

- their social exclusion and stigmatization. They suggest that this paradigm “calls for opportunities for ex-convicts to make amends, demonstrate their value and potential, and make positive contributions to their communities” (Maruna and LeBel 2003: 97).
13. Erving Goffman demonstrates this phenomenon through the example of American medical organizations’ dilemma of administering anaesthesia by nurses. This takes place “behind the front,” which involves “ceremonial subordination to doctors and a relatively low rate of pay” (Goffman 1959: 28).
 14. The role of transportation and other advantages in creating distance between local (rural) people and visitors has been indicated by Robert Chambers (1983). Visitors are of divergent affiliations and backgrounds, including government officials, specialists, academic researchers, staff of voluntary agencies, journalists, diplomats, politicians, consultants, and so on. In Chambers’s words, visitors are “encapsulated first in a limousine, Landrover, Jeep or car and later in a moving entourage of officials and local notables” (ibid.: 12).
 15. Thus, one basket would cost between approximately \$1.7 and approximately \$8.6 (as \$1 dollar’s value was approximately 58 rupees).
 16. That is approximately \$1.7 (see previous note).
 17. Robert Chambers contends that “whatever their private feelings, (indifferent, suspicious, amused, anxious, irritated, or enthusiastic), the rural people put on their best face and receive the visitor well” (Chambers 1983: 30).
 18. My own study points to the use of “uncleanliness” and “disease” in constructing images of Ethiopian immigrants to Israel in the 1980s and 1990s, and to the representation of them as weak and needing guidance (Hertzog 2010b). The connotation of primitivism, manipulated by politicians and officials, is also evidenced in Shachak’s study on the inhabitants of a development town in Israel, inhabited by immigrants from North Africa, who settled there in the 1950s (Shachak 1985). Mosse suggests that in the Bhil society alcohol was connected “to ill-health, debt, social conflict and, most seriously for women, with domestic violence,” and that alcohol has been “a core symbol of Bhil underdevelopment” (Mosse 2005: 216–17).
 19. Goffman suggests that within the walls of social establishments there are teams of performers “who cooperate to present to an audience a given definition of the situation.” Establishments are divided, so he argues, between back and front stage. The front stage is “controlled in order to prevent ... [the] outsider from coming into a performance that is not addressed to them” (Goffman 1959: 238).
 20. My departure was scheduled for 24 September. Therefore, my attendance at the start of the literacy classes would necessitate them starting before the 24 September and ending the seminar by 22 September.
 21. This argument is illustrated in my work on the bureaucratic treatment of Ethiopian immigrants in Israel (Hertzog 2001), where I describe how officials employ cultural explanations to justify their discriminatory practices toward women with regard to vocational training and employment prospects.