

normes internes et externes à la communauté et la façon dont les hijras négocient et naviguent entre ces deux ensembles de contraintes. Tout en illuminant les origines historiques des contraintes juridiques qui pèsent sur les hijras, Vian-Massé et Bates font voir tout le travail de contestation et d'appropriation du droit dont font preuve les activistes hijras. De la sphère du droit informel en passant par leur « système normatif institutionnel » parallèle (177), aux représentations juridiques faisant usage des plus récentes législations (comme le jugement NALSA de 2014 reconnaissant le troisième genre), les hijras font preuve d'une agentivité qui fait mentir certains des préjugés retenus contre elles.

La dernière section du livre, composée de récits de vie se voulant emblématiques de l'expérience hijra, met en scène de manière plus organique les concepts et analyses développés dans les chapitres précédents. Ces courts chapitres laissent voir comment l'exclusion et la marginalité ont pu dominer une bonne part de la littérature concernant les Hijras. Or, le mérite de l'ouvrage repose dans sa reconnaissance des dures réalités de l'existence hijra sans pour autant en faire le point focal de l'enquête. Par delà l'image de paria qui colle à la communauté, les auteurs font voir toute la mesure d'agentivité des hijras, que ce soit dans les adhésions et négociations individuelles à ce groupe et ses codes comme dans les luttes menées par certaines d'entre elles pour une meilleure reconnaissance de leur identité et de leur réalité.

En abordant la question des hijras sous un angle religieux, Boisvert fait voir toute la porosité des frontières du religieux. Les questions d'identité, d'appartenance de groupe, d'orientation sexuelle, et les contextes culturels et historiques sont étroitement enchevêtrés à la question religieuse. L'analyse de l'identité hijra ne peut faire l'économie des autres champs sociaux qui l'entrecoupent et qui la transforment (18). En ce qu'il dévoile les dynamiques internes de la communauté hijra ainsi que le contexte sociohistorique cadrant son existence, l'ouvrage atteint bel et bien l'objectif qu'il s'était donné. De son atteinte émerge néanmoins une nouvelle série d'interrogations pour des recherches futures.

L'ouvrage de Boisvert fait voir les hijras comme possédant une identité de genre distinct, ancrée dans un contexte socioculturel (ou socio religieux ici) spécifique. Comment cette identité, avec ses codes, ses contraintes et ses possibles évoluerait-elle devant la diffusion de la terminologie LGBT et l'éventail identitaire porté et proposé par les ONG qui appuient les hijras dans leurs luttes ? Comment les nouvelles générations de hijras se définiront-elles ? L'ouvrage pointe déjà vers une certaine « hétérogénéité des parcours », faisant par ailleurs miroir aux évolutions de la société indienne (118). Alors que l'Inde entre dans une période marquée par l'ascension d'un certain discours politique teinté par l'Hindutva, l'avenir des hijras demandera une attention soutenue.

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McMillan, L. Jane, *Truth and Conviction: Donald Marshall Jr. and the Mi'kmaw Quest for Justice*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018, 220 pages.

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In January 1990, the Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution released its findings and recommendations to the public. The three commissioners, Chief Justice T. Alexander Hickman, Chief Justice Lawrence A. Poitras and the Honourable Gregory Thomas Evans, QC, found that “racism played a part in Donald Marshall, Jr.'s wrongful conviction and imprisonment” (Royal Commission, p. 10) and resolved that these “inescapable, and inescapably distressing conclusions” (p. 1) demand that specific steps be taken to “reduce discrimination in the justice system itself” (p. 10).

With *Truth and Conviction*, Jane McMillan offers a thoughtful ethnography of the revitalisation of Mi'kmaw legal consciousness and the impact of Donald Marshall Jr's wrongful conviction on him, on his family, on his community and on the Mi'kmaw Nation, all framed around principles of Indigenous law and the Canadian justice system. McMillan masterfully narrates the tenets of Mi'kmaw justice, initially through Marshall's wrongful conviction and incarceration, and later through the Mi'kmaw assertion of treaty rights after Marshall was charged for fishing eels without a licence, which resulted in a case that took Marshall to the Supreme Court.

Truth and Conviction sheds light on how Mi'kmaw communities have sought participation in the Canadian justice system on equal terms by embodying the spirit of *etuaptmumk*, or two-eyed seeing, which “combines Indigenous legal wisdom with salvageable elements of settler law on a journey of co-learning” (p. 171). McMillan shows how this way of seeing enabled the creation of a Native Criminal Court controlled by the community and by the practice of Mi'kmaw justice, which emphasises the “interconnectedness of the environmental, physical, social, and spiritual realms” (p. 171) alongside the well-being of family and community members. Under this model, justice aims to understand and respect Indigenous realities and focus on “community responsibility for restoring relations,” which might include incorporating both cultural and traditional practices into rehabilitation and reintegration. Specifically, Mi'kmaw justice places weight on knowing everyone, knowing “what they [the wrongdoer] did” and if “they will do it again” (p. 157). This Indigenous legal approach contrasts with Canadian courts’ emphasis on individual responsibility, punitive sanctions and confidentiality for criminals, which are tenets of the Canadian justice system. These practices of the Canadian justice system, seen from the perspective of community and family relations, enable the avoidance of responsibility by wrongdoers.

