incidences et contrecoups contemporains du choc de la rencontre passée entre deux mondes éminemment différents.

Béatrice Kasbarian-Bricourt, *Les Amérindiens du Québec. Les héritiers de la Terre-Mère*, Paris : L'Harmattan, 2003, 117 pages.

Recenseur : *Martin Hébert*
Université Laval

La première chose qui frappe le lecteur de cet ouvrage est la disjonction importante et évidente qui existe entre les intentions explicites de son auteur et la présentation qui y est faite des sociétés amérindiennes. D'entrée de jeu, l'auteur affirme, en parlant des pages qui viennent que «Ces incursions dans le monde amérindien n'entendent pas se payer de phrases creuses; elles essaient de dépouiller les non-indiens de leurs idées reçues et de leurs certitudes face au plus affolant mystère, celui de la nature que les Amérindiens tutoient quotidiennement» (p. 7). En quatrième de couverture on nous annonce, dans une formulation également un peu énigmatique, que l'ouvrage vise à souligner «les valeurs initiales des Amérindiens» et de les «prendre en compte». Or, dès le premier chapitre du livre, force est de constater que la montagne iconoclaste et porteuse d'une meilleure compréhension des réalités autochtones promise n'accouche, en fait, que d'une monographie à tiroirs.

Ce premier chapitre de mise en contexte est, par ailleurs, truffé d'erreurs factuelles qui se succèdent à un rythme tel qu'il n'est plus justifié de parler de simples coquilles. L'auteur nous apprend, par exemple, que «de nombreux historiens» soutiennent la thèse d'une traversée du détroit de Behring «il y a 10 millions d'années» (p. 9), qu'il existerait une famille culturelle «iriquoïenne» (p. 10), que les Cris du Québec ne compteraient que «1 200 personnes» (p. 11), qu'il existerait une «tribu» d' «Hurons-Wandats» (p. 11), de même que les Français seraient arrivés au Québec en 1648 (p. 12). Malheureusement, le rythme des erreurs factuelles, approximations et coquilles en tous genres ne s'atténue pas au fil des chapitres.

Le chapitre de mise en contexte, de même que le titre du livre, nous annoncent qu'il sera question des Amérindiens du Québec. Cependant, on constate une fâcheuse tendance du texte à oublier de prendre en compte les limites de l'aire géographique dont il est question et à dévier sur des affirmations qui frisent l'absurde; par exemple lorsque l'on apprend que «pour leur habitation les Amérindiens du nord utilisent des matériaux adaptés à leur environnement tels [...] les feuilles de palmier» (p. 15). Il est également question de consommation d'avocats pour contrer les carences vitaminiques (p. 36), ou de «pulpe de cactus» comme source d'eau (p. 37), de chasse au bison (p. 51), de *potlatch* (p. 65), ou encore de peyotl (p. 101).

Contrairement à ce que le titre du livre pourrait laisser croire, l'unité de cette présentation n'est donc pas géographique. En bout de ligne, et malgré les ambitions humanistes de l'auteur, le fil conducteur de cet ouvrage demeure une quête et une mise en vitrine de l'exotique. L'auteur exhibe des pratiques qu'elle qualifie de «curieuses» (p. 26 et p. 67) sans les lier à des systèmes de sens. Elle s'attarde sur les pratiques sexuelles, la préparation des scalps, les poupées aux attributs phalliques, les lambeaux de chair qui pendent dans les rituels d'automutilation et pratiquement tous les autres tropes qui faisaient retrousser les orteils aux lecteurs de récits de voyage au XIX^{e} siècle.

