excellence. In this paper I draw on Tessman's work to analyze the ethical practices of women living with HIV in Tari, Papua New Guinea. I argue that in order to navigate the stigma and potential violence associated with being HIV-positive, as well as their dependence on kin for food and shelter, these women engage in a range of practices that can be characterized as burdened virtues. The paper also addresses the question of the kinds of methodologies that might be used to elicit from research participants the ethical practices associated with differing positionalities within structures of inequality.

## **'If ethics is not an object how shall we think about it? Reflections on the limits of judgement'**

Michael Lambek, *Toronto*

I expand from two points that were central to my earlier depictions of ethical life, the first that the exercise of judgment is the central feature; and the second, that we understand people as most often doing, or trying to do, what they consider right. With respect to the former, if practical judgment is intrinsic to action and hence necessary, there are other senses or moments where judgment may be unnecessary--dispensable, superfluous, extraneous, or exorbitant. In selectively exercising judgment over prior and necessary judgment we rapidly escalate to the judgmental, from morality to moralism. But does our judgment of judgment as judgmental itself escape being judgmental? Do we reach a self-defeating moral involution? Meta-judgment is frequently with respect to character, one's own or that of others (much as judgmentalism is itself an attribute of some people's character). If an ethical imperative for the ethnographer is to try to understand people in the first instance as trying to do what they consider right (or at least, leaving that an open possibility), the empirical study of people's lives or character shows how trying to do what is right not infrequently leads to harm or aporia, revealing, in the end, the "fragility of goodness" (Nussbaum) and the fundamental ambiguity or limit of ethics in the positive sense of that term. Can ethnographers and biographers judge their subjects objectively yet nonjudgmentally? Are these limits, and our acute sense of them, not all part of our ethical condition?



### III: Mind, Cognition and Culture

This panel features contributions from anthropologists interested in the theories and methodologies of the cognitive sciences, their potential relevance for the ethnographic study of morality and ethics, and possible collaboration and exchange between disciplines.

#### **'The Fate of Moral Absolutes Across Cultures: Moral Realism Without the Ethnocentrism'**

Richard Shweder, *Chicago*

There is an inviting aphorism formulated by Clifford Geertz which states: Relativism disables judgment; absolutism removes judgment from history. Geertz tried to find some kind of middle path between relativism and absolutism. He believed in normative judgment but only when it did not pretend to be context-free. Nevertheless, his adage, while true and important, is incomplete. It omits the fact that even a context-rich comparative normative judgment about the moral value (or shortcoming) of a cultural practice or way of life (for example, polygamy, arranged marriage, gender inclusive circumcision, physical punishment, animal sacrifice, witchcraft trials) must be framed and ultimately justified by reference to moral absolutes. In this short presentation I will describe a type of anthropology of morality defined as the investigation of the fate of moral absolutes in history—that is to say, as the study of the way universal existential questions (for example, how should burdens and benefits be distributed?, who is up and who is down? what is male and what is female?) and objective intuitively available goods and abstract principles of moral reason (for example, that “you ought to treat like cases alike and different cases different”, or that “you ought to protect the vulnerable who are in your charge”) are given shape and substance, particularized and made concrete locally, resulting in distinct and divergent moral traditions.

#### **'Anthropology and the Debate on the Origins of Ethics'** Monica Heintz, *Paris Nanterre*

This presentation starts by examining the role played by socialist utopia during socialism and the role of Western imaginary and religious faith during post-socialist in Romania, and goes on to argue for the need for transcendence in people's ordinary lives as one of the reasons moral values exist. Moral values could be the result of a search for a more virtuous life, but they need to feed one's will and imagination of what a virtuous life would be in the external and transcendental, beyond ordinary creations: dreams, utopias, unattainable ideals. These ideals can be conveyed through religion, ideology or art. This presentation challenges the 'morality as cooperation' thesis common among cognitive scientists by showing that ethnographic evidence from anthropologists' work runs against such a reductionist definition of morality and suggests that new research directions on the origins of morality should take ethnographic evidence into account.

