Anja Schwalbe

Practising Partnership

Making connections within a transnational education network

Impressum

Acknowledgements

Contents

"Places are made through their connection with each other, not through their isolation."
(Tsing 2000: 330)

1. Global Partnership as Practice

"Global partnership" is a catch-phrase, which, in the last decade, has figured more and more prominently in position papers of national governments and international institutions. Only recently, the European Union has reaffirmed its intention to forster "partnerships" with the so-called Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs).[1] Remaining open to interpretation, the vocabulary of partnership not only pervades the field of international politics and development policy. In their efforts to form transnational networks, also non-governmental organisations in the field of education appeal to its terms (Andreotti 2015, McMillan/Stanton 2014). At the same time, concepts of global partnership and cooperation 'at eye level' have been a subject of criticism within academic and activist debates informed by postcolonial theory. According to critical analyses, the relationships international organisations establish in the name of partnership remain structurally unequal and asymmetric (e.g. Thayer 2010: 166), and reveal continuities with exploitative relationships founded in the past (e.g. Glokal 2016: 5, Andreotti 2015: 222). Concepts of partnership and cooperation should therefore be submitted to critical scrutiny, or at least remain an object of sympathetic suspicion (Glokal 2016: 6).

This is where I will start my inquiry into practicing global partnership. As a participant and part-time facilitator in a nominally European educational network striving to forge global partnerships, I have listened to and engaged in many discussions about the (im)possibility of developing such relationships. Whether and how people living in historically established asymmetric relationships can cooperate as equals under these ongoing conditions of inequality was one of the questions that repeatedly sparked lively debate. While striving to change 'uneven structures' in our cooperations, I started to wonder about the practicalities and formalities of these global partnerships: indeed, what structures are we *building* in our cooperation? What forms do we come up with for the kind(s) of globalised sociality we strive for, and what do these forms in turn do to our relationships? Such were the questions I found myself asking as a participant in a transnational network of educators. My questions mirror the broader shifts of perspective which have led social scientists in the last decades to turn from studying cultures and systems to studying practices (Hörning/Reuter 2004, Knecht 2013); from looking at politics to looking at politics and policies in the making (Latour 1987, Barry 2013).

US-historian of science and technologies Geoffrey Bowker (1995) has suggested 'infrastructural inversion' as a figure of thought and a strategy to acknowledge social change as an outcome of how the world is materially structured, instead of being a direct

---

[1] At this occasion, the European Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development asserted that we may be far apart, but the partnership between the EU and the Overseas Countries and Territories is very strong and will continue to grow in the future." (EC 2018: 1)

result of new (scientific) insights. According to this perspective, it was not only the new medical knowledge and treatments which led to increased life expectancy in the 19th century, but concrete and material changes in the living conditions, such as the building of sewage systems and innovations in food production and distribution (ibid.: 235). In the words of Danish anthropologist of science and technology Casper Bruun Jensen (2007: 361), this inversion prevents us from delegating power "to an 'elsewhere,' a hidden structure, a static hierarchy, or any other version of a 'big picture'". Instead, it draws attention to how relationships are being structured practically and materially. According to German anthropologist Michi Knecht, it is a strength of praxeography as a methodological practice within ethnography that it addresses these questions of power and inequality precisely by taking bodily and material contributions into consideration. When freeing themselves from assumptions about social systems and binarisms, observers are able to stay open to describing concrete actions and interactions of objects and people. (Knecht 2013: 99, see also Law 2006: 430)

A second methodological inversion that inspired my research question comes from the context of globalisation studies. US-anthropologist Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (2000) has called for scholars of the 'global' to challenge the assumption that (geographic) places, regions and sites of global engagement exist by themselves, ready to be studied. Tsing shifts her attention away from giving answers to questions about global change and its presumably linear and stable power relations. Instead she looks at the material and geographic conditions of concrete practices in which these regions and sites are being made through their connection (Tsing 2000: 330). Tsing suggests treating the belief in and the aspiration to the global with the same curiosity and investigative care that anthropologists have devoted to other ghost beliefs. Understanding the global as a ghost or fantasy, according to her, allows researchers to remain open to the heterogeneous and sometimes contradicting descriptions of ghost beliefs, to examine the concrete practices devoted to them and attend to the different questions these ghosts raise (ibid.: 351).

In my study, I transfer this sensitivity to how places, things and people interact and form associations, to another field which has long-since developed its own critical approaches to power relations and global-local interrelations in dialogue with academic scholarship. My research looks at the collaborations in a project that brings together six non-governmental and one government organisation from six countries within and outside the European Union. All but one of them were already part of or associated with a network of educational NGOs and semi-governmental organisations running a joint educational programme. Since 2003 this programme has promoted Global Learning (or global citizenship education)[2]. For many years, its members and external partners have

---

[2] Within the network, organisations refer mainly to the three concepts of Global Education (GE), Global Learning (or *Globales Lernen*) and Global Citizenship Education (GCE, or *Education à la citoyenneté mondiale*), internally heterogeneous educational concepts which draw on a range of methodologies from non-formal education and adult education. They share the aim to promote an understanding of different world regions, societies and economies as interdependent and address learners as responsible actors within local and global interdependencies. While all three concepts emerge from a tradition of development education in the Global North, Global Citizenship is also firmly rooted in academic discourse and extends the aim of educating informed 'citizens' on a national scale to include global interdependencies (Parmenter 2011). Many of the theories and methodologies incorporated into GE and its relatives were originally conceived by educators and

problematized the strict division of roles and the unequal access to financial and material resources, knowledge and decision making. Especially the German organisation involved has privileged access to financial resources through direct funding from a German federal ministry and has so far provided a large part of the finances for the network's shared projects. In order to find more independent sources of financing and integrate long-time partners and other interested organisations from the Global South, some of the members decided to jointly apply for funding under the ERASMUS+ programme funded by the European Commission. After a first unsuccessful attempt, their second project proposal was accepted in December of 2015 by the *Education, Audiovisual and Cultural Executive Agency* (EACEA) – the agency implementing ERASMUS+ on behalf of the European Commission – in the *Key Action 2, Cooperation for Innovation and Exchange of Good Practices* under the funding line of *Capacity Building for Youth* ([EC] 2016: 118-129). The project included physical meetings in the form of four thematic seminars and other more tangible outputs, such as a jointly produced manual of Global Education practice. Its aim was to enable the organisations to come together, negotiate different perspectives on their work and to engage in a shared learning process, in order to restructure and 'globalise' the joint educational programme.

I knew a majority of the project participants from several years of shared activism within the network, had been hosted by the Beninese partner organisation as an intern and participant in the network's educational programme in 2011 and had met with colleagues from the South African organisation during an academic exchange semester in 2015. These personal ties and my knowledge of the project's history allowed me to fit into the project as a welcome student researcher and, during my fieldwork with the South African partner, to provide an additional helping hand.

Driven by a similar interest as the discussions in the educational network from which the project emerged, sociologist Millie Thayer (2010) has done research on the question how feminists based in the North and South strive to democratise their cooperation and "sustain equitable political alliances in the face of forces that threaten to remake their relationship" (ibid.: 2). In her long-term ethnographic study of transnational cooperation in two feminist non-governmental organisations from Northern Brazil, she enquires into the "forms of agency and new kinds of domination" (Thayer 2010: 5) which emerge in the co-operation between local feminist activists and their sympathetic and well-intended Northern donors. Thayer focuses on the moments of tension between dominance and solidarity and the effects of powerful discursive forces in what she calls a "transnational feminist counterpublic" (ibid.: 130). She argues that while negotiations are shaped by ideals of horizontal and collaborative engagements, the discourses connected to money flows, funding criteria, implementing procedures and evaluation processes transform this space into a competitive and hierarchical "social movement market" in which the relation-ships themselves become commodities (ibid.: 166-167). When Thayer enquires into the

---

activists in colonized and post-colonial societies (e.g. Freire 1970, Boal 1985). All three approaches have therefore been critized for appropriating subaltern pedagogies without acknowledging these origins. For a fundamental critique of GE and GC education based on post- and decolonial thought see Andreotti (2006) and Abdi et al. (2015). For a critique in German-speaking contexts see Danielzik and Flechtker (2012) and Glokal (2013).

meanings and discourses that go hand in hand with funding money, her approach to transnational cooperation draws on practice theory and follows the idea of infrastructural inversion insofar as it looks at the moments and practices of translation and at how material conditions shape these practices. However, she acknowledges only certain kinds of participants and actors. The geographer Andrew Barry (2013, 2013a) here takes a radically different approach. Drawing on studies of actor-networks involved in the making of scientific knowledge and technological innovations he seeks to understand political situations also in terms of their "relations between the molecular and the international." (Barry 2013a: 422) In order to understand what transformations have accompanied for example the development of the European Union, he maintains that not only humans and their political identities needed to be taken into consideration, but also the material compositions of things such as light bulbs, air and chemicals (ibid.: 421).

When transferring concepts and tools from the study of science to the field of international relations, Barry acknowledges that they must be adjusted to the problems that the latter poses (ibid.: 429). My aim, therefore, is twofold: first, to understand how global partnership is being practised and what connections are made in a project whose human participants – professionals in non-formal adult education – aspire to globalness, power-sensitivity and inclusiveness, and strive to change the historically unequal grounds of their transnational encounters. My second aim then is to find out what the concept of infrastructural inversion and a focus on powerful material interrelations contributes to the debates about inequalities in my field. Following the US-anthropologist Susan Leigh Star's (1999: 377) "call to study boring things" I will focus on the administrative and coordination work in the project and ask: How is 'global partnership' being practised in this ERASMUS+ project? What are the administrative and coordinating practices?[3] Who are the actors in these practices? And what differentiations and connections are made?
The many passive constructions marking these research questions reflect my aim to consider the heterogeneous and situationally diverse actors involved, leaving it open for the time being whether the actors are people, objects, documents or other more abstract things (see Latour 1987: 176).

A European network going global

This particular project appealed to me as a field of research precisely because of its ambivalent relationship with the concept of 'partnership'. Project partners and network members on the one hand challenge assumptions about role distributions and criteria for successful 'cooperation at eye level.' When questioning their cooperation, they draw on

---

[3] When I refer to practice, I am drawing on Barbara Czarniawskas (2007, 2015) attempts to reconcile Alasdair MacIntyres (1981: 175) human-centred definition of practice – as any coherent socially established activity which produces 'goods', in a material sense and in a sense of values – with a more symmetrical approach as offered by science and technology studies. In identifying practices, I will take as an orientation Czarniawska's (2007: 8) concise conclusion: "A practice is usually performed in cooperation among humans, things, and machines." It also implies an aspect of striving for excellence – as in 'practicing' – within a given social context. In her use of the term, throwing a ball or writing an e-mail are not yet practices, but playing a ball game and coordinating a project consortium are. (c.f. Czarniawska 2015: 107)

postcolonial and post-socialist analyses of the power imbalances that have been established, and have been recreated between their states and societies for decades or centuries. Based on this approach they are sensitive to negotiations of power in their network(s), critically evaluating their own and other cooperations between organisations based in world regions that belong to different sides of these historical divides – be it the global South/global North-, East/West or other geopolitical divides. On the other hand, however, they rely on ideas of eye-level cooperation, or balanced and equally rewarding partnerships, as an ideal to be aspired to. Partnership, consequently, is framed as an attempt to ultimately transform or overcome the 'old unequal structures', while being fully aware that current cooperation necessarily rests on and benefits from these very structures. When asking about the practices and connections that determine collaboration, the project is interesting in two more ways. One concerns its source of funding and the discourses and policies linked to it, the other relates to the form of the project itself.

ERASMUS+ is a European Union funded programme designed to foster exchange between European youth and professionals in education and training from currently 28 EU-member states and five neighbouring countries (EC [n.d.]: 3). While the acronym is still widely associated with the former EU programme launched in 1978 to promote mobility and exchange in higher education, since 2014 the new ERASMUS+ incorporates all European Union programmes in the fields of education, vocational training and youth work, including non-formal education (EC 2016: 8).[4] The individuals, institutions and organisations that are eligible for support vary according to the different sub-programmes and key actions. Underlying the criteria of eligibility is a distinction between *programme countries* (the 28 EU member states and five neighbouring countries) and *partner countries* (ca. 170 countries across the world). Organisations based in one of the programme countries can apply for funding individually or as leaders of a consortium of several other organisations, so-called lead applicants, whereas organisations based in any of the partner countries can only participate in a consortium application led by an organisation from a programme country (EC 2016: 22-25). The so-called Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) which were 'associated' to the European Economic Community since its beginnings in what Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson (2014: 227) have called an "anti-independence yet non-colonial" project, are counted as programme countries. The programme guide distinguishes two kinds of partner countries; those neighbouring the EU (including the "South-Mediterranean countries", that is North African coastal countries, Israel, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan and the "Eastern Partnership countries" including Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Georgia) and a larger group of "Other Partner Countries" (EC 2016: 24). The latter are grouped into nine geographic regions based on classifications from the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), a financial instrument implementing EU development policies. The geographical scope of ERASMUS+ eligibility varies according to the different actions of the programme.

This distinction into insiders and not-quite-insiders, or *partners*, is one also made in the educational network from which this NGO-project emerged. Partner organisations in

---

[4] See the ERASMUS+ Programme Guide, available in the most recent version at:
https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/resources/programme-guide_en (last accessed 2/3/2018).

the network have, for years, voiced their interest in becoming full members and taking on more responsibilities in the joint educational programme. Their participation in the project has meant a step forwards in gaining access to and participating in the network's knowledge production.

The consortium whose practices I will be following throughout the next chapters was led by a non-governmental organisation involved in youth work and non-formal education based in the Czech Republic and brought together four other NGOs working in the same field from Benin, France, Ireland and Slovenia as well as a research unit from a South African university. The German agency mentioned earlier, because of its government status, was connected to the consortium through an individual agreement with the lead applicant and contributed the portion of the financial resources to the project which beneficiaries have to raise themselves.

That a project funded through the European Union should provide financial support for establishing 'global' partnerships is not surprising, given the pervasive rhetoric of expanding cooperation and exchange, which is part of an on-going EU discourse about culture and education.[5] It is even more noteworthy in the context of questions about scale-making practices. With reference to Edward Said's (1979) study of *Orientalism* as a discursive co-construction of an Occidental Self and an Oriental Other, as well as post-colonial theory more generally (e.g. Fanon 1966: 80-81, Chakrabarty 2000), critical Europeanisation studies have argued that attempts to establish Europe as a stable entity have always relied – both symbolically and materially – on relationships with what was constructed as outside, or the Other, of Europe (e.g. Hansen/Jonsson 2014). Thus, studies of Europe as a world region in the making have to consider these historic and contemporary interrelations (Conrad/Randeria 2013: 33). In the same way, when studying practices of global partnership, I need to consider their links to other scale-making projects, that is for example the discourses and practices of ERASMUS+ funding as part of the European Union's Europeanisation policies. Consistent with the strategies Anna Tsing (2000) has suggested for studies of *globalism projects*, I will assume neither the network nor the project as representing European or global entities per se and will instead understand them as sites made through connection (Tsing 2000: 330). I will look more specifically at how various other scale-making projects affect these practices.

Partnership in and as a project

A third aspect renders the project of making global connections an interesting field for studying contemporary scale-making practices and their powerful socio-material configu-

---

[5] The Strategic Plan 2016-2020 of the European Commission's Directorate General for Education and Culture, for example, states as a "Specific Objective 1.4: To support the Union's external action, including its development objectives, through targeted capacity-building in partner countries, cooperation between Union and partner country institutions or other stakeholders and the promotion of mobility, and to enhance the international dimension of activities in education and training by increasing the attractiveness of European higher education institutions." (EC 2016: 59) What kinds of relationship these cooperations are targeting of course is another question. The strategic plan for example frames cooperation with EU-external partners as a need for increasing the EU's competitiveness (ibid.: 22).

rations. It is the fact that the attempt itself to establish global connection here is realised as a project in the literal sense of the term. Projects have been described as a social and economic way of organising the social dating back to the 17th century (Maldonado 2002, Bröckling 2005). In his "Essay upon Projects", Daniel Defoe promotes the project as a mode of solving social problems, requiring entrepreneurial bravery and tolerance to risk, as well as providing a creative and resilient strategy for dealing with precarity (Defoe 1697, in Maldonado 2002: 81). The project has become a pervasive mode of action (Bröckling 2005: 364) which is drawn on to facilitate social change, especially under conditions of insecurity and friction between the contradicting imperatives of being held accountable for public spending on the one hand and having to deliver predictable results on the other (Rottenburg 2000: 155). Projects are, at the same time, a set of practices and technologies and a specific mode of subjectivity (Bröckling 2005: 366). In my research, I understand the project as a form that realizes the circular and sometimes confusing aspect of cooperating in order to become partners; practices oscillate and mediate between the goal to *become* partners (through a project and its activities), and the practice of *being* partners (in a project consortium).

Throughout the following chapters, my line of argumentation will be twofold. First, I suggest that the project as a form relates to partnership and cooperation in a double sense: it is a partnership and cooperation in itself – and it is a *means* of achieving partnership. The connection between the two seems to always lie somewhere else: when a project is written, the collaboration in a consortium still lies in the future, while during its implementation, inscriptions made in the past through budgets and proposals continue to haunt all efforts to cooperate as equals.

Secondly, I will argue that the project as a form of cooperation and partnership has to be constantly re-established and maintained in many practices, which in turn require connection work. In this sense, the project is one of the sites of concrete and close encounters which, according to Tsing, are established through connecting and scale-making practices. I will draw on four situations in order to describe how connections in this project are being made. Each of these situations illustrates one form of connection-making: by establishing and maintaining co-presence; by using formalities to negotiate attractions and repulsive forces between the project and its various elements and participants; by differentiating and articulating different types of work and workers; and, finally, by negotiating the co-existing practical realities of the project. I will show how different kinds of actors – from calendars, chairs, documents, doodles, e-mails and humans, to a phone conference service and a white board – participate in partnership practices and jointly shape the globalist project of 'global partnership'.

2. Researching ghosts: theoretical perspectives for studying a globalism project

Sometime in mid-August of 2015, I was sitting with my friend and colleague Zuzanna[6] in our kitchen in one of the colourful terraced Victorian houses we were sharing with three other foreign students in a Southern Suburb of Cape Town, both working on our laptops on opposite sides of the heavy wooden kitchen table. Struggling to concentrate on my readings for a course on public history and tourism studies that I was taking as an exchange student at the University of the Western Cape, I half-listened to Zuzanna talking via Skype to a colleague from the educational network she was at the time working for. Together they were about to complete a funding proposal and still needed to write a paragraph about the educational programme of the network. As Zuzanna promised to take care of it as soon as they finished the call, I found my attention slowly drifting away from my response paper to the other side of the table. When she asked me how I would describe the educational impact the network was promoting, I moved over to her side of the table and we went on to formulate a short presentation on her laptop.

Almost two years later, going through my research notes, I remembered this situation in the kitchen and it dawned on me that the paragraph we had been writing there and then was in fact part of the proposal for the ERASMUS+ project. Inadvertently I had happened upon what I now understand to be the beginning of my research on this project, over a year before I started doing research. My participation in the project had begun as unpaid and invisible work, which even I had quickly forgotten about. This first encounter now re-appeared like a ghost in a more literal sense. It had anticipated what was to become one of my methodological strategies: going back and forth between past inscriptions and present practices.

Zuzanna's and my own volunteer involvement at this stage of the project also resonates with questions raised by a sociology of work and organisations, as well as with questions addressed in science and technology studies. It focused my attention on invisible work (Star/Strauss 1999) in different kinds of collaboration (Callon 1999, Latour 2005), making me mindful of unexpected work and workers – both in a literal (e.g. Strauss 1985: 8) and in a figurative sense (Latour 1987: 176) – as well as of connections established in the past and present (Latour 2005: 166). It also sensitized me to the practices and close encounters through which places, sites and scales are made (Tsing 2000) and to the need to assemble a project with articulation work (Strauss 1988, Strauss 1985: 16). Throughout the following pages, I will locate my research between these concepts developed in anthropological studies of the global, infrastructure studies and actor-network theory which initially inspired my research. Speaking with recent proponents of infrastructure studies, I understood these concepts as bridges into my field, rather than as absolute points of reference, providing me a means of access while holding my interpretations in suspense (Howe et al. 2016: 549).

---

[6] I have rendered anonymous all personal names and other information that could serve to identify individuals.

Global networks, globalising projects

Over the course of my research, people around me have often asked: "Partnership bet-ween NGOs from the South and North, East and West – all very well, but what are these networks and cooperation projects being created for in the end?" What was it that these partnerships were generating, they inquired. Was it a kind of knowledge production? I usually answered that this was in fact the case. Indeed, the participants were sharing their knowledge about educational approaches, methods and good practices for teaching about historical and present day global interdependencies and power systems like racism. In this respect, the project was an exchange programme of professionals of non-formal political adult education. But it was not only that. If I took the purpose of this cooperation seriously, what it was striving to produce were more equitable *global relationships* between people and organisations.

Anna Tsing has suggested that we understand globalisation, as the social sciences already had done with the broader idea of and aspiration to modernisation, as "a set of *projects* with cultural and institutional specificities and limitations." (Tsing 2000: 328, emphasis in original). But how do we find such projects of imagining and making globality? Where do we search for the overlaps, alliances, collaborations and complicities in which the global is made (ibid.: 334)? Tsing suggests that "the choice of what counts as a project depends on what one is trying to learn about, but, in each case, to identify projects is to maintain a commitment to localization, even of the biggest world-making dreams and schemes." (ibid.: 347) This means to look at concrete sites in which scales like nations, regions, or the global and local are made through connecting practices, or through what she has called scale-making practices (ibid.: 338, see also Tsing 2012: 523). Research in this perspective is no longer seeking to distinguish between "global forces" and "local places", globalising homogenisation and localising diversification, but assumes that "the cultural processes of all 'place' making and all 'force' making are both local and global, that is, both socially and culturally particular and productive of widely spreading interactions." (Tsing 2000: 352) Central to her argument is a relational and constructivist understanding of the concept of *scale* which she defines as:

> "[...] the spatial dimensionality necessary for a particular kind of view, whether close or from a distance, microscopic or planetary. I argue that scale is not just a neutral frame for viewing the world, scale must be brought into being; proposed, practiced and evaded as well as taken for granted." (Tsing 2005: 58)

Tsing suggests looking at both *ideologies of scale,* which make claims about the existence of and linkage between particular scales, and *projects of scale-making*, "that is, relatively coherent bundles of ideas and practices as realized in particular times and places" (Tsing 2000, S. 347). It is the "cracks" (ibid.) in these projects and ideologies which allow a deeper and differential understanding of the global (Tsing 2005, Tsing 2012: 510). Attention to scale-making, according to Tsing, moves beyond the "list of globally settled 'scapes'" identified by Arjun Appadurai (1990)[7], as it looks at how different

---

[7] In his widely-debated article "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy", Arjun Appadurai (1990) suggested five intervowen dimensions of global cultural flows, so-called "scapes", which according to

projects – whether local or global – are imagined, and at how they interlink or cancel each other out (Tsing 2000: 345). When studying diversity and problems of living together in difference, scholars need to attend to scalable forms, that is projects that can be expanded – or shrunken – without being adapted and without transforming their outcome, as well as to non-scalable phenomena – which alter their form when changing scale – since it is the latter which lie at the heart of all scale-making projects (Tsing 2012: 515).