L'auteur tente de légitimer son intervention et de s'attribuer une position d'autorité en écrivant que «si, pour les habitants de l'Amérique du Nord il est difficile d'être objectif lorsqu'on parle des premiers habitants de cette partie du monde, il en est tout autrement pour les Européens» (p. 7). Outre le fait que les bases épistémologiques de cette affirmation soient pour le moins douteuses, il semble clair dans le cas présent que la distance par rapport au sujet discuté n'a pas porté les fruits promis par l'auteur. À nombre de pages comparable (c'est-à-dire environ une centaine), les lecteurs cherchant une introduction aux réalités amérindiennes du Québec qui soit au diapason des perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques actuelles et non à celui d'un exotisme malsain et dépassé auraient tout avantage à commencer leur exploration par des publications comme *Mythes et réalités sur les peuples autochtones* de Pierre Lepage (Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse du Québec, 2002) ou lire quelques chapitres d'un ouvrage d'Olive Patricia Dickason.

Kenneth M. Bauer, *High Frontiers: Dolpo and the Changing World of Himalayan Pastoralists,*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Reviewer: *Sharon Hepburn*
Trent University

In *High Frontiers*, Bauer presents an ecological history of Dolpo, a remote region in the high Himalaya just south of the border between Nepal and the Tibet Autonomous Region (China). He traces developments in the lives of Dolpo agro-pastoralists through the changes wrought by successive political waves in both Nepal and China. Although Bauer's work grew out of his training and work in ecology and development, particularly for the WWF in Nepal, it is also based on ethnographic research in Dolpo from 1996-97, and archival work on the histories of Nepal and Tibet. The fruits of this multidisciplinary methodology and approach are readily apparent in this account of social adaptation to political and ecological change that takes full account of wider processes, yet remains rooted in the details and conditions of daily life. For anthropologists, the book offers an interesting and highly readable account of the effects of large-scale transnational and state processes on the daily lives of people concerned with yaks, trade and wresting crops from the steppe.

Chapter 1, "Dolpo's Agro-Pastoral System," gives a sense of daily life in the harsh climate and marginal physical environment of Dolpo, circa 1997. In what is perhaps the most ethnographic chapter of the book, Bauer describes a triad of interrelated and overlapping forms of production—agriculture, animal husbandry and trade—linking these to daily household practices, and to a religious and ceremonial life closely tied to subsistence concerns. The second chapter, "Pastoralism in View and Review," considers the situation in Dolpo in terms of two influential approaches in academic interpretations of pastoralism, the first giving analytic primacy to social organization, the second giving primacy to the workings of ecological relations. Drawing from both approaches, Bauer contextualizes Dolpo herding practices and rangeland management strategies as variations of general types of subsistence patterns found elsewhere. Through this description, he questions assumptions commonly made, for example, in discussions of the "tragedy of the commons" by showing how the commons in Dolpo is not exploited through capricious acts of self-interest, but is instead regulated through a variety of cooperative social practices such as lotteries (administered by religious specialists) in which all have a chance at the best pastureland, and others take their turn making do with less desirable ranges. Likewise, he describes how collective labour groups ensure the equitable distribution of essential commodities gathered from the commons, like dung (fuel).

Chapter 3, "A sketch of Dolpo's History," is based largely on archival and published sources, and sets the stage for the following two chapters by describing Dolpo's changing relationship with neighbouring populations from 650 to 1950, and by demonstrating how similarly lengthy and fluctuating relationships between (what are now) India, China, Tibet and Nepal influenced the region, particularly in terms of trans-border trade and pastoral movement.

Chapters 4, "A New World Order in Tibet," and 5, "Nepal's Relations with its Border Populations and the Case of Dolpo," describe how the Tibet Autonomous Region (China) on the one side, and the Nepalese state on the other have influenced Dolpo livelihoods since the 1950s. These two parallel chapters describe how critical events in state manoeuvrings and policy-making had dramatic influences on centuries-old subsistence patterns. Chapter 4 (based on the published scholarly work), for example, describes how Chairman Mao's successive campaigns to unify and reorganize China and repress resistance, resulted in changes in transportation, settlement and the organization of agricultural production that disrupted and all but severed Dolpo-pa patterns of seasonal grazing and trade in Western Tibet. Chapter 5, for example, outlines how during the same time period the Nepalese state's changing political systems and policies regarding border areas, and the establishment of borders drawn by politicians in response to international negotiations, disrupted trade and economic relations based on kinship, language, culture and ecology in which such arbitrary lines had not previously figured.