#### **'The Entanglements of Methodology and Theory in an Ethnography of Trust and Morality'**

Radu Umbres, *SNPS Bucharest*

It used to be the case that ethnographers started as strangers in an unknown society. Though many things have changed, an assumption of alterity remains between researchers and the people they study. They may be from another region, city, or neighbourhood, a different social class or profession. But what if they are kin? This presentation discusses the ethical and theoretical entanglements of my fieldwork in the Romanian village of Sateni. Whereas anthropologists usually end up as adopted by the people amongst which they work, the ethnographer started off as a relative before fashioning a social identity during fieldwork. In a place where people distrusted many (if not most) other villagers, relatedness afforded trust and intimacy, help and cooperation and kin ties which started as convenient connections in the field became entangled with my theoretical interest in conflict and mutualism.

In rituals or taverns, political shenanigans and building houses, I ended up with a dual identity of anthropologist and cousin of A who went to B's funeral and is hanging around with C's party. From intimate relationships to coalitional positions, the researcher became a part of the phenomenon under study, one more element in a web of interactions and representations. The ethics and the bricolage of fieldwork under such conditions thus becomes itself an object of anthropological interest. I argue that we can use this example as a natural experiment where the ethics of methodology and theoretical interpretations of ethics are inseparable.

**'Ethical Dilemmas and Cognitive Moral Frames'** Julia Cassaniti, *Washington State*

Anthropologists are often faced with ethical dilemmas in the field, where we sometimes make choices that are not easily aligned with the moral worlds we encounter. When we decide to intercede in our informants' lives, and write about their personal struggles, we often leverage moral logics that are at odds with those of our informants. In this talk I will relate two ethical dilemmas I have faced in my experiences conducting fieldwork among people in a small Buddhist community in Northern Thailand, to demonstrate how such dilemmas can come about, and how their resolution can add theoretical fodder to the ethics of ethnographic methods. The first involves a decision to intercede in a medical crisis against the wishes of the field informant involved in it. The second involves a decision to share that experience in writing, in my book *Living Buddhism*. In facing these dilemmas I was confronted with differences between the cognitive moral frameworks of my informants and I, as we navigated the ambiguities that arose in privileging ethics of autonomy and community. In tracing the outcomes of these dilemmas I share some of the lessons they hold for changing approaches to ethics in the anthropological field.



## Participants

**Julia Cassaniti** is an Associate Professor of Psychological and Medical Anthropology at Washington State University. She is the author of *Living Buddhism: Mind, Self, and Emotion in a Thai Community* (Cornell U. Press, 2015) and *Remembering the Present: Mindfulness in Buddhist Asia* (Cornell U. Press, 2018), and the editor of *Universalism Without Uniformity: Explorations in Mind and Culture*. She can be reached at [julia.cassaniti@wsu.edu](mailto:julia.cassaniti@wsu.edu).

**Girish Daswani** is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. His research interests include Ghana, religion, morality and ethics, corruption and activism. For his first book, *Looking Back, Moving Forward: Transformation and Ethical Practice in the Ghanaian Church of Pentecost*, Prof Daswani looked at how Pentecostalism subjectively frames and facilitates church members ideas of religious transformation, personhood, and overseas travel. His most recent scholarly work has been exploring different activist and religious responses to corruption in Ghana. He is currently working on a book manuscript “*On Interruptions: Activist and Religious Responses to Corruption in Post/Colonial Ghana*”.

**Demet Dinler** holds a PhD in Development Studies from SOAS, University of London. She is currently a Lecturer at the School of Global Studies, University of Sussex where she previously held Helena Normanton Fellowship. She specialises in multi-sited ethnographies of local and global markets, market and morality, class relations, post-capitalist solidarity economies. She has been a long-term activist, organiser and practitioner in the fields of labour and gender.

**Matthew Doyle** holds a PhD from the University of Sussex and an MA from the University of Manchester in Social Anthropology. Matthew has taught in the Department of Anthropology at Sussex since 2016. His research focuses on the study of morality, politics and the interaction between legal and political reforms and notions of collective identity. His fieldwork in Bolivia studied the political institutions of a Quechua-speaking indigenous community and their relationship with the national 'Movement Towards Socialism' government. He is also interested in developing mixed experimental and ethnographic methodologies and facilitating dialogue between social anthropology and the cognitive sciences.