In her examples of concrete globalism projects, Tsing includes the research done by US-legal anthropologist Annelise Riles on organising and networking efforts in and between South Pacific women's NGOs. In their preparations for and participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, Annelise Riles (2000: 59) noted how the activists imagined themselves being involved in globalised connections through participating in networking activities. When they describe their efforts to "link [...] through communication so we can exchange ideas" (ibid.: 50), their primary objective was to create more and bigger networks. Networking was thus not only a means to an end, but also an end in itself. The aesthetic form of the network, Tsing argues when referring to this example, appeared as another form of global-local connection, alongside older forms like nations and bureaucracies (Tsing 2000: 335). Riles' ethnographic study of networking amongst South Pacific women's NGOs is interesting in another aspect: her highly self-reflexive and academically informed activists anticipate social scientific findings about networks when employing the concept of networking for their own analyses. To discover or describe a network in this context, Riles concludes, does not bring any new insights (Riles 2000: 4). Her reaction to this problem is to take the *forms* that activists work with in their cooperation even more seriously and to look specifically at such aesthetic formations as a network, a bracket in a text or a matrix in a funding proposal, as keys to the practices in the field of transnational networking. In an analogy to the dynamic of networking in order to expand networks, she shows that also when negotiating about wording in documents of international conferences or when writing project proposals with matrices, design and aesthetic form precede and even facilitate action (Riles 2000: 181). It is the shared endeavour to reduce the amount of bracketed text in documents and to fill in the empty spots of a matrix which drive participants' efforts to agree on formulations and think through the logical frameworks of their proposals. The forms thus generate action by turning action into text (ibid.: 161).

Drawing on how Riles lets form guide her ethnographic inquiry (ibid.: 21), I will look at the ERASMUS+ project as "a set of institutions, knowledge practices, and artifacts thereof" (ibid.: 3) which make the global (and local). Following Anna Tsing's call to study concrete and close encounters (Tsing 2000: 348), I understand this project as a site of

---

him allowed us to move beyond the image of homogenisation and heterogenisation in understanding the scope and effects of globalisation. These flows include *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *finanscapes*, *mediascapes*, and *ideoscapes*, or the landscapes shaped by movements and connections of people, technologies and knowledge, financial capital, and of images, information, ideas and master-narratives (ibid.: 297-300). According to him, these (and potentially other) global scapes should be studied not as given facts but as relational constructs, highly dependent on perspective, and with their disjunctiveness and (inter)connectedness acknowledged. Tsing (2000: 345) and others have critized the concept of scapes for moving away from researchable questions and focussing too much on globally spread connections – a criticism Tsing herself has faced.

making specific claims about global and local scales. Attending to the concrete practices in which such scales as the European, the local and global are made real, and to the different kinds of friction which allow connection in these encounters is valuable advice I am taking from Tsing's approach to globalisms. To describe how scale-making occurred in my field and how my colleagues and I participated in it will be the thread running through the next chapters. However before taking this up, I will address some questions raised in studies of infrastructure and social studies of science which are helpful in acknowledging the socio-material aspects of such scale-making projects.

Infrastructure: materialising connection

Unlike the idea of networks, infrastructure has not yet become a concept activists explicitly draw on when analysing their connecting efforts. This does not come as a surprise. Scholars of infrastructure have noted how studies of social relations and practices still tended to treat infrastructures as "unseen backgrounds" for their analyses (Harvey et al. 2017: 2). According to Susan Leigh Star (1999: 243), infrastructures are mostly, in the literal sense of the word, "transparent" to their users, and become visible only in moments of breakdown. Dysfunctionality is at the same time a temporary state that immediately invokes repair and maintenance work, as it is a permanent quality of infrastructure, depending on the knowledge and the abilities other actors bring into the interaction: while for some people, a staircase facilitates climbing or descending to the next floor, it is an obstacle to many others' movement (Star 1991; Star 1999: 380). With this often-quoted example Star illustrates how infrastructures materialise differentiations and thus literally build simultaneous moments of inclusion and exclusion. In a similar 'infrastructural inversion', Bowker and Star (1999: 36) study how information technologies such as data entry procedures obstruct or enable action by the way they "categorize". By asking for the categorisations and classifications inscribed into technological arrangements and the practices that link to them, they recover the powerful material effects of bureaucratic classifications as "practical politics" (ibid.: 45).

Geoffrey Bowker's call to study infrastructural inversion, which I have described in the introduction, initially led me to ask about the infrastructures facilitating projects of global partnership. Casper Bruun Jensen and Atsuro Morita (2015: 620) summarize the analytical promise of infrastructure studies as follows: "[...] if infrastructures are conceived of as experimental systems that generate emergent practical ontologies, then the shape of politics and power is one of the outcomes of infrastructural experiments." By looking at the experimental qualities of infrastructures in my field, I was hoping to be able to address questions of power without neglecting the fact that any (infra)structuring interacts and "plugs into" already established systems which reveal their own specific configurations and materialisations of power (Star/Ruhleder 1996: 113, see also Howe et al. 2016: 555). There is an additional reason why the concept of infrastructure appealed to me as a tool for doing research in a highly self-reflective environment. Penelope Harvey with Jensen and Atsuro (2017: 6) positively emphasise how the concept incites and enables social scientists to

> "look […] for those underlying configurations that are not necessarily the site of active reflection on the part of those whose lives they shape, while also attending to the ways in which people do sometimes reflect on the socio-material conditions that shape their life worlds."

According to German environmental scientist and social anthropologist Jörg Niewöhner (2015a), the notion of infrastructure as socio-material configuration not only allows us to study social organising while responding to the interrelations of structure and agency. By acknowledging "materiality as practice", according to Niewöhner (2015a: 119), the concept also provides a helpful frame for inquiring into the 'how' of connection making, and the powerful relations of centres and peripheries. This understanding draws on Susan Leigh Star's and Karen Ruhleder's classic definition of infrastructure in which they purposefully do not ask *what* it is but rather *when* it happens, and conclude: "An infrastructure occurs when the tension between local and global is resolved." (Star/Ruhleder 1996: 114) I understand this as meaning that infrastructures represent large-scale technologies which – when functioning – enable and shape local practices, and in turn are shaped by the latter (see also Jensen/Morita 2015: 616). Infrastructures are thus not just materialisations of relationships, but come into existence in relation to practices. This sits comfortably with Anna Tsing's endeavour to study how what she calls *globalist projects* are made: studies of the ecology of infrastructures share the belief that global and local come into existence through practices that connect places (and technologies) with each other, rather than through only separating them (Tsing 2000: 330).

However, Harvey and her colleagues warn researchers against too readily assuming the existence of infrastructure as an empirical fact. They underline this argument by quoting Laura Bear's contribution to the 2015 Manchester Group for Debate in Anthropological Theory, in which she stated "[...] that to call something infrastructure has implications in and for the formation of sites of governance." (Harvey et al. 2017: 7). This is true not only for the socio-material configurations of humans, concrete, metal, or fibre optic cables that we commonly recognise as infrastructures, but also for anything else we might be tempted to label "infrastructure". Rather than seeking answers to the question of what infrastructure conceptually and empirically is or is not (cf. ibid.: 6), I draw on infrastructural arrangements and some of the questions they raise as analytical tools (see especially chapter 4).[8] While doing so, I acknowledge them both as participants of the collaborations I study, and as a resource for my own ethnographic involvement (Niewöhner 2015a: 124, Beaulieu 2010).

The metaphorically rich concepts and vocabularies of building and infrastructural maintenance also helped generate discussion with my interlocutors, facilitators of Global Education, with whom these terms clearly resonated; more than the notion of infrastructure itself. In a conversation we shared towards the end of my research stay, one of my colleagues, when describing her work, used metaphors from the context of building and construction: while we were trying to build partnerships with bricks, she argued, in fact we tended to forget about the mortar of cooperation, that is, all the boring and tedious tasks

---

[8] For a more comprehensive discussion of the analytical uses of the concept as well as of the epistemological and methodological issues linked to it, see Niewöhner (2015a); for a reflection of the analytical potential of the paradoxes inherent in infrastructures, see Howe et al. (2016); and for recent ethnographic contributions to the discussion, see Harvey et al. (2017).

which logisticians and administrators had to attend to in order to keep the cooperation running (Fieldnote [FN], 4/12/2017). By drawing attention to invisible work and the work of classifications, studies of infrastructure and infrastructuring (Star/Ruhleder 1996, Star 1999, Bowker/Star 1999) thus not only provided me with helpful concepts and questions for addressing global partnership practices, but also gave my colleagues and me words that allowed us to connect with each other.

Actor-networks: collaborations of things and people

Speaking in terms of infrastructure is a passion my colleagues and I share with scholars of globalisation and scholars of science and technology alike.[9] The German sociologists Sven Opitz und Ute Tellmann (2015: 173) have pointed to both the metaphorical and literal use Bruno Latour has made of infrastructure and such infrastructural terms as 'channels' and 'bridges', 'vehicles' and 'transportation' in his studies of scientific knowledge production: the *sociology of translation*, as Latour (2005: 106) prefers actor-network theory to be called, is "[t]he theoretical perspective that most prominently ties together infrastructure and politics for an understanding of collectivity" (Opitz/Tellmann 2015: 173; Latour 1987, 2005). Infrastructural terms draw attention to – and make it possible to retrace – the myriad connections that have to be made by human and non-human actors in order to assemble and stabilize scientific facts and objects as single and defined entities. Michel Callon, another prominent proponent of actor-network theory, for example draws on terms of transport to describe the connections which scallops, fishermen, scientists and a number of other participants have to make so that a new technique for shellfish farming can be adopted in St. Brieuc Bay: thus, the roads to achieving the individual goals of different actors are blocked by obstacles (predators eating scallop larvae, the fishermen's short-term oriented profit or a lack of scientific knowledge about scallop behaviour) which make the actors get involved with each other, align their respective interests and formulate a common problem (Callon 1999: 70-71).

As Latour points out in his fictional dialogue between a professor and a student of organisational studies, actor-networks mostly do not resemble a network in the sense of web-shaped contacts between professionals, activists, or their organisations (Latour 2005: 142). They can look like objects or like events, like knowledge about scallop farming, or like the double helix of DNA which could only establish itself as scientific fact with the help of a specific kind of metal base that supported the fragile model of the helix (Latour 1987: 12). Staying open to the myriad of actors involved is therefore one of the methodological guidelines Latour suggests for studying science and technology in the making: he asks the researcher to remain undecided as to what any object consists of and suggests that one precisely trace all the actors who perform the work of differentiating between what belongs to this object and what does not belong (Latour 1987: 176).

Consequently, action as used by actor-network theorists is not something single actors can engage in all by themselves. In the literal sense of actor-networks "[a]n actor is

---

[9] A similar discursive strategy of employing landscape elements, which are at the same time infrastructure, can be found in Anna Tsing's "The Global Situation" (e.g. channels, in Tsing 2000: 10-12).

what is made to act by many others" (Latour 2005: 46). Making a comprehensive list with all the actors involved, as Latour (1987: 176) suggests, requires much deeper commitment to each of the different actors and their past associations than I can give each of them here. As Latour points out (2005: 166), "any given interaction seems to *overflow* with elements which are already in the situation coming from some other *time*, some other *place*, and generated by some other *agency*." This overflow will guide the observer to many sites outside her situation while from there she will still have to return to more concrete interactions. In the field of NGO-cooperation I encountered and observed actor-networks in the form of a jointly written document, a financial report or a phone conference in which next to humans also telephones, e-mail accounts, online search engines and time management tools, personal calendars, older documents and funding regulations, to name only a few of the participants, played important roles. Without being able to follow all the actors, attending to such questions as who some of the actors are and who is doing the work in assembling these kinds of networks will allow me to describe in more detail the connections made in the collaborations that an ERASMUS+ project consists of.

Latour accepts that it is not possible to stay in only one or the other of these sites for a long time. Instead the observer should dive into the alternation between micro and macro, local situation and global context (Latour 2005: 168-170). Latour has controversially argued that the social is "flat" in that there is no given hierarchy between global forces and local practices. Instead, the global needed to be re-located and the local redistributed, so that connections between these many sites can be traced (ibid. 172). Empirically this implies to look at mystified structures like capitalism or development as visible and traceable sites (ibid. 179), and meticulously describing the connections through which they are established. Although coming from quite different entry points, this is where I hear actor-network theory resonating with Tsing's (2000) perspective for studying the 'global'.

As I have hinted at in the introduction, following Andrew Barry, transferring the tools and themes of actor-network theory to studies of international relations and politics comes with a number of challenges. According to Barry, the sociology of translation has provided detailed accounts of the relationships between knowledge and power (e.g. Latour 1987: 215-244) and has always recognised translation not only as a literary but as a geo-political process (Barry 2013a: 415-416). In doing so, however, it has put emphasis on describing networks and fluid movements rather than borders and boundaries. These however continue to mark transnational encounters (ibid.: 429). In the contexts of institutional modernisation and development cooperation, scholars of organisation studies like Barbara Czarniawska (2000) and Richard Rottenburg (2000, 2002) have found ways to draw on the sociology of translation to study how *centres of calculation* (Latour 1987: 215), for example in the form of funding agencies, calculate, accumulate and mobilise knowledge about faraway places. The hegemonic knowledge they produce in these calculations can at the same time be a powerful tool of dominance exercised at a distance *and* serve as a defensive strategy for the beneficiaries themselves (Rottenburg 2000: 161). Actor-network theory can thus contribute to studying power in the making of connections, associations and translations without neglecting where the latter are contested, ambiguous, or problematic (cf. Barry 2013: 429).

If the contribution of a sociology of translation is to describe things as networks which at first sight do not look like networks, using its terms easily becomes confusing in a field where people talk and think about forming networks themselves (Latour 2005: 142). To avoid confusion from overlapping terminologies in fieldwork and theory, in the following, I will use the anthropocentric notion of 'network', meaning a web-shaped form of organising contacts between professionals, activists, and their organisations. Whenever I use the term 'collaboration' with reference to activists' joint efforts to establish a project, however, I draw attention to the more-than-human participants and the aspects of negotiation and translation inherent in such association-making. In contrast, when referring to activists or professionals expanding their informal or semi-formal personal contacts in order to share information or simply work towards a shared outcome, side-lining other-than-human participants, I will use the term 'cooperation', which is commonly used in this field. Instead of collaboration – or cooperation – Jörg Niewöhner (2015b: 235) also suggests the term 'co-laboration', denoting „temporary joint epistemic work" between researchers and practitioners of different (scientific) disciplines and areas of expertise. In contrast to cooperation, co-laboration does not necessarily rely on shared intentions and goals or a shared outcome. Instead it strives to engage all participants in shared reflexivity of their practices (ibid.). With its references to laboratories and labour, co-laboration emphasises the experimental character of these joint efforts which remain open in their outcome (ibid.: 236). In my research, practitioners – and me as the researcher – were not really working together from within different epistemic cultures, as the scientists and the anthropologist in Niewöhner's example do. Nor were all relevant actors, human as well as non-human, involved in a shared reflexive project. The notion of co-laboration can, however, be helpful in challenging the assumption that a common understanding of out-comes and shared intentions are necessary for cooperation or indeed a collaborative project which draws on universals such as partnership (see also Tsing 2005: 13).

Projects and articulation work

The notion of networked collaboration has been rendered productive as an analytical con-cept by scholars of science and technology to describe how scientific facts and objects are assembled. In quite a similar way, organisational sociologists have drawn on the notion of *projects as a form* to analyse work processes in organisations. According to US-sociologist Anselm Strauss, all projects share "common properties such as a goal, a tem-poral flow, assembling and maintaining resources, a number of necessary tasks, and a termination." (Strauss 1988: 165) His notion of the project implies the existence of sub-projects, work processes and tasks shared between a group of people in simultaneously fixed and negotiable divisions of labour. It therefore helps to understand the ERASMUS+ project as made up of divisions and connections and adds a third layer to the description of this specific project: in addition to the broader project of establishing global partnership (a globalism project in Tsing's sense) and the project as a form that generates connections, there is also the project in Strauss's sense, a gathering of interlinking work processes and sub-projects.

Strauss, on the other hand, warns his fellow sociologists against "assuming too much integration on the part of the project's organisation" (Strauss 1988: 163-164). Based on his research in organisations such as public hospitals and private companies in the mid-80s, he developed the term *articulation work* (Strauss 1985) to understand and precisely describe the steps that help project participants to "achieve and maintain the 'fitting together' of their work" (Strauss 1988: 163).[10] Articulation work, according to Strauss, is mostly invisible to both participants and researchers, but becomes temporarily visible where work processes are disrupted (ibid.: 171). Even if everything goes according to expectations, projects which follow well established routines rely on invisible articulation work: in their smooth processes, "articulation also rests inevitably on a past history of negotiations, persuasions, searching for usable resources, and the like, which can be unearthed by the researcher only if he or she delves into the history" of a project (ibid.). Strauss uses the example of a standard hip replacement surgery to show how articulation in a project depends on 'past negotiations'. In his example, this history of negotiations, so to say the basis for a successful hip replacement procedure, includes all past development of and experiences with equipment, drugs, machines and procedures, and in addition to that, the training of those who prepare, perform and assist in the surgery (ibid.).

If I transfer this sensitivity to the case of an NGO partnership project, past articulation work similarly involves different levels. On one hand, there are the politically fraught negotiations resulting in the ERASMUS+ funding schemes (and their predecessors) with their specific "key actions" and funding lines, and all the work required to generate and revise the various forms to be filled in, procedures to be respected and vocabularies to be used. On the other hand, there are all the efforts involved in gathering a consortium, liberating work force and time in the respective organisations, persuading a lead applicant to take responsibility for the project and bear the consequences if something goes wrong, writing a proposal with its budget plan and logistical framework, defining the project goals, deliverables and activities, outputs and outcomes[11], and of course: negotiating amendments to the initial budget and proposal with the desk officer in charge. Whereas Strauss assumes agreement on the nature of a project's goal at least to some degree, in more-

---

[10] The "grounded concepts" Strauss (1985: 1) suggests as a means of grasping divisions of labor, including the work involved in making these divisions, were not easy to separate in my field: a number of *types of work* are broken down into *tasks* and *task clusters* (Strauss 1988: 167). These in turn are part of larger *work processes* as in maintaining a flow of resources and making arrangements about the division of labor (ibid.: 166). In making my point here, I borrow his term to refer to the types of work which the partners analytically distinguish in their everyday work, namely facilitation, logistics and admin work. Each of them can include different types of work in a stricter sense of the term, like coordination work (including tasks such as arranging meetings, as part of the work process of establishing co-presence), paper work (writing contracts, revising budgets), conceptual work (designing seminar schedules, developing methods), and many more (see also chapter 6).

[11] As explained by the project manager, outcomes refer to the intangible whereas outputs involve the tangible results of the respective activities (e.g. meetings or seminars) and the deliverables (e.g. webinars, handbooks) of a project. In an interview, one of my colleagues expressed his frustration with deliverables drawing all the attention to themselves while intangible project goals, such as developing relationships, do not get the same attention and resources (Interview Jack, 5/5/2017: 10). I will return to the observation of deliverables and project formalities leading a life of their own in chapter 5.

than-human collaborations and globalism projects I cannot take this agreement for granted. If a shared goal, or even an agreement exists to some extent, producing it in frictional negotiations is a part of and a driving force in the collaboration effort.

The theoretic approaches I have described so far highlight two questions that are highly productive for my study of a global partnership project. The first one is related to the question "Who are the actors?" and helps me decide whom and what to follow. The other concerns the question "What are the practices?" and calls me to look at things, events, and projects as connections. Following Anna Tsing's (2000) call to study how different levels of scale are made in concrete and close encounters, I explore the practices in an ERASMUS+ cooperation as an example of concrete practices of scale-making. Annelise Riles' ethnographies of activist networks show how in such scale-making and connecting practices, bureaucratic forms and design are important generators of activity. The role of position papers, proposals, reports and newsletters in catalysing her activists' connecting efforts reminds me to attend to the concrete and material sides of connecting. Studies of infrastructure place the attention to the material as social (and vice versa) at the centre of their analyses, as they explore the politics of connecting as materialised relations. Actor-network theory, in turn, generalises this approach and applies it to the production of knowledge and technologies. It asks explicitly about the tangible and intangible, human and non-human participants of these engagements: how, where and when are connections being made, and by whom? The concept of articulation sensitises us to the necessity of connection-making on another level: just as the global scale that Tsing (2000) describes as a ghost whose 'making of' requires closer studying, a project supposed to turn a bunch of nongovernmental organisations into partners does not simply exist, but demands a lot of effort, negotiation and connection work to be brought into being. To observe some of this work will be my aim in the next and the following four chapters. As actor-network theory studies how facts are being made in collaborations of heterogeneous actors, I will refrain from assuming established relationships as fact and instead look at how and through which concrete collaborations partnership is being made practically. First however, I will take a step back to look at my own connecting practices and reflect on what they allowed me to learn about connection-making in an ERASMUS+ project.

3. Where and when does collaboration occur? Tracing a transnational project

Since the 1990s, methodological reflections within anthropology have been concerned with fields that claim global interconnection (e.g. Tsing 2005, Tsing 2015, Feldman 2011) and with the question of how to accommodate these interests with new approaches to constructing ethnographic fields of research (Marcus 1995, Gupta/Ferguson 1997, Rabinow/Marcus 2008, Faubion/Marcus 2009). Anna Tsing (2000) in "The Global Situation" locates the fascination with global flows, interconnection and movement in the disciplinary history of anthropology. While studies of globalisation represent a liberating

move away from an anthropology imprisoning its subjects in local places, as Tsing asserts, globalisation studies now tended to take their object of study for granted as a unified entity and thereby naturalised it (Tsing 2000: 327-329). In the same sense, Annelise Riles has summarized the problem raised by studies of the global as follows:

> "The ethnographic problem posed by globalization is not how to generalize from, and catego-rize, or to simplify phenomenological complexity, but rather that the global doesn't exist in the first place (not as a sphere or place of social action open to study)." (Riles 2000: 20)

Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997: 37) have prominently argued for a reconceptualisation of 'the field' as "a sense of a mode of study that cares about, and pays attention to, the interlocking of multiple social-political sites and locations". According to them, 'here' and 'elsewhere', rather than representing neatly separable geographical places, need to be understood as "sites constructed in fields of unequal power relations" (ibid.: 35). Going beyond rethinking the dichotomy of one single 'here' and a distinct 'elsewhere', scholars of globalised phenomena have considered their own constructions of multiple simultaneous 'elsewheres' as part of their multi-sited studies.