In Chapter 6, "The Wheel is Broken," Bauer shifts his discussion from wide-scale political processes to the effects of these on daily life in Dolpo. He demonstrates how Dolpo-pa variously adapted to two significant alterations in their ecological situation wrought by the political changes outlined in earlier chapters. The first, the closing of the Nepalese-Tibetan border, forced pastoralists to seek alternative winter pastures and rework their trade-based economy, while the second, the influx of Tibetan refugees and their animals, precipitated a rangeland crisis. These events led to a reconfiguration of both economic strategies and the social networks which facilitate them. The new practice involved turning south for trade partners and grazing land, linking Dolpo-pa more closely than before with their (Hindu) Nepalese neighbours.

Chapter 7, "Visions of Dolpo," critically examines the conservation and development initiatives undertaken by the Nepalese state, international aid agencies and nongovernmental organizations since the 1960s, as the agro-pastoralists themselves were seeking productive solutions to the new, politically derived changes in circumstance and opportunity. Bauer argues that the Nepalese government's policies and disposition towards local people has undermined the efficacy of livestock development, and he uses Dolpo as a test case to argue against the applicability of Western range management techniques (such as the "carrying capacity" approach) to pastoral areas, specifically those with a dynamic, non-equilibrium system like Dolpo's.

Chapter 8, "A Tsampa western," is a surprising but interesting and non-unrelated diversion from the major themes of the book. Bauer considers the long and short-term consequences for the people of Dolpo of the production of the Academy Award-nominated film *Himalaya* (shown as *Caravan* in Nepal). Bauer relates the film to the representations of Tibet and Tibetanness perpetuated by the popular media that the film both trades in and reproduces, and argues that the result is a film which is inaccurate and which better reflects the motives, imaginations and interests of the producers than the lives of Dolpo-pa. Based on personal observations and interviews in Dolpo, Bauer points most tellingly to the negotiations around the film which the Dolpo-pa and producers entered into with different expectations and terms of cultural reference: the former assumed a community-based, verbally legitimated understanding of negotiations and economic relations; the latter's argument reflected individualistic and literacy-based conceptions of economic relationship and responsibility. The last chapter provides some general "Perspectives on Change," and Bauer contemplates the future, and speculates on which forces—political and ecological—will prove decisive in shaping the future of the Dolpo economy and way of life.

Bauer's clear affection for the place and people of Dolpo comes clearly through, but so also does a recurring negative tone when describing China's policies. Many readers might be in full sympathy, and to many this would go unnoticed. In so casting parts of his account, Bauer seems to be participating

in the very practices of pro-Tibet/Tibetanness (and implied anti-China/Chineseness) that he presents as having problematic outcomes in the production of *Himalaya*. Nonetheless, the text presents a well-grounded account of resourcefulness and adaptation in an environment that is indeed marginal, both politically and ecologically. Bauer's presentation is far from the romantic accounts, or the scholarly accounts focussed on religious practices, as opposed to the everyday struggle to make a living, and so is a welcome addition to the ethnography of the Himalayan region in particular, and the study of interactions between culture, politics and environment in general.