**Monica Heintz** is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Paris Nanterre and codirector of the Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative (CNRS/UPN). She has done field research in Eastern Europe and France and has published books and articles on work, citizenship and transitional environments more generally. In her writings on ethics she focuses mainly on the methodology of research: *The Anthropology of Morality: A Dynamic and Interactionist Approach*, Routledge, 2021; the edited volume *Morale et cognition à l'épreuve du terrain*, with Isabelle Rivoal, PUPN, 2019, and the edited volume *The Anthropology of Moralities*, (Berghahn, 2009).

**Webb Keane** is the George Herbert Mead Collegiate Professor of Anthropology. At the University of Michigan he is affiliated with the Social-Cultural and the Linguistic subfields in the Anthropology Department, as well as the Interdisciplinary Program in Anthropology and History and the Center for Southeast Asian Studies. His writings cover a range of topics in social and cultural theory, the philosophical foundations of social thought and the human sciences, and the ethnography and history of Southeast Asia. In particular, he is interested in religion and ethics; semiotics and language; material culture; gifts, commodities, and money; and media. At present his research centers on two topics. The first concerns the ethical dimensions of political conflict, the second, the relations among ethical, religious, and economic systems of value. His most recent book, *Ethical Life: Its Natural and Social Histories* was published by Princeton University Press.

**Kim Knibbe** is Associate Professor in Anthropology and Sociology of Religion at Groningen University. She is currently directing the project “Sexuality, Religion and Secularism” with Rachel Spronk (funded by NWO). She is now developing new research on pregnancy. Previous research focused on Catholicism and spirituality in the Netherlands and on Nigerian Pentecostalism in Europe and the Netherlands. She has also published a series of theoretical and methodological reflections on studying religion.

**Michael Lambek** is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto Scarborough where he held the Canada Research Chair in the Anthropology of Ethical Life (2006-2020). In 2010 he published the edited collection *Ordinary Ethics* and in 2015, *The Ethical Condition: Essays on Action, Person and Value*. He has published four ethnographic monographs; the latest, *Island in the Stream* won the 2019 Elliott P Skinner Award. His edited volumes include *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (1996) and *A Companion to the Anthropology of Religion* (2013). His 2019 Tanner Lecture will be published as *Concepts and Persons*.

**Sian Lazar**, is Reader in Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. Currently working on trade unionism in Argentina, and has interests in citizenship, social movements and the anthropology of Latin America more generally. In the past, she has worked on collective mobilisation in El Alto, Bolivia. Sian explores the ways that ethics, politics and kinship come together in collective politics. She is the author of *El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia* (2008) and *The Social Life of Politics: Ethics, Kinship and Union Activism in Argentina* (Stanford University Press, 2017). She is also editor of *The Anthropology of Citizenship: A Reader* (2013) and is joint editor of the *Journal of Latin American Studies*.

**Maria Louw** is Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology, Aarhus University. Her research interests include morality and ethics, phenomenology, religion, secularism and atheism, care, ghosts and other spectral existences. She has done extensive research in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

**James McMurray** is Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex. His research has explored ethics and identity in Uyghur communities in Xinjiang, China, and he has published on both the anthropology of ethics and the ethics of anthropology.

**Jon Mitchell** is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex. He has conducted ethnographic research since the early 1990s in the Mediterranean island state of Malta. Here, he has worked on issues of politics and Europeanisation, popular ritual, saints' feasts, Catholic visionaries, the materiality of statues, and forms of embodied and sensory religious experience. He has written widely on the concepts of belief, religious practice, the body, and ethics. His most recent book is *Ritual, Performance and the Senses* (edited with Michael Bull), (Routledge, 2015).

**Santiago Ripoll** is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Santiago is a social anthropologist specialising in ethnographic and participatory approaches to health and food system analysis, with an emphasis on ethics. He uses an anthropological lens within trans- and inter-disciplinary research in humanitarian health emergencies and policy debates around food.

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