Within an anthropology of policy that seeks to study the apparatuses of global governance, Gregory Feldman (2011) suggests what he calls a methodology of *nonlocal ethnography*. 'Nonlocal' methodology, according to him, helps describe "discourses that are present in multiple locations but are not of any particular location" and allows us to study how these discourses shape emerging regimes (ibid.: 33). Drawing on James Clifford's (1997) critique of an ethnographic frame which relies solely on geographical displacement and thereby erases relevant historical realities and possible fields of study, Feldman asserts that also global governance successfully evades participant observation.[12] Nonlocal ethnography reacts to this problem by dissolving the too close connection of 'place' and ethnographic knowledge production and by including other methods in addition to participant-observation, such as archival work, media analysis, statistical analysis and interviews (Feldman 2011: 45). At the same time, it retains two advantages of participant observation in location-specific fieldwork:

> "Those two advantages are displacement – or the alternative insight the ethnographer gains through removal from familiar cultural logics – and contingency – or the importance of particular, situated events in altering or sustaining the status quo." (ibid.: 33)

Displacement thus no longer relies on geographical dis- and relocations and is closely linked to acknowledging the situatedness and contingency of the events studied. Conse-quently how, where and with whom one does research when studying social and cultural processes or phenomena that cannot be confined into one single locality is a matter of continuously re-defining one's own multiple locations[13] with regards to those one is

---

[12] Clifford, for example, argues that the means of transport 'into the field and back', the places which need to be crossed and the contacts which must be established in order to entre a 'field', as well as the sites of translation, including the university and debates with fellow researchers, tend to be sidelined by an ethnography which focusses on dwelling, or being at home in 'the field' (Clifford 1997: 23).

[13] With the term *locality* I refer to (geographical or non-geographical) spaces commonly taken for granted, whereas *location* more abstractly implies the social practices of establishing relational positions (Gupta/Ferguson 1997: 35).

studying (see Haraway 1988). Here again, Anna Tsing provides an example for how this kind of methodological reflection can lead to new understandings of force-making and place-making in globalism projects. When she calls for heightened attention to the practices in which scales are made, she applies this focus as much to the practices in the respective fields of research as to the researcher's field- and scale-making practices themselves (e.g. Tsing 2000: 347-448, 352). If, as Tsing suggests, sites and their levels of scale are not only the locations in which practices take place, but the result of practices themselves, then studies of the global would have to ask: what social and material practices are producing particular sites, the local and the global for example, or partnership and cooperation? Taking a step back from the seemingly clear distinction of *global* partnership and *local* collaborations, in my research I treat partnership and collaboration as local and global practices at the same time. I will discuss what this means more concretely in the next four chapters.

Office chair ethnography: Striving for co-presence

Beyond theoretical considerations, looking at local and global sites as outcomes of practices that are, for their part, simultaneously global and local, impacts on how I as an anthropologist conceptualise and construct my research field. Especially studies of knowledge production in communities that are distributed across online and offline spaces have made valuable contributions to more hybrid conceptualisations of fields of research (e.g. Beaulieu 2010, Hine 2007, Hine 2015). At the heart of these endeavours have been discussions of the ways in which ethnographers can connect to and immerse themselves in these fields. Apart from providing more traditional forms of immersion that are often firmly rooted in spatial proximity, these debates have helped open up ethnographic methodologies to acknowledge and incorporate more diverse forms of ethnographic researcher-field connection (see also Faubion 2009: 145, Feldman 2011: 45). Invoking the methodological potential of research about laboratories, organisations and knowledge production within science and technology studies and the anthropology of policy, Sabine Hess and Maria Schwertl (2013: 32) suggest defining a field of research not by localising the object of research in geographic spaces but – with reference to studies of actor-networks – by paying attention to the connections the researcher is able to make.[14]

Anthropologist and science and technologies scholar Anne Beaulieu (2010) follows a similar argument. Inspired by her experience with a contact person who recommended that she familiarize herself with the web presence of the institution she was researching, instead of giving her the desired tour of its premises, she suggests replacing concerns about how to achieve *co-location* with our research subjects with an interest in how to establish *co-presences*. By "letting go of [shared geographic] space as primary reference

---

[14] The strategy of focussing on the researcher's connection-making also draws on the methodology developed in studies of border regimes (Grenzregimeanalyse) by Vassilis Tsianos and Sabine Hess (2010). In a radically constructivist approach, Grenzregimeanalyse understands research fields as assemblages which emerge in the process of doing research and through the connections the researcher is able to make (Hess/Schwertl 2013:31; Tsianos/Hess 2010: 253).

and necessary condition" and by instead looking for the ways that people in the field use to connect with each other, ethnographers more easily acknowledge varied and interwoven forms of connection that do not necessarily all rely on physical proximity (ibid.: 464). In a very similar way, Christine Hine has argued that deciding what immersion means for a concrete field becomes more difficult when this field is multi-sited and diffuse (2015: 56). She invites ethnographers to rearticulate their notion of immersion to include mediated forms of engagement and "to involve following connections rather than assuming physical co-presence in geographic space." Following connections in Hine's sense implies involving the internet not only as a self-contained place one can go to and do research, but also as a tool in constructing field sites "without making an assumption that the Internet acts as a discrete virtual domain" (Hine 2015: 24). More generally, the sites recognised by multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) when following people, objects, metaphors, stories or conflicts, should not be narrowly understood as delimitable (geographic) places. In the case of this study, I will follow the ghost of partnership through the sites made in administrative practices of project implementation. Beaulieu's and Hine's suggestions led me to ask more concretely: how, where and when do educators forge connections in a cooperation project, and who helps them?[15] I could not take separate local places of the cooperation for granted, simply visiting them and then puzzling them together as pieces of a global picture of the cooperation. In my field, the attempts to establish global connections were the actual 'local' sites.

The three main methods through which I established co-presence in my research and gained insights into the cooperation practices were *participant observation* – both co-local and non-local in Feldman's (2011) sense; *shadowing*[16] of administrators and logisticians in the offices of the Czech, the German and the South African partner organisations (Czarniawska 2007); and *semi-structured interviews* (O'Reilly 2005: 116-122). The people I interviewed were staff or contractors working for one of the seven participating organisations, the project coordinator and an external expert on project management in the field of education. Over the course of eight months I followed the communication between the project partners in hyperspace through e-mails, skype meetings and a phone conference. I took part in these cooperation practices in infrastructurally similar environments as my colleagues did: sitting at a desk in offices or at home, looking at my screen and typing on my keyboard. In addition to this continuous office chair research, I engaged in the partnership practices in face-to-face situations, such as the partner meetings and seminars. Finally, during a six-week stay with the South African organisation, I took part in the preparations of one of the four seminars as a

---

[15] While also being inspired by Anne Beaulieu's (2010) reflections on the importance of temporalities in making co-presence, this formulation mirrors Susan Leigh Star's and Karen Ruhleder's (1996: 114) interest in the modalities and temporalities of infrastructure, when they shifted attention from defining what infrastructure is to when (and in relation to what) it occurs.

[16] In contrast to Georg Breidenstein and others, who describe different strategies an ethnographer can rely on in her "efforts to reconstruct the participant perspective" (Breidenstein et al. 2013: 177), with the term shadowing Barbara Czarniawska distances herself from such an endeavour. She values shadowing as a method which recognises that participant and observer are able to see different things. Shadowing therefore is not about being able to represent something from an insider's perspective, but rather employs outsidedness as a technique and an attitude in order to draw on difference as a source of knowledge. (Czarniawska 2007: 21)

helping hand and assistant to the local administrators. Archived e-mail-communication, administrative documents generated in the project – such as the proposal, the budgets and interim reports – as well as documents provided by the donor – like the programme guide, the grant agreement and templates for documents – not to mention the interviews in which participants reflected on their practices in the project (Czarniawska 2007: 78-79) taken together allowed me to reconstruct some of the practices I could not witness or participate in otherwise and therefore provided a valuable source of information about geographically distributed cooperation.[17] In line with Beaulieu's (2010: 460) argument about fieldwork as a cyclical activity, I started processing and analysing my data parallel to doing research. Using the qualitative data analysis tool MAXQDA, I subjected my field notes, archived communication, documents and interview transcripts to open coding (Emerson/Fretz/Shaw 2011: 175), taking note of recurring activities, objects and questions. I then followed these themes back into other parts of the data, drawing on what Emerson et al. have called "focussed coding" (ibid.: 193) and "writing integrative memos" (ibid.: 193).

Engaging in erratic connection: e-mails as events

Following Anne Beaulieu's suggestion that I consider my office-chair research as "proper fieldwork", I learned with time that what I was doing in between the two shorter and third and longer research stays, when there were not even conference calls to participate in, and I was sitting at my desk, collecting and responding to e-mails, was actually a field trip in itself. Quite naturally, I had counted phone calls and meetings as events but initially had not attributed this quality to the practice of writing or receiving e-mails. Realizing my mistake, I began to ask myself: what do the kinds of connections I am offered and included in, and the logistics of absence/presence I am becoming a part of, tell me about the field? What does it mean that receiving an e-mail can actually become an event?

Here, the coordination work involved in organising interviews is a telling example. In contrast to many other fields, my problem was not to earn people's trust and convince them to participate (cf. O'Reilly 2005: 141), but rather to find and agree on times and tools to *do* the interview. Personal and face-to-face meetings were scarce in the project.

---

[17] Czarniawska has used the term "observant participation" (Czarniawska 2007: 78) for methods which incite and explicitly draw on insiders' reflections of their experiences and practices, like diary interviews, upholding a clear distinction between insider and outsider. Social movements studies have broadened the concept to include "engaged 'observant participation'" (e.g. Juris et al. 2012: 435), that is, collaborative activist research in which the boundaries between researcher/writer and researched/participant are dissolved (Juris 2008: 20). My own stance as an ethnographer has swung back and forth between what Juris (2008) has called "militant ethnography" – engaging as an active participant instead of positioning myself at a distance, organising workshops, facilitating meetings, taking positions in political and strategic debates (ibid.); a role I have also had in the network before I became a researcher in the project – and what Christine Hine (2015: 131) refers to as "a sense of appropriate complicity for each situation". She summarizes her engagement as a researcher as follows: "I was not for or against particular technical solutions or organisational arrangements, but I maintained a sense of sympathy for the tensions that participants faced and shared a sense of the importance of the tasks they were undertaking. In my writings about this project I made no attempt to erase traces of this complicity." (ibid.)

Given how much of an obstacle to meeting it could be to have to sync calendars and make an appointment – whether the meeting happened offline or online – it would have been an easy solution instead to conduct e-mail-interviews.[18] Choosing skype and face-to-face interviews however, instead of e-mail interviews, made me depend on temporal (and, in the latter case, even physical) co-presence. They required us to synchronise our working rhythms and coordinate other commitments (Beaulieu 2010: 459). This gave me a feeling for the steps that the project partners and coordinator needed to take constantly in order to be able to talk to one another, or to any of the people involved in logistical and administrative tasks. From the position of the project coordinator, writing a circular and waiting for at least some answers from the partners was a standard practice (FN, 1/13/2017; Interview Hanka, 6/18/2017: 3). Depending on how many other projects in their organisation a participant was working on, an answer to a first e-mail could take a few days or sometimes even more than a week. When I did not hear from anyone over long periods of time, I would experience the feeling of being cut off from proceedings and worried about missing out on important events. To counter these feelings, I would write more e-mails or try to read between the lines in other communication I shared with the project participants, all the time wondering whether something was going on which only I was excluded from.

Being in touch: Degrees of co-presence

Whereas when participating in the practices across scattered geographical locations where we did not share the same physical space, I could experience myself what it was like trying to establish co-presences, this kind of participant observation did not allow me to learn about the similarities and discrepancies between my own and the other practitio-ners' participation. Christine Hine (2015: 40) has pointed out that in this respect, partici-pant observation online is in fact not different from offline ethnographic research. Barbara Czarniawska's use of shadowing in organisations therefore explicitly employs difference as a tool (see also Czarniawska 2007: 79). Interviews with participants and external experts allowed me to contextualise my own experiences and to partly reconstruct the partner representatives' practices in their respective organisational contexts. As I conducted the interviews between February and June 2017, this was not a unidirectional comparison of my own experiences and others' accounts of theirs, but rather involved going-back-and-forth, being in constant conversation over the course of several months of slow 'office-chair research'.[19] When comparing my own experience with the accounts

---

[18] In fact after our first conversation, several of my interviewees had offered to continue our exchange via e-mail in case I had any follow-up questions.

[19] This going back and forth also corresponds to a conceptualisation of fieldwork in contexts that are mostly not co-located, as a cyclical activity that is continuous rather than clearly terminable (Beaulieu 2010: 462). In ac-cordance with this idea, I stayed involved with the project after I had convinced myself to stop gathering data. In addition to participating in the last face-to-face partner meeting and writing a contribution to the project handbook from my researcher's point of view, I was asked to contribute as a guest speaker to one of the webinars that was scheduled shortly before and after the last Study Visit, another deliverable specified in the proposal. This collaboration in the end did not take place, partly due to my hesitation and the fact that I

of some of the partners, I could somewhat connect to the insecurities linked to their feeling out of touch with the project and with the other partners. Like me, those of the partners I talked to and worked with were in touch mainly with the project coordinator in bilateral communication, and only occasionally in contact with the other partners (e.g. Interviews Aristide, 4/9/2017: 16; Camille, 4/10/2017: 14). This made me realize that being in touch with one person might not always be enough to feel in touch with the project or consortium. Consequently, both for the partners and for me as a researcher, the effort required in establishing and experiencing strong and lasting connections beyond moments of temporary co-presence went far beyond engaging in bilateral communication.

Furthermore, co-presence in my research was never an absolute quality of any given situation, but rather one side of a continuum. Co-location alone did not necessarily engender absolute co-presence. It was rather the practices that participants carried out while being (or not) in the same physical space (and time), be it practices related to a common endeavor or to other outside tasks and projects, that determined the degree of co-presence that could be established. In my own efforts to be co-present, I noted how different practices at different times generated varying degrees of co-presence. While a phone conference which I participated in from my desk made me feel much more connected to the project than any e-mail exchange in almost real time, during co-located fieldwork, it could be precisely the moment of receiving an e-mail with crucial information that would establish the necessary connection needed to engage in further cooperation practices. Receiving for example an e-mail with a meeting request or an invitation to a shared google document or google drive folder could spark ideas of what to do next to maintain the connections established in the initial communication. And lastly, to state the obvious, when being co-located with a part of my field, as during my stay in Cape Town, I necessarily had to be absent from other spaces of potential co-presence that demanded co-location, while still being able to make myself present in some other spaces online or on the phone. As Christine Hine (2015: 131) has argued, being an outsider and insider at the same time is a core feature of multi-sited ethnographic research.

Following the formalities: Co-located fieldwork

As I have argued before, the geographically distributed practices of cooperating in an ERASMUS+ project do not take place in clearly distinguishable offline and online spaces, but rather spill over from one into the other and back.[20] As to the idea of clear boundaries

---

suggested alternative speakers from our network. I cannot be entirely sure whether this decision was not perhaps also linked to a certain degree to the difficulties we experienced in coordinating our involvements when preparing the webinar, e.g. when agreeing on dates and times for skype calls.

[20] In a recent review of opportunities and challenges inherent in a range of digital methods and combinations thereof, sociologist Keith Hampton (2017: 170) argues that research which is wholly based on online observation runs the risk of missing out on important aspects of cultural phenomena which unfold across offline *and* online spaces. He uses a range of examples to show how digital methods and methods applied in offline spaces can be productively combined for ethnographic research. Looking at the case of an "ethnography of e-mails" conducted by Sharma et al. (2015), Hampton agues in favour of a distinction

separating online from offline spaces as an obstacle to ethnographic research, Christine Hine (2015: 53) points out that

> "[…] the themes and issues we study will perforce very often cross that boundary (or will be agnostic about the existence of such a boundary as an organising principle for social experience)."

Taking the field of project cooperation seriously means accounting for this specific quality by examining the connections rather than the separation of online and offline practices. This is also consistent with the idea that sites are by definition being constructed through connecting practices (Tsing 2000: 330). In order to observe which connections are made in (and between) situations of physical co-location, I chose sites for fieldwork that I could locate in time and geographical space. I conducted fieldwork during two seminars, which, in line with the terminology of the funding programme were called "Study Visits" and attended the two partner meetings that took place incidental to these visits. In the five months separating the two seminars, I visited three of the seven organisations involved in the project in their offices in Berlin, Prague and Cape Town where I had a chance to speak casually with the staff involved in the project, looking over their shoulders for one day in the first case, and in the second, shadowing the project coordinator for two days.

With the third partner organisation, in fact an education department of a public South African university, I stayed six weeks, helping out with the logistical tasks involved in preparing the third Study Visit and, in a few cases, also the operational work in the organisation. I occupied my own space in the office, first at a desk used by other visiting researchers and by part-time employees and later at the desk of one of our colleagues off on maternity leave, in the little 'spare office' the younger employees and student assistants shared. The heads of the department allowed me to copy the key to this room at a building supplies store in my neighbourhood, so I would be able to leave later or come earlier than my colleagues. They also accompanied me through the process of procuring a T-Card – the Campus-ID granting access to the library, printing services, transport system and the department building – with the Access Control Unit.[21] This uncomplicated access to university infrastructure was commented on by Amal, a friend and colleague in the department, as extraordinary, given that even they did not yet have access either to the building, or to online services, let alone possess their own room key. This ease of access reflected my privileged position during these weeks. As I knew the history of the project and its context in the network, I became a resource person for the team in Cape Town, participated in the skype calls relevant to seminar organisation with the local team and the project managers and, during the seminar, took on the role of a logistical assistant, preparing all necessary participant registers and ensuring that everyone signed. I felt treated not merely as a welcome visitor, but as a privileged colleague when I was invited to join the general meetings and working groups in the

---

between ethnographic research and an extended version of archival research drawing exclusively on recorded data (Hampton 2017: 170).

[21] Due to technical problems, the latter only ever worked as a visual sign to allow me entrance to the bus shuttles connecting the student residencies in my neighbourhood with different parts of campus – a highly valuable service in a place where walking alone or using public transport after dusk can be associated with high security risk.

department, and when such invitations were extended to me for after-hours social events. This impression was further reinforced when I found myself being asked for my outsider opinion on questions ranging from methodology of seminars to strategic planning. From the first day of my stay, I assisted my colleagues with their everyday work, whether it was connected to the project or not and was included in a culture of generalized teamwork and sharing of responsibilities. "Can we sit together and have a look at..." or "Lets meet in the Orange Room and discuss..." were two of the phrases I would hear most often in and around the office. While I was relieved to not be the researcher-in-the-way-of-everybody and very grateful to be offered places from which to contribute so naturally, I also had entered this space with an interest in the categories behind specific divisions of labour. Therefore I took note of which tasks were handed to whom in specific situations. Realizing that doing operational work helped me integrate into the team and at the same time helped the team to not let these tasks fall by the wayside, I became sensitive to how my colleagues struggled when trying to balance logistical and administrative work on the project with the operational work that their job in the organisation and its other projects demanded.

Similarly to how I made use of the insights which I gained through interviewing the partners and coordinator, participating in logistical and partner meetings during co-located fieldwork enabled me also to embed and contrast my own experiences from office-chair fieldwork. Listening for example to a comment from the Beninese partner during the Cape Town meeting who, when asking about the dates of the next common event, implied that the relevant dates might have already been set without her knowing (see chapter 5), led me to think that I was not the only one wondering whether things were going on that I did not know of. Whereas initially I had attributed this feeling more to my slightly removed position as a researcher and my worries to miss out on something important, I now felt that I did not experience these insecurities *only* due to my researcher position. From time to time, others involved in the project experienced them, too.

In the following chapters I will turn from my own connecting practices with my field to the practices the partners developped to make and maintain connections when practicing partnership. In similar ways, these partnership practices are based on attempts to estab-lish and maintain co-presences across geographically distributed places. How to write about research done in multi-sited fields, in which the researcher seeks to acknowledge connections and networks and to follow things, images and people, is a recurring ques-tion within anthropology. Maria Schwertl (2013) seeks to solve this problem by focussing the attention which studies of actor-networks have paid to situationally emerging relations to the study of transnational regimes. She suggests combining the situation as a repre-sentational device with other kinds of representation associated with discourses and underlying rationales, power relations and political forms (ibid. 124). Where multi-sited studies have dissolved the distinction between the foreground and background of a field, she argues, this form of representation likewise allows us to bridge the blurred bounda-ries between a field and its context (ibid.: 110; see Latour 2005:). At the same time, ana-lysing a series of situations will generate gaps which cannot be closed or explained, ac-counting for the impossibility to represent a homogenous whole (Schwertl 2013: 119).

Drawing on Schwertl's representational approach, I will present four situations of en-counter, or crisis moments in partnership practice, each of which stands for a problem of partnership work and the practices connected to it. In the fourth and fifth chapters these situations are a phone conference among the partners and a partner meeting, while the sixth and seventh chapters describe the logistical and administrative work of one of the partner organisation, first in preparing a seminar and then in accounting for spendings. The four problems addressed in these situations are: first, establishing co-presence in the present and future; second, generating joint action through form; third, articulating – and differentiating – different types of work and workers; and lastly, negotiating the different practical, and powerful, realities of the project.[22] I will show how, similar to the global and local which are established through scale-making practices (Tsing 2000), the project as a form of collaboration itself needs to be established and maintained through a host of practices which facilitate certain connections and obstruct others. A core problematic, both for the practitioners of cooperation in my field and for my research was to find ever new ways of establishing co-presences (Beaulieu 2010) across distributed geographical localities – and sometimes even when in the same physical space. How the partners achieved different kinds of co-presence will be the subject of the following chapter.

