

The ethnographer's magic as sympathetic magic

With all the attention paid to empathy in recent years, sympathy has received short shrift. Yet it is sympathy that has the longer legacy in anthropology, both as a descriptor for certain ways of relating to the world, and as a moral passion that characterises something important about the relationship between ethnographers and those they study. By juxtaposing biographical accounts of the author's own research with a reading of 18th-century texts from the Scottish Enlightenment on sympathy, this essay calls into question the assumption that sympathy arises from, even as it generates, culturally inscribed forms of empathy or closeness. I argue that what Malinowski called 'the ethnographer's magic' is (or can be) a sympathetic magic woven from biographical threads, depending for its efficacy on concealment and action at a proximate distance, rather than 'shared experience', identification with research participants, or affective appeals.

Key words ethnography, sympathy, methods, affect, ethics

Introduction

'Don't get too close.' If anthropology were optics, the advice would have made perfect sense. Images blur as the camera lens approaches its subjects at close quarters; details and even recognition are lost. But what could 'don't get too close' mean for ethnography? First and foremost, don't 'go native'. Come back from the field. Learn to distinguish your relatively fleeting participation from enduring affiliation. Adoption into the group you studied might be fine, even something of a coup perhaps, so long as you treat it as a sort of honorary title, like the PhDs doled out to captains of industry or the knighthoods conferred on rock stars. Alternatively, if already judged by your fellow ethnographers to *be* irretrievably native, in order to have any hope of gaining the 'perspective' (again with the optics!) required to make meaningful observations, you should do your utmost to extricate yourself from the mire of loyalties and tacit knowledge that belonging implies.

In the late 20th century, postcolonial critique and the reflexive turn set this once time-honoured advice to departing fieldworkers on its head. Urgent, ostensibly new objects of ethical contemplation appeared in the form of empathy, engagement and respect. By bringing researcher and researched into a more intimate and presumably less exploitative relationship, many hoped to make morally defensible forms of fieldwork possible for a discipline with a complex historical relationship with inequality and colonising projects. Might closeness or 'life experience' sometimes constitute ethnographic virtues, in the sense that 'insiders' and 'advocates' are positioned to perceive (or come to know) things that more distanced researchers would never fathom?¹ Could shared joys and shared sufferings become a wellspring for what disciplinary ancestors

1 On the context-dependent instability of the insider/outsider distinction, see Weston (1997b).

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