The text begins with McMillan's own account of meeting Donald Marshall Jr in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The pair met in the

fall of 1991, 8 years after Marshall was acquitted by the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal for the murder of Sandy Seale, and the meeting would precipitate a romantic relationship between McMillan and Marshall that continued for the next 13 years. Donald Marshall Jr passed away in 2009, and in a sense *Truth and Conviction* chronicles McMillan's own life with Marshall on the heels of the Royal Commission's sobering conclusions on discrimination in the administration of justice, as well as the violence of what McMillan calls the "failure of justice" that Marshall and his family experienced, which ultimately led to the community's assertion of Mi'kmaw treaty rights and the Mi'kmaw Nation's ongoing efforts to implement recommendations of the Marshall Inquiry toward self-determination.

Central to the narrative is an awareness of what McMillan calls the "rawness of discrimination" and the extent to which, in her words, "rage-infused racism" occurs in the Canadian justice system. McMillan describes both realisations in terms of her life with Marshall and his family, and her status as an "ally in the fight for Mi'kmaw rights" (p. 6). In retelling Marshall's journey and experiences, McMillan seeks to foster an awareness in Canadian society both of colonial forms of oppression and resistance and resilience to them, as well as the consequences of imposing a foreign system of justice. She asks: How can a pluralised legal system, one with different systems within a single geographic region, nation or population, counter five centuries of cultural genocide? Which traditional justice practices might address systemic discrimination against Indigenous peoples? Most fundamentally, who decides what is or isn't traditional? Each question draws attention to the intersection of power, knowledge and space, all also central to the challenges of colonial practices in higher education and academia.

McMillan is well positioned to speak to issues of power, privilege and knowledge-making in the academy and Canadian society more broadly. She is Associate Professor of Anthropology at St Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, and a former Canada Research Chair, which is a prestigious title (with accompanying ample research funds) awarded to professors to promote excellence in research. Given that the Canadian justice system recognises academics and often calls upon them as experts on Indigenous history and culture in support of the Crown's arguments (on this see [von Gernet 2002; Daniels 2016](#)), some readers might want to examine more deeply linkages between higher education and the legal system to better understand how particular social groups make and maintain knowledge and continue to occupy positions of power that impact Indigenous peoples in Canada.

McMillan acknowledges the centrality of the findings of the Royal Commission in the revitalisation of Mi'kmaw legal consciousness and the commission's role in shedding much-needed light on inequalities in the criminal justice system. She is critical, however, of the decision's oversight regarding the rights of Mi'kmaw persons who are "not ordinary citizens" (p. 48). As McMillan remarks, Mi'kmaws become "citizens with constitutionally recognized special rights under section 35 [of the *Constitution Act, 1982*]" (p. 48). On the one hand, McMillan is right about the commission's shortcomings, and yet she does not cast the same critical lens on constitutional recognition based on colonial policy. For example, one might question how "Indian status" is granted and by whom it is granted. One might question how status protects particular hunting rights, for example, while obscuring other rights, such as property

rights, in ways that are meant to disadvantage Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women. One might consider the impact that decades and years of deliberate family disruption has had on social organisation as well as on knowledge-making and cultural heritage, including intangible traditional cultural practices of the Mi'kmaw Nation.

McMillan only briefly discusses the role of the Black United Front and the Union of Nova Scotia Indians alongside Mi'kmaw organisations in supporting public inquiries and pushing for greater scrutiny of racial bias in the criminal justice system and in Nova Scotia law (p. 48). Lived social realities of Mi'kmaw and Black persons and their experience of law are spurring interest in addressing systematic problems. Bringing change will require not only the support of organisations dedicated to legal reform, but also an awareness by all Canadians as well as their political will to see through such changes. *Truth and Conviction* offers a first step to anyone so inclined.

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Like its biodiversity, the linguistic diversity of the Amazon is under threat. In her ethnography of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, a place that calls itself "the most Indigenous city in Brazil" (p. 3), Sarah Shulist examines the strategies, politics and ideologies of language revitalisation practices. She skilfully weaves together descriptions of educational pedagogies, government language policies, community activism and the everyday experiences of families and individuals struggling to preserve their ethnolinguistic identities. One of the key features of her research setting – which sets it apart from other studies that are tightly focused on clearly defined and bounded social groups – is the highly diverse, multi-ethnic and multilingual population of the city. People have migrated to São Gabriel from across the northwest Amazon, spawning an urban population, 85 percent of which identifies as Indigenous, that speaks a range of different languages spread across five separate Indigenous language families. In 2002, three of the most widely spoken Indigenous languages in São Gabriel were granted official status at the municipal level, meaning that Tukano, Baniwa and Nheengatú have, in theory, equal status to