4. Making connections within a phone conference

At 2:55 pm local time in Berlin, I rush down the three flights of stairs to a colleague's office on the ground floor of the department building. She is not working today and, thankfully, has offered to let me use her landline so that I can participate in the partners' phone conference. When I sit down at her desk, I still have two minutes left until the start of the conference at three o'clock. Almost automatically I open my laptop to check my e-mails again. Just in case there were no last minute changes, I think to myself. Hanka, the project coordinator has indeed forwarded me an e-mail she sent to the partners earlier the same day, wishing "get well soon" to Meike who had initially offered to host the call through the German agency's conference call service. Apparently she has taken sick leave and has not come to the office today. In her e-mail, Hanka informs the other partners that she found another conference call service they can use for the partners' call, citing the detailed instructions from the provider about how to dial in and participate in the conference. It lists a dial-in number from all the partners' countries respectively, plus one number that can be used worldwide, and an 8 digit PIN code providing access to the conference. I have participated in calls from the German agency's conference service before, where someone from the office called me and everyone else, adding us one by one to a virtual waiting room until everyone was gathered. But this is different. I have myself never called into a conference from a landline phone before, and carefully double and triple check that I am calling the correct number and understand each step I have to take. What if I put in the wrong code and enter someone else's conference?

---

[22] That each of the situations supports another argument about partnership as practice is not to say that the practical problems addressed by each situation can be understood independently from each other. On the contrary, in each of the situations, the other problems are present and practically addressed in some way or the other, too. In some cases I will draw attention to these intersections while in others, in order to follow a different line of argument, I have to leave them uncommented.

When I dial in, there is no sound at first, then a woman's soft voice asks me to type in the PIN code. I do so and the same voice kindly asks me to record my name after a gong sound. Again I follow her instructions and she announces that there are two participants in the conference. I recognise Camilles's voice, the representative of the French organisation, who seems relieved: "Anja! Great that you are there, how are you doing?" We quickly exchange greetings, then I ask: "Who else is there?" Camille says: "Oh... for now it's just you and me, so glad you're there I thought I was going to be the only one…" (FN, 2/2/2017)

Dis/connecting with shared resources

The partner representatives, who at the time of this phone conference are scattered across two continents, use a range of different forms of communication – written and verbal, formal and informal, bilateral, trilateral and all inclusive – as vehicles in their efforts to establish co-presences and connection. As I know from my own involvement in similar work contexts, e-mails represent but one such tool. Organised phone conferences[23] and skype calls between two or up to ten and sometimes more participants provide other means of facilitating communication, allowing partners to discuss organisational matters, make decisions and update each other about recent developments. At least theoretically, they happen on a regular basis. At the second meeting in the project, the partners had agreed on monthly calls; however, even after this decision, the calls that included everyone happened less frequently, while the calls between those partners involved in preparing concrete activities, like a seminar or webinar, became more frequent the more imminent the jointly organised event was.

In the conference call described above, the partners are far from being co-located. They are sitting in their own or their colleagues' offices, at their desks at home, or in public spaces with their laptops and cell phones, separated from each other by thousands of kilometres. As their use of adverbs of place indicate, they might be "there", co-present enough to talk to each other, but none of them is really "here". To make arrangements for future meetings (and co-location), in some sort of special proximity to one another, the partners needed to establish a specific form of co-presence. Initially, they planned to build their co-presence on the resources one of the organisations involved had offered to the consortium. The German organisation, which is not an official partner in the project but associated to the consortium through a bilateral agreement with the lead applicant, had agreed to provide a conference call service to which their organisation had access as an agency that is directly funded by the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development. This connection between one and the other organisations allowed the consortium to envision and plan a meeting in the form of a conference call, which could easily have been the first in a chain of ensuing connections. Before this connection could live up to its potential and serve as a platform for creating more connections, however, it was severed again. When the German representative spontaneously had to take leave because her child was ill, the agency's service was suddenly no longer available to the

---

[23] I refer to these calls as "organised" because there are of course also spontaneous calls in situations where e-mail communication would be too slow, e.g. the organiser of a seminar would call the coordinator or another partner to quickly clarify a question on budgets or get a missing bit of information about a seminar participant.

consortium. To bring about such a breakdown it sufficed that a key person, who had committed to upholding and configuring this connection in a more material way at the planned date and time, was absent. Eventually, they resorted to using a private provider's service, which was free of charge for calls from some but not all partner organizations' countries. Both this breakdown, which first exposes the fragile nature of infrastructural arrangements (Star und Ruhleder 1996: 113), and how the crisis was eventually solved, can tell us a lot about the differences in organisational capacities and access to resources amongst the partner organisations. This is true not only for the organisations as such, but also for the people working within them. For that matter, the absence of one contact person who is permanently employed by the German organisation is also facilitated by German laws governing occupational safety and health. The same would not apply for any of those of the partners who work for the project on a voluntary basis.

It also tells us about how precarious momentary co-presence between the partner organisations can be. On the one hand, sharing the resources one organisation has access to is one way of creating connection between the actors involved. The German organisation affiliated with the consortium (potentially) provides a platform that helps enable temporary co-presence amongst the partner organisations, and every moment of temporary co-presence in turn holds a potential for future connections and co-location. Yet when providing operational services that are crucial for the partners' efforts to connect with each other, the German (not-quite-partner) organisation moves from the margins of the project into a central position. Even if this connection is sustained long enough and does not, as in this case, break down due to a mix of important personal involvements and institutional arrangements – amongst others, the fact that the partner representative can take leave, protected by German labour protection laws, and the fact that at such short notice, there is no replacement for her – the temporary connection that potentially helps establish and maintain co-presence in the project, at the same time activates an already existing asymmetry in access to resources. The same organisation which, as a government offshoot, is not eligible for ERASMUS+ funding in fact already has a powerfully paradox position in the project through another arrangement: in an individual contract, similar to the ones the partner organisations in the consortium have signed with their lead applicant, the organisation has agreed to provide 25 % of the overall grant which in the ERASMUS scheme – as with other funding programmes – the beneficiaries have to raise by themselves. It therefore occupies a relatively strong position – stabilized through a written and signed agreement – outside the official consortium, yet inside the project. This points to two specificities of the cooperation in this project: firstly, it shows that having access to financial and organisational resources is a prerequisite to getting access to other resources. And secondly, and more generally, a project is not an entity with clear boundaries but relies on "outside" contributions from the start (cf. Bröckling 2005: 365). This partnership project, I would argue, depends heavily on its organisations and their resources, not only to get the invisible work (Star/Strauss 1999) done that is so necessary in launching a project[24], but, as the financial and

---

[24] Writing up all the prerequisites and efforts it takes to even start the collaboration, from generating the idea and the needs to calling different actors into the project until the grant agreement is signed and the consortium can officially start working (that is, continue to maintain the connections that have been made until

infrastructural arrangements show, also to ensure its implementation. The blurred and sometimes only loosely defined boundaries between the inside and outside of a project are a topic in their own right that will come up again in the next chapters. For now, I will concentrate on the partners' efforts to forge connections, and on how these efforts depend on "local" organisational capacities, or access to specific resources.

Connecting with organisational support

In addition to the unexpected cancellation of the German organisation that was to have hosted the conference and have provided the requisite technological support, two other partners were missing in the call. While the project manager had spontaneously managed to find another service provider, Irène, the representative of the Béninese partner, did not have internet access on that day and consequently did not receive the project manager's e-mail regarding this sudden change in technology in time. She therefore waited for a call from the consortium to come in on her cell phone – which never came, at least not on this day (Interview Irène, 4/9/2017: 3).

Though this is the most striking case in which an attempt to connect failed in the context of this conference call, even those participants who were present in the call could not take connection for granted. There are other, and possibly less obvious issues with access that resulted in (almost) failing connection and helped me see the many prerequisites for co-presence across distributed localities. These two issues are linked, as also in Irène's case, to the multiple availability of communication infrastructure, and in the second case to the narrow communicative channels that audio conferencing offers its participants.

For Carolin, the coordinator of the South African partner organisation, as I will show, having access to a second landline or mobile device from which to call the service hugely improved her ability to connect with the rest of us and not be shut out from communication in the call by unknown technical problems resulting in bad sound. It was my own difficulty in gaining access to the necessary infrastructure, however, that helped me to see how organisational resources contributed to our chances for connection. Due to other engagements I had on that day, I could not reach home in time for the call in order to convert my room into an office and use our landline phone for the conference, as I had done before. My ability to connect to the call therefore depended on a colleague offering me access to her work place in an otherwise empty office where I had both the technical equipment and could talk to the partners without disturbing anyone.

Being able to participate in the conference call despite these last-minute problems was to a large degree dependent on the partners' flexibility and ability to make themselves available. In this particular situation, however, being available meant even more than agreeing on a date and hour, keeping track of potential time differences between the localities involved, making time for the call in a busy working day and, especially, holding

---

then and establish additional ones), would be a separate research endeavour for which, in their own respective ways, Strauss' (1988) perspective on articulation processes, and Callon's (1999) sociology of translation might provide useful tools.

potentially interfering external involvements at bay, as Beaulieu has described for connecting practices amongst gender studies scholars (Beaulieu 2010: 459). In fact, being *sufficiently available* in this situation meant having access to more than one alternative communication technology. And, above all, it meant reading e-mail when it had been agreed that we would be called on the phone. Being attentive to the phone and simply waiting for a call was insufficient; it was only a viable internet connection and access to you e-mail that counted. Therefore, connecting to the *right* infrastructure and using *additional* communication technology was, in the end, the crucial prerequisite for rendering oneself co-present in the context of this phone conference.

Sociologist Stefan Hirschauer (1999) has looked more closely into the negotiations of proximity and distance, absence and presence that occur in everyday interactions – albeit in a situation quite different from that of a phone conference among partners. As Hirschauer argues in his ethnographic study of human-elevator encounters, for many people this endeavour results in almost intimidating co-location which can violate their personal space. In contrast to the Erasmus+ project and its manifold encounters mediated by information and communication technologies, in the case of Hirschauer's elevator rides and their very physical encounters, participants systematically strive to reduce any interaction that could lead to more binding relationships or obliging connections and, wherever possible, completely rule out any incentives and opportunities for establishing co-presence altogether. Quite to the contrary, they work to dissolve the connective potential initiated by physical closeness and constantly seek to signal to each other their mutual rejection of this potentially connective social situation, e.g. by taking positions in opposite corners and averting their eyes (Hirschauer 1999: 241). With (and during) the phone conference, human actors try to achieve the complete opposite: in order to maximise inclusive co-presence, they strive to minimize any potentially disruptive contributions, both from their side and from the techno-material participants. These can be disturbing noises, whether in the guise of noise from the backgrounds of their different localities, or static in the line, or it can be dialogues of only some of the partners that might be necessary to move forward, but temporarily exclude all others in establishing inclusive co-presence.

Exclusionary co-presence: technological categorisation

Camille and I have only just started chatting – how is it going, happy belated new year – when the announcement gong sounds and we hear a record of Hanka's voice saying, matter-of-factly: "Hanka". It is 15:03. We repeat our greetings and how-are-you-doings, when suddenly another gong interrupts us and Carolin, the coordinator of the South African partner joins the conversation. Hanka says: "Hi Carolin, glad you could make it!", and informs her that it is so far Camille, herself, and me. Carolin's speech is somehow distorted, as if there were some interference or static in the line, eating large holes in what she is saying and rendering her voice very difficult to understand. In fact, I have to concentrate hard to understand anything at all. Hanka says: "Carolin, I cannot hear you very well, is there anything we can do?" Camille and I mumble agreement, and I hear Carolin's voice, or what is left of it, come trickling through a filter of endless wires and many layers of atmosphere: "O-k, I-I m-igh-t ha-ve t-c-all y-ou fr-m-a rea-l-ph- o-ne, jus- t-a-se-on-d, I-I wi- l-b-e b-ac-k." She hangs up with another acoustic

signal, similar to the one indicating in Skype conferences that someone has dropped out from the call: one single soft "plop" that we could have easily overheard if not expecting it. Hanka says: "Let's just wait for her to join in again and then start with the meeting, after all, we're on a conference call and it's five past so we can't wait endlessly for the others…" Shortly after that, Carolin joins again, apparently from another phone. The sound of her voice has improved somewhat but is still distant and breaking up. At 15:07 Jack, from the Irish partner, joins with another gong. We repeat the exchange of greetings, Hanka thanks everyone for being there and announces once again for Jack's benefit who is there, adding at the end of her list: "and Anja is there, too". She also suggests to Carolin and Jack to just get started without the others who are still missing, and not lose too much time. Hanka says: "I will try to type some minutes at the same time, so please be patient if I am a bit slow…"
I have not said anything since greeting Jack when he joined and start wondering whether I should be more active or whether it is ok and even suitable for me to be the silent listener. (FN, 2/2/2017)

Problems with access – whether to infrastructure in the form of offices or the internet, to technologies like e-mail and landline phones, or simply to the right tools at the right time – and higher costs for some participants are not the only ways in which conference calls can partly impede co-presence. Even when accessible at the outset, they channel participation in multiple ways. According to Irène (Interview, 4/9/2017: 5), one of the partners, e-mails and other written communication can be slow and barely interactive, yet audio calls do not always facilitate fluent communication either. Physical meetings – or video conferences – allow people to meet and *see* each other in a double sense, since both the person and their lips and mimic are visible. As Irène told me:

Oui, quand on ne comprend pas, on n'est pas déjà très à l'aise avec une langue, c'est difficile en fait de discuter dans un groupe, et par téléphone, parce que, il faut déjà avoir de la réactivité, euh..., pour pouvoir capter ce que les gens disent, et réagir au même moment, et en temps réel. Et, avec l'anglais, c'est vrais qu'avec les accents, des uns et des autres... euh, ça varie, et parfois pour moi, c'est plus facile de… comprendre les gens quand je les vois, je les regarde, je suis même leurs lèvres pour voir comment ils prononcent [ces mots]…" (Interview Irène, 4/9/2017: 5-6).[25]

The conference call which the partners used for example denied them eye-contact and required them to rely solely on speaking and listening to achieve simultaneous co-presence. Unable to watch the others speak or read their lips and to combine the information that travels through sound with other information which, in face-to-face encounters, they would be able to take in visually, the partners have to adjust to the technology and rely on the senses it relays. In much the same way as Hirschauer's elevators, which take on an active role in the practices of vertical transport, interfering with their passengers by inserting themselves in their interactions (Hirschauer 1999: 222), the communication technology available for conference calls can be seen as an interdependent actor in the partners' efforts to achieve co-presence. Whereas elevators offer a specific (narrow)

---

[25] "Yes, when you don't understand, and you are not yet that familiar with a language, it's difficult actually to discuss with a group, and on the phone, because, you need to be reactive, uhm..., be able to catch what people are saying, and react at that same moment, and in real time. And, with English, it's true that with the accents, of one or the other... uhm, they vary... and sometimes for me it's easier to... understand people when I see them. I watch them and even follow their lips to see how they pronounce [the words]..." (my translation)

physical space their users have to work with – and around – to prevent too much co-presence arising from their co-location, a conference call service provides a sound-space which quite literally channels co-presence.

Not far from recognising the agency of technological artefacts like elevators and communication tools in shaping social systems, studies of the ecologies of infrastructure (Star/Ruhleder 1996, Bowker/Star 1999) have adopted a "relational view of infrastructure as a continuous coordinated networking of social organization, moral order, and inter-weaving layers of technological integration" (Niewöhner 2015a: 120). Infrastructures in this perspective are not mere technological objects that "mirror" social and cultural conditions but "complex chains of material relations [that] reconfigure bodies, societies and also knowledge and discourse in ways often unnoticed." (Harvey/Jensen/Morita 2017: 3) But how does this perspective help us to understand dis/connections that occur in a phone conference? According to Susan Leigh Star, infrastructural systems are trans-parent to their users when humans and technological tools interact smoothly, without major problems or interruptions (cf. Star 1999: 381). However, transparent use in this sense is premised on a participant's ability to learn to respond to a set of standards (Star/Ruhleder 1996: 113) that are inscribed into communication (and other) infrastruc-tures through invisible classification work (Bowker/Star 1999; Star 1999: 384-85). According to Bowker and Star (1999: 36) the categories that information technologies rely on for their data entry process enable and constrain interaction. The specific features and contact points built into a communication tool such as a conference-call service to mediate interactions with its users, restrict the latter in their use of varied communicative strategies – that is, spoken and body language, mimic or sign language. The technology calls upon its users to verbalize as much of this information as possible. Feelings, urgent needs, agreement and disagreement, confusion and puzzlement, misunderstanding, knowledge about who is present and who is missing: all this information needs to be transformed into words. While most technologies require their users to "learn to 'speak their language'" (Star/Ruhleder 1996: 130), the technology of a phone-conference service literally requires its users to *speak*. With English being the working language in the project, it is the main working language for only two of the partners who take part in the meetings. Several of them actually share French as a first or second language. Those who effortlessly understand others without being able to follow their lips, and who themselves speak fluent English, might not always know how to minimize their advantage in the restricted time and space. For the others, conferencing adds to already existing language barriers and makes connecting with their colleagues more cumbersome.

In some cases, for example when someone leaves or joins in the call, the technology also assists its users by offering accoustic signals. It helps them to present themselves when joining in the call, enabling their colleagues to know who has just arrived by asking them to record their name and then automatically playing the recording before releasing the newcomer into the sound-space of the conference. The project coordinators' concerns to "not lose too much time" show that time is precious, both in itself and through its connection with fees calculated in units of time. The partners cannot wait until everyone has arrived. And if time is restricted, so too are the channels that the conferencing service makes available: two sounds travelling through the single available

audio channel in opposed (or crossing) directions might collide and not reach their destinations. For the conference participants who already have to concentrate to understand the others, given various accents, different language levels and better or worse sound quality, listening to more than one person talk would make communication not only more tiring but also less effective. They therefore also concentrate on knowing and choosing when to talk and when not to talk, balancing their needs with a general urge to make conversation as smooth and efficient as possible to keep the costs (in time and money) low. What is my role in this space? Should I ask my question in a later e-mail? Do I need to know right here and now, or might the information in fact even be helpful for the others and help the conversation move forward if I ask right now? From my own experience, I concluded that such unuttered questions influence the participants' communicative and connective practices.

Although not "seeing the people somehow makes a difference" for the outcomes of meetings, and restricts degrees of co-presence in multiple ways[26] (Interview with Franek, 6/18/2017: 1), traveling to in-person meetings still is too costly financially, environmentally and in terms of time, and therefore impossible to organise outside the four seminars that are part of this project (ibid.). This, amongst other things, leads to partner meetings being squeezed in to busy seminar days. I will return to the problem of co-presence in physically closer encounters after shortly summarising my insights into the partners' connecting practices.

Making and maintaining connections

Using the example of a phone conference, I have described one situation in which the partners work towards co-presence. This situation proves how fragile a single connection can be: who in the end is enabled to participate, who – while participating – achieves co-presence, and who is absent altogether in the conference call shows that both momentary co-presence (during the call) and longer lasting connectivities which might develop from it, depend on more than one single initial connection. Connection and co-presence are fragile and often ephemeral constructions – indeed nothing short of inter-minable construction sites. Scholars of infrastructure have acknowledged "failure and ruination" to be inherent qualities of these "embedded, often invisible support structures" (Niewöhner 2015a: 119) that facilitate the delivery of services and the movement of things, people and ideas. Being able to use them not only requires building up structures, but also caring for what has been built to prevent it from immediate decay (Howe et al. 2016: 553). In much the same way, establishing partnerships with a project consists not only in making singular connections, but beyond that in carrying out never ending main-tenance work. Conversely, this also means, that one (missed) opportunity does not spoil all chances for future connection. So far, I have only touched on the co-presence prac-

---

[26] One of he partners confided in me that he regularly suspects other partners of *not* being "100% present" during phone conferences; as a matter of fact, he himself would sometimes use the opportunity to hide behind the technology and divide his attention between the discussion going on online and some other tasks that he would accomplish meanwhile at his desk (Interview Franek, 6/18/2017: 2).

tices in preparation for, and during the call. But already during, and shortly after the end of the call, the coordinator and her partners make an effort to account for the temporariness of their present co-presences. Writing minutes and making them available to everyone by sending them via e-mail or uploading them to a shared google drive folder after the call – in which case an e-mail still needs to inform the partners where exactly they will find the minutes – are the steps that keep everyone updated, and at the same time remind those who participated of the most important decisions and of what next tasks were to require immediate action. Of course, whether or not, and in what ways, the partners use these new opportunities to connect with the project remains their own responsibility.

Carrying out a project, understood as a series of attempts to establish co-presences, means ensuring through regular e-mails or calls that everyone stays updated. It includes creating doodles and sharing the link via e-mail in order to agree on a date for a call or a meeting, finding a service provider for a phone conference, taking the minutes in a meeting and sharing them afterwards, sending reminders about things to do, checking in with the person who is responsible for accomplishing a given task, setting deadlines, sending follow-up e-mails to catch up on recent developments, inquiring once more about a certain rule for reporting, explaining the budget once again; it also means sending motivating messages from time to time and thanking everyone for their efforts. All these practices are part of the continuous building and maintenance work that hold a consortium and project together and, in this sense, are building blocks of 'global partnership'.

The different technologies the project partners rely on in their communication, both those they try to use and those they actually end up using, all have their own mechanisms of facilitating and restraining connection, creating and preventing co-presence, allowing collaboration and hindering it at the same time. Where a conference-call service bought from a private company can become a crucial tool for the remaining partners' co-presence practices, allowing for certain kinds of connection to be established or maintained, both in the present and in the future, at the same time it can also impede, or at least partly and momentarily, interrupt other potential connections. The co-presences which the partners established as part of their scale-making practices were temporary, had to be constantly re-established, and could be inclusive and exclusive. Yet, as the next chapter will show, practices that foster co-presence do not simply lose their importance in a situation of co-location. While the partners were located in the same physical space during one of the partner meetings, the focus of these practices shifted onto future opportunities for co-presence. How formalities of project work took a central role in facilitating these new connections will be the subject of the next chapter.

5. Meetings, dates and deadlines: Connecting with formalities

For this third partner meeting, thirteen people have gathered in the big hall downstairs that we use during the day for workshop sessions. Up to three members of every partner organisation are present, plus the new network officer and, besides me, two participants in the Study Visit, In this huge space only punctuated by four pillars that support the ceiling, the others have put their chairs in a circle, as if we were having a workshop or group counselling session. I arrive late and, with a welcoming smile, Andreja, who as a participant with the network did her internship with the Beninese partner organisation, as I did, and now is here for the Slovenian partner, takes some of her things off the chair next to hers and offers it to me. I have dropped in on a discussion about organisational matters regarding the upcoming fourth and last Study Visit in France, which goes on for at least one hour more. Finally, after offering support to the partner organisation which is in charge and agreeing on who will help with what – a team of French volunteers will take charge of the logistics, while the facilitation part of the seminar preparations will be covered by contracted facilitators from the network – the coordinator, smiling expectantly, casts a glance at those assembled: "Does anyone want to add to that?"

