Caroline Contentin:

»Fieldworking«

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PRACTICES

FIELDWORKING

"Instead of 'recognize the costs', the ancient wisdom from the Temple of Apollo in Delphi 'recognize yourself' – directed to each one of us – will help us shape the future of health and of humanity in the long run."

Dietrich Grönemeyer – a renowned German doctor and best-selling author.[1]

Recognizing oneself effectively supports processes of self-healing. Self-help, in turn, can help overcome the immense shortcomings of today's highly technologized biomedical system, which often fails to integrate the basic human need for relatedness and meaning into therapies. This quote also recalls the ancient foundation of today's medical system, the Hippocratic Oath that every doctor and midwife takes nowadays. Evidence-based medicine has to pursue clinical studies that prove – for example – the efficacy of home remedies, but people living in highly urbanized societies urgently need help with civilizational chronic diseases too. This need is addressed by research approaches such as Salutogenesis, narrative or mind-body medicine, CAM (complementary and alternative medicine), or integrative medicine. They strive to meet the standards of scientific research while taking into account the holistic nature of health and illness, i.e., its interpersonal, emotional, social, or political aspects in the short or long term.

Through applied anthropological research and supporting efforts to prevent typical everyday ailments, the *Werkstatt Ethnologie Berlin* (WEB),[2] of which I am a member – in cooperation with Prof. Annette Kerckhoff – has been involved in the development of *Mamacura Workshops* since 2012. The concept grew out of a mutual interest in an anthropological perspective on the use of food for health and healing purposes. We are interested in all kinds of respective knowledge and skills, as well as how they are communicated and transformed along the way.

During the two-hour-long workshops, we first acquaint ourselves with the various participants by sharing each other's experiences and goals. Then we present relevant scientific information on nutrition and discuss different perspectives especially on the context of information transmission (for more information on the workshops, see: "Kitchen Remedies from Around the World").[3]

This procedure promotes reflection and develops awareness of some of the basic healing properties of self-help. The *Mamacura Workshops* provide knowledge through shared lived experience.

In this contribution, I draw on participant observation during my fieldwork on representations of 'healthy' eating among the "Neighborhood Mothers in Berlin-Neukölln" (Ger. *Stadtteilmütter in Neukölln*) between 2012 and 2016 and the subsequent teamwork for the development of the *Mamacura Workshop*.[4] I am further inspired by an encounter with Dirck van Bekkum who works as an anthropologist employed as educator in a clinical setting and considers his work as "fieldworking".[5] This concept provides a framework for my own "betwixt and between" activity of using anthropological research tools for the purpose of preventive health. In the following, I offer an anthropological reflection on this experience and propose further possibilities in terms of practice and research. First, I introduce my (partly autoethnographic)

fieldwork and lived research experience to illustrate how the workshop concept represents an effective, accessible, and inexpensive way of countering some of the aporias of the current dominant biomedical system. Then I present the anthropological tools used in the workshop and share my reflections on how anthropological research methods such as participant observation and (semi-directed) group interviews – adapted to this workshop setting – indeed promote healing through "radical empathy" and can be termed "fieldworking".[6] Further, I argue that the workshops offer a safe liminal space to share impressions and support self-healing processes. As such, they transcend a formal meeting and become empowering as a form of "help for self-help". Finally, I share the experience of four participants of the Mamacura Workshops that I have followed for several years. Their stories give some insights into how particular mindsets and peer dynamics guide processes of change. This exploratory practice is intended to be sustained through further research within the framework of citizen science and its integration in the (German) primary prevention and health promotion system.

