

# Anuncios

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- Como estuvo la sesion extra de la ayudantia.
- Progreso en los trabajos grupales.
- Como dice el programa: Pueden enviarme borradores del trabajo antes (hasta el jueves a las 5 pm).

# Ethnography

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## Geertz

- Considerar: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avW6g31hy-c> [10 mins]
- buscar otro de "deep play" de J. Bentham.
- Paper seminal en etnografia y descripcion gruesa: como fil. pol., no importan las lineas de texto, pero lo que esta en medio de ellas. Similarmente, no importa el hecho, si no lo que significa.
- Cockfights estaban prohibidas, pero eran super practicadas: diferencia entre estudiar la realidad inmediata, y la trama institucional.
- Ejemplo de "descripción densa": "They were wrong. In the midst of the third match, with hundreds of people, including, still transparent, myself and my wife, fused into a single body around the ring, a superorganism in the literal sense, a truck full of policemen armed with machine guns roared up. Amid great screeching cries of "pulisi! pulisi!" from the crowd, the policemen jumped out, and, springing into the center of the ring, began to swing their guns around like gangsters in a motion picture, though not going so far as actually to fire them. The superorganism came instantly apart as its components scattered in all directions. People raced down the road, disappeared head first over walls, scrambled under platforms, folded themselves behind wicker screens, scuttled up coconut trees. Cocks armed with steel spurs sharp enough to cut off a finger or run a hole through a foot were running wildly around. Everything was dust and panic."

"The Balinese attempt to create an interesting, if you will, "deep," match by making the center bet as large as possible so that the cocks matched will be as equal and as fine as possible, and the outcome, thus, as unpredictable as possible. They do not always succeed. Nearly half the matches are relatively trivial, relatively uninteresting?in my borrowed terminology, "shallow"?affairs. But that fact no more argues against my interpretation than the fact that most painters, poets, and playwrights are mediocre argues against the view that artistic effort is directed toward profundity and, with a certain frequency, approximates it. The image of artistic technique is in deed exact: the center bet is a means, a device, for creating "interesting," "deep" matches, not the reason, or at least not the main reason, why they are interesting, the source of their fascination, the substance of their depth. The question why such matches are interesting?indeed, for the Balinese, exquisitely absorbing?takes us out of the realm of formal concerns into more broadly sociological and social-psychological ones, and to a less purely economic"

- En Bali, una pelea de gallos va mas alla de "la pelea de gallos"; es una representacion de la sociedad: "The language of everyday moralism is shot through, on the male side of it, with roosterish imagery. Sabung, the word for cock (and one which appears in inscriptions as early as a.d. 922), is used metaphorically to mean "hero," "warrior," "champion," "man of parts," "political candidate," "bachelor," "dandy," "lady-killer," or "tough guy." mpous man whose behavior presumes above his station is compared to a tailless cock who struts about as though he had a large, spectacular one. A desperate man who makes a last, irrational effort to extricate himself from an impossible situation is likened to a dying cock who makes one final lunge at his tor mentor to drag him along to a common destruction. A stingy man, who promises much, gives little, and begrudges that is compared to a cock which, held by the tail, leaps at another without in fact engaging him. A marriageable young man still shy with the opposite sex or someone in a new job anxious to make a good impression is called "a fighting cock caged for the first time."5 Court trials, wars, political contests, inheritance disputes, and street arguments are all compared to cockfights".

## Animalidad

- "The madness has some less visible dimensions, however, because al though it is true that cocks are symbolic expressions or magnifications of their owner's self, the narcissistic male ego [is] also expressions [...] of what the Balinese regard as the direct inversion, aesthetically, morally, and metaphysically, of human status : animality"
- "The Balinese revulsion against any behavior regarded as animal-like can hardly be overstressed. Babies are not allowed to crawl for that reason. Incest, though hardly approved, is a much less horrifying crime than bestiality [...] eating is regarded as a disgusting, almost obscene activity, to be conducted hurriedly and privately, because of its association with animality [...] In identifying with his cock, the Balinese man is identifying not just with his ideal self, or even his penis, but also, and at the same time, with what he most fears, hates, and ambivalence being what it is, is fascinated by."

## Challenges to "Rationality"

- No hace sentido (economico) apostar, sobre todo para la gente con mas dinero.
- Pero ese no es el punto en apostar: es poner como protagonista el prestigio social: "This graduated correlation of "status gambling" with deeper fights and, inversely, "money gambling" with shallower ones is in fact quite general"

## Genero y Estatus

- Los que se toman las apuestas de las peleas de gallos en el sentido monetario, son de hecho los "parias" de la sociedad (mujeres, ninos, viejos, etc): "Only women, children, adolescents, and various other sorts of people who do not (or not yet) fight cocks-the extremely poor, the socially despised, the personally idiosyncratic-play at these games, at, of course, penny ante levels. Cockfighting men would be ashamed to go any where near them."
- Los "verdaderos peleadores de gallos" lo ven mas que nada como status, no como fuente de adquisicion monetaria.

- Y es que las peleas de gallos son una extension de la sociedad de Mali: "The focusing element in these focused gatherings, these men generally dominate and define the sport as they dominate and define the society."
  - "What makes Balinese cockfighting deep is thus not money in itself, but what, the more of it that is involved the more so, money causes to happen: the migration of the Balinese status hierarchy into the body of the cock fight."
  - de hecho, las apuestas/peleas no se dan entre miembros del mismo clan familiar.
  - "mock war of symbolical selves, and a formal simulation of status tensions, and its aesthetic power derives from its capacity to force together these diverse realities."

## Final

- The loser is not consoled. People drift away from him, look through him, leave him to assimilate his momentary descent into nonbeing, reset his face, and return, scarless and intact, to the fray. Nor are winners congratulated, or events rehashed; once a match is ended the crowd's attention turns totally to the next, with no looking back. A shadow of the experience no doubt remains with the principals, perhaps even with some of the witnesses, of a deep fight, as it remains with us when we leave the theater after seeing a powerful play well-performed; but it quite soon fades to become at most a schematic memory? a diffuse glow or an abstract shudder? and usually not even that. Any expressive form lives only in its own present? the one it itself creates

"Poetry makes nothing happen," Auden says in his elegy of Yeats, "it survives in the valley of its saying ... a way of happening, a mouth." The cockfight too, in this colloquial sense, makes nothing happen. Men go on allegorically humiliating one another and being allegorically humiliated by one another, day after day, glorying quietly in the experience if they have triumphed, crushed only slightly more openly by it if they have not. But no one's status really changes."

## Fenno (1986)

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- importancia de la observacion.
- observo la votacion de un proyecto de ley (de compra de armas).
- clasifico distintos grupos: "decidores tempranos, "active players", "late deciders"

## Debate

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- estudio de fenomenos micro: perdemos contexto (bosque) por estudiar fenomenos pequenos? (arbol).