Odile, a representative of the Beninese partner organisation, raises her hand to ask: "But what about the dates for the Study Visit, have they been set yet? I think we should know about the dates the earlier the better, to get the best prices for flights and so on…" Before the coordinator can say anything, another partner representative throws in a second question about who is going to organise the annual network meeting, which will coincide with the last three days of the Study Visit. The coordinator suggests this might be a task for the network officer, her voice raising at the end of her sentence, marking this as a question. When there is no reaction from anyone, Tjaša, another colleague from the Slovenian partner organisation, asks with a serious look, "And what about the member assembly? Do we have to squeeze that one in with the Study Visit as well?"

Everyone seems to hold their breaths for a second, then Tjaša bursts out with a laugh: "I was joking, just joking!" We all start laughing, too. The member assembly, the coordinator continues more soberly, will take place at another time as was the case last year: "Three events in a row is just too much." (FN, 4/5/2017)

Meetings gravitating to one another

In this excerpt from my fieldnotes on a partner meeting during the third Study Visit, what seem to be rather boring negotiations about the formalities of meetings and events can tell us interesting stories about the connecting forces at work in collaboration. If looked at closely, they tell us about how different kinds of actors are attracted to each other or repel each other in this kind of partnership project. Taking Hirschauer's (1999: 222) analysis of humans interacting in and with elevators as a model, as discussed in the last chapter, with this situation, I will look deeper into the "interaction orders" (Goffmann 1983) which shape the communicative encounters that contribute to the practice of partnership in this project. In this and the next chapters, I would like to focus on how the partners make specific connections while trying to arrange future meetings. I will show how negotiating their involvements at different levels is part of 'making' the project as a site of global partnership. Drawing on Annelise Riles' (2000, 2006, 2006a) approach to the forms of networks and documents, I will look more closely at the formalities that drive these rather

sluggish negotiations which are, I suggest, not side effects of other partnership practices but in fact represent their "heart of action" (see Beaulieu 2010: 464). What is being made in and with networks is sometimes nothing more and nothing less than networks (Riles 2000: 50). Taking the forms of connecting practices within these negotiations seriously, I will look at how these forms facilitate connections. Whereas in Riles' case, the subjects of bureaucratic practices are documents with many brackets and matrices, in this situation, the subjects are meetings between the project partners and their scheduling.

As the above situation shows, co-location alone does not help the partners in their efforts to maintain connections. Achieving co-presence here does not only imply being on time, sitting in a circle and putting together an agenda. It also requires new efforts to arrange future co-location. Agreeing on the dates for the next meeting is anything but easy. Fortunately for the consortium, several other events help out in the decision-making. There are, on the one hand, two annual *network events*: a network meeting open to all former participants, and a member assembly reassembling representatives of each member organisation. These meetings are both held in late autumn. Although not all of the organisations involved in the project are also network members, most of them are and therefore will participate in these events. On the other hand, there are at least two additio-nal *project events* that each partner organisation will still have to organise before the project ends: one dissemination event to share the outcomes of the final meeting, and one round table to present the outcomes of the entire project, to their professsional com-munities "at the national level" (FN, 11/4/2016). According to its timeline, the project ends in the middle of December and the two events mentioned have to take place after the last Study Visit, as they will "disseminate" the overall project outcomes (ibid.). The last Study Visit should thus take place no later than the end of October, to leave enough time for the other two events. For the associated partner providing an important financial contribution to the overall funds, also the network's member assembly, which as of this point has no definitive dates either, is a concern. They will finance the member assembly, which is usually one of the last common network events of the year. As they remind the other part-ners, they will have to finish the financial reporting and therefore need all invoices before the winter holidays. In addition to all these events and meetings, school and academic holidays are an external orienting factor, but the directions they provide are disputed: will more people be available during or outside the holiday periods? Holiday periods vary between regions and countries, and some of the partners have no autumn holidays at all.

Other events and the project framework help move things forward not only by elimi-nating some out of many equally valid options – if this event is on that weekend, the other one has to be at another time, and if that one has to happen around this time, the other one should happen earlier. As the Slovenian partners' joke implies, meetings not only repel each other, but some of them also have clingy qualities. If at a certain time every-one is in the same place, then let's use the opportunity and have this other meeting right before or after – as Irène put it: "[...] quand on se voit, en faite, on profite des Study Visits pour faire une réunion des partenaires."[27] (Interview Irène, 4/9/2017: 6)

---

[27] "[...] when we see each other, in fact, we use the opportunity the Study Visit gives us to have a meeting with the partners."

While there seems to be an *overflow* of options regarding possible dates and times for seminars, what poses an even greater problem is the perpetual *lack* of funding and the resulting strong need to cut down on travel costs. Scheduling meetings close together is one way of dealing with this (and saving emissions is only another strong argument in favour of this approach). Given the lack of financial resources, which meetings repel and which ones attract each other is not in the least contingent. Their relationships are shaped by a sort of unidirectional magnetism, making the ones fortunate enough to receive funding attract those without any financial backing, and the latter, in turn, gravitate towards the former. While most of them stay in a more or less predictable orbit, still keeping a minimal yet respectful distance, some of the less well endowed shame-lessly collapse into their comparably rich contemporaries merging with them.

Whether meetings attach themselves to other meetings or keep a respectful dis-tance depends on two conditions, and both are connected to the project as an organising form (cf. Rottenburg 2000: 149). First, for every partner, individual living and working conditions determine whether someone is able to take additional leave in order to arrive early or leave late. The connection to the project here is the budget whose categories exclude human resources, as far as coordination work at an administrative and logistical level are concerned:

> Emily: "No, I… (looking at the budget document) can't find it. Yes, they call it organisational support, and what you're allowed to spend under that category… (she traces the list with her finger) is accomodation, petrol, meals, transport, venue hire… there is no *person* in it, you can't pay a person…" Anja: "Ah-yah." E: "…for admin support in there, it's not allowed. And, and it wouldn't be enough. Because it's based on a per participant per day rate, which… only just covers the accomodation, petrol, catering, transport." (Emily, 4/7/2017: 14)

None of the local coordinators, not even the project coordinator, are employed to work on the project; only a few actually have contracts with other projects in their organisation, and some are volunteering. I will explain what this means for partnership practices in chapters to come. Second, this 'closeness at respectful distance' of meetings is only pos-sible as long as certain guidelines regulating the funding are respected. These guidelines determine the distances at which meetings can be kept from each other. With EACEA-funding for example, travel costs can be reimbursed only if the dates specified on flight tickets lie within two days respectively of the funded activity's start and ending dates. Since there are no resources in the project budget to fund travel outside the budgeted mobilities, logistical meetings cling to the project activities covered by the budget. This means that, as in this case, logistical meetings take place during Study Visits, where they are scheduled either simultaneously with the programme, or in the margins of busy seminar days, whether this be at half past seven in the mornings or after the last session in the evenings (FN, 4/5/2017).

Funding regulations are not the only guidance partners have in their practice of schedu-ling meetings. Also other formalities from within the project and external to it help negotiate different needs of the various actors involved.

Bracketing openness

While the project partners and network member representatives present at the meeting play their part in being attentive to the projects' and their respective organisation's needs, asking questions that lead to other questions, which in turn potentially open up debate, someone has to keep the fraying ends of the discussion together and hold the space open for negotiating the needs of the project and the needs that the organisations and the network bring to the meeting. In this situation, it is mainly the coordinator who does so by constantly deciding which needs to prioritise and which to put on hold for later consideration, on the basis of needs already satisfied. When one of the partners asks about the organisation of the annual network meeting, she draws attention back from the negotiation of dates to the management of human resources. Implicit in her question I hear a wish to clarify roles and responsibilities: will the organisation of this subsequent event, which will bring in 40 additional participants from the network to join the 20 participants already present for the Study Visit, also be their responsibility? In this case, the coordinator's rather hesitant proposal that this might be a task for the network officer, suffices to close the parenthesis. Once the dates for another event, potentially in conflict, are written down in the coordinators' and partners' notebooks and calendars, negotiations about the dates for the last common project event, the Study Visit, can begin. Answering network or individual organisation's needs first and putting everything else on hold also means making some of the partners, who are not involved in the existing network, wait, while the ones concerned find an agreement on two possible dates for the network's member assembly, or discuss who will take care of organising the annual meeting. Taking this detour and focussing on what could be taken to be a side discussion here functions similarly to the bracketing of text in Riles' (1998, 2000, 2006a) analysis of how participants in international organisations collaboratively write position papers, or 'documents'. Participants in these negotiations can demand that parts of the text be put into brackets to signal that they object and the text needs to be discussed further. As Riles witnessed during the negotiations, every single one of the many sets of brackets held an expansive potential, and even the possibility of infinite expansion: through negotiation, the text within brackets could stretch out, be elaborated on in lengthy passages or narrowed down and compressed into short phrases and single terms. The content within one set of brackets could potentially even grow to the same length as the text included in the entire document, and in fact contain the whole world (Riles 1998: 390). Conversely, what lay outside a set of brackets could no longer be altered or added to. The brackets inserted into the documents helped work with infinity in two ways: they spatially and visually contained it, and, by breaking potentially infinite disagreement down into smaller units, also rendered it manageable. Delegates dealt with the potential infinity contained within the many brackets by breaking into smaller informal groups, where, as Riles writes, "the project of removing brackets engendered a commitment that was independent of their commitment to the conference's substantive political goals." (ibid.) Thus, brackets were not in the least a side show and placeholder for something else but were, in contrast, what kept the collaboration moving (ibid.). Each parenthesis in the consortium's scheduling negotiations worked in a similar way to move the project forward. By placing side questions at the

centre of attention, the partners made their way through infinity openness, and some-times two or three partners discussed the issue while the others were listening. In the following section, I will look more closely at what happens when side issues raised by the partners are 'bracketed', and how these brackets are being removed.

Moving things with formalities

When the Beninese partner representative, Odile, first raises the issue of dates for the last Study Visit, she frames her question in terms of the need to get the lowest rates for flight tickets "and so on", choosing to rely on an undisputedly legitimate need, a project need, rather than a need exclusively of her organisation. According to the project budget, there is only a specific amount of money for travelling, and if this were exceeded, additional money destined for other expenses would have to be used in compensation.

While Odile draws on a project need to legitimise and situate her question, Jack, from the Irish partner, frames his question in terms of his organisation's needs:

> Coming back to the issue of dates, he asks the coordinator: "Can you already tell when the decision will be taken? There will be a lot of different events and it is a question rather of planning our other events around it." Hanka replies, addressing the whole group: "Should we have a look at our calendars to see our other involvements and decide here, or directly after the Study Visit? The autumn is going to be very busy for sure…", and before someone can comment, she adds: "So, can we choose the dates now or would it be better to do a doodle?" Someone says: "A doodle." Another colleague adds: "The easier the better." Tjaša looks into her calendar and announces the dates of the last two weeks at the end of October, following the coordinators' earlier suggestion to have the Visit around the end of October and "not too late". Hanka announces that she will offer these two options in a doodle and send the link to everyone present once she is back home.

As each of the visits lasts seven to eight days and there are a lot of events scheduled to take place in the autumn season, the second partner's organisation has to coordinate these internal events with the project events and make sure the appropriate number of staff from their organisation is available to participate in the visit. This individual organisation's needs at the same time seamlessly translate into project needs: if, for a lack of availability, there were to be fewer than the three participants required from each organisation, the organisers of the visit would lose money that the budget grants on a per head and per day basis. Three kinds of needs are being negotiated: needs proper to each individual and organisation; needs belonging to the project, and network needs. Project needs are closely linked to the budget's vision of the cooperation and the requirements for reporting and auditing. These bureaucratically backed (project) needs are automatically legitimate: the imperative to comply with the requirements which haunts the consortium (Interview Franek, 6/18/2017: 7, Jack 5/5/2017: 10) can be translated into a guideline that 'project needs take precedence'. However, this guideline only seems to be exclusive, and in fact helps the consortium attend to other needs in its own ways. The attention to urgent needs, whether these be those of the project, the network or the indivi-dual organisations, is in line with the approach of Theme-Centred Interaction (TCI). TCI is a method and approach formulated amongst others by the US-American psychologist

and psychotherapist Ruth Cohn in the 1950s and 60s, which aims at providing individuals and groups with the means to guide themselves. One of the postulates formulated in TCI and often referred to in the network states that "[d]isturbances and passionate involvements take precedence." (Cohn 1975: 122) However, in order to be able to take these needs into consideration, they first have to be voiced. In the partner meeting, it is the project formalities which help the partners voice different needs. Ulrich Bröckling (2005: 379) has described TCI as part of a "soft method of group moderation" used within project management which, like the "harder" calculations of project planning, is based on a cybernetic model (ibid., my translation). As with other project management tools, TCI strives to keep things moving by striking a balance between individual needs, group dynamics and progress linked to the work on a shared 'theme'. Its strategy of connecting self-organisation with orientation towards a shared theme is designed to increase a team's productivity and thus complements the more directly goal-oriented approaches of project management (ibid.: 380).

My point here is not only to show that it seems more legitimate in certain situations to voice needs that are connected to requirements based on project (or network) formalities – although this is the case as well when project needs serve to voice organisations' needs. Rather, I want to draw attention to how the project as a form facilitates the voicing of needs in a cooperation, as cooperation brings together different and at times opposing needs, and to illustrate how it does so by re-negotiating how these needs relate to each other. In these negotiations, the different organisations' needs, project needs, and network needs intersect or are kept at a distance from each other by means of formalities; formalities which the guidelines of project implementation impose.

One such path that formalities help pave is to limit the host of options that has to be dealt with in order to be able to set the dates for this last Study Visit. When the Irish partner representative asks whether it is clear yet when the dates will be determined, his question shifts the focus away from *what* the best dates for the event will be, to *when, how and with whom* best to *take the decision* about the dates. The coordinator embraces this openness by naming and differentiating the available procedures of decision-making. By making explicit different strategies of decision-making, she turns the partners' questions about timing into a question of procedure: should the decision be taken here and now or is it better and easier to decide when everyone has returned home and back to their organisations? Deciding here and now would involve seeking advice from their calendars and then thrashing it out; deciding once they are back home and sitting in their offices separated by hundreds and thousands of kilometres, linked via e-mails and phone calls, implies more co-presence practices: creating a doodle[28] that everyone has to fill in, then waiting for someone to announce the winner date.

These two options also relate to opposing date setting strategies and different ideas of procedure: As the second partner is asking when the date will be set, she is asking for a deadline, which means, another date not for the event but for *setting* the dates. Her

---

[28] "Doodle simplifies scheduling. […] Find a date for a meeting 2x faster!" (www.doodle.com, last accessed 6/9/2017) This advertisement on the website of the internet-based time management and scheduling app Doodle.com, which is widely used in project management circles and beyond, promises its users increased efficiency in coordinating their involvements and agreeing on, for example, a date or location for an event.

favourite strategy is to plan "other events" around the project events, while the coordinator's proposal and subsequent choice is to plan the project events around the events already happening in each organisation, or individual, personal involvements. These different strategies of decision-making are connected to places and times, and the negotiators are evaluating them based on what is easier or more efficient and what is more complicated or time-consuming to implement. It is a question of timing as well as of (co-)presence and (co-)location: do we have all the information necessary to go one step further? And will creating, sharing and filling in a doodle (not to forget sending the subsequent reminders) with everyone, once the consortium is again scattered across at least two continents, be easier than agreeing on the dates here and now, as long as everyone is in the same place? In the end, a combination of time pressure and a lack of co-location make the decision in favour of a mix of procedures: with the help of their personal calendars, the consortium manages to narrow down the options for the Study Visit to two possible dates. Two of the partners' calendars however are 'absent', lying upstairs in their guesthouse rooms. With these essential characters missing from the conversation, the final decision has to be postponed. The partners hand it over to a doodle, or more accurately, its tabulation and analysis programme.

Turning form into action: the secret life of deliverables

Following Anne Beaulieu's suggestion that I take the logistics of absence/presence as highly telling of my field (ibid: 459), I added to my initial question of *where* collaboration takes place, the additional question of *when* this is the case. Looking more closely into the administrative and logistical work involved in organising and hosting a meeting or a phone conference among the partners, I understood that like Beaulieu in her research of women's studies scholars (ibid.), I was constructing and researching a field that relied heavily on its participants' skills in rendering themselves flexible and available, both in the present and future. Beyond their ability to travel – which includes as preconditions that, amongst other things, they possess a passport; have been granted the necessary visa; are able to make payment on advance ticket sales and be reimbursed only after the journey – the project partners' ability and efforts to coordinate their shared and their external involvements outside the project (ibid.) were a crucial contribution to making the connections necessary for their cooperation. As apparent in the struggle to find common dates and agree on deadlines for shared work, there was not only a need to travel through space, but also through "different kinds of time and frictions thereof" (ibid.). The negotiations of dates, deadlines and procedures of agreement are not only a means through which (later) connection in the form of co-presence and co-location is enabled. These project formalities are also themselves the subject of connective practices. To understand in which ways, I once more return to Annelise Riles' networking practices.

Working together, Riles writes, is "premised on the understanding that the only coherence to the project lies in the thin and surface-level identity of the subject itself." (Riles 2006: 27) This subject can be a set of brackets in a document, as in Riles' case, or it can be discussions that determine dates and deadlines for decisions *about* dates. Apart

from the network as such and the use of brackets in international documents, another form Riles examines in her attempt to understand forms otherwise (Riles 2000) are the matrices which as part of any proposal visualize the structure of actions and relations of goals, actors and deliverables within a project. During the writing of a proposal, the empty spaces in a matrix which demand to be completed incite matrix users to move forward (ibid.: 22). Riles concludes that: "Action, then, is also internally generated by the form" (ibid.), or, more precisely, it consists of a movement from one form to another (ibid.: 169). If collaboration is both a means and an end in itself of most projects of document production, "the document is just a means; it points to an end beyond itself – even as what captivates participants is the means of document production." (Riles 2006: 27) As with these documents, meetings and their dates and deadlines, and maybe even the project itself are, on one hand, a means to an end: the partners set deadlines to agree on dates, agree on dates to meet, and, more generally: meet in order to collaborate and collaborate in order to become partners. Seeing the form twice, as Riles (2000: 137) suggests in her study of networking, in the case of this project means seeing the double sense which lies in forming connections with forms and formalities. This is the flip side of some of the partners' regular frustration with fulfilling project needs. As Franek from the Czech partner puts it: "all the space is occupied by practical things... yeah, exactly, how to make it run." (Interview Franek, 18/6/2017: 7) The partners regularly regret that given scarce time and resources in the project, they are only "delivering on deliverables" (Interview Jack, 7/5/2017: 10) which means only focussing on fulfilling the minimum of what the proposal promised to the donor. It seems as if the project deliverables have taken over and live a life of their own – and in some way, they do. Once conceived to procure resources for cooperation, they now *are* the cooperation.

As with other forms, like the network, brackets and the matrix in Annelise Riles' (2000) analysis of NGO networking, the formalities that a project offers hold the space for these negotiations. While it is of course still the human actors who mind their organisations' needs and take decisions, the work of negotiating closenesses, conflations and distances necessary to keep a project running is not something the human participants, that is, the partner representatives, coordinators and network officers, can do entirely on their own. Project formalities, like documents, dates and deadlines, and time management technologies like calendars and doodles help them as "humble allies": we would not notice that they are missing, until they are (Latour 1987: 12).

What is more, the project formalities bring 'non-project' issues into focus and draw on them to move forward: by creating their own needs and requirements that cannot be answered in isolation, they constantly draw on 'outside' needs (e.g. those of the individual organisations or the network) to overcome imminent stagnation which occurs in the face of an infinite number of possibilities. Even people who are seemingly positioned outside the project's boundaries are drawn into its internal negotiations, as, in the above example, a network officer. Again, the question of what the project practices refer to and what they draw on leads me to wonder where the project ends, what is a part of it and what is not. I will hold on to this question for the moment. Before returning to it, I would like to offer a third situation, and have another look at the efforts required in making and holding a project together. In contrast to the experiences I have analysed above, in the situation I

will look at in the following chapter, taken from the preparations of one of the seminars, some of the human actors are co-located while others are not. With the help of Anselm Strauss' concept of *articulation* in project work, I will look at yet another aspect of how under these circumstances, the project is established as a site for global partnership.

6. A separation crisis: administration and facilitation work[29]

At 11:20 a.m., Chris, one of my colleagues at the office of the South African partner organisation, passes by the open door of the spare office. I ask him: "Are we still meeting in 10 minutes?" He says, "Yes sure, it's on my agenda!" At half past, I gather some empty A4 papers, a pencil and my field diary and move to his office, two doors down the corridor. Our colleague Chevonne is already there and takes a seat opposite Chris at the desk. I bring another chair from the unoccupied desks in the corridor we sometimes use on hotter days, when the spare office gets too stuffy, and sit down. They are talking about something I don't quite understand and Chris quickly apologizes: "Sorry Anja, we are just talking research unit stuff." I say, "no problem at all" and turn to have a look at the heavy bookshelves lining most of the left side of the room. Pressed against each other and piled one on top of the other, shelf upon shelf, there are books about Service Learning, education and service, and edited volumes on Gender Studies and community development. A large window offers a view past the other wing of the building out onto the Northern Suburbs of the city and, in the distance, the faintly white glowing sea shore. On the wall facing the window, there is a small whiteboard full with notes from the last meeting. Behind Chris's two desks forming an L, he has pinned some pictures, newspaper clippings and announcements of past events on a notice board. After a short while, Chevonne starts the meeting for the three of us by updating us about what she has been working on regarding the Study Visit: finalizing the room bookings on campus and working on the info pack when Chris chips in with a question as to whether Chevonne has already sent out the invitation for the seminar to our colleagues at the department. She hasn't. Both of them are talking fast and jumping from one logistical task to another so quickly that I start having trouble keeping track of what we are talking about – not to mention writing anything down in my double role, as logistical assistant focussed on the To Dos on the one hand, and as researcher tending to my jottings on the other.
Chris asks about the site visits that are planned during the seminar with some local organisations. They calculate the prices and number of minibuses needed to transport the participants and finally agree that this might become an issue; there is no budget for so much traveling. Then we look at the column marked "Tuesday" in the draft for the seminar schedule, for which Barbara, one of the facilitators, has proposed a panel discussion with a local association. "Have the facilitators contacted these people?", Chevonne asks. Chris takes a deep breath, saying, "Let me phone them as soon as we are finished here. It's a pity Nosipho is in Joburg, this skype stuff is really annoying..." After a pause, he goes on, "The problem is, how can I request that they work on it when they are not even sure how much they will get paid?" Then, a little smile appears on his face. He asks us: "What do you say, would you two be up for a little brainstorming?" (FN, 3/20/2017)

A logistical-administrative impasse

The people meeting in this situation are the administrators and logisticians working on the project on behalf of the South African partner organisation. All three, including myself, are academics and facilitators themselves – as the books in Chris's office indicate. For the duration of the project, however some of the many facilitators will need to turn into bureaucrats and take care of the administration and logistics that make the project run.