FIELDWORKING Patchwork

For as long as I can recall, I have been interested in self-help strategies, i.e. in how food and specific activities can optimize our health, strength, and appearance. I was told that soup encourages growth and that red meat gives strength. Salad is a must with cheese because its fibers lock the fat and prevent high levels of cholesterol. A glass of wine a day prevents cardiovascular diseases. I was born at the end of the 1970s. Later, in the 1990s, the health advice pervaded TV ads: "eat five helpings of fresh fruits and vegetables a day," a rather simple but somehow challenging recommendation. Indeed, I did not care so much at that time because I was young and felt full of energy. I did not relate my stomach aches yet to my daily habits. Anyway, I was interested in good food as an *art de vivre* and gladly developed my cooking skills. An urge to care and understand more about health matters led me to become a nurse, and I started to experience the world as an autonomous young adult at the turn of the century.

My mother provided me with some important insights she gained during her own struggle with allopathic cancer treatment. Despite the disinterest and negative reactions of the medical team and some of her relatives regarding her need for holistic care, she insisted on continuing to complement her treatment with naturopathy and acupuncture. She often mentioned of how this helped her counter the side effects of chemo- and radiotherapy. She used to tell me that she felt heard and eased by the CAM practitioners. I thoroughly felt how important this holistic complementary approach was for her.

It made me realize how French society pressures people toward the hegemonic biomedical system despite its limited symptom-oriented approach and the tremendously destructive side effects and other collateral damage of – for instance – chemotherapy in cancer treatments.

Later, I moved to Germany and studied philosophy and social and cultural anthropology. In 2012, I started an internship at the association *Werkstatt Ethnologie Berlin*, which bridges academic research and everyday cultures in Berlin through workshops and other events. We organized an exhibition on transnational aspects of alternative medicine in Berlin. In May of that year, we had a three-week exhibition at the *Schiller Palais* in the district of Neukölln where healers, academics, and interested members of the public met for multiple events featuring Afro-Brazilian Candomblé, Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), Tibetan Medicine, Ayurveda, Shamanism, Korean Acupuncture, medicinal leeches, and Botanical Medicine. Furthermore, I worked as an assistant in three workshops conducted by Prof. Annette Kerck-

hoff – an expert in naturopathic self-help – on the topic of kitchen remedies.[7] In these workshops, a group of twenty women from all over the world exchanged their experience of healing colds and dealing with pain and swapped advice on beauty and wellness. The atmosphere was full of smiles and good humor, and a lot of fruitful ideas were shared. I documented the three sessions, transcribed the recipes, and shared the anthropological literature I had gathered on the topic. We published a book,[8] and I continued conducting fieldwork in the project *Stadtteilmütter in Neukölln* (engl. Neighborhood Mothers in Neukölln), where most of the initial workshop participants worked.



Photograph by Paulus Ponziak (2016).

Book cover *Hausmittel aus aller Welt* ("Home remedies from around the world"), Essen: KVC Verlag (2016).

All of these experiences and different perspectives formed a "patchwork" that largely informed the co-creation of a new workshop concept. I use the term "patchwork" to acknowledge its very composite form while preserving its legitimacy as a research object.[9] Realizing how inspiring the workshop was for people who rarely have the possibility to talk with a professional about their experience, we conducted further workshops with Annette. My simultaneous research on representations of health and healing helped me see that this setting was particularly favorable for the transmission of health-related information. As will be demonstrated in the following sections, the workshop atmosphere and the participants' mutual exchange and sensory experiences also shaped their memory and started processes of self-healing. We therefore decided to introduce a reflexive element on the transmission of information to promote awareness of that factor. And we also created some playful didactic materials reflecting these findings.



Illustration from a matching game made by the (web) designer Alexandra Tiede during the workshop "Picturing Encounters" by the Medienwerkstatt Encounters in Berlin (2019).

Sore throat and german onomatopeia for pain.



Illustration from a matching game made by the (web) designer Alexandra Tiede during the workshop "Picturing Encounters" by the Medienwerkstatt Encounters in Berlin (2019).

"Try lemon wrap".



Illustration from a matching game made by the (web) designer Alexandra Tiede during the workshop "Picturing Encounters" by the Medienwerkstatt Encounters in Berlin (2019).