Michael E. Harkin (ed.), *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Reviewer: *John Barker*
University of British Columbia

In 1956, Anthony F.C. Wallace introduced the concept of "revitalization" to draw attention to what he perceived as "a uniform process" underlying such apparently diverse religious and political movements as Christian revivals, utopian communities, cargo cults and revolutions (1956: 264). Around the same time and into the 1960s, other sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists introduced their own schemes and terminologies, although few surpassed Wallace's model in terms of its empirical and theoretical ambitions. While "revitalization movement" has gained some limited popularity as a general label for religious movements, particularly among North American ethnohistorians, the concept remains closely associated with Wallace, whose elegant study of the Handsome Lake movement amongst the Iroquois provides its primary exemplar (Wallace 1970). The "reassessing" in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements* thus carries a double load: it refers to the extension of Wallace's model into the new terrain of Oceanic movements where it has rarely been applied and it refers to a critical re-examination of the model itself.

The book is comprised of a short graciously written Foreword by Wallace, an Introduction by Michael E. Harkin and twelve case studies. The first of the descriptive chapters, running to more than 60 pages, is a *tour de force* by Maria Lepowsky that juxtaposes a detailed analysis of a 1785 mission Indian uprising in Spanish California with reflections on cargo cult activities in eastern Papua New Guinea that first appeared in the 1880s. The remaining chapters rotate between Native North America and the Pacific Islands, examining movements that date from the late 18th century to the present. All but two of the contributors are anthropologists, but all make excellent use of documentary and oral evidence to present fine-grained historical perspectives on these varied movements.

The case studies are uniformly excellent, written in engaging prose at a high level of theoretical sophistication. Taken on their own, they are worth the price of admission. The juxtaposition of studies from the two regions is often very revealing, especially as one moves closer to the present. That said, readers who come to the volume expecting to find a sustained engagement with revitalization theory or the creation of an updated comparative framework based on it will be disappointed. All of the authors use revitalization movement as a general label and all comment upon aspects of Wallace's 1956 model. This provides the chapters with a common touchstone. Yet only three of the authors actually attempt to update and apply the model as an analytic tool and even then only in the most general way. Everyone is very polite. Jennifer S.H. Brown's comments on the relevance of revitalization theory for an appreciation of an early prophetic movement amongst Hudson Bay Cree, however, reveal what I suspect is the consensus opinion: the model is useful as a rough starting point but a "distraction from deeper issues of documentation and meaning" (pp. 121-22).

Harkin asks in the Introduction, "Why Revitalization?" (p. xi). It's a good question, although one that he never answers clearly. Harkin states, as a *belief*, that "revitalization is the most sophisticated theoretical lens through which to view [religious] movements" (p. xxv). He does not say why he believes this. Indeed, he does not even provide a synopsis of Wallace's model. Instead, the Introduction rambles between postmodern critiques of cargo cult studies, the colonialist legacy of revitalization theory, dialogic approaches to understanding movements, the role of deprivation in Wallace's theory and so forth. His most direct defence of Wallace appeals to "the classic virtues of anthropology as a social science"—empiricism, holism, the comparison of institutions and so forth—rather than the details of the model (p. xix). He complains that anthropologists have been "too quick to discard theories that have certain remediable problems, rather than to experiment with, play with, and 'riff off' them" (p. xxxv). Harkin's "belief" in the theoretical sophistication of a specific theoretical model, then, dissolves into an invitation to treat it, at most, as a textual form (a theme that he draws out in his chapter on the Warm House Cult in western Oregon), as a foil or as a source for a few useful ideas. This nicely describes how Harkin and his collaborators treat Wallace's theory.

Lepowski's opening chapter comes closest to the spirit of Wallace's model in its attempt to systematically compare two movements in widely separated times and places and to come up with a general perspective on the causes and key attributes of revitalization movements. She insists that "All revitalization movements are oppositional, arising among cultural minorities, catalyzed by the moral and political crises of colonial and postcolonial hegemony" (p. 48) which, in turn, leads to an emphasis on "ritual violence." Linn Poyer and Lisa Henry, in studies of Second World War movements in Micronesia and the rise of Tahitian nationalism respectively, also draw attention to the colonial oppression as a crucible for revitalization movements. Both, however, see the movements as involving far more than reactions and oppositions. Henry, for instance, writes about