As I have shown above in the case of organising conference calls, transnational NGO cooperation in a project involves a host of tedious tasks. Whereas facilitators, like Nosipho and Barbara, are supposed to plan an activity like a seminar in terms of content, think conceptually and establish an internal logic for its proceedings, Chevonne and Chris, as local coordinators of the project, are concerned with the administrative work. They have to keep in mind the budget and funding regulations and are in charge of the logistics that, in the end, will allow the seminar to be carried out as planned. Different kinds of work here clearly belong to separate domains of responsibility and are assigned to different kinds of workers.

Premised on the assumption that a project is made up of many tasks and types of work, which do not hold together by themselves but have to be articulated in order to form an overarching organisational process, the sociologist Anselm Strauss has argued that precisely this "fitting together" of work processes requires effort in itself, namely *articulation work* (Strauss 1988: 163). Together with Strauss, and based on their own shared work, Susan Leigh Star and Geoffrey Bowker, in their ethnographies of organisational processes and infrastructures, have further called attention to the many kinds of invisible work that precede, run through and connect work processes in organisations (Star/Strauss 1999, Bowker/Star 1999). Their work shows how these processes depend on invisibilised work to close the gaps in these processes, akin to Strauss' articulation work (Star 1999: 385). In the following chapters, I will look more closely at two of the different types of work and workers (Strauss 1985: 2), which in this project have to be held together and apart. This approach will help me illustrate two things. First of all, I will show that the separation inherent in this division of labour is not as clear cut as it pretends to be. Workers do switch between types, and the types do overlap. And secondly, it will become clear that these differentiations are themselves a part of the articulation work, that is, of holding the project together. With other projects I encountered in my research, in the organisations I visited and even in the case of one previous Study Visit, I found facilitation and logistical work being managed by one or several individuals without a differentiation. In other cases, conceptual work, logistics and the administrative work related to accounting and reporting even formed three separate domains of responsibility. In the implementation of this project, however, the formalized separation between logistics and facilitation was a recurring theme, and I myself, as in the situation recalled above, participated in maintaining it. With only ten days to go before the seminar begins, in this meeting, the efforts to maintain this separation encounters a crisis. In absence of the soon-to-be-contracted-facilitators, the clear division of labour could not be upheld and within minutes what was to be a logistical meeting between the two seminar organisers Chris, Chevonne, and myself, transforms into a conceptual facilitation meeting

where, in the end, logisticians and administrators turned into facilitators and were practically planning the seminar on the whiteboard. This moment of crisis in maintaining a separation between roles of responsibility did not affect the separation between facilitation and administrative *types of work*, yet it did follow an administrative crisis in its own right.

As Chris points out, the facilitators have not been formally contracted yet, since the administrators and logisticians have not been able to clarify open questions related to important details of their contracts. While the project coordinator in Prague is waiting for feedback on these questions from the future auditors – professionals from a company specialising in audits of publicly funded projects – the logisticians and administrators in the South African partner organisation are wondering what exactly these contracts need to look like. Open questions range from the logos on the letterhead to, crucially, what currency to use – the South African rand, in which the facilitators will be remunerated, or euros, which the budget has been calculated in and which the grant is being paid out in. It is also euros that the funder requires for accounting purposes. Furthermore, it has not yet been clarified how many days of work the facilitators will be paid for exactly and whether this is to include additional days for preparation and wrap-up. It is not the first time one of the partner organisations needs to draft such contracts for the project. For the two previous Study Visits, similar arrangements were made, and these could be copied. So how is this situation different from the other occasions? Linked to the currency question is another question that holds up work on the contracts. It is the question what exchange rate the logisticians will have to use when converting the facilitators' remuneration from euros to the South African rand. If the contracts state the amount to be paid to the facilitators in euros, how much exactly would they get in the local currency? Over the course of the project, rates fluctuated so much that using one or the other would make a real difference for their remuneration. And conversely, if the currency to be used is the South African rand, what amounts would the contracts need to specify in order to equal amounts specified in euros?

How to deal with different co-existing exchange rates is indeed an issue in its own right which I will discuss in chapter 7. At the impasse described above, the seemingly clear line that the facilitators-turned-administrators characteristically draw between the different work in logistics, administration and facilitation gets blurred. This is also due to the problematic localities and temporalities of a transnational project, such as differences between time zones and working rhythms that need to be synchronized, or the temporal restrictions inherent in the project form. These temporalities, in turn, play into larger asymmetries and questions of modernity (Latour 1987: 230; Fabian 1983; Czarniawska 2000: 140). In the following section, I will focus on the role played by invisible differentiation and articulation, and on their effect on logisticians attempts to organise a seminar.

Facilitating logistics with design

As administrators and logisticians, the participants at the logistical meeting need to make sure that the activities the facilitators plan can, in the end, be carried out as intended. Thus, they arrange dates and times and transport for site visits; make sure expenditures

are in line with the budget as regards both amounts and spending regulations; know how much can be spent on what and how exactly; understand which invoices have to be kept for the accounts and how certain costs can be declared. They need to keep an overview of how exactly the seminar budget is being distributed. So far, site visits are planned but specifics remain unclear: when will these visits take place and in what order; how will the participants get there; how will the organisations and activists hosting them be compensated? Another visit to a museum needs to be booked for a certain date and time or all the spots will be taken soon, and lunches and dinners need to be arranged with the caterer to be delivered to the right places or cancelled when site visits are scheduled. With one of the facilitators busy working as a teaching assistant in another unit at the university, a second one working with community organisations outside of town and the third studying for her PhD in another city, there is no opportunity to quickly meet and hear everyone out on these conceptual questions. Still the administrators urgently need decisions in order to continue organising the upcoming seminar. Furthermore, the fact that the seminar facilitators' contracts were still waiting for approval by the project coordinator in the Czech Republic, who is trying to clarify final questions with the auditors, made it difficult for the administrators and logisticians to solicit further commitments from the not-yet-contracted-facilitators to work for the project at this point in time. It fell on us as logisticians, then, to start revising the schedule already proposed by one of the facilitators and shared with us via e-mail. Before long, the three of us were fully immersed in the excitement of designing a seminar schedule.

> "Gosh, this is the kind of work I really enjoy doing!" Chris says to me while we wait for Chevonne to get the whiteboard markers from her office next door. "My head turns to jelly when I have to think about HR contracts and funding..." [...] He looks at the whiteboard, where Chevonne has started to fill in the columns, writing in different colours and says: "I like how you put the thinking and goals in red!" She starts writing out the themes for the different days, then stops, takes a look at her work and erases everything again. Chris offers her a mug filled with more markers: "Take another colour, there are some really nice ones..." While she is writing, Chris and I look at the printed schedule, wondering what themes they assigned to what days. We read these out to Chevonne, who writes them down for each day. When she has finished copying the draft schedule onto the whiteboard, she returns to the desk, and the three of us look at the roughly filled schedule in silence. Chevonne finally offers: "How about inviting the organisations on Wednesday instead?" (FN, 3/20/2017)

As with the documents compiled in Riles' networks, aesthetic design here is taking part in the creation of information and becomes a driving force of collaboration (cf. Riles 2000: 22, 2006: 27). What colour to use for each kind of information; how to arrange the content in a table to make important information easily accessible are questions that drive the thinking process. Being able to talk through the order of the activities and daily themes and to understand the logic behind their chronology is key; thus, knowing where and how to work on the schedule becomes an important question. On a whiteboard, unlike on paper, everything can be erased easily and re-designed from scratch; everything is bigger and within view from every part of the room: big letters for big ideas. A whiteboard provides an overview, makes connections between ideas visible and at the same time leaves the door open for changes or even starting over – at least as long as we do not get confused with the different markers, some of which are permanent. As with Riles'

project matrix, where empty spots in a table generate action by demanding to be filled in (Riles 2000: 22), in this situation the design of a seminar schedule draws us from logistical work to conceptual work.

Similar to the decision-making around meetings, with calendars, doodles and deadlines, here again the project participants have to navigate a host of involvements and attend to the diverse needs linked to them. Whereas in the previous situation, project formalities and external involvements help them to move forward and create co-presence, in this situation they allow them to assume a different role and different type of task. Issues with contracts and room bookings turn into ideas for methods, and a debate on what sequence of activities will yield the biggest learning effects for participants. Facilitators and academics who initially had to turn into bureaucrats, for a few minutes become facilitators again. Switching between two types of work to move forward with both, however, implies another more subtle kind of work: that of cultivating the separation.

Crossing lines while maintaining division: administration and facilitation work

Should we visit the museum and have one of the workshops later on in the week or earlier instead? Or might it be even better to give the participants all the input before letting them share and develop their own methods? How is a link to be created for participants between the goals for day one and day two, between "situating ourselves in the local context" and "getting to know our respective work contexts"? (FN, 3/20/2017) Conceptualising seminars content-wise, as we have seen above, uses design to generate, visualise, and rewrite ideas big and small, and the connections between them.

As Chris notes during the meeting, thinking of methods and activities and designing a seminar curriculum is "the kind of work [he] really enjoy[s] doing". Being concerned with contracts and fundraising, however, is a different kind of work altogether from what he naturally finds appealing. Drafting contracts and agreements and dealing with looming budget restrictions makes "[his] head feel like jelly" (FN, 3/20/2017). Curriculum design, that is planning a seminar schedule, creating and arranging methods are for him, it seems, rooted in another form of conceptual thinking than the one needed when implementing or reporting on a project. Conceptual thinking as a facilitator means working in and with openness and being able to navigate sheer endless conceptual possibilities within logistical restrictions. In the situation described above, rethinking a method, a day, or a whole seminar topic, turning everything on its head or following a conceptual idea to its logical conclusion, only to replace it again in the end with another one, is what gets us as facilitators and pedagogues excited. The offer to engage in "brainstorming" is an invitation to dive into this world of possibility. If one method is open enough to lead participants into very different directions, this openness is not necessarily problematic but can yield its own pedagogic outcome – as long as the facilitators have thought about it beforehand or know how to include and use the different understandings that participants will potentially arrive at. For the facilitators within ourselves, this abundance of possibilities is productive and enjoyable, a resource and precondition for making conceptual connec-

tions, rather than a nuisance. For the facilitators-turned-administrators, however, such openness, ambiguity and overflow of possibilities are a more problematic company. They need to be kept in check and be managed.

From the stage of proposal writing onwards, when setting up the project and developing its internal logic, conceptual thinking on the logistical-administrative side draws on the funding programme's rules and regulations as guidance. The form of a project provides ample tools for dealing with uncertainties. It pushes the project participants to keep boundlessness and ambiguity in check from the start (cf. Rottenburg 2000: 149; 160)[30]. Throughout the planning and implementational stage, an ever-present conceptual question is: how can the reality of the activities fit into the categories of the proposal and programme, and vice versa? Organisational work in projects thus involves tedious and ongoing translating (Czarniawska 2000: 138). Apart from the proposals and the budget, the logical framework, or *logframe* in project management terminology, is exemplary in facilitating these translations. It can be part of a project proposal and provides the project with an internal logic by breaking the larger project goals down into smaller units or concrete actions. It determines their sequence, tangible outputs and intangible outcomes, required inputs, indicators of achievement and the sources of information used to measure the progress of projects. A logframe is supposed to assure that a project will work out in its implementation phase by making its internal logic explicit and rendering its progress traceable and measurable. One activity, in this logic, can be part of only one spending line, and belong to only one category of spending (Czarniawska 2000: 124). One action, one expense therefore has to be attributed to one category or the other, it cannot figure in both (cf. Rottenburg 2000: 160). When choosing one kind of understanding or representation – as for example whether the money spent on participants' transport from one seminar venue to another belongs in the budget for the first part of the seminar, or whether it needs to be taken from the budget for the second part – the project partners not only try to avoid mistakes, but they adhere to higher standards and rules because they have to. In their joint effort, the accountant, the logistician and the budget together reduce the number of possibilities they have to work with. Admin work in this respect means controlling realities by constantly choosing one possible understanding and one alternative representation of realities over others and by reducing the number of possibilities one will have to consider in the future. If these "translations [...] create connections between different actions, different vocabularies, different worlds, and different times and places" (Czarniawska 2000: 136), reducing possibilities as a way of managing unpredictability is also another way of making connections.

---

[30] This is not to say that sticking to proposals and budgets can simply be explained by the power donors have to give priority to a certain type of accountability. During his participant observations as a project consultant in development projects, Richard Rottenburg observed how the rigidity with which different actors in a project adhere to the rules can be explained instead by their own specific interests. While donors had a strong interest in proving (through auditable accounts), that the resources have been used correctly, consultants carrying out a project were trying to make sure they deliver only those services they will be compensated for (those which have been budgeted in advance), and beneficiaries had their own interests in defending their sovereignty by keeping consultants out of their business (Rottenburg 2000: 160-61; Rottenburg 2002: 237-38).

> Slowly a very rough outline appears on the whiteboard. "What do you say, is it ok that we are doing the curriculum now? We should really give them their contracts before making them work for the seminar", Chris says. "As soon as we're done here I am going to phone them, tell them that we've realized how short the time until the Study Visit has become. We've just given it a shot here, but they will facilitate it so they can build on it or change it again... We just can't nail the logistics in absence of a clear schedule!" (FN, 3/20/2017)

While diving into designing the seminar curriculum, bureaucrats and logisticians have to legitimize their transformation into facilitators who think about methods and pedagogical concepts. What they are doing clearly lies outside their domain of responsibility. They legitimize their crossing over into content-related realms by two means: first, by referring to a situation of time-pressure, and second, by downplaying their own contribution.

They make sure, however, that the facilitators do not perceive their contribution as a friendly takeover and assure themselves as much as the others that this is not a permanent transgression of roles. Framing their conceptual work as a sketchy chronological suggestion, a quickly drafted proposal that can be built on and changed by those who are in fact responsible, re-establishes the given role division. Carefully copying the themes that the facilitators have already agreed upon day by day on the whiteboard, to "work with *their* terms", reaffirms administrators' respect for the facilitators' authority in this domain. It helps maintain the division between different kinds of work, while at the same time allowing the line separating them to be crossed. These additional precautions the logisticians take at each step along the way re-establish the clear line where it has been blurred due to a situation of administrative-logistical impasse.

Differentiating articulation work

In the situation of acute time pressure aggravated by geographical distance between some of the actors that I have described above, the missing bits of information immobilize and mobilize action at the same time. Since the information that is urgently needed to finalize contracts has once again gone astray, on the admin side of things, working on the contracts is put on hold, setting in motion a chain reaction of asking for information. The local coordinator asks her colleagues next door; together they turn to the project coordinator for clear instructions, who, in turn, contacts the auditors for advice. The latter will be the ones examining contracts and financial reports after the project has ended, guaranteeing to the EACEA that their money has been used according to the funding regulations. In this chain reaction, crucial knowledge seems to always rely with someone else. Whenever the EACEA is not within easy reach, however, the auditors have the final say.

In this impasse, arising from a combination of time pressure, geographical distance and an information deficit, a part of the logistical work moves into the background, allowing conceptual thinking to unfold. When the logisticians realize that time is running out and too little crucial information is available for them to complete important logistical tasks, they decide to come up with a solution themselves. In so doing, they cross the line from thinking in administrative and logistical terms about contracts, transport and budget, over to concepttual thinking, combining and recombining pedagogic goals and methods, and structuring the schedule for the week. Even though the logistical impasse is linked to

a lack of temporal and spatial co-presence, participants respond to it not with increased effort to establish co-presence, a strategy I described in previous chapters, but by stepping over the line between the established division of labour. As they leave their assigned spot in the division of labour and cross the line separating different types of work, they are at the same time upholding it conceptually. "Maintaining the identity of all persons involved and preserving interactional orderliness", as Strauss (1988: 172) argues, is a sort of articulation work in itself.

I initially borrowed Strauss' term to refer to the types of work partners distinguish between, namely facilitation, logistics and admin work. Analytically, each of them consists of a set of work types and tasks, like coordination work (agreeing on dates for seminars and meetings), paper work (writing contracts, revising budgets), conceptual work (designing seminar schedules, developing methods), and many more. But my point is not to neatly transfer Strauss' "grounded concepts" (Strauss 1985: 1) to the field of collaboration practices within a partnership project. Whether at the point of an impasse, or under other circumstances, the division of labour in this project, both as regards work and workers, is never a clear cut one, but rather helps us see articulation. In practice, deciding what day a museum visit or workshop with an external speaker will take place on, can be either logistical or conceptual work, and is often both at the same time. While helping to keep the seminar preparations running, the work of separating tasks and roles and making efforts to uphold these separations means caring for the division of labour. Distinguishing between all this requires analytical efforts (cf. Bowker/Star 1999), both for me and for the partners, and these efforts are part of the articulation work holding the project together (cf. Strauss 1988: 166; 172).

However, one question remains. I was struck by how much effort my colleagues put into keeping different kinds of work and workers separated, while in practice, the domains were inseparably entangled. Where then, is the separation located on which they base their division of labour? Here, the double sense of "project" in my field is again productive: I am not only looking at a project in Strauss' analytical sense, one that assembles tasks and processes in order to produce something (or, for that matter, at a project in Tsing's sense), but at collaborations that take on the *form* of a (funding) project. Behind the separation between the work of logisticians and facilitators, another distinction is at work, which is closely related to the project form. It becomes apparent in the logisticians' value-based decision to not let the facilitators work without a contract. The project creates two crucial categories of work, as the following statement implies:

> Hanka: "So for example there is this huge Study Visit, one of the four Study Visits, which is taking place in France and there is a volunteer-driven organisation, which at the moment has two active volunteers who are supposed to organise this important part of the project – basically on a voluntary basis. Of course, we are going to find ways not to make it on a voluntary basis but... officially, in the project, it's on voluntary basis." (Interview Hanka, 6/18/2017: 11)

The distinction between paid and unpaid work is one inscribed into the project through the budget and the proposal: there is no budget line reserving money for logisticians and administrators, but there is one for facilitation. Whereas, for example, the French organisation hosting the last seminar has no employees, and the volunteers have to be compensated in another way, the logisticians in the South African organisation receive

payment through other projects that their organisation is running. Therefore, these logisticians officially work as volunteers for this project while getting paid through other projects they are working on simultaneously.

> Emily: "An administrator should have been payed to organise the Study Visit. It's a lot of work. And [the project] hasn't payed for that to be done, and so, myself and Lynley and Chester and Chris… and you, and Chevonne, and lots of people were involved in, but no one's getting payed for it." (Interview Emily, 4/7/2017: 5)

Organising a seminar thus becomes part of the support the participating organisations have to provide to this particular project (even though it might be through other projects). According to Richard Rottenburg, Herbert Kalthoff and Hans-Jürgen Wagener (2000: 17), "[n]umerical representations of economic practices do not only describe, but they also shape these practices. Representations and practices are inevitably connected to each other by a performative link." The distinction between facilitation and logistical work, then, is one of representation, and practice at the same time. It is inscribed into budget lines and, based on these, into contracts that are made in the name of this project only with some of the workers, but not with others.

How the partners deal with the different reference frames that the project provides for its representation and implementation will be a subject of the next chapter. There, rather than making efforts to keep differentiated domains separated from each other, caring for divisions takes the form of reconciling. This is the case when, for example, the accounting requirements refuse to articulate with practices demanded by project implementation. Where these two sets of practices do not sit easily next to each other, work starts piling up for the logisticians and administrators.

7. Negotiating frames: Balancing accounts with partnership and donors

> On Friday morning, I arrive early at the office. When I pop my head into Carolin's open door to say hi, she asks me whether I could assist her with an e-mail to Hanka, the project manager, about the contracts for facilitators. I leave my backpack in the little spare office and return to hers, taking a seat at the small conference table. While Carolin formulates the e-mail, I type on her laptop: "Hi Hanka, Thanks again for the info on the contracts. Anja and I met yesterday with Emily, our department manager. She raised a crucial question about the amounts for payment, exchange rates and reporting. As we understand it, we have to convert the euro amounts in the contract to the rand value on the date the money came into our fund, which was Jan. 25th 2017..."
>
> In a joint effort we are trying to formulate what the decision to use the rate as of January, 2017 versus the rate as of December, 2015 – when the project proposal was approved – would mean for the contracts and the local accounting. Will the amounts in ZAR increase if we use the January rate? Or will the amount in euro change? No, surely, the euro amount needs to stay the same, as the auditors advised...? We are trying to get our heads around the consequences for the accounts, that is, whether money would go missing or whether they might come out ahead with even more money... "But surely, in this case, the Commission

would request accounting for that money too, or even ask for it back?", I wonder out loud. Carolin gives up: "Let's go and ask Emily again!" [...] Across the cool corridor in her small office, Emily, the accountant, explains to us that we have to use the rate as of Jan 25, 2017, so that expenses match the amount of money we got on that day. "We can't use different rates for the contracts and the books; we have to use the same rates… - well, we will use different rates, as there will be other instalments coming in at other times with other rates, so we will always use the ones in line with the date we received the money.", she says. Carolin objects, saying that the grant agreement specifies that we have to use the December, 2015 rate, and I agree with her that I have somewhere read a statement to this effect before. Emily says she cannot believe that this is something they signed. We return to Carolin's office, where she pulls out the annex to the grant agreement from a neat pile of papers on her desk. On one page, a paragraph she has marked in bright neon yellow almost jumps off the page at me. It reads:
[...] Later on the same day, Hanka answers that, yes, they are having the same issue with Czech koruna, but reporting in euros – and at the December, 2015 rate – is what the donor requires everyone to do. She suggests that all sides keep track of their real spending, and in the end she will try to distribute the savings to cover expenses for any exchange rate fluctuations... Emily replies in another mail: "I will inform our financial manager of this." (FN, 3/24/2017, EACEA 2015: 6)

Fictional realities

Two weeks after the events described above, I came to the office in the morning and looked into the worried faces of my colleagues. They told me of a government reshuffle the night before in which Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan had been discharged. I first thought I was being catapulted one and a half years back in time. My deja vu referred to October, 2015 when, shortly before another workshop my colleagues and I were on our way to attend, the South African president Jacob Zuma had announced once before that he was sacking the same finance minister – a decision he later took back under political pressure. Despite his political U-turn, the South African national currency, the rand, tumbled in the days and weeks following the announcement and remained low through-out the following months, recovering only in the second half of 2016 (see table p. 54).[31] Although this time, in 2017, the repercussions for the currency would not be as remark-able as at the end of 2015, this seeming repetition led me to consider the effects of exchange rates on the project partners' efforts to connect with each other. What had a quite pleasant effect on the local buying power for some of the workshop participants with bank accounts in euros or other currencies pegged to the euro, in fact posed some problems for the logisticians and accountants in the South African partner organisation.