Joint pain and Polish onomatopeia for pain.



Illustration from a matching game made by the (web) designer Alexandra Tiede during the workshop "Picturing Encounters" by the Medienwerkstatt Encounters in Berlin (2019).

"Try cabbage wrap" (translated from Polish).

I consider the *Mamacura Workshops* as a space of experimentation and research that counterbalances some of the pernicious effects of neoliberal politics including the promotion of the industrialisation of healthcare and ecologically questionable healing practices.

As a process of "collaborative problem-solving involving empowered stakeholders in civil society", the *Mamacura Workshops* propose a space of "win-win" exchange for research and the public. They foster a "symbiotic transformation" that responds to the aporia concerning ailments in relation to chronic so-called 'civilisation diseases' such as diabetes or cardiovascular diseases.[10] Using scientifically approved home remedies is an efficient and cheap way of preventing disease and optimising the effects of concurrent biomedical therapies.

"More open-ended experiments are possible if anthropologists team up with innovative researchers in biomedicine to develop new conceptual models and to adopt novel observational techniques and 'smart' trials that incorporate ethnography to unravel complex interactions between local biologies, attributes of health systems, social infrastructures, and users' everyday lives."

Anita Hardon, Robert Pool: "Anthropologists in Global Health Experiments", in: *Medical Anthropology* 35/5 (2016), p. 447.

Hardon and Pool propose anthropological methods for "breaking the hegemony of randomized controlled trials in designing global health technologies" and unravel the "complex interactions" in global health.

FIELDWORKING "Fieldworking"

During my presentation at the Radical Health Conference,[11] Dirck von Bekkum expressed enthusiastic support for this experimental format of doing applied anthropological research. He is an anthropologist working as a group therapist, educator, and artisan in a clinical setting. In a recent publication, he suggested a conceptual framework "to encompass both analytical and applicable knowledge and skills in clinical settings", which he terms "fieldworking".[12] In this section, I illustrate how the *Mamacura Workshops* also require "fieldworking". In addition to the methods normally used for ethnographic research that led to the *Mamacura Workshop* concept, I use participant observation and notes during the workshops themselves to trace the relevant content and conduct an "instant" analysis of the data. The participants are aware from the start that the data will be used for research purposes. These notes and observations are systematically reflected in the second part of the workshop in order to emphasize the context of communication to convey healing information. In a "learning by (consciously) doing" process, the participants develop an awareness for and actually initiate a process of self-healing (see next section). This is jargon for research purposes, but during the workshop, I illustrate these principles by means of examples from the same or previous workshops.

The second part then unfolds as a documented group discussion in which participants reflect, remember, and resonate with each other in a variety of ways: orally, in writing, through drawings, active listening, or by even just being there. Bodily communication conveys insights as well. The participants' body language and facial expressions add nuance to their responses, and so does their silence. In some instances, these forms of expression may motivate but also discourage further discussion. Such a workshop dynamic requires what Koss-Chioino calls "radical empathy" – an essential element of any healing process.[13] Through the simultaneous exercise of communication and instant documentation, I aim to practically highlight a healing principle that can be conveyed together with kitchen remedies. The workshop promotes proximity and draws attention to the mutual dynamics of communication through which a process of (self-)healing can be put in motion.

This bridge-building workshop between health care and research – conceptualized as "fieldworking" – is therefore an interesting tool of analysis for further research and professional activity inspired by anthropological methods.

Drawing on his experience in clinical settings, van Bekkum argues that "the moments of healing and transformation in divination rituals resemble (...) the practice of co-creating transitional spaces and communitas in therapeutic and educational contexts".[14] In the next section, I illustrate how such a liminal space for healing is also co-created during the *Mamacura Workshops*.

FIELDWORKING Mamacura's Liminal Space

The *Mamacura Workshop* is a place of horizontal communication into multiple directions and a bottom-up as well as top-down visible, audible, but also invisible and inaudible, active or passive but always relevant exchange between professional experts and amateur researchers. The workshop is particularly interactive because it deals with experiences that are relevant for all involved persons. According to Beccy Blow's critical analysis, the essential criteria for empowerment structures, especially for adults with learning challenges are a meaningful dialogue, giving voice or decoupling power, and the need of control.[15] According

to these criteria, the *Mamacura Workshop* can be considered empowering, especially for participants whose first language is not German.
Expert jargon needs to be adequately explained, illustrated, or simplified in order to be applied and used by non-professional participants. It also needs constant updating. This is an opportunity, especially for non-native speakers, to improve their language skills by learning fundamentally useful vocabulary and engaging in cultural exchange in a group setting. Therefore, the speaker or moderator should first assess whether the audience is puzzled by the vocabulary used and, consequently, either directly ask questions on the topic, spontaneously rephrase, or offer a translation into the appropriate language.

Awareness of the many possible customs and habits of the participants and empathetic adaptation to one's sensibilities and expectations transform a possible communication challenge into an opportunity for exchange.

"Ritualised" as such, the transmission of information takes place as much through form as through content. When this is done with respect and patience, as well as an interest in language, cultural exchange, and learning, one can observe that trust and a sense of security develop throughout the workshop. Such an atmosphere promotes positive peer dynamics and the co-creation of a safe and inspiring "liminal" learning space.
The specific worth of the *Mamacura Workshops* lies as much in their content as in the way they foster the encounter with intimately lived experiences. For it is precisely the sharing of these experiences that holds great potential for the transmission of health-related information and that is crucial for initiating a healing process. Throughout the workshops, I have received comments on the overwhelming health information in other realms and its possibly confusing effect on laypersons. Some try out what they read on their own and share their successes and failures with their peers, but the supportive group dynamic and direct access to a validating authority increase accountability and, therefore, levels of (self-)confidence. In that sense, peer dynamics increase the chances of successful "help for self-help". Moreover, the very moment of encounter itself in this ritualized liminal space can already have healing effects as well – healing effects that occur through "psychosocial mobilization of the patient's biochemical response system" or by virtue of the placebo effect because "meaning mends" and "metaphors heal".[16] In this sense, the workshops represent a space of "connection to a transcendent reality, which enables an open, loving and empathetic attitude" that is so relevant for healing dynamics.[17]

FIELDWORKING Vignettes Of Changes

I will now illustrate some transformative processes through vignettes of four participants I was able to follow over the years. Three of them had already participated in the initial workshops during the exhibition, and I met them again during my fieldwork one to three years later. To protect their privacy, their names have been changed. I first mention my own experience throughout these years.

Caroline
Starting with my own personal experience, I was diagnosed with the skin disease psoriasis around the age of ten. When the workshops started, I was gradually losing my mother, and my marriage was falling apart. So I developed flare-ups all over my body. I looked sick, and I knew I had to have heavy corticosteroids or anti-mitotic treatments if I wanted my skin to be healthy in the short term. But this would not cure the disease, and I would still have to rely on

treatments and endure their side effects just to look normal. This was not an attractive trade-off for me. But thanks to this network, alongside my own fieldwork and freelance activities, I was able to develop my "help for self-help" and by juggling diet, sport, and meditation. I even managed – at times – to have almost completely clear skin for a while. So for me, this represents a very valuable life experience and an awareness that has probably helped me to avoid much more serious physical and psychological problems while coping with profound grief. Nevertheless, my skin health remains a challenge and requires constant care.