In order to understand how a low rand at the end of 2015 might still affect seminar organising in March, 2017, I had to dig into the money movements of the project. The lead applicant in an ERASMUS funded project, in this case the Czech organisation, receives four fifths of the total grant as pre-financing at the start of the project and takes the responsibility to distribute this money to the other partner organisations in several

---

[31] For a widely shared analysis in the South African news of the tumbling rand at the end of 2015 as linked to the first presidential sacking of finance minister Pravin Gordhan see Bhoola (2016). Nkosi (2017) provides an analysis tracing the 2017 government reshuffle back to the one in 2015.

instalments. While the Czech organisation received and sent the instalments to the other partner organisations in euros, somewhere on its way to the bank accounts of two of the partners, the money would change currency: from euro to West African franc CFA, and to South African rand (ZAR). Thus, the South African organisation's share of the funding in euros was converted into an amount in South African rand (ZAR), according to the exchange rate at that moment. Still, the EACEA required that every organisation operating in a currency other than euros report back on their spending in euros, at an exchange rate fixed in the grant agreement. In the case of this project, this meant reporting back at the exchange rate of 1 to 15.149 valid in December, 2015, when the project was approved, the money granted to the consortium and paid out to the lead applicant by the EACEA. For any currency which submits to a floating exchange rate, like the South African rand, this rule for reporting means that while an euro amount is transferred into the account of a partner organisation and converted according to the (flexible) exchange rate in use at the moment of the transfer, the partners later have to report back on their spending in euros, at a different exchange rate from the past. This affected two among the six partners, namely the South African and the Czech organisations. The Beninese partner, despite working with a currency other than the euro, was not affected. Due to the system of 'monetary cooperation' maintained by postcolonial France towards her former West and Central African colonies, the local currency Franc CFA32 continues to be fixed to the euro – or, as the director of the Beninese partner organisation put it: "l'Euro est stable"33 (Interview with Aristide, 4/9/2017: 18). For the Beninese partners' practice of reporting on projects funded through the European Commission or other agencies which are based in the euro zone, the fixed exchange rate in money transfers is the same as the rate fixed in the grant agreement's appendix. While economists continue to argue about negative and positive effects of this post-colonial intervention into West African national and regional economies (Schall 2017: 25-26), in this case the Beninese partner has an advantage compared to the two other partners using national currencies with floating exchange rates. The Czech organisation, which regularly works with donors who distribute their grants in euros, runs separate accounts in Czech koruna and euros respectively for this very purpose. Yet it has to deal with similar fluctuations in monetary terms when making purchases or paying out sub-contractors from project money within the Czech Republic and in Czech koruna, while having to report back to the donors in euros. (Interview Hanka, 6/18/2017: 15)

But what is the issue with money amounts being converted from euros into rands and back again precisely between December, 2015 and March, 2017? After the first government reshuffle, when the grant agreement was signed, in December, 2015, the rand was still low and continued to fall. After gradually decreasing from the November average of one euro to 15.3 rand, it bottomed out in the first two weeks of 2016 when one euro was worth 18.4 rand and slowly recovered to a rate of around one to 13.5 in March of 2017. In these fifteen months the rate thus fluctuated by about five rand.

---

[32] The changed meaning of the accronym is telling: while today it stands for "Franc de la communauté financière en Afrique", from 1945 to 1958 the currecy was called "Franc des colonies françaises d'Afrique" and from 1958 until the formal decolonisation "Franc des communautés françaises d'Afrique".

[33] "The Euro is stable."
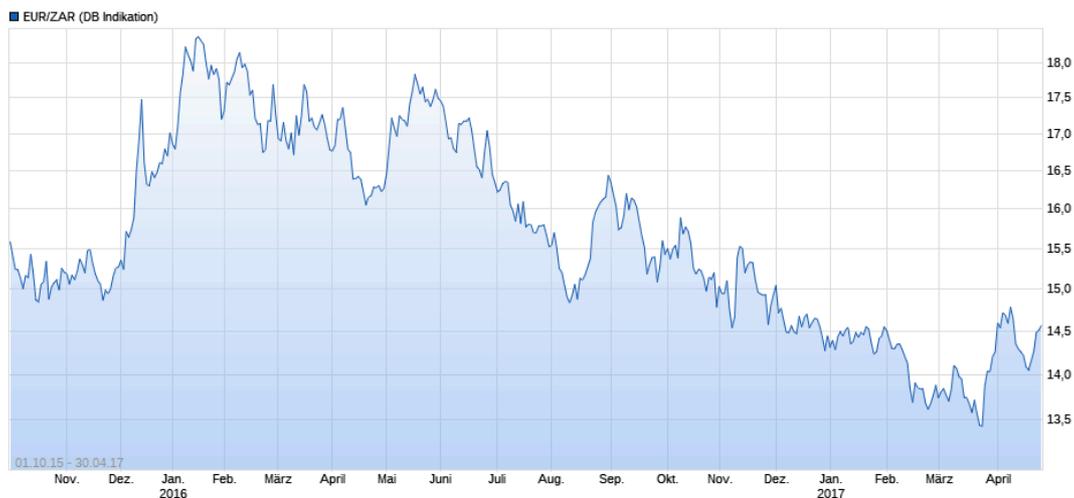
The euro to South African rand exchange rate fluctuations over the course of 2016 and early 2017: during the second half of 2016, the rand slowly recovers from its ten year low at the end of 2015 (graph decreasing) and suddenly starts falling again in value at the end of March 2017.[34]

In December, 2015, a given amount of euros was equivalent to a substantially higher amount of rand than throughout the second half of 2016 and in early 2017. Exchange rate fluctuations led to the South African partner organisation receiving less money in the first two instalments than they could have expected based on the project budget and the fixed exchange rate. While paying for all project related costs in rand, the partner organisation had no way of confirming these discrepancies, in this case their losses, to the donor. For the South African partners, having to report back in the donor's currency, all the amounts spent in rand had to be converted into euros using the exchange rate determined in the grant agreement. Since in the financial report, no rand amounts will appear, accounting cannot take exchange rate fluctuations into account.

To give a (simplified) example in numbers: if in January, 2017, the Czech lead applicant had sent the South Africans 10,000 € at an exchange rate of 1 to 14.413 – not including fees for the transfer – approximately R144,130 would have been credited to the South African organisation's account. If this amount were to be completely spent, the invoices and bills included as proof in the report, according to the exchange rate of 1 to 15.149, as fixed by the EACEA, would cover only a sum of 9,514.16 €, instead of the 10,000 € the donor would expect them to account for, although of course this original amount had been spent. While already working on a tighter budget, the partner now had to make do with even less funding *and* deal with an official discrepancy of 485.84 € which, calculated in the donor's terms, should have reached the South Africans' account, but in fact never did. While the difference could have been much bigger for transfers being effected at other times over the course of 2016, even this smaller discrepancy increased the workload for the logisticians, as also described in the previous chapter. The confusion about exchange rates then prevented the exact amount of the facilitators'

---

[34] Source: http://www.ariva.de/eur-zar-euro-s%C3%BCdafrikanischer_rand-kurs/chart, accessed 1/22/2018.

remuneration from being determined and brought logistical and administrative work to a momentary standstill.

In the logic of grants and pre-financing, the EACEA's adherence to these two rules ensures that their beneficiaries will be held accountable for the money distributed to them. In the local accountant's perspective, however, this particular combination of rules would unquestionably write its own story of what had happened in the project. In an interview I did with Emily a few days later, she told me:

> "I mean it's not always easy. The funder goes, you know, 'we don't cover exchange rate fluctuations.' And then you go, 'ok, well then I'm just telling you what we're *not* going to do'. Yeah? But [with the EACEA] there is *no* flexibility. And even if we could cut something from this project, we're not allowed to, because we can't report in rands. We can only report in euros. So it makes it very, very difficult... and it's a fiction! The report will be a fiction. (Interview Emily, 4/7/2017: 13)

When – in response to one of my questions about the specificities of this project – Emily compares it to her experiences with other projects and donors, she finds that the two rules taken together leave her no flexibility, as they prevent her from submitting any claim for losses through exchange rates to the donor. Simply making these losses visible on the balance sheet would legitimize an amendment request, that is, changes to the initial proposal, which in this case would mean cutting back on the activities planned. When so readily exposing her own financial report as "fiction", the accountant was by no means admitting to deliberately misappropriating funds or committing some other kind of fraud. From her perspective, knowing and being involved both in the practices of accounting and those of seminar logistics, converting spending at a fixed exchange rate and doing the accounting in euros seemed to simply create and uphold its own reality against another practical reality of organising and paying for events.

Translating worlds and numbers

Of course, the financial manager's report would not be wholly fictitious. In the introduction to their edited volume on economic representations and practices, Rottenburg, Kalthoff and Wagener (2000), argue that economic practices are mostly rooted in two disparate frames of reference. These are based on two mutually contradictory understandings of the relationship between the figures or symbols and the reality that they are supposed to represent. Seen within the first frame of reference, figures are taken as an objective display of reality and "[t]he fact that the figures are also rooted in the calculating procedures used to generate them has to be bracketed." (ibid.:16) In the second frame of reference, the performative function of the tools used to calculate and make decisions is recognised and their objectivity questioned. When calling her own report a 'fiction', the financial manager is calling into question exactly this objectivity of numbers resulting from her calculation procedures. She, thus, refuses to work within the first frame of reference.

Drawing on Bruno Latour's (2005) and Michel Callon's (1999) *sociology of translation,* Barbara Czarniawska (2000) argues that accounting is in fact a practice of translation, or of making connections between what is 'fiction' and what is 'reality'. She

describes the work of organising more generally as a continuous work of translating, forging links between different organisational actions, vocabularies and worlds. The resulting translations "[f]rom worlds to words and numbers – and back", that is, between the practices of representation and the practices of implementation, require a lot of effort if they are to enable organisations and projects to run smoothly (Czarniawska 2000: 117). Czarniawska draws on the example of a typing error on a balance sheet resulting in very real costs for the organisation in question. She concludes that "the difference between 'fictitious' and 'factual' is never obvious or stable. Fictitious events can have real consequences, and actual events are often fictionalized in order to make them comprehensible." (Czarniawska 2000: 129) If the practices of accounting and financial reporting have consequences on the reality they are supposed to represent, the accountant not only makes the initial calculations for her report, but additionally she also will have to take care of their effects on reality.

Science and technologies scholar Annemarie Mol (2002, 1999: 75) has written extensively on the "ontological politics" involved in establishing multiple realities. According to this perspective, there is not only one reality which we can look at from different perspectives in order to see different things. Rather, realities themselves are multiple, established through distinct but overlapping sets of practices (Mol 1999: 77). In calling them multiple, Mol (2002: 55) further acknowledges that realities are, in fact, "more than one, but less than many": they overlap and therefore depend on each other to come into being. Instead of postulating that a project has but one single reality which people look at from different perspectives at different times, Mols concept of *multiples* would allow us to acknowledge that there are indeed multiples of this one project which overlap and which come into being through different practices. In light of this, multiple versions of the project emerging from the interlinked practices of implementing and reporting are inseparable and incongruent at the same time (cf. Mol 1999: 83). Whether it makes sense to speak of multiple projects which are enacted through different sets of practices and what this would mean for partnership in – and beyond – a project is a question which calls for further thought. Drawing on Mol's interest in the overlapping of multiple realities, I will now focus on what happens at the edges of these alleged multiple realities, namely on the work related to the making and bridging of division. What is required of accountants in terms of negotiation work where different project practices create multiple projects which do not sit peacefully with each other? Or, to put it in terms of the perspectivalist approach Mol seeks to overcome (ibid.: 75), how do accountants avoid getting a headache whenever they see the project in double vision?

With the project I participated in, the different reference frames in use created their own needs and requests directed at the project practitioners. To those involved in implementing the project for the South African organisation, at different times, one set of needs seemed to be much more real (the real costs and the financial needs that emerge in the project implementation) and therefore more urgently in need of attention than others (the financial reality as predicted in the budget, and the retrospective reality of reports having to be written according to the predicted reality and the funding regulations of the donor). To the accountant, her own reports appear as fiction when she has to make a translation from one sort of figure (the "actual" rands spent in the project) to another kind (euros),

based on a translation factor from the past that is no longer applicable in the frame of project implementation. A lot of effort is spent on maintaining and being mindful of the needs arising out of these different practical reference systems. Accountants working for the South African (and Czech) partner organisations need to be able to move between the different frames of reference in economic practice at any moment. Rottenburg and others (2000: 17) describe the act of moving back and forth between these two frames of reference as a sort of *code-switching*. At those times when different practices establish discrepant representations of what happened in the project, it is the task of accountants to negotiate these discrepancies.

Besides mixing up elements of past (exchange rates), present (spending) and past representations of the future (i.e. budgets) in interesting ways, the reporting and accounting practices prescribed by the donor include a special kind of translation. Yet this is not what Czarniawska (2000: 138) describes in her account of how Swedish managers produce savings to account for a typing mistake in one of their budgets, as translations "from worlds to symbols" or back. In our project, accountants make translations within the reference frame of representation, from one set of figures to another. As Czarniawska acknowledges, these are the most slippery, and in some cases will also oppose translation (ibid.).

An even more striking example of how the representations of budgets and reports participate in creating different realities through their internal categories, and how they can ignore others, is the one of paid and unpaid work (translated in the budget as facilitation work, and coordination or logistical work), which I will return to in the next chapter. In the event that the differing realities of the project refuse to calmly sit next to each other, a last resort is to externalise costs, as in the case of services that cannot be made to fit into the narrow budget categories. The following chapter speaks of such externalisation.

Externalising costs

The South African partner organisation is, unlike the other five official partners, not an autonomous non-governmental organisation. As a research unit belonging to a university which receives its funding in part from the government[35], this partner, in addition to meeting the donors' requirements for reporting, has to abide by the rules applying to the distribution of public funds in South Africa. When I next talked to the financial manager of the unit, a few days after the confusion about contracts and exchange rates had reached its peak, she explained to me how these requirements link with the project:

---

[35] According to Carolin, funding for the university, and therefore for all other activities and projects of the South African partner organisation, comes from mainly four sources (in order of importance): government funds, academic fees, third-party funds generated through research projects, and private donations (Fieldnote, 3/10/2017)

> "And the research office at [the university] takes that money because the research[36] is being done here on campus, using staff, time and office space and computers and access to the internet, and library resources and… so, the university considers that these are, sort of baseline costs that any research project is benefiting from. So a percentage of the research costs usually goes towards what is called indirect costs, and the research office takes that money. [...] In this case, the indirect costs were waved because the European Commission doesn't pay them. Some funders don't pay them." (Emily, 4/7/2017)

Here, not only are two frames of reference in conflict. Additionally, two sets of accounting practices, which belong to different levels of organising, are making conflicting demands. Public funding requirements in this case leave two options: either to compensate the institution for the organisational support it is providing to the project, or to ensure that the institution holds exclusive rights to all project outcomes (Interview Emily, 4/7/2017: 3). This, again, does not sit well with the idea of cooperation and sharing of outcomes. In accordance with the budgetary restrictions the donor has defined, the university as a partner organisation is not getting refunded for indirect costs incurred through its involvement in the project and has therefore exempted the project from compensating the institution for the resources it uses. [37] This, however, means that, as the accountant stresses:

> "Someone *is* paying the indirect costs! whether the funder pays them or not - it's there, and the costs are real! So, if *we* don't pay them, it just means that the central university is covering that cost *for* the project." (Interview Emily, 4/7/2017: 3)

Even if the budget was determining a separation into paid and unpaid work, the respective budget lines would still not cover the costs each organisation has for the offices and office infrastructure that administrators and logisticians use when doing their work on the project, Emily explained to me. They would need laptops, phones, desks and chairs, whiteboards and markers, doors to close behind them, copiers and coffee machines. Here, a certain kind of cost is, in a way, not only rendered invisible, but in fact being outsourced by the project to the partner organisation. In fact, many of the tasks arising from the project and which help hold the project together (Strauss 1988) can only be managed by relying on resources brought into the cooperation, not by the project but by other entities, which may originate from a vast array of other projects, collaborations and quite simply from motivated individuals. This is the case with coordinators who are contracted for other projects and who will do admin and logistical work for this project next to all their other tasks. It may also come about through resources accumulated in the organisation, as in the case of communication infrastructure that one organisation (plans to) provide to facilitate co-presences amongst the partners. There will also be colleagues who dedicate a part of their worktime to doing the accounting and reporting, paid for by the organisation or by another project it is running. There are colleagues, too, who will write and sign invitation letters for the participants' visa applications; who in an emergency during the seminar will coordinate with the caterer, buy breakfast and

---

[36] The kind of projects the South African partner usually undertakes, being based in a university, are research projects. Following its internal logic, the university reads the project funded under the ERASMUS+ scheme as a research project, and consequently submits it to the rules that apply for any other project in this category.

[37] In fact, the project budget acknowledges some indirect costs, but since the lead applicant bears the lions share of indirect costs, this money is going to the Czech organisation to compensate for these costs.

stationary and drive everything to the venue in their private cars. And, finally, there are the interns coming in through other programmes (and observant participants that pay for their own plane tickets) who help out with seminar logistics as volunteers; who answer seminar participants' urgent questions, prepare participation registers and during the seminar ensure that everyone signs in the right places (see FN 10/30/2016, 3/31/2017, Interview Aristide, 4/9/2017: 10-11).

As with organisational articulation work (Strauss 1988, Strauss/Star 1999) and infrastructural arrangements (Star/Ruhleder 1996), the project's model of feeding on its implementing organisations becomes most visible where this strategy does not work out. Whereas having people work for the project who actually "belong" to other projects is relatively easy, temporarilly using other projects' money is not possible for every partner. In contrast to the smaller non-governmental organisations in the project which have a chance to pre-finance some of the expenses for the project until the next instalment comes in (Interview Aristide, 4/9/2017: 21-22), the South African partner, precisely because it is part of a bigger organisation, has to make ends meet with project money. For a research unit at a university, there are virtually no incidental funds for offsetting costs that are incurred in one project but are not covered by its budget; instead, there are only other funds belonging to other projects, and a lot of rules that prevent these projects from lending each other money (Interview Emily, 4/7/2017: 13).

Projects provide a part of the resources which keep organisations running despite the fact that funding programmes explicitly aim at supporting not *organisations*, but *projects.* In order to assure accountable spending of what is usually public funds, projects have limited life spans, and therefore by definition, do not provide the long term financial stability that is needed to run an organisation. As a result, organisations have to strategically work with overlapping projects allowing them some financial stability, helping them to pay their employees stable wages – at least over a period of determined contracts – and even enabling them to furnish their offices with office infrastructure and supplies. Project work thus inherently implies efforts to establish stability from temporary arrangements and under circumstances of structural instability. (cf. Bröckling 2005: 365)

So, is this project special in that it follows the official rule not to fund organisations? Looked at more closely, not only does it prevent organisations from running on its expenses, in some cases it even feeds on their organisational resources and invites them to bring in what they have, to keep the collaboration running. When feeding on institutional resources, the project forges connections between the partner organisations not only by providing a frame, or form, and the related formalities, but also by encouraging the organisations to bring their own resources into the collaboration.

Defining projects, making the global

In ERASMUS+ funding, the EACEA as donor agency defines the rules for accounting and reporting. They create a frame that on the face of it appears barely negotiable. In lengthy e-mail exchanges with the responsible desk officer at the EACEA, the project coordinator, of course, can try to broker changes in the original grant agreement or carefully test out

the boundaries of this frame. Internally however, within the consortium and the collaborating organisations, administrators and logisticians need to make sure they respect the sometimes very narrowly stipulated funding regulations, even though the realities they create might conflict or interfere with the realities brought about by project implementation practices. These conflicts can only be solved by mediating these different practical realities, which is, indeed, real work that requires a lot of time, energy and attention. In the last three sub-chapters, I have tried to trace some of the efforts involved in negotiating overlapping or conflicting practical needs that arise from co-existing reference frames, and have looked at the practices that project partners come up with to avoid headaches from double vision or, more importantly, negative evaluations from their auditors. When, with respect to organisational costs for workforce and office infrastructure, the financial manager has to point out that "these costs are real, someone is paying them", she refers precisely to the point where her expertise in translation work is required. In the case of invisible costs and resources that resist translation into such categories as the funding scheme or the budget offer, the partners make a translation of last resort: they 'outsource' these costs from the project into their organisations. Externalising can be a temporary or emergency strategy (as when for example colleagues step in to buy additional breakfast supplies and deliver them to the seminar venue with their own cars) or a structurally pervasive arrangement (as with office infrastructures and unpaid coordinators, colleagues and external volunteers preparing seminars).

If I follow Richard Rottenburg in understanding the project as "a social form" which claims to be strictly structured both internally and externally in order to become accountable and to mobilize resources for action (Rottenburg 2000: 149), at the same time I accept that this is only one representation of what a project is – albeit a powerful one. And while this 'fictional' representation has very real effects on events, it does not have the power to make any project function in isolation. Projects are embedded in institutions at least in two ways: first, since the life-expectancy of projects is predetermined, they need pre-arrangements and follow-ups, and links to connect one with the other. And secondly, within the organisations accommodating them, projects rely on precarious labour, since those who take care of the proposals and reports constantly move from one short-term contract in a project to the next. (Bröckling 2005: 365) In other words, projects function within existing institutions or organisations that bridge their gaps and assure continuity, where projects promote discontinuity (ibid.). The *capacity-building* project[38] I have described, as a project designed to *build up* organisational capacity, in multiple ways draws on organisational structures and resources that other projects provide to the partner organisations, as I have hinted at in the previous chapters. It feeds not only into, but also on the connections – or "organisational capacities" and "resources" – that precede the project. Here, the difference between capacity building and building organisation becomes obvious: capacity building is meant to *add* to the capacity of pre-existing organisations by providing resources to achieve pre-determined goals, not to establish organisation. While it is difficult to build a new organisation from a network in these conditions,

---

[38] "Capacity Building for Youth" is the funding line of *Key Action 2* under which the project funds were granted.

the form of the project, and the formalities it promotes, *do* facilitate the making of new connections.