Ebru

Ebru was present at the exhibition, and I remember this otherwise quiet woman enthusiastically describing her back exercises during the initial workshop. I interviewed her a year later in the Neighborhood Mothers' shared office. I wanted to know more about her understanding of health and healing and how this was influenced by her work in the project. She was one of the most senior people in the project and employed with the special status of "integration pilot," which allowed her to work in the longer term. Ebru did not remember that we had met a year earlier at the exhibition, and she was more cautious and reserved than the other women I had interviewed. In any case, she explained to me her life trajectory from Turkey to her marriage in Germany, to her daughter, the stressful years of looking for a job, and the exhausting shifts working as a cleaning lady. She told me that she did not eat properly and developed diabetes, just like her mother. Working as a Neighborhood Mother meant a great improvement in her lifestyle, however, as this enabled her to have a calmer and more regular daily routine. Although she expressed satisfaction with her work, she could not consistently combine it with her sports, family duties, and health habits. In addition to taking prescribed medication, she mostly looked for remedies on the internet and tried them out before eventually sharing them with friends. We met a year and a half later in a park for a second interview, and this time the conversation was relaxed and more friendly. She expressed some difficulty in reconciling her dietary needs with the demanding mobility that home tutoring requires. She felt that she could not achieve a healthy work-life balance.[18]

Emeline

Emeline's interventions in the workshops were very lively, and Annette and I were fascinated by the way she shared with us the many health-promoting uses of shea butter. I realized through the project's fieldwork that our three workshops were part of the basic training that the Neighborhood Mothers were receiving for their qualification, which might be one reason for the first participants' enormous interest in them. A year after our first encounter, I interviewed Emeline. She told me about an experience she had had with her children which illustrates the importance of the project's contribution to the construction of symbolic systems – in Bourdieu's terms – through a complex process that is also related to the children's school. Emeline was 38 years old at the time of the interview and had arrived ten years earlier from Burkina Faso. For her, wellbeing plays a central role as a reference point for her food choices. She grew up in a family where money was scarce, but freshly prepared food was always available. Her mother ran a small food stall for a living. When Emeline emigrated to Germany with her sons, she was suddenly able to afford all the manufactured goods she had previously considered luxuries. At some point, however, her son developed tooth decay, whereas she had never had such problems. Therefore, she decided to avoid "sodas and sweets", as they recommended in the project and as she herself had grown up, but despite all her explanations, her son was reluctant to adapt his habits. This changed only when his teacher asked him about the food pyramid, and he was the only one who knew this concept. She told me:

"And the teacher says: 'hey how come?!', 'yes my mother works as a Neighborhood Mother and at home we pay attention to that' [...] and then he was so proud [...] he says: 'Mummy look! Today at school I was the best!'" [laughter].

In fact, Emeline's son was so proud that it motivated him to uphold this self-image in class, and he even assisted his mother by convincing his younger brother to follow the same path. All in all, the workshop thus helped Emeline rediscover and implement healthy eating habits in her new environment that were also beneficial for her children's dental health.

Irina

Another participant, whom I met twice during this connection between the WEB and the Neighborhood Mothers, was Irina. I vividly remember her telling us about the virtues of the many special berries she used to pick with her father in Latvia or about the virtues of the Russian sauna. I met her again three years after the first workshops. At first, it was hard to recognize her. She looked very different. She used to wear a veil but now had a Mohawk haircut and wore tight clothes. She lived with a large female pitbull. The forty-year-old woman had come to Berlin twenty years ago after becoming pregnant. Her family was doing well, but at some point, her husband began to develop fundamentalist Muslim ideas. Their relationship became increasingly conflictual, and they separated. Without her consent, he decided to keep the four children with him. At this point, she started working as a Neighborhood Mother, but could not find families who spoke the same language as her and had to stop. Although she had only worked for the project for a few months, when we met two years later, she still had the full range of project brochures and leaflets on her shelf and used project-specific vocabulary such as the 'bricks' for the body parts and the 'food pyramid'. For her, the project was a way to help herself in a situation of lack of trust in German institutions, and she welcomed me as an "angel" who supported holistic and preventive approaches to health, as she was disappointed with medical help in Germany compared to Latvia.

These four vignettes show the *Mamacura Workshops*' influence on the participants' life course. My personal and professional interest in complementary, holistic approaches to health and the migration experience guided my research. Ebru was on the way to achieving a work-life balance. Emeline rediscovered her healthy eating habits, and Irina collected material for her support. This matched with our priorities: I continued to develop the concept of the workshop; Ebru felt that she lacked quality time for herself; Emeline's awareness triggered her son's change of perspective toward junk food; and Irina developed coping strategies in a particularly difficult phase. The awareness of our symptoms inspired us to act: In Emeline's and my case, the wellbeing of loved ones was of great importance, as was the possibility of remembering one's optimal state of health and the means to achieve it. The story of Emeline's son further showed how mindsets are directly or indirectly influenced by peer dynamics and how important congruent information from trusted sources is. Irina welcomed our interview as an invitation to revive her knowledge on Latvian practices of health prevention. But Ebru could not yet achieve the work-life balance that she felt was necessary for a healty diet. The four lived experiences highlight how networking through *Mamacura Workshops* can create, motivate, maintain, or develop awareness and give impetus to the possibilities of help for self-help through cheap, effective, and affordable kitchen remedies. Furthermore, autoethnographic methods enabled participants to reflect on and analyse their own use of kitchen remedies in their particular contexts. As this shows, these methods constitute a useful means for participatory research in the context of citizen science and for the co-creation of research objects together with medical professionals.

The insights gained through such methods productively contribute to the research. More than that, however, the research participants benefit from them inasmuch as they help them rediscover and develop particular health-related knowledge and skills throughout the process.

FIELDWORKING Perspectives

The participant observation conducted among the Neighborhood Mothers in Berlin-Neukölln over a period of three years and our ongoing exchange through the *Werkstatt Ethnologie Berlin* and the *Mamacura Workshops* have shown how the influence of the workshops fits in with the participants' life course according to their priorities and (bodily) awareness. It became clear that mindsets were directly or indirectly driven by peer dynamics and that the transmission of congruent information from different trusted sources is of utmost importance. This research led to a "fieldworking" method for empowerment through supporting help for self-help strategies: an empowering secular ritual that disrupts the content-oriented circulation of information and offers a common lived experience focused on self-help through efficient, cheap, and accessible kitchen remedies as well as a space for translations and inspiration.

The *Mamacura Workshops* propose an encounter and a complementary approach for health promotion as well. Sherry Ortner cited Arjun Appadurai's call for anthropologists "to be mediators, facilitators, and promoters of the ethics of possibility". In a broader sense, the *Mamacura Workshops* also constitute a form of the "anthropology of the good" that promotes "the ethics of possibility, which can offer a more inclusive platform for improving the planetary quality of life".[19] Both approaches can be viewed as public anthropology that promotes exchange between researchers and the public.

Further research and workshops focused on ailments in the early stages of life or pregnancy would be interesting to explore. Equally, an exchange on the experience of aging could be beneficial to the general public. With these ideas in mind, I am currently exploring the possibilities of expanding the scope of this research, incorporating more co-creative methods offered by citizen science, and integrating the workshop context in the German preventive health system.