The situations I have described – the phone conference, the scheduling of meetings and the issues with floating exchange rates, contracts and accounting, exemplify what is problematic about the endeavour to define the boundaries of the project. In the first case, a contact person in the German organisation was absent and the partners spontaneously had to improvise with other channels of communication in order to make their scheduled phone conference happen. National laws and institutional arrangements – that is, the right to take leave when your child is ill, and the communication infrastructures one organisation offers to the other project partners – here came to the fore of what I understand to be 'the project' and took a very central and active role in shaping its possibilities for connection. When the partners tried to schedule their meetings, they had to negotiate project needs and demands their organisations and an already established network bring to the table. In the case of exchange rate fluctuations, it was national politics and postcolonial economics which entered the collaboration. And when financial managers and logisticians in their accounting practices had to respond to conflicting needs arising from several layers of regulations, and resorted to sourcing out some of the costs from the project, it became difficult to decide what is external and what is internal to the project. Things and people enter the project with their own political agendas and become a part of it, creating and preventing possibilities for connection (Latour 1987). Contrary to a common claim projects make, and the suggestions of project proposals, timelines and reports, the project I am describing thus does not have clear cut, but contested and shifting boundaries. It seems that, as with Riles' networks, what is inside and what is outside, what is the text and what the context of a project, can be difficult to decide, and differ from situation to situation. She writes, for that matter:

> "We now can understand better what the forms that generate the global share. Such forms leave room for *infinite flexibility in their relationship to whatever might lie beyond* and ultimately only signify the real, as the outside, within the parameters of the design." (Riles 2000: 184, emphasis added)

While, in its design, the project establishes and relies on strict lines of division – who is to account for what input; what kinds of work should be done by whom (cf. Rottenburg 2000: 160) – in practice the project's representations in budgets and reports have to be continuously negotiated with its implementations and the various material and human infrastructures of the partner organisations. This is how I understand the project to make 'the global' through connecting things, people and places (Tsing 2000: 330). Negotiating and shifting the boundaries of the shared project within organisations, between these organisations and beyond, is thus one key element in the practices which characterize partnership-as-project as a site in which 'globalness' is made.

8. Are we really partners? More questions and loose ends

A question often discussed by the partners which has inspired my research was, whether practices of partnership, which take place within the frame of a project, yield any emancipatory potential, or whether the project is a form that in its rigidity rather disconnects prospective partners and reproduces and reinforces the power imbalances between them. The strict rules on spending and accounting for project money, for example, create a great deal of work for the logisticians and remain immune to attempts to challenge power relations and to the evocations of equality which mark the project partners' discussions. Yet, the form of the project is one way of getting the funding that the prospective partners need in order to meet and foster their partnerships. With this research, I have sought to contribute to the partners' self-reflective evaluation of the promises they make to each other, and to their analyses of the kinds of relationships they engage in.

In a first step, I turned to Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing for a differentiated and denaturalising understanding of attempts to globalise relationships. Especially her notion of globalisation as a set of projects was instructive. It allowed me to understand the NGO cooperation project, designed to foster global partnership, as part of a larger project which makes claims about and promotes a certain kind of globalness. In a second step, drawing on theories about scale-making and infrastructure, distributed action and articulation, I focussed on the practices, connections and disconnections in the collaborations that the form of projects fosters. In order to be able to follow different kinfs of actors and their practices, distributed across disparate geographical locations, I drew on my own struggles to become co-present with my field of research. Concretely, I was interested in powerful material interrelations and in how, where and by whom these connections are established. In marking out my field of research, I followed an assumption made by scholars of infrastructure – notably Susan Leigh Star – that power materialises in boring practices. In my research, this included administrative, coordinating and logistical practices.

In chapters four and five, I described the project as a series of attempts to establish co-presence, and came to see partnership practices as a sort of maintenance work needed to keep ephemeral and volatile connections alive. I argued that co-presence needed to be established both in geographically distributed settings and in situations of co-location. In both cases, infrastructures intervened in the connection-making through their categorisations. Furthermore, following the project deliverables and the negotiations surrounding them, I showed how the project as a form literally *forms* collaborations. In these collaborations, project formalities facilitate certain connections and interrupt others, and material objects participate in partners' negotiations, even while being absent.

In chapters six and seven, I described how the partners tend to the divisions that the project form prescribes. Two kinds of articulation work are involved in maintaining separations and in negotiating conflicting practical realities. On the one hand, as shown in the case of a logistical meeting, the project set-up encouraged a specific differentiation between kinds of work and workers, according to paid and unpaid types of work. At the same time, it called for these divisions to be crossed, thus requiring effort from the administrators. On the other hand, articulation work could be seen in the financial managers' efforts to reconcile different versions of the project enacted through the practices of

implementing and accounting. It showed how the project feeds on the partner organisations involved and where this arrangement creates problems and work for the administrators. In the end, the project worked also thanks to their efforts to reconcile its different versions, that is, the translations made by administrators and financial managers.

Bringing to the field of NGO-cooperation theories which partly share its vocabulary, but mostly mean different things, has helped me read certain social and material situations in new ways. On the other hand, it has also produced confusion. Actor-network theorists maintain that collaboration does not belong to anyone but is always relational. In contrast, human participants in the field of cooperation and partnership practices, and I include myself here, still continue to claim collaborations for themselves. Some of the notions in my field, in this respect, have resisted theory.

The field of global partnership-as-project has contested and challenged the theories I have applied to it in a second point: Latour and Callon deliberately approach their scientific research subjects not as finished products but as open processes. Their science in action, however, still remains a process with definable outcomes and outputs; a black box containing many participants who have helped establish the hard facts or the model of DNA, the new computer or infrastructure which can be used until new facts, models and machines are produced to replace the old ones. At the end, the processes actor-network theorists describe yield clearly defined results. In this respect, NGO-cooperations and the globalism project of 'global partnership', are not easily comparable to scientific facts or technologies (cf. Barry 2013a). As actor-network theorists with relative ease take apart the walls of their black boxes, I have found it more difficult to apply this approach to a field where a result – even a temporary one – cannot be assumed. As much as the form of projects pretends to pre-define results, we just do not know yet what will come out of collaborations. Indeed, a difficulty the globalism project of 'partnership' poses to this kind of theoretical analysis is that its results remain difficult to grasp and know – unlike an at least temporarilly established actor-network from which one can work back in time. The ERASMUS+ project in question proved to be a slippery kind of (actor-)network; defining its boundaries meant being selective, as is the case when tracing a process of establishing scientific facts (Latour 2005: 166). The previous chapters suggested that the project is continuously re-established in negotiations of what belongs to it and what does not. The difficulty in defining the project's boundaries is not something which only I encountered as a researcher, but which can, in speaking with Annelise Riles and Anna Tsing, be understood as a characteristic of globalism projects more generally. Their boundaries are contested and continuously moving (Riles 2000: 184). Anna Tsing therefore reformulates what the task of social scientists should be as regards studying the effects of various such projects: "Many scale-making projects compete for the scholar or world-builder's attention; the trick is to trace or make relationships between projects. In that work, there are big stories as well as small ones to tell." (Tsing 2012: 509)

Here, I have sought to contribute to such a collection of stories by examining an NGO cooperation project and telling one small story of the practices of its various human and non-human participants. Both projects and cooperation designed to foster partnership are ubiquitous contemporary phenomena – in the sense of Rabinow and Marcus (2008: 55) – of organising 'the global'. Therefore, further study of how the two

interact to form a globalism project of their own; of how, in this project, the social and global is organised; of how these forms of organising mesh with global and historical power relations will be a promising undertaking. One remarkable aspect of the practices involved in partnership-as-project is their constant redefinition of what the project consists of. In doing so, projects link past, present and future in particular ways. In further research, these temporalities and localisations require closer attention: how precisely do practices of partnership-as-project relate to the past, the present and the future? How do they re-define the line between what is seen to be relevant for the collaboration and what is not? And what might all this work of upholding project-related boundaries keep us from understanding about our relationships and the power distributed across them?

Based on my research, I would support Tsings (2000) view that the question as to what kind of globe this project is promoting can be answered only by tracing more in detail the connections which link this one to other globalism projects. This could include research about, amongst others, the European Commissions' cultural and educational policies, the EACEA offices, companies providing international conference call services, desk officers, auditing companies, and their various associates. Understanding what tools studies of actor-networks can contribute to the inquiries into projects of global partnership (cf. Barry 2013a) remains a project (or, indeed, many projects) to be followed up on.

9. References

Bibliography

Abdi, Ali/Lynette Schultz/Tashika Pillay (Eds.) 2015: Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Appadurai, Arjun 1990: Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. In: Theory, Culture & Society, 7, 295-310.

Andreotti, Vanessa de Oliveira 2006: Soft versus critical global citizenship education. In: Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review, 3, 83–98.

Andreotti, V. d. O. 2015: Global Citizenship Education otherwise. Pedagogical and Theoretical Perspectives, in Ali Abdi et al. (Eds.): Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 221–229.

Barry, Andrew 2013: Material Politics. Disputes along the Pipeline. Chichester: Wiley & Sons.

Barry, A. 2013a: The Translation Zone: Between Actor-Network Theory and International Relations, Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 41(3), 413–429.

Beaulieu, Anne 2010: From co-location to co-presence: Shifts in the use of ethnography for the study of knowledge, Social Studies of Science, 40(3), 453-470.

Boal, Augusto 1985 [1979]: Theatre of the Oppressed. New York: Theatre Communications Group.

Bowker, Geoffrey 1995: Information Mythology—the world of/as information, in Bud-Frierman, Lisa (Ed.): Information Acumen: The understanding and use of knowledge in modern business. London: International Thomson Publishing, 231–247.

Bowker, G./Star, Susan Leigh 1999: Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Breidenstein, Georg/Hirschauer, Stefan/Kalthoff, Herbert 2013: Ethnographie: Die Praxis der Feldforschung. Konstanz: UTB.

Bröckling, Ulrich 2005: 'Projektwelten: Anatomie einer Vergesellschaftungsform', Leviathan, 33, 364–383.

Callon, Michel 1999: Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation. Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay, in Biagioli, Mario (Ed.): The Science Studies Reader. New York: Routledge, 67-83.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh 2000: Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Conrad, Sebastian/Randeria, Shalini 2013: Geteilte Geschichten. Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt, in Conrad, Sebastian/Randeria, Shalini/Römhild, Regina (Eds.): Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 32-72.

Clifford, James 1997: Traveling Cultures, in Clifford, J.: Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 17-46.

9. References

Cohn, Ruth 1975: Von der Psychoanalyse zur themenzentrierten Interaktion. Von der Behandlung einzelner zu einer Pädagogik für alle. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Czarniawska, Barbara 2000: Organisational Translations: From Worlds to Words and Numbers - and Back, in Kalthoff, Herbert/Rottenburg, Richard/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (eds.): Facts and figures. Economic representations and practices. Jahrbuch Ökonomie und Gesellschaft 16. Marburg: Metropolis, 117-142.

Czarniawska, Barbara 2007: Shadowing and Other Techniques for Doing Fieldwork in Modern Societies. Ljubljana: Korotan.

Czarniawska, Barbara 2015: After Practice. A personal reflection, Nordic journal of working life studies, 5(3a), 105-114.

Danielzik, Chandra-Milena/Flechtker, Beate 2012: Wer mit Zweitens anfängt. Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung kann Machtwissen tradieren, iz3w, 329, D8-D10.

Defoe, Daniel 1697: An Essay Upon Projects. London: Cockerill.

Emerson, Robert/Fretz, Rachel/Shaw, Linda 2011: Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Fabian, Johannes 1983: Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object. Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Fanon, Frantz 1965 [1961]: The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.

Faubion, James 2009: The Ethics of Fieldwork as an Ethics of Connectivity, or The Good Anthropologist (Isn't What She Used to Be), in Faubion J./Marcus, G. (Eds.) 2009: Fieldwork Is Not What It Used To Be: Learning Anthropology's Method in a Time of Transition. New York: Cornell University, 145-165.

Faubion, James/Marcus, George (Eds.) 2009: Fieldwork Is Not What It Used To Be: Learn- ing Anthropology's Method in a Time of Transition. New York: Cornell University.

Feldman, Gregory 2011: Illuminating the Apparatus: Steps toward a Nonlocal Ethnography of Global Governance, in Shore, Chris/Wright, Susan/Però, Davide (Eds.): Policy Worlds. Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power. New York: Berghahn, 32-49.

Freire, Paolo 1970: Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Herder and Herder.

Glokal 2013: Bildung für nachhaltige Ungleichheit? Eine postkoloniale Analyse von Materialien der entwicklungspolitischen Bildungsarbeit in Deutschland. Berlin, self-published.

Glokal 2016: Das Märchen von der Augenhöhe. Macht und Solidarität in Nord-Süd-Partnerschaften. Berlin, self-published.

Goffmann 1983: The Interaction Order, American Sociological Review, 48, 1-17.

Gupta, Akhil/Ferguson, James 1997: Discipline and practice: "the field" as site, method and location in anthropology, in Gupta, A./Ferguson, J. (eds.): Anthropological locations: boundaries and grounds of a field science. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1-46.

Hampton, Keith N. 2017: Studying the Digital. Directions and Challenges for Digital Methods, Annual Review of Sociology, 43, 167–88.

Hansen, Peo/Jonsson, Stefan 2014: Eurafrica. The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism. London et al.: Bloomsbury Academic.

9. References

Haraway, Donna 1988: Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspectives, Feminist Studies, 14(3), 575-599.

Harvey, Penelope/Jensen, Caspar Bruun/Morita, Atsuro 2017: Infrastructure and Social Complexity – A Companion. New York: Routledge.

Hess, Sabine/Schwertl, Maria 2013: Vom „Feld" zur „Assemblage"? Perspektiven europäisch-ethnologischer Methodenentwicklung. Eine Hinleitung, in Hess, Sabine/Moser, Johannes/ Schwertl, Maria (Eds.): Europäisch-ethnologisches Forschen. Neue Methoden und Konzepte. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 13-38.

Hörning, Karl/Reuter, Julia 2004: Doing Culture: Kultur als soziale Praxis, in Hörning, K./Reuter, J.: Doing Culture. Neue Positionen zum Verhältnis von Kultur und sozialer Praxis. Bielefeld: transcript, 9-15.

Hine, Christine 2007: Multi-Sited Ethnography as a Middle Range Methodology for Contemporary STS, Science, Technology & Human Values, 32(6), 652-671.

Hine, C. 2015: Ethnography for the Internet. Embedded, embodied and everyday. London et al.: Bloomsbury.

Hirschauer, Stefan 1999: Die Praxis der Fremdheit und die Minimierung von Anwesenheit: Eine Fahrstuhlfahrt, Soziale Welt, 50, 221-246.

Howe, Cymene et al. 2016: Paradoxical Infrastructures: Ruins, Retrofit, and Risk, Science, Technology & Human Values 41(3), 547-565.

Jensen, Caspar Bruun 2008: Power, Technology and Social Studies of Health Care:An Infrastructural Inversion, Health Care Analysis, 16(4), 355–374.

Jensen, C. B./Morita, Atsuro 2015: Introduction: Infrastructures as Ontological Experiments, Ethnos, 82(4), 615-626.

Juris, Jeffrey 2008: Networking Futures. The Movements Against Corporate Globalization. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Juris, Jeffrey/Ronayne, Michelle/Shokooh-Valle, Firuzeh/Wengronowitz, Robert 2012: Negotiating Power and Difference within the 99%, Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest, 11(3-4), 434-440.

Latour, Bruno 1987: Science in Action. How to follow scientists and engineers through society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. 2005: Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knecht, Michi 2013: Nach Writing Culture, mit Actor-Network: Ethnographie/ Praxeographie in der Wissenschafts-, Medizin- und Techniforschung, in Hess, Sabine/Moser, Johannes/Schwertl, Maria (Eds.): Europäisch-ethnologisches Forschen. Neue Methoden und Konzepte. Berlin: Reimer, 13-38.

Law, John 2006: Notizen zur Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie: Ordnung, Strategien und Heterogenität, in Bellinger, Andréa/Krieger, David (Eds.): ANThology. Ein einführendes Handbuch zur Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie. Bielefeld: transcript, 429-446.

MacIntyre, Alasdair 1981: After Virtue. A Study in Moral Theory. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Maldonado, Tomás 2002: Defoe and the "Projecting Age", Design Issues, 18(1), 78-85.

Marcus, George 1995: Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography, Annual Review of Anthropology, 24, 95-117.

9. References

McMillan, Janice/Stanton, Timothy 2014: "Learning Service" in International Contexts: Partnership-based Service-Learning and Research in Cape Town, South Africa, Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 21(1), 64-78.

Mol, Annemarie 1999: Ontological Politics: A word and some questions, Sociological Review, 47(1), 74-89.

Mol, A. 2002: The body multiple. Ontology in medical practice. Durham: Duke University Press.

Niewöhner, Jörg 2015a: Infrastructures of Society (Anthropology of), in International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. Oxford: Elsevier, 119-125.

Niewöhner, J. 2015b: Epigenetics: localizing biology through co-laboration, New Genetics and Society, 34(2), 219–242.

Opitz, Sven/Tellmann, Ute 2015: Europe as Infrastructure: Networking the Operative Community, The South Atlantic Quarterly, 114(1), 171-190.

O'Reilly, Karen 2005: Ethnographic Methods. New York: Routledge.

Parmenter, Lynn 2011: Power and place in the discourse of global citizenship education, Globalisation, Societies and Education, 9(3-4), 367-380.

Rabinow, Paul/Marcus, George 2008: Designs for an Anthropology of the Contemporary. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Rottenburg, Richard 2000: Accountability for development aid, in Kalthoff, H./Rottenburg, R./Wagener, H.-J. (Eds.): Facts and figures. Economic representations and practices. Jahrbuch Ökonomie und Gesellschaft 16, Marburg: Metropolis, 143-173.

Rottenburg, R. 2002: Weit hergeholte Fakten. Eine Parabel der Entwicklungshilfe. Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius.

Rottenburg, R./Kalthoff, H./Wagener, H.-J. 2000: In search of a new bed. Economic representations and practices, in Rottenburg R./Kalthoff, H./Wagener, H.-J. (Eds.): Facts and figures. Economic representations and practices. Jahrbuch Ökonomie und Gesellschaft 16, Marburg: Metropolis, 9-34.

Riles, Annelise 2000: The Network Inside Out. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Riles, A. 2006: Introduction: In Response, in Riles, A. (Ed.): Documents. Artifacts of Modern Knowledge. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1-40.

Riles, A. 2006a: [Deadlines]. Removing the Brackets on Politics in Bureaucratic and Anthropological Analysis, in: Riles, A. (Ed.): Documents. Artifacts of Modern Knowledge, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 71-92.

Riles, A. 1998: Infinity within the Brackets, American Ethnologist, 25(3), 378-398.

Said, Edward 1979: Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books.

Schall, Nikolas 2017: Verflochtene Stoffe. Ethnographie einer Globalen Assemblage. Berliner Abschlussarbeiten der Europäischen Ethnologie, Vol. 1. Online Source: https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/18459 (last accessed 2/5/2018).

Schwertl, Maria 2013: Vom Netzwerk zum Text: Die Situation als Zugang zu globalen Regimen, in Hess, S./Moser, J./Schwertl, M. (Eds.): Europäisch-ethnologisches Forschen. Neue Methoden und Konzepte. Berlin: Reimer, 107-126.

Sharma, Sarika/Willis, Matt/Snyder, Jaime/Østerlund, Carsten/Sawyer, Steve 2015: Using ethnography of email to understand distributed scientific collaborations. Presented

9. References

at iConference 2015, March 24–27, Newport Beach, CA. Online Source: https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/73737/421_ready.pdf?sequence=2 (last accessed 2/15/2018).

Star, Susan Leigh 1991: Power, Technologies and the Phenomenology of Conventions: On Being Allergic to Onions, in Law, John (Ed.): A Sociology of Monsters? Essays on Power, Technology and Domination. London: Routledge, 26–56.

Star, S. L. 1999: The Ethnography of Infrastructure, American Behavioral Scientist, 43(3), 377-391.

Star, S. L./Ruhleder, Karen 1996: Steps toward an Ecology of Infrastructure: Desing and Access for Large Information Spaces, Information Systems Research, 7(1), 111-134.

Star, S. L./Strauss, Anselm 1999: Layers of Silence, Arenas of Voice: The Ecology of Visible and Invisible Work, Computer Supported Cooperative Work, 8(1), 9–30.

Strauss, Anselm 1985: Work and the Division of Labor, The Sociological Quarterly, 26(1), 1-19.

Strauss, A. 1988: The Articulation of Project Work: An Organizational Process, The Sociological Quarterly, 29(2), 163-178.

Thayer, Millie 2010: Making Transnational Feminism. Rural Women, NGO Activists and Northern Donors in Brazil. New York: Routledge.

Tsianos, Vassilis/Hess, Sabine 2010: Ethnographische Grenzregimeanalyse: Eine Methodologie der Autonomie der Migration, in Hess, S./Kasparek, Bernd (Eds.): Grenzregime. Diskurse. Praktiken. Institutionen in Europa. Berlin/Hamburg: Assoziation A, 243-264.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt 2000: The Global Situation, Cultural Anthropology, 15(3), 327-360.

Tsing, A. L. 2005: Friction. An Ethnography of Global Connection. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Tsing, A. L. 2012: On Nonscalability. The living world is not amenable to precision nested scales, Common Knowledge, 18(3), 505-524.

Tsing, A. L. 2015: The Mushroom at the End of the World. On the possibilities of Life in Capitalist Ruins. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.

9. References

Primary Sources

Bhoola, Fatima 2016: Analysis: Why the rand is falling. Online Source: https://mg.co.za/article/2016-01-18-how-currency-markets-work-and-why-the-rand-is-falling (last accessed 9/2/2017).

EACEA 2015: Grant Decision and Its Annexes, 12/9/2015.

European Commission (EC) [n.d.]: What is ERASMUS+?, Online Source: http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about_en (last accessed 2/4/2018).

EC 2016: ERASMUS+ Programme Guide, Version 1(2017): 20/10/2016. Online Source: http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/sites/erasmusplus/files/files/resources/erasmus-plus-programme-guide_en.pdf (last accessed 11/8/2016).

EC 2018: European Union reaffirms its partnership with Overseas Countries and Territories, Online Source: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/news-and-events/european-union-reaffirms-its-partnership-overseas-countries-and-territories_en (last accessed 3/13/2018).

Nkosi, Milton 2017: Fallout from South Africa's ministerial 'massacre'. Online Source: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39453662 (last accessed 9/2/2017).