Notes

1 "Nicht ein 'Erkenne die Kosten', sondern die alte Weisheit vom Apollon-Tempel in Delphi 'Erkenne dich selbst' – an jeden von uns gerichtet – wird uns helfen, die Zukunft der Gesundheit und die Zukunft der Menschheit langfristig zu gestalten.", in: Dietrich Grönemeyer: *Medizin verändern*, München: Ludwig Verlag (2022), p. 10.
2 *Werkstatt Ethnologie Berlin*, https://werkstatt-ethnologie.de.
3 For more information on the workshops, please see: Caroline Contentin, Annette Kerckhoff: "Kitchen Remedies from Around the World", in: *Medienwerkstatt Encounters*, https://www.encounter-blog.com/en/household-remedies-from-around-the-world/.
4 The "Neighborhood Mothers" are mothers with an experience of migration who receive a specific training to work as mediators for families who have newly arrived in Berlin and speak the same native language. They give advice and support on child health, parenting, and administrative challenges relating to family life with children up to twelve years old; Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie: "Landesprogramm Stadtteilmütter", https://www.berlin.de/sen/jugend/familie-und-kinder/familienfoerderung/stadtteilmuetter/.
5 Dirck van Bekkum: "Being Moved Together during Co-Creating Transitional Spaces: A Navigated Quest in the Borderlands of Pluralistic Healing and Therapeutic Contexts", in: *Curare* 42/3+4 (2019), pp. 131–144.
6 Joan D. Koss-Chioino: "Spiritual Transformation, Relation and Radical Empathy: Core Components of the Ritual Healing Process", in: *Transcultural Psychiatry* 43/4 (2006), pp. 652–670.
7 Caroline Contentin el Masri, Elisabeth Hirsch: "Sibyllenwurz und Speisedampf: Bericht über die Ausstellung der Werkstatt Ethnologie Berlin vom 23.04.2012–01.05.2012", in *Curare* 36/3 (2013), pp. 180–186.
8 Annette Kerckhoff, Caroline Contentin el Masri: *Hausmittel aus aller Welt*, Essen: KVC Verlag (2016), https://kvc-verlag.de/buecher/naturheilkunde-fuer-zuhause/213/hausmittel-aus-aller-welt.
9 Günel Gökçe, Saiba Varma, Chika Watanabe: "A Manifesto for Patchwork Ethnography", in: culanth.org, Member Voices, Fieldsights, https://culanth.org/fieldsights/a-manifesto-for-patchwork-ethnography (9 June 2020).
10 Eric Olin Wright: *Envisioning Real Utopias*, London: Verso (2010), pp. 252–253.
11 https://nomadit.co.uk/radical-health/ (2021).

12 Dirck van Bekkum: "Being Moved Together during Co-Creating Transitional Spaces: A Navigated Quest in the Borderlands of Pluralistic Healing and Therapeutic Contexts", in: *Curare* 42/3+4 (2019), pp. 131–144.
13 Joan D. Koss-Chioino: "Spiritual Transformation, Relation and Radical Empathy: Core Components of the Ritual Healing Process", in: *Transcultural Psychiatry* 43/4 (2006), pp. 652–670.
14 Dirck van Bekkum: "Being Moved Together during Co-Creating Transitional Spaces: A Navigated Quest in the Borderlands of Pluralistic Healing and Therapeutic Contexts", in: *Curare* 42/3+4 (2019), p. 2.
15 Beccy Blow: "Empowering to Disempower: A Dilemma When Working with Adults with Learning Difficulties", in: *Anthropology Matters* 10/1 (2008), p. 19, https://www.anthropologymatters.com/index.php/anth_matters/article/view/43/80.
16 Daniel E. Moerman et al.: "Anthropology of Symbolic Healing", in: *Current Anthropology* 20/1 (1979), pp. 59–80, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/202203; Sjaak van der Geest, Susan Reynolds Whyte, Anita Hardon: "The Anthropology of Pharmaceuticals: A Biographical Approach, in: *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1996), p. 167.
17 Barbara Stöckigt, Florian Besch, Florian Jeserich, Christine Holmberg, Claudia M. Witt, Michael Teut: "Biographical Similarities between Spiritual Healers and their Clients in Germany: A Qualitative Study", in: *Anthropology & Medicine* 22/2 (2015), p. 177, https://www.anme-ngo.eu/images/cie/studien/Qualitative_study_Shamanism-spiritual_healers_2014.pdf.
18 Neighborhood Mothers are initially trained for five to six months on topics such as pre-school development, bilingual education and health care, and then pass on information and support to newly-arriving families speaking the same language. For this purpose, they organize ten meetings at the family's home, which means that they have to move around the neighborhood all day.
19 Sherry B. Ortner: "Dark Anthropology and Its Others: Theory since the Eighties", in: *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6/1 (2016), p. 65.